

A STUDY OF SHAKESPEARE'S DEPARTURES FROM  
PLUTARCH, IN THE CHARACTERIZATION OF  
ANTONY IN ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

By

JOE FRED WATSON

Bachelor of Arts

New Mexico Western College

Silver City, New Mexico

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A STUDY OF SHAKESPEARE'S DEPARTURES FROM  
PLUTARCH IN THE CHARACTERIZATION OF  
ANTONY IN ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

Thesis Approved:

*David S. Berkeley*  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Thesis Adviser

*William R. Van Riper*  
\_\_\_\_\_

*James Madison*  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dean of the Graduate School

## PREFACE

The author's early undergraduate work was heavily concentrated in Bible and religion. Always fascinated by the study of Bible lands, times, and peoples, he readily became interested in literature dealing with people and events closely associated with these.

It is well known that Shakespeare draws freely from the Bible. In Antony and Cleopatra he deals with Bible characters, since Octavius became Caesar Augustus, Emperor when Jesus was born in Bethlehem; and Herod the Great, who helps Antony against Octavius at Actium, ruled in Judea at the time of this event. The drama is staged in Bible lands: Egypt, Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor figure largely in both the Bible and the play.

To Dr. David S. Berkeley for the suggestion leading to this study and for valuable help while the investigation was being made, the author extends sincere thanks; to Herman H. Simpson, graduate student, and to a host of former teachers and classmates, he also expresses appreciation.

In particular, he is indebted to his wife, Polly, for her contribution in making the work possible.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Where and in what ways does Shakespeare depart from Plutarch in the characterization of Antony in Antony and Cleopatra? His departures in characterizing Cleopatra are more obvious and have been observed and commented upon by several critics. But comparatively little has been done in this regard to Antony.

Schücking mentions Antony only indirectly in writing of Cleopatra.<sup>1</sup> Granville-Barker refers to Plutarch in one footnote but does not attempt to show departures that characterize Antony.<sup>2</sup> Harrison says that Shakespeare ". . . builds up Antony's character by every method."<sup>3</sup> Farnham deals mainly with departures in the setting forth of Cleopatra, but also treats briefly Antony's excoriation of her in the Thyreus episode, which is not in the source.<sup>4</sup> Muir mentions in a general way omissions from Plutarch, yet has but few words on the topic of this paper.<sup>5</sup> Dickey describes Plutarch's Antony briefly, then notes that Shakespeare supplies Antony with rage, pain,

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<sup>1</sup>Levin L. Schücking, Character Problems in Shakespeare's Plays (New York, 1948), p. 120f.

<sup>2</sup>Harley Granville-Barker, Prefaces to Shakespeare, I (Princeton, 1952), p. 432.

<sup>3</sup>G. B. Harrison, Shakespeare's Tragedies (London, 1951), p. 207.

<sup>4</sup>Willard Farnham, Shakespeare's Tragic Frontier (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1950), pp. 139-205.

<sup>5</sup>Kenneth Muir, Shakespeare's Sources, I (London, 1957), p. 201.

and remorse, saying he has a "furious hope" that Cleopatra will be in Caesar's triumph.<sup>6</sup>

Fritz Adler's work is much fuller; he notes especially Shakespeare's deeper probings into Antony's soul.<sup>7</sup> Commenting on the Thyreus incident, he says in effect that the confusion of the hero is painted in the smallest detail. Shakespeare does not shy away from allowing the spectator to have a glance into the painful mood and almost insanity of Antony.<sup>8</sup> Adler says that Shakespeare shows his mastery in the apprehension and representation of exceptional conditions of the soul.<sup>9</sup> A much later work by Lucille King is worthy of mention; she, too, enumerates several departures from Plutarch.<sup>10</sup> She lists characterization, phraseology, and historical facts as three parts of Shakespeare's debt to his prime source, and notes Antony's being painted in warmer colors and thus gaining the spectator's sympathy, although he is licentious.<sup>11</sup>

David S. Berkeley adds to this study, citing Antony's lines: "Of Caesar seek your honor with your safety," and "None about Caesar trust but Proculeius,"<sup>12</sup> as giving a possible reading of Antony differing from usual

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<sup>6</sup>Franklin M. Dickey, Not Wisely but Too Well (San Marino, 1957), pp. 149, 150.

<sup>7</sup>Fritz Adler, "Das Verhältniss von Shakespeares 'Antony and Cleopatra' zu Plutarchs Biographie des Antonius," Shakespeare Jahrbuch, XXXI (1895), 264.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 293.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 294.

<sup>10</sup>Lucille King, "Shakespeare's Use of His Source Material in Antony and Cleopatra," M. A. Thesis, University of Texas (Austin, 1927).

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>12</sup>William Shakespeare, Antony and Cleopatra, IV, xv, 46, 48, The Complete Works of Shakespeare, ed. Hardin Craig (Chicago, 1951). All later quotations and citations of Antony and Cleopatra are from Craig's edition.



views concerning his latter end. He writes that Antony may be satisfied that Cleopatra ". . . will end herself suitably," or that he is attempting to assure her a place in Caesar's triumph.<sup>13</sup> Further statements of the same possible views of Antony are set forth in the same author's exchange with Mr. Hook in College English,<sup>14</sup> in which the former suggests Antony may be clothed with something of Cleopatra's cunningness. With an eye to the source, Mr. Hook objects to the possible reading of Antony,<sup>15</sup> but Mr. Berkeley says in his rejoinder, "In my article I scarcely mentioned Shakespeare's source, for I wished to draw all my arguments from the play."<sup>16</sup> In his first article of the exchange he says,

The facts of the play do not permit us with assurance to label the expiring Antony as the misjudging lover of Cleopatra or as the disingenuous, would-be avenger, for they point in both directions, more insistently in my opinion toward the cynical view of Antony's character. But a wise ignorance is the best view of the matter. With opposite reading of Antony, the play becomes a richer, more subtle, more dramatic, and more human drama worthy of more critical esteem than it has won.<sup>17</sup>

It seems that every reader would agree with his final sentence above.

The work of Fritz Adler and that of Lucille King are the fullest and best of all known previous treatments of the subject covered in this thesis. Theirs, however, as the titles indicate, are broader in scope;

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<sup>13</sup>David S. Berkeley, "The Crux of Antony and Cleopatra," Bulletin of Oklahoma A. and M. College (Stillwater, 1953).

<sup>14</sup>Berkeley, "On Oversimplifying Antony," College English, XVII (1955), 96-99. Reply by Frank S. Hook, College English, XVII, March 1956, 365-366. Rejoinder by Berkeley, College English, XVIII, Feb. 1957, 286-287.

<sup>15</sup>Hook, p. 365.

<sup>16</sup>Berkeley, rejoinder, p. 286.

<sup>17</sup>Berkeley, p. 96.

the subject of this paper is much more specific, limited to one character. And this work is much more detailed, too, than either of the others, noting scene by scene, situation by situation, a great deal of dialogue--in fact, every discovered noteworthy variant. The findings and conclusions of this paper are in general agreement with those of Adler and King insofar as those authors covered its topic.

Parrott mistakenly says there is but one source for the play.<sup>18</sup> North's translation of Amyot's French version of Plutarch's Parallel Lives constitutes the chief source, and the dramatist most likely had a copy of the 1579 edition before him as he wrote. But it is probable that many writers have contributed to the stream from which the story is drawn. Among them have been listed Ovid, Horace, Virgil, Goulard,<sup>19</sup> Paterculus, Lucan, Josephus, Suetonius, Pliny the Elder, Appian, Chaucer, Lydgate, Boccaccio, Howell, Gower, Spenser, and Castiglione.<sup>20</sup> And the Book of Revelation is seen as a source.<sup>21</sup>

English forerunners of the work were Lady Pembroke's translation of Garnier's Marc Antoine, Daniel's Cleopatra and also his A Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius, and Brandon's Virtuous Octavia. To these and possibly other sources we must add Shakespeare's own creative genius, although one critic says:

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<sup>18</sup>Thomas Marc Parrott, ed., Twenty-three Plays and the Sonnets, by William Shakespeare (New York, 1953), p. 65.

<sup>19</sup>Muir, pp. 201-218.

<sup>20</sup>Dickey, pp. 144-202.

<sup>21</sup>Ethel Seaton, "Antony and Cleopatra and the Book of Revelation" RES, XX (1946), 219-224.



to read North and then to read Antony and Cleopatra is to be amazed at how little Shakespeare brought his creative activity to bear in the structure of the play.<sup>22</sup>

In characterization, as well as in structure, the same writer says the prime source is closely followed. He explains:

Similarly, in one character only, that of Enobarbus, has he set his imagination to work; the rest are as he found them in North.<sup>23</sup>

But even a superficial reading of North reveals an entirely different Cleopatra, after Antony's death, from Shakespeare's heroine.

Admitting, then, that the dramatist departs from North in his characterization of Enobarbus and Cleopatra, shall we conclude without close investigation that North's Antony is unchanged? Is the critic correct who said:

. . . in all his [Shakespeare's] Roman characters he has nicely followed History, and you will find his Brutus, his Cassius, his Antony, . . . just as the Historians describe 'em.<sup>24</sup>

As to the characterization of the last-named Roman, let us see if this view is correct by examining Shakespeare's treatment of the "triple pillar of the world"<sup>25</sup> who became "the noble ruin of her [Cleopatra's] magic"<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Bonamy Dobrée, Restoration Tragedy (Oxford, 1929), p. 70. Quoted by Sylvan Barnet, "Recognition and Reversal in Antony and Cleopatra," SQ, VIII, 331-334.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Langbaine, "Prologue," rephrased by Gildon, quoted by T. W. Baldwin, Small Latine and Lesse Greek (Urbana, 1944), I, 50.

<sup>25</sup>Shakespeare, I, i, 12.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., III, x, 19.

and his "lass unparallel'd"<sup>27</sup> whom he in anger termed "triple-turn'd whore."<sup>28</sup>

Craig says:

Antony is superbly and consistently presented, and here Plutarch and his values are Shakespeare's guide.<sup>29</sup>

In saying this the writer contrasts the playwright's treatment of Antony with that of Cleopatra, saying that he treats her inconsistently.<sup>30</sup>

The primary object of this paper, however, is not to determine how consistently Antony is treated by Shakespeare, not to attempt to assign sources for each departure from North. It is, rather, to note these and to evaluate the author's dramatic use of them.

Casual readers of Plutarch and Shakespeare readily see much material the latter omits. Mere compression may be his primary motive in most cases. However, if suppression occurs we may look for character changes. Amplification of a trait or the magnification of an incident may be for dramatic reasons. Additions to source material may be either for simple adornment of the narrative or description, or they may be for solid changes in characterization and/or dramatization. Departures in the form of shifting of events, of changing the relative time of various happenings-- if they are seen as deliberate--cause one to look for attempted dramatic effect.

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 319.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., IV, xii, 13.

<sup>29</sup>Hardin Craig, ed., The Complete Works of Shakespeare (Chicago, 1951), p. 1072.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

Surely the dramatist is at liberty to pick up an historical character at any point in his life, depict certain selected events of his subsequent career, and see him through to his death. He is not obligated to present a character's entire past. But here may be a special case. Antony had a shady past, to put it mildly. His early years were filled with drunkenness and debauchery. But Shakespeare brings in none of this, and one may suspect suppression for the purpose of elevating his hero.<sup>31</sup>

Antony had certainly been a victorious warrior,<sup>32</sup> but he had suffered defeats as well.<sup>33</sup> If Shakespeare presents him as a victor only, why does he? Antony had been inhumanly cruel, as is witnessed by his demands in the proscription.<sup>34</sup> And surely Shakespeare had learned of Antony's self-centeredness from North.<sup>35</sup> Are such omissions by Shakespeare for the purpose of changing Antony?

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<sup>31</sup>Thomas North, tr., The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans, by Plutarch (Stratford-on-Avon, 1928), pp. 312-326, passim.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 315.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 321.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 324.

CHAPTER II

ACT I

Scene i

Conflict in the opening line, derived from some source outside of Plutarch, is introduced by Philo's "Nay." Conflicting desires are evident. Antony is at ease and merrymaking in Alexandria with Cleopatra, and this Roman is opposed to the "dotage." Although Plutarch tells us Octavius deplored Antony's behavior there and that "most men disliked this manner,"<sup>1</sup> he does not inform us that any soldier accompanying the triumvir held or expressed such views. The great contrast between "the triple pillar of the world" who has become "a strumpet's fool"<sup>2</sup> in the eyes of the Roman who is the first speaker, is not Plutarch's contrast. Mr. Schanzer points out lines in Lady Pembroke's Antonius<sup>3</sup> that possibly influence this speech of Philo. Mr. Westbrook says,

Shakespeare in his treatment of the Roman attitude towards Antony and Cleopatra may have been influenced by Horace's Cleopatra Ode and his Epode IX.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>North, p. 331.

<sup>2</sup>Shakespeare, I, i, 12, 13.

<sup>3</sup>Ernest Schanzer, " 'Antony and Cleopatra' and the Countess of Pembroke's" 'Antonius,' " Notes and Queries, N. S. III (1956), 153.

<sup>4</sup>Perry D. Westbrook, "Horace's Influence on Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra," Publication of Modern Language Association of America, LXII (1947), 397, 398.



Antony's pocketing<sup>5</sup> letters from Octavius in this scene is not from the source. The hero is told there is news from Rome; he is not told whether it is from Caesar, from a friend, or from Fulvia. But Shakespeare, by having him refuse to read any message, shows him more deep in his "dotage" for Cleopatra than does his source. The Shakespearean departure also sets up greater conflict between Antony and Octavius, giving Caesar an added complaint against his partner. Cleopatra, too, is thus given opportunity to taunt her lover concerning Fulvia and to suppose he is about to be ordered out of Egypt by the "scare-bearded Caesar,"<sup>6</sup> thus supplying more contrast between the two triumvirs.

There is no counterpart in the source for Cleopatra's reference to Fulvia as "shrill-tongued,"<sup>7</sup> and it is difficult to conceive of Plutarch's Antony blushing. He tells us:

And when Cleopatra found Antonius jeasts  
and slents to be but grosse, and souldier  
like, in plain manner: she gave it him  
finely, & without feare taunted him  
thoroughly.<sup>8</sup>

But the Elizabethan's "triple pillar" is a reasoner, a philosopher, as these lines of his show:

. . . our dungy earth alike  
Feeds beast as man: the nobleness of life  
Is to do thus<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Shakespeare, II, ii, 73.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., I, i, 20-24.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., I, i, 32.

<sup>8</sup>North, p. 338.

<sup>9</sup>Shakespeare, I, i, 35, 36.

For him to be a slave to a shrewish wife would be to live as a beast; Shakespeare's Antony wants a nobler life. Plutarch does not say Antony so reasoned. This whole impassioned speech of Antony's<sup>10</sup> soars high above what one might expect of Plutarch's plainer man, and has no equivalent in the source.

In giving the lines,

What sport tonight?

and

Tonight we'll wander through the streets and note  
the qualities of people.<sup>11</sup>

the dramatist shows a swashbuckling officer, and apparently withholds for dramatic reasons Plutarch's information about the pair. He says they

. . . would peere into poore mens windowes and  
their shops, and scold and brawle with them  
within the house . . . often times Antonius  
bore away both mockes & blows.<sup>12</sup>

Adler correctly observes that Plutarch sees Antony's and Cleopatra's going through the streets as a thorough waste of time, whereas Shakespeare shows it as harmless pleasure.<sup>13</sup> Shakespeare delays in giving us nearly analagous information until later,<sup>14</sup> where this point is put in Caesar's mouth.

Borrowing from other sources and exercising his own dramatic genius, Shakespeare presents an Antony considerably elevated above the man Plutarch gave him. He is more gentlemanly, refined, sensitive to taunts, and a

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., I, i, 33-40.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., I, i, 47, 53, 54.

<sup>12</sup>North, p. 331.

<sup>13</sup>Adler, p. 265.

<sup>14</sup>Shakespeare, I, iv, 4, 5, 18-21.



more ardent lover of Cleopatra and vehement in declaring this love. He is as well vociferous in his purpose to stay in Egypt, and this is not in the source. Dramatic conflict, not in Plutarch, is seen in Antony, between Antony and the Romans, especially Octavius,<sup>15</sup> and triangular in the affairs of Cleopatra, Fulvia, and Antony.

Scene ii

The "Roman thought" that strikes Antony is a Shakesperean departure, showing that conscience, because of a sense of being remiss in duties of war and/or conjugal fidelity, is pricking Antony. The source here gives only an Antony "delighting" in "fond and childish pastimes."<sup>16</sup>

The playwright increases the general awareness that Antony is needed elsewhere by having the messenger introduce the subject of his idling in Egypt,<sup>17</sup> which lacks a basis in the source. And Shakespeare's hero is unlike his counterpart in Plutarch in that he is not only aware of his faults but gives voice to this, even to one of much less rank, the messenger.<sup>18</sup>

Shakespeare's dramatic shifting is seen here in that Antony is aware of Cleopatra's being spoken of in Rome in odious terms, and of general malice toward himself,<sup>19</sup> things which are not in evidence in Plutarch at this time.

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., I, i, 56.

<sup>16</sup>North, p. 332.

<sup>17</sup>Shakespeare, I, ii, 108.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., I, ii, 109-115.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., I, ii, 110-113.

Although Antony's love for Cleopatra is as deep as the Tiber and as wide as the flooded Nile, the dramatist gives him the strength of character to say, "these strong Egyptian fetters I must break / or lose myself in dotage."<sup>20</sup> This is the first "I must" in a quick series of four,<sup>21</sup> the first of which is stated before he learns of Fulvia's death. Plutarch's Antony has no such determination nor strength. The source says of him:

Then began Antonius with much a doe, a little to rouse him selfe as if he had bene wakened out of a deepe sleepe, comming out of a great drunkennes. So, first of all he bent him selfe against the Parthians.<sup>22</sup>

Plutarch's Antony, asleep to marital and martial obligations, is raised considerably by Shakespeare in this scene.

The source reveals that Antony received word of Fulvia's death a good while after leaving Egypt.<sup>23</sup> That Shakespeare has him receive this news in Egypt must not be viewed as mere compression; it is skillful telescoping, giving the bard powerful dramatic potentials, which he employs well. Antony, apart from all major characters, states his need of leaving Egypt;<sup>24</sup> the abrupt news from Sicyon follows.

North writes thus concerning Fulvia's death:

But by good fortune, his wife Fulvia going to meet Antonius sickened and died at SICYONE: and therefore Octavius Caesar, and he were the easelier made frendes together.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., I, ii, 120, 121.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., I, ii, 120, 132, 136, 140.

<sup>22</sup> North, p. 332.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Shakespeare, I, ii, 120.

<sup>25</sup> North, p. 332.

