## CLASSICAL RECEPTIONS IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH DRAMA 2017 Prin Workshop 10-12 January 2022



## Guido Avezzù – Verona University "The Success of a Mistake: Reading Aristotle"

The *editio princeps* of Aristotle's *Poetics* was composed by using the manuscript of a 15th-century scribe and scholar, who, while undoubtedly ingenious in his own way, was a brilliant and creative author of corrections rather than a faithful copyist. His 'genius' left an indelible mark on one of the most problematic *loci* in Aristotle's work, that would only be corrected by Immanuel Bekker in 1831. In the 16th century especially, but at least until Goethe (1826), interpreters would focus exactly on this page, not only testifying to the long success of an error, but also foregrounding the obscurity of a crucial passage devoted to rhythm, metre and *melos*. The great continental commentaries on the *Poetics* resorted to various interpretative strategies to propose a coherent reading. This paper will draw the history of this error and will focus on how, at the late date of 1623, Theodor Goulston, while being indebted to those commentaries, tried to resolve its inconsistencies autonomously.

## Carlo Maria Bajetta and Roberta Grandi – Université de la Vallée d'Aoste "What are you reading my Lord?' Libraries and Uncertainty in Elizabethan England"

While a Renaissance man's 'small Latin and less Greek' is sometimes taken for granted, the vicissitudes of Elizabethan libraries and the real extent of their contents is often far from straightforward. Even when we do have a list of the supposed holdings of a man's bookshelves, we can by no means be certain that this corresponds *in toto* to the books he owned, and, most importantly, to the books he read. This is particularly true for Elizabeth's courtiers, whose booklists often included only a selection of what they had actually read or purchased. This paper will endeavour to clarify some of the 'blank spots' of these libraries, something which can cast a new light on the real extent of a courtier's reading.

## Silvia Bigliazzi – Verona University "On Early Modern English Tragic Choruses: Stage and Page Performances"

The Warres of Cyrus King of Persia, a play often attributed to Richard Farrant and published in 1594, but possibly dating from at least the previous decade, contains a curious piece addressed to the audience. Without speech heading and misplaced in the middle of Act 2, it is cast in blank verse like all the dialogues and makes an obscure allusion to a Chorus that does not appear in the course of the play. While this peculiar appearance has often been noted, and sometimes seen as an example of how "the prologue refers to itself as a chorus" (Wiggins, 813. *The Wars of Cyrus, King of Persia*), it remains unclear whether it belongs to this play, what happened to the Chorus it mentions, and exactly what it says about it. What can be evinced, though, is a praise of the ancient Chorus as a singing part in the Greek fashion as opposed to the neo-Senecan wailing Chorus of contemporary neoclassical drama, apparently perceived as insufficiently and truly "ancient". Starting from considerations on what could be read in sixteenth-century commentaries on Aristotle's presentation of the distribution of metre and song in tragedy, this paper will explore documents of choral performance in contemporary English dramas, including what the typography of books of a few neo-Senecan plays may tell us.

## Tom Bishop – University of Auckland "Circuits of tragedy: Jane Lumley's *Iphigenia* Revisited"

This paper situates Jane Lumley's English translation of the Euripides-Erasmus version of *Iphigeneia in Aulis* in relation to exemplars and explorations of "tragedy" contemporary with Lumley's work, particularly attending to the varieties of text that named themselves "tragedies" around 1550. These include both popular and learned works in both English and classical languages. Using these orientation points, the paper then seeks to illuminate the structure and rhetorical texture of Lumley's translation, arguing that its supposed shortcomings derive from a different conception of tragic action from the one that has dominated most critical evaluation of the work as a drama.

## Francesco Dall'Olio – Université de la Vallée d'Aoste "Three Authors and a History of the World: Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon in Sir Walter Ralegh's Library"

In the last two decades, the influence Greek historiography had on Elizabethan drama has attracted a fair amount of scholarly attention. As an introduction to a future study about Greek historians and Elizabethan drama, this paper will discuss the influence of the three most important Greek historiographers, Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, on Sir Walter Ralegh's *History of the World*, a work which has recently been viewed as the peak of historiography in the English Renaissance. The starting point will be an analysis of the notes present in Ralegh's library list (edited by Walter Oakeshott) as well as of the quotations and references to their texts within the *History*. It will attempt to establish which texts were present in Ralegh's library and, when possible, to identify the editions he consulted. The results will be set against the 'standard' Renaissance approaches to these writers in the light of the admiration reserved to Thucydides, the debate on Herodotus, and the varied fortune of Xenophon. When compared with this continental tradition, Ralegh's *History* reveals unexpected peculiarities. He does not show genuine interest in Thucydides, whom he seems to mention out of 'formal respect', while he looks closer to Herodotus and intrigued by Xenophon's *Anabasis*, which was not the historian's best known and admired work at the time. Thus, the *History of the World* marks a significant stage in the European reception of these ancient writers, at the same time signalling the end of a tradition and the beginning of a new approach.