In the drama, Antony's first reaction to news of his wife's death may appear to be in harmony with the tone of North's appraisal, that it was "good fortune," for he merely asks, "Where died she?"<sup>26</sup> But the dramatist hastily intensifies and deepens the emotional reaction of his greater Antony, as shown in his next lines about Fulvia.<sup>27</sup> Shakespeare, in raising Antony, thus gives him a wife worthy of being mourned, at least to some degree, in her death, whereas Plutarch says she was "of a peevish, crooked, and troublesome nature."<sup>28</sup> She is in Shakespeare's Antony's memory as "a great spirit."<sup>29</sup> But Shakespeare's Antony is now seen troubled more about becoming enmeshed in unknown trouble in Egypt, if he should remain,<sup>30</sup> than he is over Fulvia's death.

In the play Enobarbus speaks at times as Antony's other self, a dramatic departure from Plutarch, who says but little of this man. Although introduced in Scene i, Enobarbus does not assume this other-self rôle until Scene ii. While yet ignorant of Fulvia's death (prior to line 162) he can be seen as siding with Cleopatra in Antony's conflict with his conscience, which is purely Shakespearean. And Enobarbus, Antony's other self, calls Cleopatra's attachment "the finest part of pure love,"<sup>31</sup> in black and white contrast to his master's being a paramour to a gipsy strumpet; both extremes are Shakespearean drama.

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<sup>26</sup>Shakespeare, I, ii, 124.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., I, ii, 126-131.

<sup>28</sup>North, p. 332.

<sup>29</sup>Shakespeare, I, ii, 126.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., I, ii, 133, 134.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., I, ii, 152.

Likewise, Enobarbus' eleven lines of prosaic comment, upon learning of Fulvia's death,<sup>32</sup> are without source foundation. They are Shakespeare's dramatic device of Antony's other self arguing in behalf of his remaining in Egypt, now that his wife is dead. Also without counterpart in the source are Antony's deeper, perhaps penitent words concerning Cleopatra, "Would I had never seen her."<sup>33</sup> (The line is seen by Stempel as the first evidence of Antony's revulsion; he views the drama as a satire on the rise of women -- the war between the sexes.)<sup>34</sup>

The kind and gentle Antony who says,

I shall break  
The cause of our expediency to the queen,  
And get her leave to part<sup>35</sup>

is a far cry from his boorish counterpart in Plutarch.

In dramatic condensation the playwright has Antony aware of much more here<sup>36</sup> than he has reason to know about, according to Plutarch, who mentions only one dispatch from Rome during this stay in Alexandria; the Greek biographer does not tell of his receiving letters from his friends until after he leaves Egypt.<sup>37</sup>

In Shakespeare the plain prose of Plutarch becomes dramatic dialogue. The poet is superb in his presentation of this exchange:

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., I, ii, 167-177.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., I, ii, 158.

<sup>34</sup>Daniel Stempel, "The Transmigration of the Crocodile," Shakespeare Quarterly, VII (1956), 59-72.

<sup>35</sup>Shakespeare, I, ii, 184-186.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., I, ii, 183-200.

<sup>37</sup>North, p. 332.



Ant. Fulvia is dead.  
 Eno. Sir?  
 Ant. Fulvia is dead.  
 Eno. Fulvia!  
 Ant. Dead.<sup>38</sup>

Extending himself beyond his source Shakespeare adds to the poetic drapery of his piece in having Antony give voice to his belief in spontaneous generation in his reference to "the courser's hair,"<sup>39</sup> and to the sun's action on the slime of the Nile,<sup>40</sup> an ancient idea commonly accepted even in Shakespeare's time.<sup>41</sup>

In departing from Plutarch by giving the expression "our slippery people"<sup>42</sup> to Antony, the dramatist may furnish fuel for the fires of the critics but makes no great change from Plutarch, who shows that in times prior to this the Romans had turned away from Antony.<sup>43</sup>

### Scene iii

Plutarch gives us no reason to see Antony as deeply concerned about Cleopatra's feelings as he appears to be in these lines:

I am sorry to give breathing to my purpose,--  
 . . . .  
 Now, My dearest queen,--  
 . . . .  
 The gods best know,--  
 . . . .  
 Most sweet queen,--<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Shakespeare, I, ii, 162-166.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., I, ii, 200.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., I, iii, 68, 69.

<sup>41</sup>George Lyman Kittredge, ed., Sixteen Plays of Shakespeare (Boston, 1946), p. 1364.

<sup>42</sup>Shakespeare, I, ii, 192.

<sup>43</sup>North, p. 324.

<sup>44</sup>Shakespeare, I, iii, 15, 17, 24, 32.

And the Antony of the source did not pledge himself to the queen, upon his departure from Egypt, as he does in Shakespeare, saying, ". . . my full heart / Remains in use with you."<sup>45</sup>

The dramatist's skillful management of events allows Antony to say to his enchanting Cleopatra,

And that which most with you should save my going  
Is Fulvia's death<sup>46</sup>

and permits the queen to lament to Antony,

O most false love!  
Where be the sacred vials that shouldst fill  
With sorrowful water? Now I see, I see,  
In Fulvia's death, how mine received shall be.<sup>47</sup>

Even before he leaves Egypt, Shakespeare's Antony says that he is Cleopatra's slave, remarking that his political and military decisions depend upon her whim; he puts it thus:

I go from hence  
Thy soldier, servant; making peace of war  
As thou affect'st.<sup>48</sup>

Such avowed hinging of his all on her love is not found in the source.

The playwright's Cleopatra is an actress, affecting whatever mood she deems meet for Antony's.<sup>49</sup> And the actor-playwright, departing from his source, makes an opportunity for her to ask Antony to ". . . play one scene / Of excellent dissembling,"<sup>50</sup> as the triumvir is further subjected to taunts unknown to the source and under circumstances alike unknown therein.

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., I, 43, 44.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., I, iii, 55, 56.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., I, iii, 62-65.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., I, iii, 49-51.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., I, iii, 1-5.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., I, iii, 78-79.



To this point Shakespeare has very definitely raised Antony in that he has a deeper love for Cleopatra, and in that he is not a drunken night-prowler.<sup>51</sup> Instead of Antony's beginning "with much a doe, a little to rouse him selfe,"<sup>52</sup> the hero leaves as a "Courteous lord,"<sup>53</sup> honor-bound to go because of the "garboils"<sup>54</sup> his now dead wife raised in Italy, all of which not only elevates Antony but which is also dramatically richer than the source.

Making good dramatic use of the close of this scene, Shakespeare departs from the source to have the pair separate with very warm feelings, she wishing him success and victory,<sup>55</sup> and he saying his whole heart remains with her.<sup>56</sup> Particularly in view of what is to follow in Antony's love-life, the poet adopts these departures for solid dramatic reasons.

#### Scene iv

Adler aptly says that what the poet owes to Plutarch for speech and scenes is far smaller than first glance would indicate.<sup>57</sup>

Every word of this scene is foreign to Plutarch's account. His notices of Antony, embracing the time of the scene, are as follows:

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<sup>51</sup>North, p. 331.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 332.

<sup>53</sup>Shakespeare, I, iii, 86.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., I, iii, 61.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., I, iii, 99-101.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., I, iii, 43, 44.

<sup>57</sup>Adler, p. 264.

Nowe Antonius delighting in these fond  
and childish pastimes, verie ill newes  
were brought him from two places. The  
first from ROME, that his brother  
Lucius, and Fulvia his wife, fell out  
first betweens them selves, and after-  
ward fell to open warre with Caesar,  
and had brought all to nought, that they  
were both driven to flie out of ITALIE . . .  
For When Antonius landed in ITALIE, and  
that men saw Caesar asked nothing of him.<sup>58</sup>

Caesar's remarks to Lepidus, which open the scene, set up much greater conflict than is revealed by Plutarch. That Antony "hardly gave audience"<sup>59</sup> to the messenger is purely Shakespearean, as is the evaluation that the absent triumvir is ". . . the abstract of all faults / That all men follow."<sup>60</sup> The dramatist has Lepidus, the weaker one, taking Antony's side and acting as a sounding board for Caesar (which are foreign to the source), and lending help to the playwright's building up of Antony by saying, "I must not think there are / Evils enow to darken all his goodness."<sup>61</sup> The reader of Plutarch may choose to quarrel with Lepidus on that score, but Shakespeare, in having these two discuss Antony, focuses attention on his hero.

No basis is found in the source for attributing to heredity Antony's character. His own remark concerning Pompey the younger, that "much is in breeding"<sup>62</sup> introduces the idea, which is developed later by Lepidus, as he excuses to Caesar the misconduct of Antony by saying of his faults that

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<sup>58</sup>North, p. 332.

<sup>59</sup>Shakespeare, I, iv, 7.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 9, 10.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 10, 11.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., I, ii, 199.

they are

Hereditary,  
Rather than purchased; what he cannot change,  
Than what he chooses.<sup>63</sup>

It is probable that Caesar kept himself informed, by way of messengers, of Antony's conduct in Alexandria, but Plutarch does not record it. Hence Octavius' awareness of it and comments regarding it constitute additions, and intensify the conflict between the two. Caesar says,

This is the news: he fishes, drinks, and wastes  
The lamps of night in revel; is not more manlike  
Than Cleopatra; nor the queen of Ptolemy  
More womanly than he.<sup>64</sup>

Here is a departure from North: Antony is charged with effeminacy and Cleopatra with masculinity; but this note is not in keeping with the remainder of the play, and perhaps may be seen as Caesar simply saying they were about alike in their choice of activities.

The dramatist brings in extra-source matter in Caesar's speech which begins, "You are too indulgent."<sup>65</sup> He questions whether such conduct is becoming, even to such a man as Antony.<sup>66</sup> He reasons that if he should so act at a time when not needed elsewhere, that would be his business,<sup>67</sup> but now when his partners bear "So great weight in his lightness"<sup>68</sup> such actions are wholly unbecoming. In all this the speaker is probably only

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 13-15.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 4-7.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 16.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 22, 23.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 28.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 18.

giving voice to feeling he and others shared at the time, but the fact that he says them is an addition to Plutarch and helps focus our attention to the differences between the three partners.

Shakespeare has shifted an act of Antony's later life back to this stay in Alexandria in the line: "To give a kingdom for a mirth."<sup>69</sup> The context demands that Octavius does not refer to Antony's allowing his share in the Roman world to slip through his fingers, but rather to some kingdom Antony gives Cleopatra; however, such does not come in the source until much later.<sup>70</sup>

Another departure from Plutarch is the mention of the odor of the lower class of people,<sup>71</sup> a theme later repeated by Cleopatra, with reference to Roman slaves.<sup>72</sup> Stirling comments that Shakespeare alone, among the writers of his time, brings out this idea.<sup>73</sup> Just why he does is not clear.

Craig's note on lines 56-71 shows that he has overlooked some matters. Of the lines he says,

A passage closely following Plutarch  
and serving to improve our opinion of  
him by displaying his romantic virtues.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 18.

<sup>70</sup>North, p. 363.

<sup>71</sup>Shakespeare, I, iv, 21.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., V, II, 209-215.

<sup>73</sup>Brents Stirling, The Populace in Shakespeare (New York, 1949), p. 69.

<sup>74</sup>Craig, p. 1078.

The author of this paper agrees that the introduction of this material from Antony's past may serve to raise one's opinion of him; this would be true even if they were given unchanged, merely because they are here stated by Octavius, Antony's chief rival for power. In the source Caesar does not enumerate these things.

But the dramatist changes this material, further heightening the old soldier's romantic virtues. First, Plutarch does not say that "some did die to look on"<sup>75</sup> the flesh that Antony out of hunger ate. Second, the source does not say of Antony's cheek that it "So much as lank'd not."<sup>76</sup> Third, the source indicates he drank foul water, and Shakespeare parallels this by saying he drank from "the gilded puddle."<sup>77</sup> But he goes much beyond this in a curious, exaggerated way, having Caesar say in *Apostrophe*, ". . . thou didst drink / the stale of horses."<sup>78</sup> Fourth, the young triumvir says Antony was "daintily brought up,"<sup>79</sup> but the source says he plunged into dissipation and drunkenness at an early age.<sup>80</sup>

The dramatist, in ameliorating to daintiness Antony's early years and, in the same speech, exaggerating his hardness regarding food and drink when in dire circumstances, has given us not only great contrast but a changed and greater Antony.

The scene is Shakespeare's creation.

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<sup>75</sup>Shakespeare, I, iv, 68.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., Ibid., I, iv, 71.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 62.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 61, 62.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 60.

<sup>80</sup>North, p. 312.

## Scene v

All in the scene is supplied by Shakespeare. Antony's sobriquet for Cleopatra, "serpent of old Nile,"<sup>81</sup> repeated now by her, together with her recounting for the ears of her ladies and the eunuch their former loves, serves to magnify before our eyes the "demi-atlas of this earth, the arm / And burgonet of men",<sup>82</sup> in his absence from Alexandria.

In the expression "demi-atlas" Cleopatra disregards Lepidus, which she had formerly done by referring to mandates from the "scarce-bearded Caesar."<sup>83</sup> Her disregard is not justified by Plutarch and is another Shakespearean elevation of Antony.

Additions to source material include the messenger, the gift of the pearl, promise of eastern kingdoms, and daily messengers from Cleopatra to Antony.<sup>84</sup> Thus the absent Antony is raised for both the spectator and Cleopatra who wonders aloud thus as to what her lover does:

O Charmian,  
Where think'st thou he is now? Stands he, or sits he?  
Or does he walk? or is he on his horse?<sup>85</sup>

And one's attention is drawn still to him as she praises his disposition, which, according to her, is "well-divided"<sup>86</sup> and a "heavenly mingle."<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Shakespeare, I, v, 25.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., I, v, 23, 24.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., I, i, 21-24.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 35-47.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 18-20.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 53.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 59.



In her famous "salad days" lines, closing the scene,<sup>88</sup> she heatedly discusses the relative merits of Antony and Julius Caesar, with the former faring much the better in the comparison. In this and throughout the scene the project of fixing attention upon Antony and of raising him has been diligently pursued.

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., I, iv, 73-78.

## CHAPTER III

### ACT II

#### Scene 1

"Mark Antony is every hour in Rome / Expected,"<sup>1</sup> announces Varrius, introducing a scene of Shakespeare's invention and intensifying the drama in a telescoping of events. The poet's omission of Antony's voyage toward Phoenicia to attack the Parthians<sup>2</sup> sharpens the friction between him and his partners. And the adding of Pompey's thought that Antony will not leave Egypt to fight him<sup>3</sup> makes for a more dramatic situation.

Having departed from his source in giving Caesar the line, "Antony, / Leave thy lascivious wassails,"<sup>4</sup> the dramatist now gives Pompey comparable lines of apostrophic material;<sup>5</sup> but unlike Caesar, he would keep Antony in Egypt.

Thus introducing these apostrophes by their powerful speakers, Shakespeare magnifies the ambivalence surrounding Antony: Cleopatra's lip is softer; "Epicurean cooks" mix a better "cloyless" sauce<sup>6</sup>; and the stern call of duty is heard more clearly.

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<sup>1</sup>Shakespeare, II, i, 29, 30.

<sup>2</sup>North, p. 332.

<sup>3</sup>Shakespeare, II, i, 11, 12, 32-34.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 56, 57.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., II, i, 20-27.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., passim.

Having already noticed Cleopatra's elevating Antony by slighting Lepidus, one sees here in Pompey's reference to the triumvirs,<sup>7</sup> that he makes Lepidus a heartless giver and receiver of flattery, painting him with more neutral colors than does Plutarch. The dramatic effect elevates Antony and Caesar. And supplying the dialogue between Menas and Pompey prior to the meeting charges the air with drama.

Scene ii

The poet's weakened Lepidus talks with an Enobarbus not of the source. Antony is shown by Shakespeare to make a strong entry, with plans for Parthia if his statesmanship is successful here.<sup>8</sup> This sureness and planning are not in Plutarch's Antony at this point.

The dramatist further leaves his source here. Plutarch says, "Caesar asked nothing of him [Antony],"<sup>9</sup> when he arrived in Italy. But this scene has Caesar blame Antony for the war waged by Fulvia,<sup>10</sup> reprove him for his treatment of his messenger,<sup>11</sup> and then charge Antony thus:

The article of your oath,<sup>12</sup> You have broken  
and he specifies, thus:

To lend me arms and aid when I required them  
The which you both denied.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., II, i, 11-16.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., II, ii, 15.

<sup>9</sup>North, p. 332.

<sup>10</sup>Shakespeare, II, ii, 40-44.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., II, ii, 71-74.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., II, ii, 82, 83.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., II, ii, 88, 89.

The Antony of the source does not tell Caesar that he wishes the latter had such a wife as Fulvia was, so as to know how hard it would be to control her.<sup>14</sup> And Plutarch's Antony did not say he "neglected"<sup>15</sup> to aid Caesar.

Plutarch's Antony is colder, less human, than Shakespeare's with regard to the dead Fulvia. North says that Antony "laid all the fault and burden on his wife Fulvia,"<sup>16</sup> for the wars in which she fought.

Shakespeare modifies this in these lines of Antony:

Truth is, that Fulvia,  
To have me out of Egypt, made wars here;  
For which myself, the ignorant motive, do  
So far ask pardon as befits mine honour  
To stoop in such a case.<sup>17</sup>

The dramatist introduces into the first part of the scene a strained, charged atmosphere, not of the source. This is further developed by having the threat of Pompey introduced before it is in the source, namely, before a settlement between Caesar and Antony; it is to be noted that Enobarbus, who draws a rebuke from Antony for it, mentions Pompey following his master's petition for pardon, but before a reply is made.<sup>18</sup> This is a skillful supercharging of the situation with extra tension, and may be seen as a dramatic additional reason for Antony's marriage with Octavia, since a closer bond between the triumvirs would be desired in the event of war with Pompey.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., II, ii, 61-64.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., II, ii, 89.

<sup>16</sup>North, pp. 332, 333.

<sup>17</sup>Shakespeare, II, ii, 94-98.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., II, ii, 104, 105.

North wrote of this scene:

For when Antonius landed in ITALIE, and that men saw Caesar asked nothing of him, and that Antonius on the other side layed all the fault on his / wife Fulvia: the frendes of both parties would not suffer them to unrippe any olde matters, and to prove or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer of this warre, fearing to make matters worse betwene them: but they made them frendes together.<sup>19</sup>

Contrary to this, it has been noted that old matters are brought up and discussed by the pair, and that Pompey's threat is introduced before they reached an understanding.

The matter in which "fortune offered"<sup>20</sup> occasion, the possible marriage of Octavia and Antony, is not handled by Shakespeare as by Plutarch. In the drama Caesar names Cleopatra immediately after the suggestion is broached.<sup>21</sup> Plutarch tells us of Antony:

For he denied not that he kept Cleopatra, but so did he not confesse that he had her as his wife.<sup>22</sup>

It is reasonable to assume, both from Plutarch and the drama, that the possibility of this bond had been previously discussed in Rome. But Shakespeare minimizes Antony's marriage with Caesar's "sister by the mother's side,"<sup>23</sup> who was not so related according to Plutarch, who says,

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<sup>19</sup>North, pp. 332, 333.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 333.