## Tania Demetriou – Cambridge University "'Infinite posterities of hungry poets': Jonson's poor Homer"

This paper excavates a particularly early modern conception of the poet of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, his extreme poverty during his life, and its impact on ways of perceiving and narrativizing the career and life-

circumstances of the commercial dramatist. At its centre are the references to Homer's poverty in Jonson's *Poetaster*, which the paper contextualises by looking appearances of this idea in early modern sources with particular relevance to Jonson (Nashe, the Parnassus plays, Buchanan, Heywood) but also at the trope's ancient origins and the contingencies of transmission that turned the myth of the indigent poet into a commonplace in this period.

## Marco Duranti – Verona University Performances without Texts: "A Paradox about Greek Drama in Early Modern England"

Performances of Greek plays in England are documented since the 1530s (and more regularly since the 1550s), making England probably the most active stage for Greek drama in early modern Europe, albeit almost exclusively in academic venues and for didactic purposes. However, only two sixteenth-century printed editions of Greek drama in the original language have come down to us: Euripides' *Troades* (1575) and Aristophanes' *Equites* (1593). This paper will raise questions on the possible reasons behind this apparent paradox. Continental editions circulated widely in England, as is demonstrated by a variety of sources, thus filling the gap of domestic publications. A dramatic increase in the printing of Greek texts is recorded in the last three decades of the century, possibly as a result of religious and nationalistic impulses. It is in those years that English printers decided to issue two plays which were either not available as individual plays (Euripides' *Troades* had never been published autonomously) or scarcely available (Aristophanes' *Equites* had been published as an individual play in Utrecht in 1561). They could only be read in large editions of the entire corpora of Euripides and Aristophanes, which were hardly suitable for a didactic use. Starting from these premises I shall propose a few considerations on why these two drama texts aroused the interest of early modern English readers.

## Jonathan Gardner – University of St Andrews "Tracing Patterns of Imitation in William Gager's University Plays"

Across his career as a university playwright, William Gager adapted Ovid, Virgil and Homer for the Oxford stage in three plays; Meleager (1582), Dido Tragodia (1583) and Ulvsses Redux (1592). This paper examines the deliberate, dynamic use of his classical sources across these three dramas that in reverse chronology reviewed classical literature. Gager's sourcing and imitation has often been disregarded, with Boas referring to Dido as having been "sharked up" hastily for the occasion', and charging Gager with 'perverting, with the minimum of purely verbal change, the gold of the Virgilian hexameters into the base metal of his neo-classical iambics'. More recent scholarship, however, has re-evaluated his practice, an example being Tania Demetriou's consideration of Ulvsses Redux as a 'stage translation' of the Odyssey. This paper will go beyond previous studies of Gager's individual plays by comparing his imitative patterning across the three classical plays, from the expansion of the Meleager myth in the *Metamorphoses* to the interweaving transposition and paraphrasing of the Aeneid in Dido, to the Homeric translation across languages in Ulysses Redux. In addition to creating texts that act as mediators of their sources for an audience, Gager also utilised mediations of his sources from their reception, such as Penelope's letter in Ovid's Heroides. Not only by the dramatisation of these texts across form, meter and (in the case of Homer) language, but additionally by the conscious use of imitative, paraphrased and original language, Gager's practice of imitation reinforces the narratives of his dramas and demands apposite scrutiny from his readers.