<sup>21</sup>Shakespeare, II, ii, 122.

<sup>22</sup>North, p. 333.

<sup>23</sup>Shakespeare, II, ii, 120.

<sup>24</sup>North, p. 333.

There was Octavia the eldest sister of Caesar, not by one mother, for she came of Ancharia and Caesar himself afterwards of Accia.<sup>24</sup>

(Craig erroneously says Octavia was "full sister, not half-sister of Octavius.")<sup>25</sup>

Both the dramatist and the source are silent as to whether Antony had previously seen the lady; both extol her beauty, virtue, and graces. But Plutarch presents this politically advantageous marriage with more hope and with that hope entertained perhaps by more people than in the drama. The source says,

Thereupon everie man did set forward this marriage, hoping thereby that this Ladie Octavia, having excellent grace, wisdom, and honestie, joyned unto so rare a beautie, that when she were with Antonius (he loving her as so worthy a Ladie deserveth) she should be a good meane to keepe good love and amitie betwixt her brother and him. So when Caesar had made the matche betwene them, they both went to ROME about their marriage, although it was against the law; that a widow should be married within tenne monethes after her husbandes death. Howbeit the Senate dispensed with the law, and so the mariage proceeded accordingly.<sup>26</sup>

According to Shakespeare, six people are present when the marriage is proposed, and a third of these give the spectator to understand that it will not last: Antony, with Enobarbus absent, in telling Cleopatra his heart remained with her,<sup>27</sup> and Enobarbus in saying Antony would never utterly leave his queen of Ptolemy.<sup>28</sup> And the possibility is not to be overlooked

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<sup>25</sup>Craig, p. 1081.

<sup>26</sup>North, pp. 333, 334.

<sup>27</sup>Shakespeare, I, iii, 104.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., II, ii, 239.



that the Caesar of the play promoted the marriage thinking that Antony would prove unfaithful, thus giving him cause to oppose him in war.

By not having "everie man" hoping the marriage would engage Antony's affections, by leaving out the action of the Senate, Shakespeare compresses the business, presenting it purely as a hurried political seal, with less feeling than the source.

F. J. Furnivall says of Antony,

His seeming impulse towards good in the marriage lasts but for a time; all her nobleness and virtue cannot save him.<sup>29</sup>

Commenting on this, the editors of Poet Lore raise this question:

As his only impulse in making the match was policy could it fairly be called an impulse towards good?<sup>30</sup>

On the basis of Shakespeare's presentation one may lean toward the implied answer to the question.

In the drama Antony mentions his unmarried state,<sup>31</sup> yet nothing is said by any of those present about his love for Cleopatra; but Plutarch remarks here:

For he denied not that he kept Cleopatra, but so did he not confesse that he had her as his wife: and so with reason he did defend the love he bare unto this AEGYPTIAN Cleopatra.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Quoted by Horace Howard Furness, ed., The Tragedie of Antonie, and Cleopatra by William Shakespeare, A New Variorum Edition (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 482.

<sup>30</sup>Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke, eds., Poet Lore XII (Boston, 1900), 101.

<sup>31</sup>Shakespeare, II, ii, 25.

<sup>32</sup>North, p. 333.

In the conversation between Maecenas and Enobarbus changes from Plutarch are evident; they converse thus:

Mec. Eight wild-boars roasted whole at a breakfast and but twelve persons there; is this true?

Eno. This was but as a fly by an eagle; we had much more monstrous matter of feast, which worthily deserved noting.

Mec. She's a most triumphant lady, if report be square to her.<sup>33</sup>

One deviation from the source is that the dramatist leads one to look on this "breakfast" for twelve as a gluttonous feast, but the earlier work clearly indicates that the cook did not know at what hour Antony and his guests would dine, hence had several meals in various stages of preparation, one of which could be served piping hot on short notice.<sup>34</sup>

Shakespeare departs from his prime source in this instance and elsewhere in the play,<sup>35</sup> in his food-sex image, for here Cleopatra, the "she" who is a "most triumphant lady," is here said to be a "more monstrous matter of feast."

J. L. Barroll notes these deviations, saying that gluttony, lechery, and sloth are the cause of Antony's ruin.<sup>36</sup>

The poet's superb description, lifted from the prose of North, is quite close to the source, even in its words, as Forsman points out.<sup>37</sup> Its being placed here gives it dramatic power, too, now that Antony is

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<sup>33</sup>Shakespeare, II, ii, 183-187.

<sup>34</sup>North, p. 332.

<sup>35</sup>Shakespeare, II, ii, 230, 321; vi, 65, 66, 134.

<sup>36</sup>J. L. Barroll, "Antony and Pleasure," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, LVII (1958), 708-720.

<sup>37</sup>John Malcolm Forsman, "Verbal Echoes from North's Plutarch in Shakespeare's Roman Plays" (M. A. thesis, Univ. of Texas, 1934), p. 55.

away from his Cleopatra. All this tends to cast the spell of the Nile and of Cleopatra around the events in Rome, helping lure Antony, not yet married to Octavia, back to his serpent of the Nile.

Enobarbus' prediction that Antony will never give up the queen<sup>38</sup> is not in the source. This all-knowing, other-self of Antony, himself supplied almost totally by Shakespeare, thus adds to the dramatic power of the scene, after Antony has said in his presence that he is not married and is willing to marry Octavia.<sup>39</sup> Through the eyes of Enobarbus we see an Antony that the historical Antony perhaps did not see in himself. And he is changed by almost the same proportions from the pages of Plutarch.

### Scene iii

To borrow Cleopatra's phrase, Antony here plays "one scene of excellent dissembling."<sup>40</sup> Shakespeare adds the dialogue and perhaps shows the spectator that Octavia believes him sincere, so promising are these words:

Read not my blemishes in the world's report:  
I have not kept my square; but, that to come  
Shall all be done by the rule.<sup>41</sup>

But as Adler says, Shakespeare has an altered Antony, who performs a pale act of political courtesy in the union.<sup>42</sup> He is using his "rule" and "square" to build a situation to house his ambitions, as he later tells

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<sup>38</sup>Shakespeare, II, ii, 245.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., II, 125, 146-148.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 78, 79.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., II, iii, 5-7.

<sup>42</sup>Adler, p. 268.

the spectator:

I will to Egypt:  
And though I make this marriage for my peace,  
I' the East my pleasure lies.<sup>43</sup>

This is Shakespeare's addition; the source has no counterpart for it. But the dramatist not only magnifies the attractions of Egypt for Antony, he also shows contrast by building up the marriage of Antony and Octavia, at least in Antony's promises, even if in other ways it is played down in the drama.

By merely adding adjectives Shakespeare heightens the contrast between Antony's feelings when with Caesar and when away from him, in the soothsayer's words:

Thy demon, that's thy spirit which keeps thee, is  
Noble, courageous, high, unmatchable,  
Where Caesar is not; but, near him, thy angel  
Becomes a fear, as being o'erpower'd.<sup>44</sup>

Through repetition the dramatist emphasizes the matter thus:

I say again, thy spirit  
Is all afraid to govern thee near him;  
But he away, 'tis noble.<sup>45</sup>

The source has this:

For they Demon, said he, (that is to say, the  
good angell and spirit that kepeth thee) is  
affraide of his: and being coragious and high  
when he is alone, becometh fearful and timerous  
when he commeth neere unto the other.<sup>46</sup>

In the source the episode involving the Egyptian soothsayer comes

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<sup>43</sup>Shakespeare, II, iii, 38-40.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., II, iii, 19-22.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., II, iii, 28-30.

<sup>46</sup>North, p. 335.

quite a bit later, after the feast aboard Pompey's galley, after Ventidius is sent to Asia, and during Antony's priesthood for the dead Julius Caesar.<sup>47</sup> By moving this forward to a point before the dispatching of Ventidius,<sup>48</sup> and before the feast,<sup>49</sup> the dramatist emphasizes the tension between the "good angel" of Antony and that of Caesar. He deviates from his source, further building tension between them by omitting Antony's serving as priest and by failing to include that Antony and Octavius,

joyntly together despatched all great  
matters, concerning the state of the  
Empire.<sup>50</sup>

And the poet does not show Antony's stay of several months in Rome, while apparently somewhat contentedly married to Octavia, during which stay she gave birth to a daughter by him.<sup>51</sup>

Shakespeare changes Antony's advice from the soothsayer, injecting the word "Egypt," and having it repeated, thus:

Ant. Now, sirrah; you do wish yourself in Egypt?

Sooth. Would I had never come from thence, nor you  
thither!

Ant. If you can, your reason?

Sooth. I see it in  
My motion, have it not in my tongue: but yet  
Hie you to Egypt again.<sup>52</sup>

The source has this:

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Shakespeare, II, iii, 40-42.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., II, vii.

<sup>50</sup>North, p. 335.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 336.

<sup>52</sup>Shakespeare, II, iii, 10-16.

. . . therefore he counselled him utterly to leave his [Caesar's] company, and to get him as farre from him as he could.<sup>53</sup>

Shortly after the departure of the soothsayer, in the drama, Antony says,

I will to Egypt  
I' the east my pleasure lies.<sup>54</sup>

The Antony of the earlier work says no such thing. In his emphasis on Egypt in the play, Shakespeare uses the word "Egypt" forty-four times, and "Egyptian" eleven times.<sup>55</sup>

Scene iv

Scene v

By casting Cleopatra as the bantering, sex-centered woman, who enters into and even surpasses<sup>56</sup> such bawdiness as is found in Act I, Scene i, the dramatist changes her greatly from the intellectual speaker of several languages found in his source. There she is bewitching, but not in the sex-glamorous way.<sup>57</sup>

Of course in thus changing her, he changes, in kind and in degree, her lover; in the drama he is intoxicated by the licentious, earthy charm of this serpent of the Nile.

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<sup>53</sup>North, p. 335.

<sup>54</sup>Shakespeare, II, iii, 38-40.

<sup>55</sup>John Bartlett, A New and Complete Concordance in the Dramatic Works of Shakespeare (London, 1913), p. 426.

<sup>56</sup>Shakespeare, II, v, 5, 6, 24, 25.

<sup>57</sup>North, p. 338.



As has already been pointed out, Shakespeare departs from the earlier work in showing Antony effeminate; he further develops this note in the present scene.<sup>58</sup>

Dramatizing here, the author has the messenger announce concerning Antony, "Caesar and he are greater friends than ever,"<sup>59</sup> which is not told us by Plutarch. He thus sets up a "calm before the storm." He departs from source material and creates contrast here by having Cleopatra twice use the term "free" concerning Antony, only to be told he is "bound" unto Octavia.<sup>60</sup>

The violent, wild jealousy that causes Cleopatra's outburst and her striking the messenger is supplied by Shakespeare. Thus is his Antony loved by this Cleopatra.

#### Scene vi

In both the drama and its source Pompey is a formidable foe, but the dramatist gives him stronger personal feelings. Pompey speaks out twice regarding the triumvir's possession of the elder Pompey's house,<sup>61</sup> where- as the source has this one, indirect reference to this point:

Whereupon Antonius asked him: and where shall we  
sup? There, said Pompey, and shewed him his  
admirall galley which had sixe banks of owers:  
That (said he) is my father's house they have  
left me. He spake it to taunt Antonius, because  
he had his fathers house, that was Pompey the great.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Shakespeare, II, v, 22.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., II, v, 48.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., II, v, 38, 56, 58.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., II, vi, 27; vii, 135.

<sup>62</sup>North, p. 334.

Pompey said this after the treaty was made, and after it had been determined that he would give the first feast,<sup>63</sup> but in the drama he speaks much more sharply before either of these, thus:

Thou dost o'er-count me of my father's house:  
But since the cuckoo builds not for himself,  
Remain in't as thou mayst.<sup>64</sup>

And the speaker's boldness is increased by Shakespeare, who departs from Plutarch in having him ask for a written and sealed agreement.<sup>65</sup> As this foe of Antony is strengthened through dramatic departures from the source, so also is Antony, who is at the same time made more human in this scene than the source warrants. He overlooks the barbs about the house he acquired, thanks Pompey with "liberal thanks"<sup>66</sup> for caring for his mother, and offers to give the first feast.<sup>67</sup>

Of these events Adler fitly says that out of dry reports in Plutarch Shakespeare has created a lusty scene.<sup>68</sup>

By now the playwright has foretold that Antony will return to Cleopatra, that his being married to Octavia will not prevent this, and as a result, "the sighs of Octavia" will then increase Caesar's enmity for Antony.<sup>69</sup>

The main departure from the source here is that Antony is shown during

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Shakespeare, II, vi, 27-29.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., II, vi, 59, 60.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., II, vi, 48.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., II, vi, 62.

<sup>68</sup>Adler, p. 270.

<sup>69</sup>Shakespeare, II, vi, 133-139.

this time to have a stronger affection for Cleopatra. The source does not justify Shakespeare's having Antony speak no more during the scene, after Cleopatra is referred to by Pompey and Enobarbus.<sup>70</sup>

Scene vii

In the earlier work Lepidus is not said to have attended Pompey's feast. It reads thus:

So they all three met together by the  
mount of Misena, upon a hill that run-  
neth farre into the sea: Pompey having  
his shippes ryding hard by at anchor,  
and Antonius and Caesar their armies  
upon the shoare side, directly over  
against him.<sup>71</sup>

Shakespeare has Enobarbus say,

I do perceive  
four feasts are toward.<sup>72</sup>

But the source, having told of the first feast, on Pompey's vessel, reads:

The other two also did likewise feast  
him in their campe, and then he re-  
turned into SICILE.<sup>73</sup>

By bringing in this weak triumvir, and by departing further from Plutarch in charging the atmosphere of the feast with political tension,<sup>74</sup> as Lepidus cries "No more,"<sup>75</sup> the dramatist has opportunity to show who are the real contenders for sole Roman power. The dialogue of the two

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<sup>70</sup>Ibid., II, vi, 65-71.

<sup>71</sup>North, p. 334.

<sup>72</sup>Shakespeare, II, vi, 74, 75.

<sup>73</sup>North, p. 335.

<sup>74</sup>Shakespeare, II, vii, 5, 6.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid.

servants<sup>76</sup> helps present a brooding, malcontent, explosive situation. And Lepidus, not the heaviest drinker of the three in the source, is given this weakness, thus further magnifying the other two.

The playwright's departure from Plutarch in having Antony discourse on the flooding of the Nile, on Egyptian methods of farming, and on the theory of spontaneous generation,<sup>77</sup> may be looked on as normal expansion. His presenting Antony behaving as host, saying, "Strike the vessel, ho!"<sup>78</sup> as well as his dancing, may be simple adornment, too; all at the feast are now more or less in their cups.

But Plutarch says of this occasion.

Now in the midst of the feast, when they  
fell to be merie with Antonius love unto  
Cleopatra . . .<sup>79</sup>

But the dramatist leaves such jesting out of this scene. He has shown Cleopatra, the serving girls, Alexas, and Mardian, the eunuch, quite sensual in speech,<sup>80</sup> but has elevated Antony above such, never presenting him as entering into such jests with anybody, even here in near drunkenness. Antony is portrayed here, in another departure from Plutarch, as contributing to the spectator seeing Caesar as superior, by saying "sir"<sup>81</sup> to him.

With Lepidus by now drunk, Shakespeare uses this scene to bring into the play for the first time the word "emperor," as Enobarbus so addresses

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<sup>76</sup>Ibid., II, vii, 1-17.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., II, vii, 20-32.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., II, vii, 102.

<sup>79</sup>North, p. 334.

<sup>80</sup>Shakespeare, I, ii, 24-82; v, 9, 10, 21-23; II, 5, 24.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., II, vii, 169.

Antony.<sup>82</sup> In each of the eight subsequent times the term appears in the drama, it is used for him,<sup>83</sup> with the exception of the last occurrence, when, after Antony's death, it applies to Caesar.<sup>84</sup> This exclusive use, during Antony's life, is a departure from the source and an elevation of Antony.

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., II, vii, 109.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., III, vii, 21, 62; IV, vi, 28; vii, 4; xiv, 90, 129; V, ii, 76.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 112.

CHAPTER IV

ACT III

Scene i

Shakespeare moves forward Ventidius' success against the Parthians, as he employs compression for dramatic effect; the source shows Antony receiving word of these successes after he leaves Rome, wintering in Athens with Octavia and their child.<sup>1</sup> A notable omission in the drama is that of Antony sending word to Ventidius to make no terms with Antiochus, and thereby suffering "great shame."<sup>2</sup>

The source shows nobody predicting special honors for the victorious Ventidius, as does Shakespeare,<sup>3</sup> but does state that Antony honored him, and that he was given a triumph in Rome.<sup>4</sup> By calling attention beforehand to this honor for the soldier, the dramatist keeps the "grand captain Antony"<sup>5</sup> ever before the spectator, and by leaving out the actual triumph of Ventidius he enhances this more, as he also does by omitting Antony's shameful loss in Asia, respecting Antiochus.

Shakespeare omits also Antony's feasting all Athens in celebration of the Asiatic victory of Ventidius, during which Antony was the long-gowned

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<sup>1</sup>North, p. 337.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Shakespeare, III, i, 9-11.

<sup>4</sup>North, p. 337.

<sup>5</sup>Shakespeare, III, i, 9.

judge for the Athenians' games, and "stickler to part the young men" as they fought.<sup>6</sup> To have included this might have shown Antony more joyful apart from Cleopatra, and for a longer time, than Shakespeare desired.

Departure from the source is evident in reporting Antony's successes in absentia by Ventidius thus:

Caesar and Antony have ever won  
More in their officer than person:<sup>7</sup>

The earlier work simply says the victories of the officer confirmed "that which was spoken"<sup>8</sup> of Antony and Caesar. Shakespeare softens this in favor of Antony in having it as a statement by an officer and not as a matter of common knowledge.

No known source supplied Shakespeare with the information given by Ventidius regarding Antony's treatment of Sossius.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the dramatist invents this as a reason for Ventidius' unwillingness to pursue his victory further.<sup>10</sup> The work of Plutarch says simply that he so refused, "fearing lest he should have gotten Antonius' displeasure by it."<sup>11</sup> But Shakespeare has him expand this into a philosophy, has Silius recognize the excellent judgment of the man,<sup>12</sup> and raises Antony by raising his great soldier.

Shakespeare's compression here finds Ventidius, having completed his campaign in Parthia, enroute to Athens where Antony intends to come. To

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<sup>6</sup>North, p. 337.

<sup>7</sup>Shakespeare, III, i, 16, 17.

<sup>8</sup>North, p. 337.

<sup>9</sup>Shakespeare, III, i, 17-20.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., III, i, 13.

<sup>11</sup>North, p. 337.

<sup>12</sup>Shakespeare, III, i, 13-29.



raise his hero, the dramatist elects to omit source information that Antony had suffered loss while he himself was in Asia, prior to Ventidius' triumphant return to Athens.<sup>13</sup>

Scene ii

Opening only a short time after Pompey's feast, this scene continues to show Lepidus as most weak; even the lesser characters, Enobarbus and Agrippa, jest about his flattering and feeble attempts to draw Caesar and Antony together.<sup>14</sup> The drama shows a greater need for such effort, and departs from the source also in presenting it.

The following is a strong appeal by Caesar:

Most noble Antony,  
Let not the piece of virtue, which is set  
Betwixt us as the cement of our love,  
To keep it builded, be the ram to batter  
The fortress of it; for better might we  
Have loved without this mean, if on both parts  
This be not cherish'd.<sup>15</sup>

No such highly dramatic appeal is found in the source, and no such reply is made there by an Antony who in the drama has already said, "I will to Egypt,"<sup>16</sup> as is next heard in the play:

You shall not find,  
Though you be therein curious, the least cause  
For what you seem to fear<sup>17</sup>

This seeming fear of Caesar is developed by Shakespeare's handling of source material; and Antony's good wishes to Caesar upon parting from

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<sup>13</sup>North, p. 337.

<sup>14</sup>Shakespeare, III, ii, 1-20.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., III, ii, 27-33.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., II, iii, 38.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., III, ii, 35-37.

him<sup>18</sup> have only the meager statement: "he recommended the affaires of his house unto Caesar, and went out of ITALIE,"<sup>19</sup> as a source.

No basis in North is found for Antony's weeping at the deaths of Julius Caesar and of Brutus.<sup>20</sup> This is the dramatist's making him more tender-hearted.

Antony's remarks and accompanying implied actions with reference to Octavia's filial love versus conjugal love<sup>21</sup> are supplied by Shakespeare, and serve to spotlight the contest between the two men. One of the several facets of the contest, that of which of the two Octavia will love more, is made to shine brilliantly as the dramatist, departing again from the source, portrays her as weeping, and Octavius as about to do likewise.<sup>22</sup>

Thus Antony is strongly pitted against Caesar, is made more tender, and is generally raised in the scene.

#### Scene iii

Plutarch gives no indication that Cleopatra ever said she desired Antony to behead Herod, although by looking elsewhere we find evidence that she attempted to seduce the latter and thus give Antony cause to desire his death.<sup>23</sup> But this came later in Antony's career, when Cleo-

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>North, p. 337.

<sup>20</sup>Shakespeare, III, ii, 54-56.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., III, ii, 61-64.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., III, ii, 3, 43, 44, 51.

<sup>23</sup>Flavius Josephus, The Works of Josephus, translated by William Whiston (Cincinnati, 1844), pp. 306, 307.

patra accompanied him in Asia,<sup>24</sup> all of which Shakespeare omits. Her desire to have Herod's head may have Biblical overtones,<sup>25</sup> but if so it is anachronistic here. The expression "Herod of Jewry"<sup>26</sup> is not in Plutarch, and perhaps refers to a figure common to mystery plays of Shakespeare's day. There are perhaps Biblical overtones concerning even the birth of Christ, the Magi, and another Herod earlier in the play.<sup>27</sup>

In this scene we see Cleopatra's jealousy, her strong love for Antony, and her belief that she can still command Antony, even to behead Herod,<sup>28</sup> all of which is supplied by the dramatist.

#### Scene iv

Freely omitting much movement about the Mediterranean world by Antony, Octavia, Cleopatra, and others,<sup>29</sup> the dramatist hastens his hero to his double doom: Cleopatra and the battle of Actium. Intensifying the conflict between Antony and Octavius, Shakespeare adds the public reading of Octavius' will and his speaking "scantly" of Antony, and when forced to praise him did so but "cold and sickly."<sup>30</sup>

The dramatist does not include Octavius' reading of Antonius' will to

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Cf. Matt. 14:8.

<sup>26</sup>Shakespeare, III, iii, 4.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., I, ii, 25-28.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., III, iii, 5, 6.

<sup>29</sup>North, pp. 336-351.

<sup>30</sup>Shakespeare, III, iv, 4-8.

the Senate.<sup>31</sup> Had he done so it is likely that he would not have chosen at this point to reveal Antony's desire, expressed therein, that his body be sent to Cleopatra at Alexandria,<sup>32</sup> as such information would fit dramatic purposes later on.

Shakespeare effectively shows the hopeless position of Octavia between her brother and husband, but departs from Plutarch by not giving us the information that she had helped keep peace between them for a few years. She had effected a harmonious settlement between them on a trip to Italy<sup>33</sup> with Antony, which is omitted by Shakespeare. Rather than allow time for a cooling-off period for the two powerful rivals, the dramatist rushes them along toward Actium.

The source for Octavia's two speeches in the scene is a speech she made in the source to both Antony and Caesar in Italy on the trip not mentioned in the play.<sup>34</sup> By moving the words to this spot shortly before Actium the dramatist increases the tempo of affairs and emphasizes tensions between the chief triumvirs.

Through compression and alteration, as previously shown, Shakespeare has his readers think very lightly of the marriage of Antony and Octavia. Gentility and courtesy are shown her by him, but little more.<sup>35</sup> In the drama no mention is made of their having any children, but we learn from the source concerning the aforementioned trip they made to Italy from Athens,

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<sup>31</sup>North, p. 368.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., pp. 338, 339.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 338.

<sup>35</sup>Shakespeare, II, iii, 1-8; III, iv, 20-28.

that:

Octavia at that time was great with child, and moreover had a second daughter by him.<sup>36</sup>

The source may lead one to think perhaps Antony developed a stronger affection for this beautiful and dutiful genteel woman during his years with her before he again saw Cleopatra.

In Shakespeare we have no reawakening of Antony's passion for the Egyptian queen as there is in the source. We read there:

Then beganne this pestilent plague and mischiefe of Cleopatraes love (which had slept a long time, and seemed to have been utterly forgotten, and that Antonius had given place to better counsell) againe to kindle, and to be in force, so soone as Antonius came near unto SYRIA.<sup>37</sup>

The dramatist never lets the passion cool enough to need rekindling.

Omissions of source material from the drama include the dreary Parthian campaign personally waged by Antony,<sup>38</sup> the reasoning of Antony that he, like his ancestor Hercules, should gender offspring in more than one womb,<sup>39</sup> and his love-sickness for Cleopatra as he awaited her coming to Syria.<sup>40</sup> Antony is improved by all three omissions, since he used poor judgment and had to make a prolonged retreat in the first; the inclusion of the second would have presented a darker character; to have mentioned the third would have presented him as much weaker.

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<sup>36</sup>North, p. 338.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 339.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., pp. 339-359.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 340.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 360.

## Scene v

Employing compression, Shakespeare omits the preparations at Ephesus for war and Antony's playful mood exemplified by his going to Samos, and his exaggerated generosity in giving Priene to his players as their home.<sup>41</sup> The omissions show Antony much more driving in his martial preparations than does Plutarch.

Antony's reported muttered threat against his officer who murdered Pompey<sup>42</sup> is perhaps based on inaccuracy, since a work on the life of Augustus appended to North's Plutarch says Pompey was killed "by Antonius Commandment."<sup>43</sup>

## Scene vi

With Octavia not yet arrived in Rome from Athens, even though Caesar has swift messenger service, he tells more here than he could have known. This dramatic change spotlights the friction between Caesar and Antony. The dramatist again, as he has done in I, iv, and II, ii, departs from his source to put into Caesar's mouth loud complaints against Antony's conduct. Thus the actions of the latter are more greatly emphasized by the playwright.

Plutarch is not fully followed by Shakespeare in lines 1-11; hence Adler incorrectly says that Shakespeare is borrowing verbatim from Plutarch the division of the land.<sup>44</sup> The play informs us that "the stab-

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 213.

<sup>42</sup>Shakespeare, III, v, 19, 20.

<sup>43</sup>Quoted by Kittredge, p. 1381.

<sup>44</sup>Adler, p. 374.

lishment of Egypt" was given to Cleopatra.<sup>45</sup> North reads thus: "And at the same time Caesarion [was made] king of the same Realms."<sup>46</sup> We are told by Shakespeare that Parthia is an outright gift to Alexander,<sup>47</sup> but the source indicates that Antony promised to give it to him "when he had conquered the country."<sup>48</sup> By slighting Caesarion, son of Julius Caesar and Cleopatra, the queen is given more by Antony, both of whom are thus raised. And Antony is seen to possess Parthia, which was not yet conquered, according to Plutarch.

The dramatist departs from the source by failing to deify Cleopatra and Antony. He writes of Cleopatra:

. . . she  
 In the habiliments of the goddess Isis  
 That day appear'd; and oft before gave audience,  
 As 'tis reported, so.<sup>49</sup>

But although she dresses as Isis and her women call her by the name,<sup>50</sup> she does not in the drama give audience to her subject as "a new Isis," as the source has it.<sup>52</sup> Antony, in Plutarch, claims descent from Hercules, but in the play is silent on this claim. Shakespeare makes the pair great, as human beings; they are greater as such than if they had in the drama assumed divinity.

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<sup>45</sup>Shakespeare, III, vi, 8, 9.

<sup>46</sup>North, p. 363.

<sup>47</sup>Shakespeare, III, vi, 14, 15.

<sup>48</sup>North, p. 363.

<sup>49</sup>Shakespeare, III, vi, 16-19.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., I, ii, 66, 70, 77.

<sup>51</sup>North, p. 364.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 340.



Without character change to Antony, yet hastening on toward the inevitable clash between him and Caesar, the dramatist apparently presents Octavia's unheralded appearance in Italy as her first since leaving for Athens with Antony. In Plutarch they returned there together on at least one previous occasion.<sup>53</sup> That account tells also of a trip she made to Athens while Antony was in Asia with Cleopatra.<sup>54</sup>

Shakespeare departs from his source and creates dramatic effect by having Caesar surprise Octavia with the news that Antony is in Alexandria preparing for war.

The dramatist apparently clearly desires to show Antony mistreating Octavia by his returning to Cleopatra, and shifts source material to do so. The earlier work said of Caesar:

. . . for that he might have an honest culler to  
make warre with Antonius if he did misuse her,  
and not esteem of her as she ought to be.<sup>55</sup>

Plutarch wrote this concerning Caesar's sending Octavia to Athens, and since Shakespeare omits the trip he includes comparable matter in this scene; Octavius sees his sister as "most wronged,"<sup>56</sup> not only by Antony's leaving her, but also in her self-chosen, unheralded appearance in Italy, which is foreign to the source. No basis in Plutarch is seen for Antony's giving Octavia leave to go from him in Athens to Caesar, nor for the latter's comment on this point:

Which soon he granted  
Being an obstruct 'tween his lust and him.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 338.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 361.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>Shakespeare, III, vi, 65.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., III, vi, 60, 61.

Shakespeare has present with Antony, according to Caesar, five more kings than the source shows. Caesar's report tells us Antony "hath assembled" the list of kings,<sup>58</sup> whereas in the case of five of these in the list they only "sent their armies"<sup>59</sup> according to the earlier work. Greater dignity is thus given Antony by Shakespeare.

The source informs us that the Romans pitied Antony:

The ROMANES did pitie her [Octavia], but much more Antonius, and those specially that had seene Cleopatra.<sup>60</sup>

But Shakespeare's Antony is here presented as without pity from his countrymen; Octavia alone is pitied. In the drama Maecenas tells Octavia,

Each heart in Rome does love and pity you:  
Only the adulterous Antony, most large  
In his abominations, turns you off;  
And gives his potent regiment to a trull,  
That noises it against us.<sup>61</sup>

Further change from the source is this man saying such things of Antony. The tension between Rome and Alexandria is thus increased.

Shakespeare does not include Octavia's plea for Caesar to make no war with Antony, or Caesar's commanding Octavia to get out of Antony's house in Rome and her refusal to obey.<sup>62</sup> Plutarch recorded the latter as follows:

For she kept still in Antonius house,  
as if he had been there, and very  
honorably and honestly kept his children,  
not those onely she had by him, but the  
other which her husband had by Fulvia.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., III, vi, 68.

<sup>59</sup>North, p. 371.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 367.

<sup>61</sup>Shakespeare, III, vi, 92-96.

<sup>62</sup>North, p. 362.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 363.

The honorable wife of Antony did, however, leave the house when commanded by Antony to do so.<sup>64</sup>

In Plutarch Caesar is seen as weaker and Octavia stronger in her refusal to obey him. The last quotation shows her kind and magnanimous. In his omission of these Shakespeare lessens this great lady deserted by Antony, who in Plutarch by contrast is seen as meaner and sorrier in his actions. And the dramatist refuses these colors in his better portrait of Mark Antony.

#### Scene vii

Shakespeare omits Cleopatra's being in Ephesus with Antony while preparations are made for the war with Caesar and her being commanded to return to Alexandria. The latter is recorded thus in Plutarch:

So Antonius, through the persuasions of Domitius, commanded Cleopatra to returne againe into AEGYPT, and there to understand the successe of this warre.<sup>65</sup>

But in the drama Antony, ever more enslaved to Cleopatra than in Plutarch, gives no such command. In the matter of the charge that lesser persons manage the war, Shakespeare has Enobarbus to say that such things were "said in Rome."<sup>66</sup> Since the source says "Caesar sayde"<sup>67</sup> them, it seems Shakespeare has nodded here; dramatic conflict would be sharper here if he also had put this into Caesar's mouth.

In this scene Enobarbus uses for the second time -- and at this time he is sober -- the term "emperor" for Antony,<sup>68</sup> which appears again in the

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 367.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 365.

<sup>66</sup>Shakespeare, III, vii, 14.

<sup>67</sup>North, p. 366.

<sup>68</sup>Shakespeare, III, vii, 21.

scene for him;<sup>69</sup> and these are departures from the source. Antony and Cleopatra are not seen in conflict here, as in the source;<sup>70</sup> it is Enobarbus whom Shakespeare presents as opposing the presence of Cleopatra in the battle.<sup>71</sup> North translates an item in Plutarch, left out by Shakespeare, as follows:

[Caesar] made the people to abolishe the power and Empire of Antonius, because he had before given it uppe unto a woman.<sup>72</sup>

In these variants Shakespeare elevates Antony for his spectators just prior to Actium.

The dramatist follows his predecessor<sup>73</sup> in attributing the outcome of the coming war, at least in Caesar's eyes, to predestination.<sup>74</sup> Shakespeare does not mention the "many signes and wonders" Plutarch lists prior to Actium,<sup>75</sup> perhaps electing to postpone the mention of such things to a time just before Antony's death, for dramatic reasons.

Departing from Plutarch, the playwright has Cleopatra gently chide Antony for his lack of celerity in the war, as he comments on Caesar's rapid crossing of the Ionian Sea; she says,

Celerity is never more admired  
Than by the negligent.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., III, vii, 80.

<sup>70</sup>North, p. 366.

<sup>71</sup>Shakespeare, III, vii, 3, 4.

<sup>72</sup>North, p. 370.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 365.

<sup>74</sup>Shakespeare, III, vii, 84, 85.

<sup>75</sup>North, p. 370.

<sup>76</sup>Shakespeare, III, vii, 26, 27.

This is a greatly ameliorated borrowing apparently from this account in Plutarch:

Hereuppon, there rose a wonderfull exclamation and great uprore all ITALY over: so that among the greatest faults that ever Antonius committed, they blamed him most, for that he delayed to give Caesar battell.<sup>77</sup>

Furthermore, the dramatist does not include information found in Plutarch that Antony's friends in Italy sent Geminus to him to exhort him not to be negligent, and that at table with Antony and Cleopatra he said he would disclose his message on condition the queen would be sent home.<sup>78</sup> It is probable that Plutarch's description of unrest in Italy, resulting from a heavy war tax by Caesar,<sup>79</sup> shows that Antony missed an opportunity to go there and overthrow him. Shakespeare follows his main thrust of hastening us on to Actium, and in all these departures minimizes Antony's faults.

Plutarch's account of the dares Antony gives Caesar is followed in the drama,<sup>80</sup> but not this proposal:

Caesar sent unto Antonius, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his army into ITALY: and that for his owne part he would give him safe harbor, to lande without trouble, and that he would withdraw his armie from the sea, as farre as one horse could runne, until he had put his army a shore, and had lodged his men.<sup>81</sup>

Shakespeare shows Antony in better light by this omission.

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<sup>77</sup>North, p. 367.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 369.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 369.

<sup>80</sup>Shakespeare, III, vii, 31-35.

<sup>81</sup>North, p. 372.

The play does not mention the desertion of any of Antony's forces prior to Actium, although Plutarch tells us two kings, Amyntas and Deiotarus, did so.<sup>82</sup> Shakespeare's Antony is thus seen as better prepared for the fray. Also omitted, and for dramatic purposes, is the desertion of Domitius and of Antony's subsequent actions. Plutarch says:

Furthermore, he [Antony] delt very friendly and curteously with Domitius, and against Cleopatraes mynde. For, he being sicke of an agewe when he went and tooke a litle boate to goe to Caesars campe, Antonius was very sorry for it, but yet he sent after him all his caryage, trayne, and men: and the same Domitius, as though he gave him to understand that he repented his open treason, he died immediately after.<sup>83</sup>

To have shown these major desertions just before the ill-fated battle of Actium would not have served the dramatic purpose of Shakespeare. In the case of Domitius Enobarbus, the second self of Antony, the drama is enhanced by his being kept with his master much longer, until his master's fortunes are much darker.

Antony's addressing Cleopatra as "my Thetis"<sup>84</sup> as they go into the sea battle is a departure from Plutarch. Perhaps the dramatist sees his hero thinking of her as a sea goddess who may give him victory at sea, even though he is going against all reason and good advice by not fighting on land.

Scene viii

Scene ix

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., p. 373.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid.

<sup>84</sup>Shakespeare, III, vii, 61.

## Scene x

Scarus evaluates the advantages in the sea fight thus:

--i' the midst o' the fight,  
 When vantage like a pair of twins appear'd,  
 Both as the same, or rather ours the elder,  
 The breese upon her /Cleopatra/, like a cow in June,  
 Hoists sails and flies.<sup>85</sup>

Plutarch says:

Howbeit the battel was yet of even hand,  
 & the victorie doubtfull, being indifferent  
 to both: when sodainely they saw the three  
 score shippes of Cleopatra busie about their  
 yard masts, and hoysing saile to flie.<sup>86</sup>

A departure here is that the drama gives Antony's side a slight advantage, as the elder of twins. This shows Antony "glued unto"<sup>87</sup> Cleopatra even more than does the source.

Shakespeare's treatment of this serves to create a big question mark in the reader's mind as to whether Cleopatra fled out of fear, or whether she had planned to flee and cause Antony to lose. Such may be his purpose; it is good drama. The question mark is not so large, however, upon reading the source, which explains:

Cleopatra forced him to put all to the hazard of battell by sea: considering with her selfe how she might flie; and provide for her safetie, not to helpe him to winne the victory, but to flie more easily after the battel lost.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>Ibid., III, x, 11-15.

<sup>86</sup>North, p. 337.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., p. 374.