## Alessandro Grilli – University of Pisa "Intertextual Appropriation in *The Alchemist*: Jonson, Aristophanes, and the Others"

Jonson's vast and diverse *Belesenheit* has been the object of considerable erudite attention, with a view to detect the sources of the many quotations and allusions hidden in his works. In opposition to traditional source criticism, my paper aims at raising some theoretical issues about Jonson's intertextual practice through the analysis of one of his most brilliant dramatic achievements. My main assumption is that appropriation is a manifold process, involving a great deal of different forms of intertextuality, spanning from literal quotation or allusion, to the reproduction of thematic features and/or dramatic structures. Sometimes, the peculiar stance

of a text, or of an "architexte" (Genette 1979), is taken over, and a new creation appears which bears the mark of a traditional genre, albeit in an altogether different form. I shall argue that Jonson's literary appropriation is first and foremost a form of literary criticism, since it rests upon the analytical understanding of textual features and their reorganization within innovative frameworks. Jonson's intertextual practice can be seen more specifically as a deliberate, dexterous contamination of architextual models, reflecting in the playwright's creative choices his position at the crossroads of many, sometimes conflicting literary traditions. In this respect, *The Alchemist* is a particularly stimulating case study: alchemic and puritan texts are extensively appropriated for the sake of the play's themes and satyric targets. However, only a larger look beyond the most immediate intertextual sources allows a better understanding of the play's dramatic structure, and of its multiple, entwined architextual models. My reading of this play, in particular of its dazzling Act V, aims at highlighting Jonson's gradual disentanglement from the plots of Roman comedy and his enhancement of other areas of the comic tradition, first of all the work of Aristophanes.

## Tom Harrison – Queen's University Belfast "Hermaphroditical Authority: *Epicene* and The Aristophanic Chorus"

Ben Jonson used a number of 'formal choruses' in his comedies, which he deployed to guide and chide audience opinion and reaction. Group behaviour and response are two of Jonson's abiding interests, and consequently his plays contain even more numerous examples of informal choric groupings who watch, comment on, and judge the actions of others. This paper argues that the Collegiate ladies of *Epicene* are one of these informal choric groupings, and that their status and action within the play aligns them specifically to the Aristophanic chorus. I argue, however, that the ladies' Aristophanic links are not consistent, and the comparison is one of 'family resemblance' rather than precise copy. Jonson's selective approach to the Collegiates' Aristophanic forbears offers an insight into his general approach to classical models, which served as 'guides, not commanders' to his own dramaturgical strategies and were effective because of their continuing relevance to the playwright's own age.

## **Domenico Lovascio – University of Genoa** "Unveiling Wives: Euripides' *Alcestis* and Two Plays in the Fletcher Canon"

Scholarship has been gradually moving away from the misconception according to which Greek theatre was virtually unknown among early modern English playwrights, showing instead that Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides enjoyed a larger readership than previously acknowledged. Unsurprisingly, the primary focus of this rediscovery has been William Shakespeare's oeuvre and his familiarity with at least some of Euripides' works - The Winter's Tale and its reworking of Alcestis being one of the most egregious examples. Although Alcestis as a model for *The Winter's Tale*'s ending has been identified and discussed for some time now, this paper argues that the affinities between the two had already been recognized and re-enacted on the early modern English stage by Shakespeare's fellow playwright John Fletcher. In line with Fletcher's penchant for appropriating classical elements and mixing them with contemporary ones into a uniquely irreverent and selfconscious artistic blend, his tragedy of Thierry and Theodoret builds and then subverts the audience's tragicomic expectations by setting up a reunion that is highly evocative of that between Hermione and Leontes from *The Winter's Tale* – with hints of *King Lear* – and especially by playing with the Euripidean trope of the supposedly dead wife who turns out to be alive by reappearing veiled before her husband, only to shatter the illusion of a happy ending and a tragicomic resolution. The Hellenizing details in the play, which sharply clash with the play's Merovingian setting, the affinities between the character of Ordella and the Euripidean Iphigenia, as well as the fact that Fletcher had already made use of the veiled woman trope in The Knight of *Malta*, all testify to Fletcher's familiarity with Euripides' theatre. By prominently and creatively recuperating the theatergram of the veiled revenant woman in *Thierry and Theodoret*, Fletcher gratifies the playgoers' desire for being in the know, while simultaneously teasing and defying their generic expectations by inhibiting the transition of tragedy into tragicomedy.