According to Plutarch only two kings had deserted Antony at this point,<sup>89</sup> but in the drama Canidius says,

To Caesar will I render  
My legions and my horse: six kings already  
Show me the way of yielding.<sup>90</sup>

And the source says Canidius' forces remained together seven days before their general fled.<sup>91</sup> Hence, in the desertion of several kings and that of Canidius, immediately after the flight of Antony and Cleopatra, Shakespeare departs from his source and shows Antony's military strength at this point to be considerably more limited.

#### Scene xi

Prior to the opening of this scene, Antony, according to Plutarch, had acted in a most dejected way aboard the Antoniad, in flight with Cleopatra, sitting alone and brooding for three days, either in anger with her or wishing not to upbraid her. The two were persuaded, as they remained at Taenarus, to eat and lie together. It was here and not later, as Shakespeare has it,<sup>92</sup> that he tried to give a merchant ship laden with riches to some of his friends, who refused his kindness. After they came into Africa, Cleopatra was sent from Paraetonium into Egypt, while Antony remained behind in almost complete solitude, roaming about with only two friends. While here he learned his African commander had taken his forces to Caesar; he resolved to kill himself, but was dissuaded by friends.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 373.

<sup>90</sup>Shakespeare, III, x, 33-35.

<sup>91</sup>North, p. 380.

<sup>92</sup>Shakespeare, III, xi, 4-24.

<sup>93</sup>North, pp. 378-381.

Coming into Egypt he built a solitary house on a mole he built in the water near Pharos, and lived in seclusion, saying he desired nothing but to live like Timon of Athens.<sup>94</sup> While he was here we are told by Plutarch:

Canidius him selfe came to bring him  
newes, that he had lost all his armie  
by land at ACTIUM.<sup>95</sup>

Of Antony's long periods of dejection and misanthropic behavior, Shakespeare has nothing, thus presenting a better, higher Antony. However, the dramatist seems to follow his source in giving his hero lines that probably were intended to convey suicidal purposes.<sup>96</sup> Although in historical elapsed time, Antony's reconciliation with Cleopatra is postponed, it is not in the drama, since so many events are left out.

Concerning Antony's actions at Actium, Plutarch says,

There Antonius shewed plainly, that he had not onely lost the corage and hart of an Emperor, but also of a valliant man, and that he was not his owne man: (proving that true which an old man spake in myrth, that the soule of a lover lived in another body, and not in his owne) he was so carried away with the vaine love of this woman, as if he had been glued unto her, and that she could not be removed without moving him also.<sup>97</sup>

Shakespeare does not depart from the sense of this, having Antony speak similar words to Cleopatra, but Plutarch's narrative becomes Antony's confession to Cleopatra in the drama. Thus the play shows an Antony even more enslaved by Cleopatra and a follower of her every move.

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<sup>94</sup>Ibid., pp. 381-382.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 382.

<sup>96</sup>Shakespeare, III, xi, 9, 10.

<sup>97</sup>North, p. 337.

Of Octavius, Antony says,

He alone  
Dealt on lieutenantry, and no practice had  
In the brave squares of war.<sup>98</sup>

But Plutarch says, with regard to this, that Ventidius:

. . . confirmed that which was spoken  
of Antonius and Caesar: to wit  
that they were alway more fortunate  
when they made warre by their Lieuten-  
ants, then by them selves.<sup>99</sup>

So, Antony "dealt on lieutenantry" too, and Shakespeare makes greater contrast between him and Caesar, in this speech by Antony, than does the source. Greater dramatic effect is achieved, for Antony's loss seems greater.

The dramatist does not portray the apparently carefree attitude and actions of Antony, immediately upon his arrival in Alexandria. Plutarch records it thus:

Thereupon he left his solitarie house he had  
built in the sea which he called Timoneum, &  
Cleopatra received him into her royall pallace.  
He was no sooner comen thither, but he straight  
set all the city of rioting and banketing againe,  
and him selfe, to liberalitie and giftes.<sup>100</sup>

Shakespeare shows Antony dejected in Alexandria at first -- the dramatist's compression practically demands this -- then reconciled to Cleopatra. His handling of the reconciliation, as Adler says, puts Antony's passion for Cleopatra in the brightest light.<sup>101</sup> Commenting on this

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<sup>98</sup>Shakespeare, III, xi, 38-40.

<sup>99</sup>North, pp. 337-338.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., pp. 383-384.

<sup>101</sup>Adler, p. 278.

further, he says that Antony is crazy from pain and shame, broken in body and soul, filled with anger and contempt against the originator of his own happiness. But that it requires only a tear in her eye to change all this.<sup>102</sup> By means of this sudden switch of Antony, the dramatist shows Antony more deeply in love with the bewitching queen.

Shakespeare refrains from telling of the establishment of an official order in the Egyptian capital, and of its being revoked in favor of another. But the source says,

For these things there, was kept great feasting, banketing, & dauncing in ALEXANDRIA many dayes together. In deede they did breake their first order they had set downe, which they called Amimetobion (as much as to say, no life comparable) and did set up an other which they called Synapothanumenon (signifying the order and agreement of those that will dye together) the which in exceeding sumptuousnes and cost was not inferior to the first. For their frendes made them selves to be inrolled in this order of those that would dye together, and so made great feasts one to the other: for everie man when it came to his turne, feasted their whole company and fraternitie.<sup>103</sup>

True to his general treatment of Antony to this point, the dramatist leaves out this material, the inclusion of which would perhaps show Antony a more careless and shallow man.

Shakespeare's dramatic contraction is quite evident in this scene; he has Antony being reconciled to Cleopatra after he has sent his "school-master" as his ambassador to Caesar.<sup>104</sup> In the source this takes place quite some time after the reconciliation.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup>Ibid., p. 278.

<sup>103</sup>North, p. 384.

<sup>104</sup>Shakespeare, III, xi, 71.

<sup>105</sup>North; p. 385.

## Scene xii

Shakespeare leaves us with the impression that the events of this scene occur in Egypt, due partially to compression before and after the scene, whereas the source says Euphronius was sent to Asia.<sup>106</sup> In my text the scene is headed: "Egypt. Caesar's camp."<sup>107</sup> Many other modern texts show this addition to the folio.

## Scene xiii

A dramatic departure from Plutarch has Antony commenting on Caesar's demand for his death, telling his schoolmaster to advise Cleopatra of the will of Caesar:

Let her know 't.  
To the boy Caesar send this grizzled head,  
And he will fill thy wishes to the brim  
With principalities.<sup>108</sup>

Shakespeare makes much of the difference in the ages of Antony and Caesar, showing the former as keenly conscious of this and a bit rankled by it, too.

By departing from the source in keeping Enobarbus alive and with Antony longer, Shakespeare has this other-Antony make comments on the defeated triumvir not found in the source. Among these is the one saying Antony's defeat at Actium was his fault alone, and not Cleopatra's.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup>Ibid.

<sup>107</sup>Craig, p. 1093.

<sup>108</sup>Shakespeare, III, xiii, 16-19.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., III, xiii, 3.

In and aside he also says,

I see men's judgements are  
A parcel of their fortunes.<sup>110</sup>

Made after Antony again challenges Caesar to a duel, this comment has Enobarbus seeing Antony's judgment gone, and says,

Caesar, thou hast subdued  
His judgement too.<sup>111</sup>

Shakespeare has Antony employ Euphronius twice as messenger to Caesar,<sup>112</sup> whereas Plutarch tells of only one such trip.<sup>113</sup> And Plutarch says this challenge to a duel (which, in the drama, is the schoolmaster's second message) was made after the skirmish of the opposing forces near Alexandria, following the delay of the war for a year.<sup>114</sup> This dramatic shift of the challenge shows Antony with less judgment than the source indicates, since in the source he made it after a minor victory.

Not only by his referring to his opponent as "boy," but also in suggesting he "may be" a coward, and that his ministers could as well govern under a child as under him,<sup>115</sup> does Shakespeare depart from Plutarch, putting his Antony in the mood of a foolhardy issuer of a challenge to duel.

Enobarbus lets us know that his master is a fool, and that his following him even this far "earns a place in the story"<sup>116</sup> for this non-Plutar-

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<sup>110</sup>Ibid., III, xiii, 31, 32.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid., III, xiii, 36, 37.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., III, xiii, 20.

<sup>113</sup>North, p. 385.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., p. 387.

<sup>115</sup>Shakespeare, III, xiii, 23-25.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., III, xiii, 43-46.

chian person who is now beginning to sense what he takes to be Cleopatra's defection to Caesar.

Apparently lifted from another place in the source is Thyreus' remark:

He [Caesar] knows that you embrace not Antony  
As you did love, but as you fear'd him.<sup>117</sup>

To this remark, from Thyreus' "invention,"<sup>118</sup> Cleopatra's apparently surprised "O!"<sup>119</sup> is not of the source. The spot in Plutarch's account from which Thyreus' statement is probably lifted is following Antony's death and Cleopatra's derangement, and reads thus:

When Caesar had made her lye downe againe,  
and sate by her beddes side: Cleopatra  
began to cleere and excuse her selfe for  
that she had done, laying all to the  
feare she had of Antonius. Caesar, in  
contrarie manner, reprov'd her in every  
poynt.<sup>120</sup>

Antony in the play is not so blamed by Cleopatra.

It is Enobarbus, in Shakespeare, who goes out to bring in Antony and let him find Thyreus kissing Cleopatra's hand,<sup>121</sup> and this is a development of Plutarch, who says Cleopatra "did him great honor,"<sup>122</sup> but does not say of what the honor consisted, nor does he say that Antony entered a room in which were both Thyreus and Cleopatra. Plutarch does indicate that Antony became "angry with" and "gealous of" Thyreus,<sup>123</sup> but Shakespeare

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., III, xiii, 56, 57.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid., III, xii, 29.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid., III, xiii, 57.

<sup>120</sup>North, p. 395.

<sup>121</sup>Shakespeare III, xiii, 82-85, 98, 125, 138.

<sup>122</sup>North, p. 386.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., p. 386.



builds this up tremendously, and puts these passions into these white-hot words:

Favours, by Jove that thunders!  
What art thou, fellow?

. . . .

Approach, there! An, you kite! Now gods and  
devils!

. . . .

take hence this Jack, and whip him!

. . . .

Moon and stars!

Whip him.

. . . .

Whip him, fellow,  
Till, like a boy, you see him cringe his face,  
And whine aloud for mercy.<sup>124</sup>

And following the whipping of the messenger, an incident which is related by Plutarch, Shakespeare departs from the earlier work and has Antony mention for the first time in the play the expected triumph of Caesar;<sup>125</sup> note, too, that this remark is made in the presence of Cleopatra.

The dramatist departs from the source in showing the attendants of Cleopatra's court slow in obeying Antony's orders.<sup>126</sup> This dramatic device is pejorative for the defeated former ruler of men, who lays claim to being "Antony yet."<sup>127</sup> The vociferous, eloquent wronged man, who is "angry" in Plutarch,<sup>128</sup> but furious in the drama, even speaks in stronger terms as he gives Caesar permission to mistreat Hipparchus, adding the word "torture"<sup>129</sup> to those in the source.

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<sup>124</sup>Shakespeare, III, xiii, 85-101.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., III, xiii, 136.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid., III, xiii, 90-93.

<sup>127</sup>Ibid., III xiii, 93.

<sup>128</sup>North, p. 386.

<sup>129</sup>Shakespeare, III, xiii, 150.

There is nothing in Plutarch to justify Antony's long, vehement, and scathing tirade against Cleopatra after Antony finds Thyreus kissing her hand. His allusion to "the kill of Basan" in this is not from Plutarch but from the Bible.<sup>130</sup>

Antony's "unpress'd" pillow in Rome, where he might have been "getting" a "lawful race" by a "gem of a woman" is Shakespearean.<sup>131</sup> In the source he never refers to Octavia as a "gem of a woman," although she is so presented. And the source indicates that she had borne him children.<sup>132</sup>

No astrological reasons for Antony's decline are given in the source, but the playwright has him exclaim "Moon and stars!"<sup>133</sup> And he attributes his being on edge to his "good stars" that were formerly his "guides," but have now left their orbits and "shot their fires / Into the abysm of hell."<sup>134</sup>

Adding to this strain of reasoning, and still outside the source, the dramatist's Antony says of Cleopatra,

Alack, our terrene moon  
Is now eclipsed; and it portends alone  
The fall of Antony.<sup>135</sup>

Shakespeare's compression and dramatization allows Antony to fall to this low point in morale and then rise again to high-spirited, ambitious daring, all in this scene. In the source no such rapid mental check-off

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<sup>130</sup> Psalms 68:15; 22:12.

<sup>131</sup> Shakespeare, III, xiii, 106-108.

<sup>132</sup> North, p. 338.

<sup>133</sup> Shakespeare, III, xiii, 95.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., III, xiii, 145-147.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., III, xiii, 153-155.

of his forces is made, nor is he so heartened and satisfied by her answers that he proposes "one other gaudy night"<sup>136</sup> at this time.

Such treatment of the hero by the playwright allows the Shakespearean Enobarbus see a diminution in his master's brain, without reason, ready to "outstare the lightning."<sup>137</sup> And so the curtain is rung down on Act III with an unreasoning, daring, "old lion"<sup>138</sup> Antony with high hopes, yet with astrology against him, and Enobarbus, in the closing lines, divulging to the spectator alone, that he will seek a way to leave Antony.

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<sup>136</sup>Ibid., III, xii, 166-171, 183.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid., III, xiii, 195-198.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid., III, xiii, 95.

CHAPTER V

ACT IV

Scene i

Previously, Enobarbus' words have shown that his master's utter ruin is expected,<sup>1</sup> and Antony has indicated the same.<sup>2</sup> Now Maecenas sees him enraged, "hunted / Even to falling."<sup>3</sup> Caesar sees it also and exclaims in apparent pity, "Poor Antony!"<sup>4</sup> In Plutarch none of these is seen, nor is Caesar shown to pity him. Shakespeare makes such a great man of Antony that his downfall must be heralded by many people.

Scene ii

Up to this point in the play Shakespeare has not shown Antony friendly with the common soldier, as he does here. Perhaps the dramatist thought that to do so previously might have shown him less than a great emperor. But familiarity and even gross raillery with his men were common to Antony in Plutarch.<sup>5</sup>

The night he feasted with his soldiers, according to the source, followed his successful sally against Caesar; but in the play it precedes

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<sup>1</sup>Shakespeare, III, xiii, 41-46, 195-200.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., III, xiii, 154, 155.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., IV, i, 6, 7.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., IV, i, 16.

<sup>5</sup>North, p. 312.

this sortie which is magnified to a battle.

Changes in the scene help compress the action of the source and aid in hastening Antony's fall.

Adler says in effect of Antony in the latter part of the scene that sad forebodings fill his heart, yet when he sees that through his troubled words he discourages his own he rouses himself up to a prospect of victory that he really does not feel.<sup>6</sup> And he observes, speaking of the dramatist, that Shakespeare, in spite of borrowing fittingly from his source, has created out of only seven lines a highly dramatic scene which stands forth in clearest opposition and turns our sympathy and interest much nearer Antony.<sup>7</sup> With all of these comments from Adler the author of this paper agrees.

#### Scene iii

The dramatization of the strange night-noises departs from the source only in adding that the sounds seem to go out the gate nearest the enemy camp.<sup>8</sup> The soldier's question "It signs well, does it not?" and the reply "No,"<sup>9</sup> are additions to Plutarch's material, and together add a sense of impending doom.

#### Scene iv

The dramatist adds the tender touch of Cleopatra's helping to arm

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<sup>6</sup>Adler, p. 279.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>North, p. 338.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

Antony, perhaps attempting to evoke sympathy for him. The farewell of the lovers is touching, with the "man of steel" going forth "gallantly."<sup>10</sup> Departing from Plutarch, the playwright has Cleopatra wistfully longing for a duel between Antony and Caesar, apparently thinking her lover would win that, but she doubts his victory as things now stand.<sup>11</sup>

#### Scene v

Departing from his source in a dramatic device, Shakespeare has the same soldier who advised Antony not to fight at sea at Actium now to appear and tell him his advice should have been heeded.<sup>12</sup> An important change from Plutarch is the desertion of Enobarbus at this point. The Shakespearean "honest" man "corrupted" by Antony's ill fortune,<sup>13</sup> is one loved much more by his master than is any soldier in the source. The cry of "Enobarbus!," closing the scene, is much more dramatic than source material, and shows Antony with greater personal feelings for a fellow man. Shakespeare may have kept Enobarbus with Antony until this point to use his desertion as a late foretelling of his master's ruin.

#### Scene vi

That Antony be taken alive is not in Plutarch.

Alexas is described in the earlier work as follows:

For Alexas LOADICIAN, who was brought into Antonius house and favor by means of Tima-  
genes, and afterwards was in greater credit  
with him, then any other GRECIAN: (for that

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<sup>10</sup>Shakespeare, IV, iv, 33, 37.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., IV, iv, 36-38.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., IV, v, 2-4.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., IV, v, 16, 17.

he had alway been one of Cleopatras ministers  
to win Antonius, and to overthrow all his  
good determinations to use his wife Octavia  
well) him Antonius sent unto Herodes . . . .<sup>14</sup>

Shakespeare does not use Alexas or any other as chief subverter of Antony,  
nor does he allow him to have many "good determinations" regarding Octavia.  
In the drama it is Cleopatra alone who draws him to herself; she does not  
need to work through others, by subversion.

Shakespeare's account of what Antony sends the departed Enobarbus is  
as follows:

Ant. Go, Eros, send his treasure after; do it;  
Detain no jot, I charge thee: write to him--  
I will subscribe -- gentle adieus and greetings;  
Say that I wish he never find more cause  
To change a master.<sup>15</sup>

and

Sold. Enobarbus, Antony  
Hath after thee sent all thy treasure, with  
His bounty overplus.<sup>16</sup>

Changing from the source in this, Shakespeare adds the letter with its  
"gentle adieus and greetings" and Antony's own bounty, but does not include  
the sending of Enobarbus' own men, as did Plutarch.<sup>17</sup> The dramatist adds  
the warm, personal good wishes of Antony, i.e., that the deserter may  
never find cause to change masters again. Antony cannot spare any men at  
this point, but the drama shows him more deeply touched and more person-  
ally involved in this man's leaving him.

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<sup>14</sup>North, p. 385.

<sup>15</sup>Shakespeare, IV, v, 12-16.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., IV, v, 20-22.

<sup>17</sup>North, p. 373.

Shakespeare invents this remorseful soliloquy of the recent deserter, in praise of his master:

I am alone the villain of the earth,  
 And feel I am so most. O Antony,  
 Thou mine of bounty, how wouldst thou have paid  
 My better service, when my turpitude  
 Thou dost so crown with gold! This blows my heart:  
 If swift thought break it not, a swifter mean  
 Shall outstrike thought: but thought will  
 do't, I feel.  
 I fight against thee! No: I will go seek  
 Some ditch wherein to die; the foul'st best fits  
 My latter part of life.<sup>18</sup>

Thus praised, Antony is not at all shown by Shakespeare to be cruel. But the source tells us that when Caesar took Pelusium, he did it (according to a rumor) not without Cleopatra's consent.<sup>19</sup> So, she,

. . . to cleere her selfe that she did not,  
 Cleopatra brought Seleucus / who had sur-  
 rendered the city to Caesar / wife and chil-  
 dren unto Antonius, to be revenged of them  
 at his pleasure.<sup>20</sup>

Although the source does not describe his pleasure in this instance, knowing the historical Antony, one may well suppose the worst fate for the woman and her children.