#### Francesco Lupi – Verona University "Relics of drama: 'dealing' with Fragments of the Attic playwrights. An Enquiry into Early Modern Translations of Plutarch and Lucian"

Historians of classical scholarship have in recent times frequently focused on collections and editions of Greek poetic fragments in early modern Europe. While this has led to an increase of our knowledge of what may be seen as a 'fragmentological' discipline in the making, the ways in which the fragments of Greek poetry were translated into vernacular languages at that time are for the most part to be explored. This paper aims to address this issue by focusing on a select number of quotations of the Attic tragedians preserved by Greek prose-writers of the Imperial age (Plutarch, Lucian of Samosata) and the translational options adopted by translators in Early modern England.

#### Francesco Morosi – University of Pisa "Translator, Adapter, and Interpreter: Thomas Randolph and Penia in Aristophanes' Wealth"

Πλουτοφθαλμία Πλουτογαμία. A pleasant comedy entituled Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery (henceforth Hey for Honesty) is a translation-adaptation of Aristophanes' final surviving play, Wealth, first composed and staged by Thomas Randolph (1605-1635) around 1626-1628. As such, the play is also one of the clearest pieces of evidence of Aristophanic influence over early modern drama. The importance of Randolph's free reading of Aristophanes, however, lies not only in its historic use, but also in its genuine worth as an early specimen of Aristophanic scholarship. In translating and adapting Aristophanes, Randolph takes a more or less explicit stand on many interpretive issues raised by Wealth, and thus offers an interesting insight into early modern methods of translating and understanding ancient Greek comedy.

One of the most interesting traces of Randolph's interpretive work can be found in an extremely complex passage of Wealth, the agon between Chremylus and Penia, the goddess of Poverty. Randolph offers an adaptation of the agon, by introducing three swains and a parson, who are of course absent from Aristophanes' original play; however, Randolph's adaptation seems to grasp the deeper comic meaning and strategy of the original scene. As has been variously noted, Penia's arguments on the need for poverty in *Wealth* look far more convincing than Chremylus', and her argumentative strategy looks more logic and consistent. This has raised a number of doubts among scholars over whether we should sympathize with Poverty, and consider the agon of Wealth as the only Aristophanic agon where the comic hero's idea is explicitly shown as impossible to realize. Aristophanic scholars, however, have ever hardly noticed that the reason for this unique feature of the agon of Wealth can be found in Penia's description as a philosopher: being depicted as an intellectual character, Penia knows how to win a debate. Incidentally, this feature is what invalidates Penia's arguments: intellectuals and witty characters are invariably shown as unreliable smooth talkers in comedy, and must therefore be given no credit. However far from the original characterization of Penia, Randolph's adaptation intercepts the intellectual tone of the whole scene, and stages a similarly intellectual battle between two scholars, Penia and Dicaeus. Moreover, Randolph understands and adapts the comic relationship between poverty and any intellectual job, and creates a close link between Penia Pennilesse and university students and teachers, in accordance with the university context of the first performance.

The paper aims at analysing Randolph's translation/adaptation of the scene, demonstrating that his reading of Penia's character is the first ever extant proof of the 'intellectualist' line of interpretation of the agon of *Wealth*.

#### Stephen Orgel – Stanford University "Elizabethan Classicism: the Reform of Poetry"

For a few decades in the sixteenth century, attempts were made to refashion English verse, as the Romans had refashioned theirs, according to the quantitative system of Greek poetry. The project now seems totally out of touch with the nature of the language and thus doomed to failure, but devising a system of quantitative poetry in English was a project that major poets and critics took seriously. Sidney wrote a good deal of quantitative verse, and Spenser and Gabriel Harvey discussed it and exchanged examples. As I have written elsewhere, the larger assumption behind Roger Ascham's and Harvey's proposals for the reform of English poetry was that the "barbarous" England of the time could be rectified by the application of classical rules. A return to the

classics held out the promise of culture and civility—not only in poetry, of course, but poetry seemed a particularly clear example. Nobody thought the transformation would be easy; a hectoring and bullying tone is common throughout the discussion. But a good deal of energy in the Elizabethan age went into the devising of strategies for becoming the new ancients, strategies of translation and adaptation, and the invention of appropriately classical-sounding models for vernacular verse, the domestication of the classic.