#### Scene vii

Antony is again addressed as "emperor" in this scene,<sup>21</sup> and has been so referred to by a soldier in Caesar's camp.<sup>22</sup> The term is still employed

<sup>18</sup>Shakespeare, IV, vi, 30-39.

<sup>19</sup>North, p. 386.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 386-387.

<sup>21</sup>Shakespeare, IV, vii, 4.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., IV, vi, 28.



exclusively for him to this point in the drama, which is a Shakespearean device.

Scene viii

In Plutarch the soldier whom Cleopatra honored, giving him a suit of armor, deserted to Caesar the same night.<sup>23</sup> Shakespeare omits the desertion, and builds up the honor bestowed on the soldier by departures from the source, having Cleopatra say of the armor, "It was a king's,"<sup>24</sup> and by the soldier's kissing the queen's hand, an act which was suggested by Antony.<sup>25</sup>

Plutarch says at this point Antony challenged Caesar to a duel,<sup>26</sup> which as we have seen is placed earlier by Shakespeare.

In the source this day's fighting is described as follows:

Antonius made a sally upon him [Caesar],  
and fought very valliantly, so that he  
drave Caesar's horsemen backe, fighting  
with his men even unto their campe. Then  
he came againe to the pallace, greatly  
boasting of this victorie . . . .<sup>27</sup>

Shakespeare's treatment of this makes a greater victory of the day's fighting and comes nearer justifying Antony's exuberance and the exaggerated honors upon the signalized soldier. And the dramatist seizes this opportunity, in a further departure from Plutarch, to have Antony speak words of endearment for Cleopatra:

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<sup>23</sup>North, p. 387.

<sup>24</sup>Shakespeare, IV, vii, 27.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., IV, vii, 24.

<sup>26</sup>North, p. 387.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

O thou day o' the world,  
Chain mine arm'd neck; leap thou, attire and all,  
Through proof of harness to my heart, and there  
Ride on the pants triumphing.<sup>28</sup>

Besides, Antony orders a great celebration in Alexandria,<sup>29</sup> which is not in the source. By his magnification of this victory of his hero, Shakespeare dramatically shows the duumvirs more evenly fortune'd here than Plutarch does. And if Antony were to challenge Caesar to a duel here, as he did in the source, it would pale this victory.

In yet more varying from the account in Plutarch, the dramatist has Antony refer for the second time in the play<sup>30</sup> to his mingled brown and grey hairs,<sup>31</sup> and to do so in a way that gives him equality with Caesar.

Antony's high terms for Cleopatra: "great fairy," "day o' the world," and "My nightingale"; and hers for him: "Lord of lords," and "O infinite virtue,"<sup>32</sup> all are of Shakespeare's supplying and build the two to a place of great exaltation where ambition and hope are high.

#### Scene ix

The hero is elevated before us as Enobarbus' bitter remorse motivates him to cry the name of Antony, especially since this departure from Plutarch comes soon after Shakespeare's delayed and magnified magnanimity of Antony toward the "master-leaver"<sup>33</sup> and fugitive. And Antony is

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<sup>28</sup>Shakespeare, IV, viii, 13-16.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., IV, viii, 4-9.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., III, xi, 13-15.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., IV, viii, 20.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., IV, viii, 13-18.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., IV, viii, 22.

seen as built up from the source here in that the victory over Caesar's force is exaggerated by the dramatist, a soldier of Caesar saying of the battle, "This last day was a shrewd one to us."<sup>34</sup>

The dramatist has about everything in order now for Antony's final end, having pulled the strings of history at his will to give him a great victory and to call from the lips of the famous lovers words of mutual high admiration and love. And by way of contrast, both by the addition of astrological allusions, as we have seen, and by supplying personal predictions, he foretells his hero's doom. Foretokened, too, by noises in the night, the utter defeat and approaching death of Antony is almost surely seen in the death now of the self-defeated, bitterly remorseful Enobarbus, the mirror of his master.

And Shakespeare's Enobarbus dies not soon after having been "sicke of an agewe" as Plutarch<sup>35</sup> says, but of a broken heart. Enobarbus is dead.

Scene x

Scene xi

Scene xii

The considerable transfer in time, as well as the slight change otherwise, of the swallows building their nest in Cleopatra's ship is another ill omen, and is so used in the source, especially in the marginal note.<sup>36</sup> But the dramatist takes this pre-Actium sign and places it here to presage

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., IV, ix, 4, 5.

<sup>35</sup>North, p. 373.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 371.

Antony's final downfall. It is spoken by Scarus when alone, which is another dramatic variant from the source.

Plutarch is sketchy in his description of Antony's defeat before Alexandria<sup>37</sup> and Shakespeare even briefer, not mentioning the breaking up of Antony's land forces. But, viewing the capitulation of his fleet, Antony goes beyond his counterpart in Plutarch by crying out against Cleopatra, who he believes has betrayed him. The incensed, defeated man cries out,

This foul Egyptian hath betrayed me:

. . . .

Triple-turn'd whore! 'tis thou  
Hath sold me to this novice; and my heart  
Makes wars only on thee. Bid them all fly;  
For when I am revenged upon my charm,  
I have done all. Bid them all fly; begone  
O sun, thy uprise shall I see no more:

. . . .

O this false soul of Egypt! this grave charm,--  
Like a right gipsy, hath, at fast and loose,  
Beguiled me to the very heart of loss.<sup>38</sup>

Following his defeat, the source has here:

. . . he then fled into the citie, crying  
out that Cleopatra had betrayed him unto  
them, with whom he had made warre for her  
sake.<sup>39</sup>

Shakespeare's departure thus far in the scene is a difference in intensity of anger and of putting this matter into words. He adds Antony's referring to Cleopatra as "foul Egyptian," "triple-turn'd whore," "false soul of Egypt," and accusing her of playing "fast and loose." An important variant

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 388-389.

<sup>38</sup>Shakespeare, IV, xli, 10-19.

<sup>39</sup>North, p. 389.

is Antony's threat of killing her,<sup>40</sup> and then of dispatching himself,<sup>41</sup>

The source does not give us the appearance of Cleopatra at this high point of Antony's epithets and threats. This is a dramatic difference. It sets the stage for Antony to break into most heated words to her, which he never does in the source, words that go into soliloquy after she flees in terror. The drama has the following:

Enter CLEOPATRA

Ant. Ah, thou spell! Avaunt!

Cleo. Why is my lord enraged against his love?

Ant. Vanish, or I shall give thee thy deserving  
And blemish Caesar's triumph. Let him take thee,  
And hoist thee up to the shouting plebeians:  
Fellow his chariot, like the greatest spot  
Of all thy sex; most monster-like, be shown  
For poor'st diminutives, for doits; and let  
Patient Octavia plough thy visage up  
With her prepared nails. Exit Cleopatra.

'tis well thou'rt gone,  
If it be well to live: but better 'twere  
Thou fell'st into my fury, for one death  
Might have prevented many. Eros, ho!  
The shirt of Nessus is upon me: teach me,  
Alcides, thou mine ancestor, thy rage:  
Let me lodge Lichas on the horns o' the moon;  
And with those hands, that grasp'd the  
heaviest club,  
Subdue my worthiest self. The witch shall die:  
To the young Roman boy she hath sold me,  
and I fall  
Under this plot; she dies for't. Eros, ho!<sup>42</sup>

Shakespeare adds Antony's threat, made again, and made this time directly to her, of killing Cleopatra.

Pompey had apostrophized Cleopatra, saying, "Let witchcraft join with beauty" to keep Antony in Egypt,<sup>43</sup> but now Antony, for the first time in

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<sup>40</sup>Shakespeare, IV, xii, 16.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., IV, xii, 17.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., IV, xii, 30-49.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., II, i, 22.

the play, accuses her of being a witch. He refers to her as a "charm," as a "grave charm," addresses her as "thou spell," and soliloquizes "the witch shall die."<sup>44</sup>

Here, late in the drama, Antony first refers to Alcides, or Hercules, as his ancestor; but this is not as it is in Plutarch, who sets him forth as patterning himself after Hercules in dress and stance, and, in order "that he could finely cloak his shameful deeds with fine words" tried to justify immoral and prodigal acts, by claiming descent from him.<sup>45</sup>

Here for the second time in the play, Antony mentions Caesar's inevitable triumph, describing it to Cleopatra with all its shame and possible torture. Antony is darkened by Shakespeare here, since this point is not in the source.

The mythological references, supplied by Shakespeare, are expansion to show the *duumvir's* great rage in thinking himself betrayed, and his desire to be moved by the higher powers to carry out his plan to kill Cleopatra. But, by threatening her with the triumph, he may hope she destroys herself, and spares him the task. This is excellent drama, and is achieved through departing from Plutarch.

It may be that Shakespeare got the suggestion of the scratching of Cleopatra's face, as mentioned by Antony,<sup>46</sup> from Plutarch's account of her insane scratching of her own face and stomach after Antony's death.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., IV, xii, 16, 25, 20, 47.

<sup>45</sup>North, pp. 309, 340, 388.

<sup>46</sup>Shakespeare, IV, xii, 38, 39.

<sup>47</sup>North, p. 390.

## Scene xiii

Enriching the prose of the source, Shakespeare has Cleopatra dip freely into mythology, as he has Antony do in the preceding scene, to describe Antony's great rage. The basis in Plutarch for this follows:

Then she being affraid of his fury, fled  
 into the tombe which she has caused to be  
 made, and there locked the doores unto her,  
 and shut all the springes of the lockes with  
 great boltes, and in the meane time sent  
 unto Antonius to tell him that she was dead.<sup>48</sup>

Plutarch's history had previously prepared us for her going into the monument by relating extensive construction of fine "tombes and monumentes" and that there the queen had placed her treasures together with a quantity of combustibles.<sup>49</sup> Saying nothing of the construction nor of the storage, Shakespeare plunges Cleopatra and her servitors "to the monument!" at Charmian's suggestion, which is obviously a departure from the source.

Since Cleopatra is so changed here from the source, her motives are not nearly so clear as were those of Plutarch's queen. How can the Antony in the drama know it if his Cleopatra is planning to destroy herself? If she had tested poisons Shakespeare is silent on the point. If she intends to destroy her valuables he knows it not. She may be planning to give her treasures to Caesar. Perhaps she is as baffling to Antony as she is to the spectator. At this point, however, Antony fully believes she has betrayed him, and intends to kill her.

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 389.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 387.

In the drama but not in the source, Charmian gives Cleopatra the thought of sending Antony word she is dead.<sup>50</sup> Shakespeare adds the line by Cleopatra: "And bring me how he takes my death."<sup>51</sup> And the dramatist adds the touch of the instructions by Cleopatra to Mardian: ". . . word it, prithee, pitiously" that "the last word I spoke was 'Antony'."<sup>52</sup> Antony of the drama is to hear things Plutarch's Antony did not hear.

Scene xiv

Nothing that Antony says to Eros in the first part of this scene is found in the source. He is not mentioned in this connection until we reach line 80; for after Cleopatra fled to her monument, the source's first mention of him is as follows:

Now he had a man of his called Eros,  
whom he loved and trusted much,  
& whom he had long before caused  
to sweare unto him, that he should  
kill him when he did commaund him:  
and then he willed him to keepe his  
promise.<sup>53</sup>

In his freely supplying much in this scene that is not of Plutarch, the bard has produced some fine poetry, with splendid, misty imagery. The first thirteen lines are of this kind. Concerning this section Hazlitt says,

This is, without doubt, one of the finest pieces of poetry in Shakespear. The splendour of the imagery, the semblance of reality, the lofty range of picturesque objects hanging

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 389.

<sup>51</sup>Shakespeare, IV, xiii, 10.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., IV, xiii, 9, 10.

<sup>53</sup>North, p. 389.



over the world, their evanescent nature, the total uncertainty of what is left behind, are just like the mouldering schemes of human greatness. It is finer than Cleopatra's passionate lamentation over his fallen grandeur, because it is more dim, unstable, unsubstantial.<sup>54</sup>

The poet had departed from Plutarch earlier in having Antony refer to his body, after death, as a "mangled shadow."<sup>55</sup> In the above passage he has resumed the shadow theme on which Hazlitt properly comments. Truly, Shakespeare has given us a philosopher, a contemplative man, and not the boor of Plutarch.

In saying "My good knave, Eros," and in repeating "my knave"<sup>56</sup> to him, Antony is made by Shakespeare to be extremely kind and courteous to the man sworn to end his life on command; this is a departure from Plutarch, who says bluntly, as we have quoted: ". . . then he willed him [Eros] to keepe his promise." And there is no hint of suicide or of having Eros take his life in the source prior to his receiving the false report of Cleopatra's death. So Shakespeare's Antony seems to be contemplating ending his life here, in lines 12-22, before and without killing Cleopatra. And this, if true, is not in Plutarch.

There is not in the source the coming of anybody at this point to tell Antony, as Shakespeare has Mardian say to him,

My mistress loved thee, and her fortunes mingled  
With thine entirely.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>William Hazlitt, Characters of Shakespeare's Plays (London and Toronto, 1926), p. 78.

<sup>55</sup>Shakespeare, IV, ii, 27.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., IV, xiv, 12, 14.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., IV, xiv, 24, 25.

Hence the source does not tell of Antony's unbelief of this, as the drama does, nor does Plutarch inform us that Antony tells Cleopatra's messenger at this time, as Shakespeare does, "She hath betrayed me and shall die the death." Consequently, lacking in the source is Mardian's reply, ". . . what thou wouldst do / Is done unto thy hand."<sup>58</sup>

In Shakespeare, Antony has Eros unarm him, as he makes rich allusion to the armor, the shield of Ajax, and bids the case of his heart to crack. His heart soars away to the Elysian fields where he can join his love in ecstatic delight. The source is less dramatic:

Antonius believing it /that Cleopatra is dead/, said unto him selfe: what dost thou look for further, Antonius, sith spitefull fortune hath taken from thee the only joy thou haddest, for whom thou yet reservedst thy life? when he had sayd these words, he went into a chamber and unarmed him selfe, and being naked said thus: O Cleopatra, it grieveth me not that I have lost thy companie, for I will not be long from thee: but I am sorry, that having bene so great a Captaine and Emperour, I am in deede condemned to be judged of lesse courage and noble minde, then a woman.<sup>59</sup>

The Antony of the drama in his self-praise raises himself higher than does Plutarch's Antony. Shakespeare wrote thus:

Ant. Since Cleopatra died,  
I have lived in such dishonour, that the gods  
Detest my baseness. I, that with my sword  
Quarter'd the world, and o'er green Neptune's back  
With ships made cities, condemn myself to lack  
The corage of a woman.<sup>60</sup>

Unadorned with such language is the quotation in Plutarch: ". . . having bene so great a Captaine and Emperour . . ." <sup>61</sup> there is no mention in the

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., IV, xiv, 26, 28, 29.

<sup>59</sup>North, p. 389.

<sup>60</sup>Shakespeare, IV, xiv, 55-60.

<sup>61</sup>North, p. 389.

source in this place concerning Antony's horror of being tortured in Caesar's triumph, as Shakespeare has it. Here Antony is trying to persuade Eros to keep his vow to kill him.<sup>62</sup>

Another reason Antony gives Eros for killing him, namely, that in so doing he would defeat Caesar, is added by the dramatist. And here, too, for the first time in the play, it is stated that Cleopatra's reported death shows her conqueror of herself.<sup>63</sup>

The extended pleadings of Antony to Eros, that he would take his life, as sworn, together with Eros' repeated delays, are not in Plutarch. They are simple dramatization; departures from the source are minor; they include Eros making his vow upon being set free by Antony, Antony telling Eros here that his former services were mere accidents if he did not keep his vow, Eros' request that Antony turn away his "noble countenance," and last, Eros' remark that he escapes "the sorrow of the death of Antony" by killing himself rather than his master.<sup>64</sup>

Yet even in minor matters, such as these and Eros' and Antony's bidding each other farewell, Shakespeare's changes in Antony are in the general upward direction. He makes him greater, kinder, nobler.

The poet cannot allow his great Antony merely to fall on his sword and say, as the source has it, that Eros showed him how to do what the soldier lacked courage to do;<sup>65</sup> he has Antony soar again:

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<sup>62</sup> Shakespeare, IV, xiv, 72-77.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., IV, xiv, 61, 62.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., IV, xiv, 81-95.

<sup>65</sup> North, p. 390.

. . . but I will be  
 A bridegroom in my death, and run into 't  
 As to a lover's bed. Come, then; and, Eros,  
 Thy master dies thy scholar: to do thus  
 I learned of thee.<sup>66</sup>

Cleopatra's "prophesying fear"<sup>67</sup> of how the news of her death might affect Antony is added by the dramatist, for the source says simply:

. . . at last there came a secretarie unto  
 him called Diomedes, who was commaunded to  
 bring him into the tombe or monument where  
Cleopatra was.<sup>68</sup>

Shakespeare's changes are obvious. He assigns a fear to Cleopatra and a reason for the fear, neither of which is in Plutarch.

Consistent with the use of the term "emperor" thus far in the play-- exclusively for Antony-- Diomedes employs it in calling the wounded man's guard.<sup>69</sup> Shakespeare adds pathos, in the speech of Antony, the guard, and others, and philosophy on Antony's part, as he is lifted up and carried off to Cleopatra. Here are the lines:

Ant. Bear me, good friends, where Cleopatra bides;  
 'Tis the last service that I shall command you  
First Guard. Woe, woe are we, sir, you may  
 not live to wear  
 All your true followers out.  
All. Most heavy day!  
Ant. Nay, good my fellows, do not please  
 sharp fate  
 To grace it with your sorrows: bid that welcome  
 Which comes to punish us, and we punish it  
 Seeming to bear it lightly.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Shakespeare, IV, xiv, 99-103.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., IV, xiv, 120.

<sup>68</sup>North, p. 390.

<sup>69</sup>Shakespeare, IV, xiv, 129.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., IV, xiv, 131-140.

Antony's punish-fate-with-high-spirits attitude is a departure from Plutarch, and heightens him considerably. The source simply says they carried Antony to the monument, adding nothing of his encouraging those who bore him.<sup>71</sup>

Scene xv

O sun,  
Burn the great sphere thou movest in! darkling stand  
The varying shore o' the world. O Antony,  
Antony, Antony!<sup>72</sup>

With these deeply moving words Cleopatra speaks as she sees Antony, mortally wounded by his own hand. Plutarch has no comments at all by her at this point; the addition magnifies the passionate love of the pair.