## Tanya Pollard – CUNY (City University of New York) "Reviving Classical Actors"

As early modern English writers began invoking the legacy of classical theaters to justify their own theatrical experiments, they began reimagining not only the texts and structures of antiquity, but also the figure of the actor. Defenders of the theater, such as Thomas Heywood, invoked the mythic Thespis as an icon of performative skill, and elegists praised leading actor Richard Burbage as the Roscius of his day. At the same time, the specter of classical anxieties and prejudices about actors haunted the profession and its supporters. This paper will examine the period's emerging ideas about classical actors in order to explore the way these ideas contributed to developing the commercial theater industry. As individual actors and their personal circumstances became increasingly visible, how might their public personae have shaped not only their acting but also the roles, and plays, with which they came to be identified?

#### Cristiano Ragni – Verona University

# "...nostram solam ex tot linguis perfectam..." Paul Greaves's Grammatica Anglicana (1594). Between Classical Influences and Patriotism

By the time Paul Greaves published his *Grammatica anglicana* in 1594, England had established its role as a major power on the international stage. It little surprises, therefore, that this was the moment when the first grammars dedicated to the English language began to be produced, with the explicit aim of showing its great potentialities.

Organized – at least in its intentions – according to Peter Ramus's method, Greaves's *Grammatica Anglicana* is one of the first grammars to focus on English "praecipue quatenus a latina differt" ["especially as far as it differs from Latin"]. In an age when the term "grammar" was still firmly associated with classical languages, in other words, Greaves's work stands out for what he himself defines as the "novelty of my book" and, at the same time, testifies to the recently gained prestige of the vernacular it analysed.

After a brief excursus on the cultural and linguistic context of Elizabethan England, I will discuss the most relevant aspects of Greaves's grammar, as outlined in his Prefatory Epistle, where he also allows for the emergence of an unprecedented wave of patriotic sentiment. Particularly, I will focus on how he presents early modern English morphology. In so doing, I will have the opportunity to underscore how the mediation of the Latin grammar tradition does undoubtedly represent a fundamental filter for Greaves, which puts in evidence peculiar mechanisms of imitation and syncretism.

#### Emanuel Stelzer – Verona University "[S]ome God out of a ginne in a tragedie': Questions of Mediation of the *Deus ex Machina* in Elizabethan Drama"

Whereas the OED dates the earliest occurrence of the phrase '*deus ex machina*' in the English language to 1697 and similarly records the first attestations of the expression 'god from/out of the machine' in the second half of the seventeenth century, the concept was quite familiar to the Elizabethans, and it was common to have a classical deity descend from the 'heavens' of the professional playhouses (or from the ceiling of other performing places). This presentation wishes to investigate how these dramatic theophanies developed and were shaped by a set of confluences which included the heritage of medieval theatre, the circulation and mediation of classical plays in early modern Europe, the impact of mythographies and allegorised readings of the Graeco-Roman myths, and the visual culture of the period. The functions and effects of such theophanies will also be scrutinised, taking into account Renaissance reconfigurations of the 'human' and the emergence of sceptical thought.

#### Carla Suthren – UCL "Euripides and the Eidolon"

Among the prefatory material that appears in editions of Euripides' complete works printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is a short essay entitled ' $\pi\epsilon\rho$ i είδῶλου', or *De Idolo* in its Latin translations. It is attributed here to the Byzantine scholar Manuel Moschopulus, but it is actually an extract from a longer work by Michael Psellus. In it, Psellus meditates on the nature of the *eidōlon*; specifically, he considers whether the soul should be termed an *eidōlon* of the body, or vice versa. This paratext, I argue, invites the reader to be alert to Euripides' interest in the *eidōlon*, which emerges most overtly in *Helen*. And there is evidence that a number of significant early modern readers took up this invitation. Buchanan, de Baïf, Ronsard, and Spenser all show specific interest in the *eidōlon* of Euripides' Helen. It proves to be a fertile metaphor for the relationship of art to life, among other things. Marlowe's Faustus, faced with his own *eidōlon*-Helen, raises exactly these issues when he asks his famous question: 'Was this the face that launched a thousand ships?'. And Shakespeare's Helen in *All's Well That Ends Well* likewise inserts herself into this tradition, when she declares herself 'but the shadow of a wife... / The name and not the thing'. By exploring the appeal that the idea of Helen and her *eidōlon* held for early modern writers, we can identify Euripides as prompting reflections on art, myth, and identity, from Psellus to Shakespeare.