Added to source material here, too, is the dialogue that shows Cleopatra thinking that Antony has conquered himself and that this is "as it should be."<sup>73</sup> And the dramatist does not disappoint us, seizing the opportunity, in a departure from the source, to have Antony twice exclaim with deep emotion, "I am dying, Egypt, dying."<sup>74</sup> Continuing to speak from the poet's creative genius, the dying man says,

. . . only  
I importune death awhile, until  
Of many thousand kisses the poor last  
I lay upon thy lips.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>North, p. 370.

<sup>72</sup>Shakespeare, IV, xv, 9-12.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., IV, xv, 16.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., IV, xv, 18, 41.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., IV, xv, 18-21.

Apparently as a result of Antony's mentioning Cleopatra in Caesar's triumph and his speaking of "patient Octavia" scratching her face, Egypt's queen,<sup>76</sup> now apparently being implored by the location and actions of those carrying Antony to open the door into the monument, exclaims,

I dare not  
Lest I be taken: not the imperious show  
Of the full-fortuned Caesar ever shall  
Be brooch'd with me; if knife, drugs, serpents have  
Edge, sting, or operation, I am safe:  
Your wife Octavia, with her modest eyes  
And still conclusion, shall acquire no honour  
Demuring upon me.<sup>77</sup>

And with this she gives her first indication of a possible means of suicide. This is sudden and dramatic, and is a departure from the source, as shown.

It is a departure from Plutarch, also, that Cleopatra assigns the state of affairs now to "the false housewife Fortune,"<sup>78</sup> and that she is pouring out her love for him as he dies, in these lines:

Noblest of men, woo't die?  
Hast thou no care of me? shall I abide  
In this dull world, which in they absence is  
No better than a sty? O, see, my women,  
The crown o' the earth doth melt. My lord!  
O, wither'd is the garland of the war,  
The soldier's pole is fall'n: young boys and girls  
Are now level with men; the odds is gone,  
And there is nothing left remarkable  
Beneath the visiting moon.<sup>79</sup>

And saying this, she raises Antony before the spectator above the biographical material and also raises him above the love she reportedly had for him, so

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<sup>76</sup>Ibid., IV, xii, 33, 38.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., IV, xv, 22-29.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., IV, xv, 44.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., IV, xv, 59-68.

far as Plutarch shows. This is more than normal dramatic expansion. Theirs, according to Shakespeare, is a great love, sensual and earthy, perhaps basically, yet deeply affecting their inner beings emotionally, intellectually, and spiritually.

Cleopatra's fainting is added by the dramatist, and further shows her more deeply moved by her lord's death than does the source. And in bringing the scene and act to a close she continues to show Antony as a much greater person, at least as viewed by herself, than Plutarch does, saying,

It were for me  
To throw my sceptre at the injurious gods;  
To tell them that this world did equal theirs  
Till they had stol'n our jewel.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid., IV, xv, 75-78.

CHAPTER VI

ACT V

Scene i

Upon hearing of Antony's death, Caesar is made to say in the drama:

The breaking of so great a thing should make  
A greater crack: the round world  
Should have shook lions into civil streets,  
And citizens to their dens: the death of Antony  
Is not a single doom; in the name lay  
A moiety of the world.<sup>1</sup>

Soon afterward, Agrippa says, "Caesar is touch'd,"<sup>2</sup> and Octavius himself exclaims:

Look you sad, friends?  
The gods rebuke me, but it is tidings  
To wash the eyes of kings.<sup>3</sup>

Caesar's immediate reaction upon hearing of Antony's death, according to Plutarch, was this:

Caesar, hearing these newes, straight withdrew himselfe into a secret place of his tent, and there burst out with teares.<sup>4</sup>

Just why Shakespeare chooses to suppress Caesar's secret weeping may not be apparent. But perhaps Antony was loved by Caesar more than the drama reveals. But if the Caesar of the play holds less personal love for

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<sup>1</sup>Shakespeare, V, i, 14-19.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., V, i, 32.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., V, i, 26-28.

<sup>4</sup>North, p. 391.



Antony and his memory, the dramatist adds world-greatness to the source and puts it into Caesar's mouth in praise of Antony. For Octavius says the world should literally shake because of this death.

Shakespeare may be trying, through Mæcenas, to picture Antony as half good and half bad, as he does through Lepidus, who said, earlier in the play:

I must not think there are  
Evils enow to darken all his goodness.<sup>5</sup>

For here Mæcenas tells of Antony:

His taints and honours  
Waged equal with him.<sup>6</sup>

Neither of these is in the source; the dramatist gives the hero more goodness and honors than does his biographer.

Agrippa shows another instance of Shakespearean addition in these remarks:

A rarer spirit never  
Did steer humanity: but you, gods, will give us  
Some faults to make us men.<sup>7</sup>

This praise from Caesar's man is not in Plutarch, nor does his work have anybody say that the gods give men their faults. Of course, this point applies here primarily to Antony. Plutarch did not say Antony's faults were god-given.

In three lines Mæcenas has said Antony was as great as he could possibly be -- as rare a spirit as ever governed man; and he was as good as the gods would allow him to be. He sees Antony as a model for Caesar,

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<sup>5</sup>Shakespeare, I, iv, 10, 11.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., V, i, 30, 31.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., V, i, 31-33.

a "spacious mirror"<sup>8</sup> before the young emperor; this, too, is a departure from North's Plutarch.

This multi-line speech of Caesar, in praise of Antony, comes next:

O Antony!

I have follow'd thee to this; but we do lance  
Diseases in our bodies: I must perforce  
Have shown to thee such a declining day,  
Or look on thine: we could not stall together  
In the whole world: but yet let me lament,  
With tears as soveriegn as the blood of hearts.  
That thou, my brother, my competitor  
In top of all design, my mate in empire,  
Friend and companion in the front of war,  
The arm of mine own body, and the heart  
Where mine his thoughts did kindle -- that our stars,  
Unreconcilable, should divide  
Our equalness to this.<sup>9</sup>

The source reveals that immediately after Caesar heard of Antony's death he,

. . . straight withdrew himselfe into a  
secret place of his tent, and there burst out  
with teares, lamenting his hard and miserable  
fortune, that he had bene his friend and brother  
in law, his equall in the Empire, and companion  
with him in sundry great exploitcs and battells.<sup>10</sup>

The dramatist has expanded the source material. Departures include raising "brother in law" to "brother," and "sundry great exploitcs and battells" to "top of all design" or the greatest undertakings, since "top" is the highest or greatest. An addition is Caesar's likening Antony and his activities to a disease in the body which needs lancing to save the body; another is his reasoning one or the other of the two had to be destroyed, since they were so great and the world so small they could not "stall together" therein.

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., V, i, 34.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., V, i, 35-48.

<sup>10</sup>North, p. 391.

The question of whether Caesar is sincere in all this, as Shakespeare presents it, is not to be overlooked. But these departures from the source should be noted.

The poet further goes beyond the source by having Caesar say he looked on Antony as his own arm and that their thinking was alike.<sup>11</sup> And the source is forgotten again in assigning an astrological reason for Antony's fall: Octavius tells us their stars were irreconcilable.<sup>12</sup> The star-crossed duumvirate could not possibly go on. These departures loft the struggles of men to the skies.

Caesar says,

Go with me to my tent; where you shall see  
How hardly I was drawn into this war;  
How calm and gentle I proceeded still  
In all my writings: go with me, and see  
What I can show in this.<sup>13</sup>

The source for this is the following:

Then he called for all his frendes,  
and shewed them the letters Antonius  
had written to him, and his aunsweres  
also sent him againe, during their  
quarrell and strife: and how fiercely  
and prowdly the other aunswered him, to  
all just and reasonable matters he wrote  
unto him.<sup>14</sup>

Shakespeare makes Caesar's letters calm and gentle, at least by his own description. And in the drama one sees the omission of the fiercely proud answers of Antony to all just and reasonable matters.

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<sup>11</sup>Shakespeare, V, i, 45, 46.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., V, i, 46.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., V, i, 74-77.

<sup>14</sup>North, p. 391.

The several departures from Plutarch in this scene show Caesar saying the death of such a world-great figure as Antony should shake the world. The dead man was well balanced with honors and god-given taints; he was Caesar's arm in war, and now a mirror for him. But their stars were irreconcilable and one of the two men, even as a disease in the body, had to be destroyed. Antony is always elevated in the scene by those who mention him.

Scene ii

Shakespeare has Cleopatra say to Proculeius:

Know, sir, that I  
Will not be pinion'd at your master's court;  
Nor once chastised with the sober eye  
Of dull Octavia. Shall they hoist me up  
And show me to the shouting varletry  
Of censuring Rome?<sup>15</sup>

Such is not in the source in this or in any other place. It was Antony -- Shakespeare's Antony -- who suggested the triumph to her. The changed influence of a changed Antony continues after his death.

Plutarch's account of Caesar's sending of Proculeius is, in part, as follows:

After this, he sent Proculeius, and commaunded him to do what he could possible to get Cleopatra alive, fearing least otherwise all the treasure would be lost: & furthermore, he thought that if he could take Cleopatra, and bring her alive to ROME, she would marvelously beautifie and sette out his triumphe.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Shakespeare, V, ii, 52-57.

<sup>16</sup>North, p. 391.

Two things Octavius had in mind, in desiring Cleopatra alive: her treasure and his triumph. The former is not mentioned at all by the dramatist to this point in the story; the latter is suggested to the queen by Antony, in great anger, thinking she had betrayed him. Here, then, for the second time<sup>17</sup> since Antony first mentioned Caesar's triumph the queen reflects upon it, and both reflections, as well as the suggestion, are departures from the source.

No basis is found in the source for Cleopatra's dream, for her lines that relate it, nor for Dolabella's replies. The dialogue follows:

Cleo. I dream'd there was an Emperor Antony:  
O, such another sleep, that I might see  
But such another man!

Dol. If it might please ye, --

Cleo. His face was as the heavens; and therein stuck  
A sun and moon, which kept their course, and lighted  
The little O, the earth.

Dol. Most sovereign creature, --

Cleo. His legs bestrid the ocean: his rear'd arm  
Crested the world; his voice was propertied  
As all the tuned spheres, and that to friends;  
But when he meant to quail and shake the orb,  
He was a rattling thunder. For his bounty  
There was no winter in't; an autumn 'twas  
That grew the more by reaping: his delights  
Were dolphin-like; they show'd his back above  
The element they lived in: in his livery  
Walk'd crowns and crownets; realms and islands were  
As plates dropp'd from his pocket.

Dol. Cleopatra!

Cleo. Think you there was, or might be, such a man  
As this I dream'd of?

Dol. Gentle madam, no.

Cleo. You lie, up to the hearing of the gods.  
But, if there be, or ever were, one such,  
It's past the size of dreaming: nature wants stuff  
To vie strange forms with fancy; yet to imagine  
An Antony, were nature's piece 'gainst fancy,  
Condemning shadows quite.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Cf. Shakespeare, IV, xv, 27-29.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 76-100.

This projection of Antony's greatness, beyond his death, into the dreaming mind of the grieving Cleopatra fixes attention on the elevated station Shakespeare gives him during his lifetime. And it goes beyond that to make him a god-like, cosmic figure. The dreamer wants to be sure of the existence of such a man, and she longs to see such an Antony again; and in her mind Dolabella lies even up to the "hearing of the gods" in suggesting the possibility of the non-existence of such an Antony.

Shakespeare departs from Plutarch and dramatizes the matter of Dolabella's telling Cleopatra of Caesar's plans to send her and her children to Rome<sup>19</sup> by specifying before he gives her this information that she will go there to be in Caesar's triumph. This is now the third time, since Antony's mention to her that such will be the case, that she has raised the point: first to Antony,<sup>21</sup> then to Proculeius,<sup>22</sup> and now to Dolabella.<sup>23</sup> And these departures depend upon the first addition to the source -- Antony's threatening her with the triumph. She now receives the positive answer that Caesar plans to exhibit her in Rome, and the information comes from one over whom she has apparently triumphed.<sup>24</sup>

The source has this information:

Many Princes, great kings and Captaines did  
crave Antonius body of Octavius Caesar, to

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 200-205.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 109, 110.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., IV, xv, 27-29.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 53-55.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 109, 110.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 198-200.

give him honourable burial: but Caesar would never take it from Cleopatra, who did sumptuously burie him with her owne hands, whom Caesar suffered to take as much as she would to bestow upon his funeralls.<sup>25</sup>

Varying from this and changing the presentation of his hero, Shakespeare has compressed into three words of Cleopatra, everything pertaining to Antony's funeral; they are: "We'll bury him."<sup>26</sup> By omitting the many requests for his body, Caesar's refusals to grant any of them, the lavish preparations, Cleopatra's personal interment of his blood-sapped body, and her lamentations at his tomb, the dramatist has given place to his own emphasis upon the greatness of the spirit of Antony, now cosmic in its proportions.

The doomed queen thinks again of Antony's heated comments concerning her appearance in Caesar's triumph, following her being told she will be sent on before in three days. These thoughts and her putting them into words addressed to Iras<sup>27</sup> are departures from the source. Antony yet lives to influence her speech. Shakespeare confesses through Cleopatra that she is a whore and that Antony was a drunkard.<sup>28</sup> But the heavy-drinking Antony was such in the part of his life that the dramatist played down; this was a god-given fault, even according to Caesar's man.

Continuing to project Antony beyond his death and beyond the source material, Shakespeare has Cleopatra reminisce, saying, "I am again for

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<sup>25</sup>North, p. 394.

<sup>26</sup>Shakespeare, IV, xv, 87.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 208-221.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 221, 219.

Cydnus, / To meet Mark Antony."<sup>29</sup> Then, after the basket of figs and asps is brought in, the queen goes on,

Methinks I hear  
 Antony call; I see him rouse himself  
 To praise my noble act; I hear him mock  
 The luck of Caesar, which the gods give men  
 To excuse their after wrath: husband, I come:  
 Now to that name my courage prove title!<sup>30</sup>

In this addition to his source Shakespeare has her great, immortal Antony rouse himself to do two things: praise her for her courage in taking her own life and mock Caesar.

In this speech of Cleopatra is seen the spot into which Shakespeare fitly drops the word "husband," used here by Cleopatra for Antony the first time in the drama, although in the source one reads that while Antony was alive Cleopatra called him: "her husband, and Emperour. . . ." <sup>31</sup> He does precisely the same thing with the term "emperor," too, so far as Cleopatra is concerned, not having her use it for Antony (or, for that matter, for any other) until after his death,<sup>32</sup> and this mention of it for him is the last of such in the play. The dramatist's deftly taking these terms, found so used earlier in the source, and carefully sprinkling them into the very last scene help to emphasize the greatness of Antony, especially in Cleopatra's memory, and to immortalize him for the spectator.

Now the queen, who knows Antony better than any other knows him, thinks that if Iras, now dead, reaches him before she does, that the "curled

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 228, 229.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 286, 291.

<sup>31</sup>North, p. 390.

<sup>32</sup>Shakespeare, V, ii, 116.



Antony" will "make demand of her."<sup>33</sup> This is a departure from Plutarch which continues to project Antony beyond death, and this time again<sup>34</sup> shows a fault of the great man. And in the final departure from the source in her speech, the dying Cleopatra calls out, "O Antony!"<sup>35</sup>

Caesar standing over her body, says,

. . . but she looks like sleep,  
As she would catch another Antony  
In her stong toil of grace.<sup>36</sup>

Not from anything in the source, this reference to Antony continues to focus our attention on the hero of the drama. And in his final extension of him beyond Plutarch's account, Shakespeare makes Antony and Cleopatra, whose bodies will lie in the same tomb, the most famous couple in any grave, according to Caesar, who says of the pair,

She shall be buried by her Antony:  
No grave upon the earth shall clip in it  
A pair so famous. High events as these  
Strike those that make them: and their story is  
No less in pity than his glory which  
Brought them to be lamented.<sup>37</sup>

In the drama Caesar has extreme and equally high praise for both Antony and Cleopatra, but Plutarch says that all of Antony's ". . . statues, images, and mettals were overthrown,"<sup>38</sup> and Cleopatra's would have been,

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 304, 305.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., cf., V, ii, 219.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 315.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 349-351.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 361-366.

<sup>38</sup>North, p. 399.

it is implied, if Octavius had not been bribed by Archibius, a friend of the queen, to allow them to stand.<sup>39</sup>

The memory of Antony, in Caesar's evaluation, was not so great and glorious as Shakespeare shows in the drama.

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Shakespeare departs from Plutarch's account in his characterization of Antony by ignoring his past, darkened by some of the worst vices known to the Romans. He gives no hint of his cruelty nor that he had returned to some of his former vices after marrying Fulvia, and was in full pursuit of that way of life in Asia when he met Cleopatra. By these omissions Antony is elevated.

Plutarch's work is presented as history, but the warp and woof of Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra is characterization. Manipulating historical facts by additions, by omissions, and by alterations, the hero is changed considerably, but can still be recognized as the historical figure. Events are delayed, or hastened, and series of events are telescoped, to enhance the presentation of the triumvir.

Contrast and conflict are added. From the "Nay" of Philo<sup>1</sup> to Caesar's decree to bury Cleopatra "by her Antony,"<sup>2</sup> these are apparent. They penetrate even to the heart of the Antony of the drama, in whom is seen a greater and finer love for Cleopatra, but whose conscience is goaded by his remissness and infidelity. Such conflict and contrast are not in the earlier work as a whole, nor are they in the heart of its Antony.

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<sup>1</sup>Shakespeare, I, i, 1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 261.

Even though in general Shakespeare raises Antony through departures from history and in phraseology, some of his added conflict tends to remind one of the historical Antony. Examples of this are some of Philo's remarks concerning Antony's behavior,<sup>3</sup> and Caesar's complaints to Lepidus on the same theme.<sup>4</sup>

The playwright has given his Antony the strength of character to resolutely repeat, "I must be gone from Egypt."<sup>5</sup> A warmer, more human character than his counterpart in the source, he has more feeling, sorrowing over Fulvia's death. He has more consideration for others: for Cleopatra's feelings as he prepares to leave Egypt; for Enobarbus; for Eros, who is sworn to kill him at his command; and for Octavius, in his letters to him.

Inner struggles, clearly perceptible in the dramatic Antony, cannot be seen in his parallel in Plutarch. Shakespeare's hero says he wishes he had never seen Cleopatra,<sup>6</sup> yet declares his "full heart" remains "in use with" her, as he goes from her.

Historical elapsed time slips by unheeded as the poet, creating dramatic conflict, departs from the source to give an evaluation of affairs in a dialogue between Caesar and Lepidus,<sup>7</sup> then in one by Pompey and his men.<sup>8</sup> And their evaluations show Antony in various changes from the source.

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., I, i, 1-10.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 1-34.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., I, ii, 120-140.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., I, ii, 158.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., I, iv.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., II, i.

Cleopatra is unpredictable and mysterious, but Antony is not usually so. Yet the conflict which Shakespeare puts into Act II, Scene ii sinks into Antony's spirit; he is puzzled, not knowing to what extent he should ask pardon of Caesar. In a departure from Plutarch, he is made aware of neglect toward Caesar,<sup>9</sup> and, later, of owing Pompey "liberal thanks."<sup>10</sup> But his apology to Caesar is qualified, and is of Shakespeare's invention.