## Gherardo Ugolini – Verona University "Unwritten Law and Natural Law in Thomas Watson's *Antigone*"

Thomas Watson's *Antigone* takes up the theme of the 'unwritten laws' present in the Sophoclean drama in the form of the 'laws of nature' and makes 'nature' a red thread in his translation-reworking of the Greek model. The natural law interpretation of Antigone's laws has a long history that can be traced back to Aristotle (*Rhetoric*, Book I). In Sophocles' play there is no reference to the fact that the protagonist of the play claims the rightness of her conduct by invoking nature and its laws. Watson's reference point for his interpretation is probably the Latin version of *Antigone* by Thomas Naogeorgius (Basel 1558), who in a margin note explains the syntagm *àpgrapta nòmima* as "haud scriptas" or "naturae et cordibus inscriptas, non tabulis aut chartis". The theme of nature and natural law is prominent in Watson's interpretation, especially in the paratexts accompanying his *Antigone* edition, especially in the second *Argumentum* and in the choral pomps, where nature is understood as the *trait d'union* between human and divine law.

## Janice Valls-Russell – CNRS/University Paul Valery, Montpellier, France "Translating Greek history into Humanist Senecan drama: William Alexander's *Croesus* (1604)"

In 1604 William Alexander (1577-1640), the future First Earl of Stirling, published *Croesus*. He included this closet drama and three others – *Darius, Alexandraean Tragedy* and *Julius Caesar* – in a single volume in 1607. Entitled *The Monarchicke Tragedies* and dedicated to James I of England, the volume was reprinted in 1616. The four plays were published again in 1637 with non-dramatic writings under the title *Recreations with the Muses*. This presentation focuses on *Croesus*, a rare instance of the dramatization of the Lydian king's fate in spite of what has been termed its "tragic potential". It examines how Alexander reworks material from Greek sources, principally Herodotus' *The Histories*, Plutarch's *Life of Solon* and Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, to adapt the historians' prose accounts to a dramatic format in verse. In his expansion, reorganisation and generic restructuring of the source material, which was available in Latin and vernacular translation as well as in Greek editions, Alexander crafts what we might term a Greek Senecan tragedy *à la française*, with the absence of violent action on stage, long speeches, a chorus, a messenger and the addition of a female character. Close readings show how, in its generic mediation of Greek history and in keeping with his three other "monarchicke tragedies", Alexander's play is more indebted to the "French", politically inflected, Senecan model of French Renaissance humanists, who influenced authors of British closet drama such as those of the Sidney-Pembroke circle, than to the "English" brand of sensational revenge tragedies which took London's playhouses by storm.

## William N. West – Northwestern University "Is All Well Put Together in Every Part?": Building a Renaissance *Bacchae*

Euripides' *Bacchae* has often been made a representative exception within Greek tragedy—for the intensity of its pathos or its humor, the directness of its engagement with the cult of Dionysus or its destruction of it, for its metatheatricality or its influences on later examples of tragedy. But aside from its sometimes occulted presences, *Bacchae* shows a particularly concrete and motivating absence: famously, much of the play's climactic scene, in which his mother recognizes the body of Pentheus by piecing it together, is missing from extant texts. In early printed editions, these lacunae (fail to) appear among lines "Is all well put together in every part?" and "You see how changed I am," which seem to comment on the philological and performative labor of reconstructing a body, a text, or a play. Twentieth-century editions of *Bacchae* supplement the received text with passages from *Christus Patiens*, a Byzantine cento of Euripidean and other passages patched into an account of the crucifixion, and so another way of actualizing the play's thematics of fragmentation. Making *Bacchae* exemplary once again, I will explore both early modern toleration for incompleteness and the impulse to reconstruct what is missing in performance.

## Susanne Wofford – New York University "Cleopatra, Isis and Sparagmos: Euripides and *Antony and Cleopatra*

The paper examines the Shakespeare's Cleopatra and Plutarch's Hellenistic philosophy (in *Of Isis and Osiris* and not only in the *Life of Mark Antony*), and looks at the impact of her personifying Isis both in Rome earlier and in the context of tragedy. It will also look at the influences of Euripides on *Antony and Cleopatra*, both in Shakespeare's play's concern with dispersion and scattering (with a nod to Janet Adelman's reading of the play) and in its concern with recollection and re-memberment, as an inversion of the *Bacchae*. The paper will speculate that the myth of Isis and Osiris, telling as it does of the re-memberment of the dismembered Osiris, may provide an alternative model of tragedy.