The delay of historical events in their relation to the drama and to the characterization of Antony is important. Delayed by the author are Antony's behavior aboard the Antoniad and his reconciliation with Cleopatra. Passing over the hero's misanthropic life near Pharos, and rushing events together, he gives Antony his opportunity to rise quickly from dejection to much better spirits.<sup>11</sup>

Shakespeare postpones Cleopatra's calling Antony her husband until after his death.<sup>12</sup> The latter's lines, "I will be / A bridegroom in my death,"<sup>13</sup> constitute a departure from Plutarch; here the love of the pair is elevated and extended beyond their death.

A significant delay is that of the desertion of Enobarbus. This variant enables Shakespeare to permit the spectator to peer more deeply into the heart of Antony and see a deeper feeling for his fellow man and

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., II, ii, 89.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., II, vi, 48.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., III, xi.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 290.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., IV, xiv, 99, 100.

an increased magnanimity, since in the drama the desertion comes when the fortunes of Antony are at a low ebb.<sup>14</sup>

Contraction hastens the occurrence of several events in the play, Fulvia's death is reported to Antony in Egypt, making possible the presentation to the spectator his reactions to this news in Cleopatra's court, and in the presence of the queen, who had spoken out of jealousy for Fulvia, and who would later so speak of Octavia.<sup>15</sup> Antony's challenge to Caesar to fight him in a duel is earlier than in the source, tending to darken the challenger, showing his judgment impaired.<sup>16</sup> His fortunes are lower at the time of the challenge of the play<sup>17</sup> than they were at its actual time.<sup>18</sup>

Omission of any mention of the military setbacks, poor strategy, and shame in the long Parthian campaign of Antony and his generals; of his delay in preparations for war prior to the battle of Actium; of Antony's conduct at Tanaerus and at the Timoneum; as well as of his carefree attitude upon arriving in Alexandria following his misanthropic life in the latter, is ameliorative in the characterization of the drama's hero. The careful contraction, in which Shakespeare may be suspected of suppression, that omits Antony's stay of perhaps a year in Rome, after marrying Octavia, of his few years of life with her there and in Athens, is pejorative; yet

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., IV, v.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., I, ii, 121 f.; iii, 156 f.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., III, xii, 29-37.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., III, xii, 25-28.

<sup>18</sup>North, p. 387.

these omissions magnify Antony's love for Cleopatra, which is Shakespeare's theme. Leaving out several prodigies prior to Actium,<sup>19</sup> the poet prefers to wait until just before Antony's final defeat and include fewer omens, delaying<sup>20</sup> and changing the one concerning the swallows and their nests.<sup>21</sup>

Caesar tells Thyreus to "Add more / From thine invention."<sup>22</sup> Exercising his own liberty to add more, to invent, the dramatist, too, includes several important events and statements. Antony says Fulvia's death makes his going from Cleopatra safe;<sup>23</sup> he says his heart remains with her,<sup>24</sup> while he goes from her as soldier and servant.<sup>25</sup> The great soldier's romantic virtues are curiously magnified as Caesar says that in great thirst, afield with his army he drank "the stale of horses."<sup>26</sup> Caesar is given words of censure for Antony's conduct, of pity in his defeat, and of praise at his death, raising the hero in the latter two, and heightening the conflict in the first.

An interesting and perhaps purposeful use of the word "emperor," in a departure from the source, is seen in Shakespeare. He reserves its use for Antony alone, while he is alive, then applies it once to Octavius. The living Antony is thus kept in the forefront.

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 370.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 373.

<sup>21</sup>Shakespeare, IV xii, 4-6.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., III, xii, 28, 29.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., I, iii, 55, 56.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., I, iii, 43, 44.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., I, iii, 70.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 62.

Dramatic dialogue lends emphasis to source material and intensifies the triumvir's feelings, attributes, valences, and motives. By his speaking words of kindness and consideration he is raised from coarse boorishness in the source<sup>27</sup> to a courtly, well-mannered gentleman, at least at times, in spite of temptations to be otherwise;<sup>28</sup> and the gross raillery Plutarch mentions becomes finely phrased love-making in the drama. The sounding brass of an Asiatic orator for oratory's sake becomes the better metal of the adept analogist<sup>29</sup> and the pensive philosopher.<sup>30</sup> A noticeable dialogic departure from Plutarch shows the spell of Egypt which surrounds and haunts Antony when he is away from it. The words "Egypt" and "Egyptian" are used to stress this note, being introduced into the drama many times; the soothsayer, in an invention, says to the queen's lover, in Rome, "Hie you to Egypt again."<sup>31</sup>

Departing from the earlier work, Shakespeare has Cleopatra say to her eunuch, "Tell him [Antony] that the last I sapke was 'Antony', / And word it, prithee, piteously."<sup>32</sup> As Mardian changes the sound of the word, so the poet changes the material from which he works to add feeling, warmth, and life to Antony and to arouse sympathy for him. Caesar says of the defeated man, "Poor Antony!"<sup>33</sup> Cleopatra, viewing the self-wounded and

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<sup>27</sup>North, p. 328.

<sup>28</sup>Shakespeare, I, iii, 85.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., IV, xiv, 38-43.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., IV, xiv, 1-14, 135-140.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., II, ii, 15.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., IV, xiii, 8, 9.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., IV, i, 16.



bleeding man, "O Antony, Antony, Antony!"<sup>34</sup> and the expiring hero, as if asking for help that cannot be given, twice cries, "I am dying, Egypt, dying."<sup>35</sup> With altogether different emotions, the defeated duumvir had exclaimed, "Betray'd I am / O this false soul of Egypt!"<sup>36</sup> The thought is from the source, the words by Shakespeare.

The dramatist uses Antony's expressions to show him darkened, too. Viewing the surrender of the fleet before Alexandria, and believing that Cleopatra had betrayed him, he refers to her as "foul Egyptian" and "triple-turn'd whore," and says of her, "The witch shall die."<sup>37</sup> Later he says to Mardian, "She hath betrayed me and shall die the death."<sup>38</sup> Directly to her he arraigns the queen thus: "You were half blasted ere I knew you: ha!" and "You have been a boggler ever."<sup>39</sup> He differs from his counterpart in Plutarch in threatening her with death, thus: "Vanish, or I shall give thee thy deserving."<sup>40</sup> And, in another departure from the source, having reverberations throughout the remainder of the drama, Antony taunts her with Caesar's triumph.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., IV, xv, 11.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., IV, xv, 18, 41.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., IV, xii, 24, 25.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., IV, xii, 10, 13, 47.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., IV, xiv, 26.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., III, xiii, 105, 110.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., IV, xiii, 32.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., IV, xiv, 32-39.

Generally speaking, however, Antony is raised and made a much greater man, in almost every way, throughout the drama. But he is downgraded here and there, in ways other than those already mentioned. In departures from the source he is shown to be gluttonous,<sup>42</sup> and more than once is shown effeminate.<sup>43</sup> But it is not Shakespeare's purpose to elevate him only; he skillfully blends his raising and his lowering of the man. And sometimes he elevates him or darkens him perhaps unwittingly. But he is given a "well-divided disposition;" he is made a "heavenly mingle," according to his lover.<sup>44</sup> There are not "evils enow to darken all his goodness," thinks the flattering Lepidus.<sup>45</sup> Maecenas, after his death, says it this way: "His taints and honours / Waged equal with him."<sup>46</sup>

Although Shakespeare makes Cleopatra's power over Antony the main cause of his undoing, he does not depart from the source's attributing it to the will of the "goddess";<sup>47</sup> Plutarch informed Shakespeare thus: ". . . for it was predestined that the government of all the world / should fall into Octavius Caesars handes."<sup>48</sup> Statements in the drama show that Caesar's rise and Antony's fall were because of "fate," "fortune," or "luck."<sup>49</sup> The

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., II, ii, 183-187.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 6, 7; II, v, 24.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., I, v, 53, 59.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 11.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., V, i, 30, 31.

<sup>47</sup>North, p. 338.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., pp. 365-366.

<sup>49</sup>Shakespeare, IV, xiv, 145; IV, xv, 43-45; V, ii, 3, 4, 29, 289.

telling of fortunes in Cleopatra's court<sup>50</sup> is a departure from the source, and serves as a precursor for the telling of Antony's fortune by the Egyptian soothsayer,<sup>51</sup> which is altered by Shakespeare, and which may point to fortune's blow to Antony at the end. Fate made him great, but for only a little while.

Shakespeare's Antony is made to see, late in the drama, in his anger, what he believes to be his downfall -- witchcraft. For he refers to Cleopatra as a "charm," a "spell," and a "witch."<sup>52</sup>

Shakespeare has added astrological reasons for the tragic fall of the hero, having him say his good stars left their orbits and plunged into hell's abyss.<sup>53</sup> Caesar says, after Antony's death, that their stars were "unreconcilable:" they could not "stall together" in the world.<sup>54</sup>

The faults of the tragic hero are "hereditary," and "what he cannot change," as explained by the weak Lepidus.<sup>55</sup> Agrippa's comments tell the spectator they were given by the gods to make him a man.<sup>56</sup> And, in harmony with the source, his god departs from him in Alexandria, on the night before his death;<sup>57</sup> the incident is enriched in the drama through the dialogue of the soldiers and made more surely an ill omen.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., I, ii.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., II, iii.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., IV, xii, 16, 30, 47.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., III, xiii, 145-147.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., V, i, 46, 47, 39, 40.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 13, 14.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., V, i, 32, 33.

<sup>57</sup>North, p. 338.

<sup>58</sup>Shakespeare, III, iii.

In a master stroke of the magnifying of Antony, the dramatist extends him beyond his death, far beyond the way in which Plutarch did. Caesar praises him much more highly in the drama, saying his death should shake the world.<sup>59</sup> The biographer tells that all his statues were torn down,<sup>60</sup> on which Shakespeare is silent.

The source holds but little concerning life after death, and less about Antony's existence beyond the grave. When he heard that Cleopatra was dead, her lover exclaimed, "I will not be long from thee."<sup>61</sup> And she, at his tomb, addressed him, saying,

O my deare Lord Antonius, not long sit-  
hence I buried thee here . . . . If  
therefore the gods where thou art have  
any power & authoritie . . . receive me  
with thee, and let me be buried in one  
selfe tombe with thee.<sup>62</sup>

Shakespeare enlarges upon the idea and extends it far beyond Plutarch.

Antony, thinking Cleopatra dead, looks forward to a place of blissful life with his love.<sup>63</sup> After he is dead, Cleopatra dreams of the Antony of cosmic proportions,<sup>64</sup> and Dolabella, who does not believe " . . . there was, or might be, such a man"<sup>65</sup> lies " . . . up to the hearing of the gods."<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., V, i, 14, 15.

<sup>60</sup> North, p. 399.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 396.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Shakespeare, IV, xlv, 44-54.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., V, ii, 91-99.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., V, ii, 93.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., V, ii, 95.

Antony is immortalized with Cleopatra by Caesar's comment: "No grave upon the earth shall clip in it / A pair so famous."<sup>67</sup>

For an Antony whose faults are god-given, or hereditary, or both; for this man who cannot change his faults; for fortune's slave cast into the mould of the loser; for the tragic figure against whom the stars and the omens of the air and under the earth have ruled -- the dramatist has won the spectator's sympathy. He can overlook his faults, he can understand his great love for the charming Cleopatra, and know she holds great power over him, even as he says to her:

You did know  
How much you were my conqueror; and that  
My sword, made weak by my affection, would  
Obey it on all cause.<sup>68</sup>

The variant that has Antony taunt Cleopatra with Caesar's triumph darkens him and starts a series of echoes heard throughout the remainder of the drama. It also poses interesting questions.<sup>69</sup> Why does he so taunt her in his anger? Does he wish to influence her to take her life, and thus defeat Caesar? Through suicide he conquers himself, according to both himself and Cleopatra.<sup>70</sup> The idea elevates him above his counterpart in the source, making the conquered a conqueror. And Antony succeeds in getting Cleopatra to purpose suicide to thwart Caesar's exhibition of her

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<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, V, ii, 362, 363.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, III, xi, 65-68.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Berkeley, "On Oversimplifying Antony," *College English*, XVII (1955), 96-99. Reply by Frank S. Hook, *College English*, XVII (1956), 365, 366. Rejoinder by Berkeley, *College English*, XVIII (1957), 286-287.

<sup>70</sup> Shakespeare, IV, xiv, 15-17.

in triumph.<sup>71</sup> Thinking her dead, he says she tells Caesar by her death, "I am the conqueror of myself."<sup>72</sup> And since Antony is first to describe to her the shame and torture of the triumph, causing her to meditate often upon it and shrink from the prospect, he is in a sense doubly the conqueror of Caesar in the two suicides. But Shakespeare does not develop the idea of Antony conquering Caesar indirectly through Cleopatra's suicide. And Antony loves her so much and is so deeply grieved at the news of her death, that he certainly takes no credit for his conquering Octavius thereby.

In his footnotes Craig, commenting on Act IV, Scene iii, says:

This strange bit is from Plutarch who, however, makes the music the symbol of the god of Antony's 'singular devotion,' namely Bacchus. Shakespeare tells us that it is the god Hercules, whom Antony claimed as his ancestor and whom he imitated.<sup>73</sup>

But perhaps the view that Shakespeare has substituted Hercules for Bacchus is incorrect. North's translation of Plutarch has the following:

. . . there appeared such a manly Locke in his countenance as is commonly scene in Hercules pictures, stamped or graven in mettall. Now it had bene a speech of old time, that the family of Antony was descended from one Anton, the sonne of Hercules, whereof the family tooke name. This opinion did Antonius seeke to confirme in all his doings; not onely resembling him in the likeness of his bodie, as we have saide before, but also in the wearing of his garments.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid., IV, xv, 22-29.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., IV, xiv, 62.

<sup>73</sup>Craig, pp. 1096-1097.

<sup>74</sup>North, p. 299.

Concerning the Alexandrian omen, North's translation reads:

Now, such as in reason sought the  
depth of the interpretation of this  
wonder, thought it was the god unto  
whom Antonius bare singular devotion  
to counterfeit and resemble him, that  
did forsake him.<sup>75</sup>

The use of the words "resemble" and "resembling" seem to tie together the two passages, making the god who left Antony at Alexandria to have been Hercules, whom his descendant (according to the opinion) tried to resemble not only in looks but also in dress, and who tried "in all his doings" to confirm the idea of his descent from him. But some may be convinced that another passage from North argues for a substitution by Shakespeare, viz.

It was sayd that Antonius came of the  
race of Hercules, as you have heard  
before, and in the manner of his life  
he followed Bacchus.<sup>76</sup>

Shakespeare himself may not have been sure to which of the two gods North's translation pointed. If in doubt it is possible that he chose Hercules to raise Antony. If he felt Bacchus was the one to which Plutarch points, his conscious substitution also raises him.

Shakespeare has made use of Cleopatra's conquering Antony by means of her carefully planned barge trip up the Cydnus. But he has failed to take advantage of an opportunity for dramatic contrast in that he does not mention the reason for which Antony sent for Cleopatra to appear before him personally when he came into Cilicia, which was, as Plutarch wrote:

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p. 396.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 370.

. . . to answer unto such accusations  
as were laid against her, being this:  
that she aided Cassius and Brutus in  
their warre against him.<sup>77</sup>

The last word has not been said regarding Shakespeare's departures from Plutarch in his characterization of Enobarbus. Far from it, although some work, of course, has been done.<sup>78</sup> The author respectfully suggests that further investigation of this be made, with emphasis upon the functions of this character in the drama. Such study should consider the possible reasons for the delaying of his desertion from its historical time, prior to the battle of Actium, which would have placed it in Act III, Scene vi, until just prior to Antony's final defeat, where it appears in Act IV, Scene ix. It perhaps should also attempt to answer the question: Why was Enobarbus, who tells of Cleopatra's conquering Antony via the barge on the Cydnus, held over to tell also of her sailing away in her Antoniad, which brought his defeat? Such an investigation should not, in the author's opinion, set aside the possibility of symbolism. Could Enobarbus somehow represent Cleopatra and her purposes in Antony: The dramatist informs the spectator through the first speaker that the "gipsy" is a "strumpet."<sup>79</sup> Enobarbus, who pleads for her to Antony, sees in her "the finest part of pure love,"<sup>80</sup> when Antony is somewhat in doubt about her. When, for the spectator, this man serves notice of his intention to desert, could this be interpreted to mean that Cleopatra in his eyes is toying with the idea

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 321.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Harrison, pp. 205-206.

<sup>79</sup> Shakespeare, I, i, 10, 13.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., I, ii, 152.



of "packing cards" with Caesar; hence the one who pleads her cause to Antony is going to Caesar, too?<sup>81</sup> Could the inner struggles of Enobarbus symbolize those of Cleopatra? And could his remorse have any relationship to her final decision to stay with Antony? Does his death by heartbreak presage Cleopatra's sorrow over the death of Antony? And does Shakespeare through his treatment of this character, his rôle, dialogue, and actions somehow seek to show, quite subtly, that Cleopatra is really the chief cause of Antony's collapse?

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., III, xiii, 61-64.

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VITA

Joe Fred Watson

Candidate for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

Thesis: A STUDY OF SHAKESPEARE'S DEPARTURES FROM PLUTARCH IN THE  
CHARACTERIZATION OF ANTONY IN ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

Major Field: English

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Antlers, Oklahoma, November 28, 1912, the  
son of John C. and Dora A. Watson.

Education: Attended grade school in Antlers, Oklahoma; was graduated  
from Konawa High School in Konawa, Oklahoma, in May, 1930; was  
graduated from Freed-Hardeman College in May, 1947; attended  
West Texas State College 1949 and 1954; completed requirements  
for the Bachelor of Arts degree with honors from New Mexico  
Western College, with a major in History and minors in English  
and Psychology, in May, 1956.

Professional Experience: Employed as Minister of Church of Christ,  
Fritch, Texas, 1947-1948; Church of Christ, Canyon, Texas, 1949-  
1954; Church of Christ, Silver City, New Mexico, 1955-1956;  
employed as University Minister by Church of Christ, Stillwater,  
Oklahoma, 1956-; member of Blue Key and Sigma Tau Delta.

## ERRATA

- p. 11, last line but one: edious for edius
- p. 27, l. 14: introduced for intorduced
- p. 27, l. 22: reasonable for reasonalbe
- p. 32, l. 17: repetition for repitition
- p. 38, third from last line: spectator's for spectator
- p. 40, l. 7: victorious for victorius
- p. 41, last line: en route for enroute
- p. 62, last line: jealous for gsalous
- p. 89, l. 41 in quotation: sovereign for soveriegn (Arden text)
- p. 93, l. 14: Antony's for Angony's
- p. 95, l. 8: strong for stong
- p. 101, l. 4: concerning for cerning
- p. 102, l. 15: spake for sapke
- p. 107, l. 8: understand for understnad