

## SAA 2023: Imagining Antiquity (Session One)

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### ABSTRACTS

#### **Service vs. Sway: Models of Citizenship in *Coriolanus*** Alex Garganigo

Fresh from his victory at Corioli, the title character carefully separates himself from the plebeians who can vote him into the consulship: “I had rather be their servant in my way / Than sway with them in theirs” (2.1.191-2). In the contrast between “service” and “sway,” I argue, lies the contrast between Roman and Greek citizenship as understood in Shakespeare’s England.

Shakespeare, of course, had long engaged with ideas of citizenship in the Roman and Greek plays and thus with Aristotle, Plutarch, and co.; and scholars like Julia Reinhard Lupton and John Michael Archer have ably commented on that engagement. But the controversy over the proposed legal-governmental Union of England and Scotland in James I’s early years prompted *Coriolanus*’s further rethinking of citizenship in the context of republicanism and empire.

Anne Barton was right to call attention to Livy as a key source for the play, and Livy’s accounts of self-sacrificing Roman martyrs in the early Republic help us see that Shakespeare regarded Roman citizenship as self-sacrificing service to the republic (*Coriolanus*’s “service”) and Greek citizenship as competition for power in the *polis* (*Coriolanus*’s “sway”). In the conflicts between Rome and Antium and among *Coriolanus*, *Volumnia*, and the plebeian “citizens” of Rome, the play pits these different models of citizenship against each other. Broadly speaking, the plebeians and tribunes embody the Greek “power” model; *Coriolanus*, *Volumnia*, *Cominius*, and *Lartius* the Roman “service” model.

#### **Shakespeare’s Oak: *Coriolanus* as Aeneas** Patrick Gray

Shakespeare’s tragedy, *Coriolanus*, is an indictment of contemporary Neo-Stoicism, as well as a critique of the callous cruelty he sees as endemic to pagan antiquity, Greek as well as Roman. Shakespeare’s distrust of Senecan Stoicism can be seen in *Coriolanus* in his allusions to a well-known passage in book 4 of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, an epic simile in which Virgil compares Aeneas resisting Dido’s pleas for him to stay with her in Carthage to an oak-tree clinging to a rocky crag in the midst of a storm. Like St. Augustine, Seneca alludes to this moment repeatedly in his philosophical prose as an illustration of the inner life of the Stoic “wise man” (*sapiens*). Shakespeare reworks it, by contrast, into a symbol of self-destruction. More generally speaking, as a retelling of early Roman history, Shakespeare’s *Coriolanus* is a pointed reply to Virgil’s *Aeneid*, as well as Seneca and Justus Lipsius. Shakespeare does not criticize Virgil’s *Aeneid*, however, so much as draw attention to the epic’s ironic undertow, undercutting a Stoic, pro-Augustan reading. Like Virgil himself, albeit more explicitly, Shakespeare represents the Romans as in practice more like Seneca’s tragic revengers than like Seneca’s Stoic sages. Where Shakespeare departs from Virgil is not, then, in his

opposition to Stoicism or Roman imperialism but instead in his appreciation for femininity. In the *Aeneid*, it is female characters who are associated with vengeance, fire, fury, and the possible destruction of Rome. In Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, it is the male protagonist's inhuman constancy that is the danger.

### ***The Winter's Tale and the Quarrel of Ancient and Modern Sovereignty***

Ethan Guagliardo

Standing before Hermione's "statue," Leontes cries: "O, thus she stood, / Even with such life of majesty—warm life, / As now it coldly stands." Much has been made of Leontes's "warm life," how it suggests a way of seeing and valuing that turns his earlier psychoses on their head, from absolutist exception to what is common and shared, from fixed subject/object relations to Ovidian fluidity, etc. Yet life's connection to "majesty" has been ignored. My paper seeks to recover the "majesty" in "warm life." I begin by showing that the term "majesty" (from *maior* + *stas* or "greatness") was at the center of early modern debates about ancient and modern sovereignty. Here two rival views emerged. For Jean Bodin, ancient *maiestas* was synonymous with his own "sovereignty," or supreme and indivisible power (so for Bodin "sovereignty" in the Roman republic first belonged to the people, who later gave it to emperors). In the second view majesty was a personal quality, a greatness of bearing and countenance that *enacts* rule by overawing all in its presence—a view Ovid's *Fasti* rendered into myth by narrating the birth of *Maiestas*. Thinking of majesty as an affective and bodily force was a natural fit for the English stage, where at times it is profoundly effective (e.g., *Tamburlaine*) though most often it fails. I argue that *The Winter's Tale* goes further, not only dramatizing the conflict between Bodinian sovereignty and Ovidian majesty, but reinterpreting the latter: now the "magic" of the body in majesty is not in enacting exceptional authority, but in awakening us to the magic of ordinary life—a magic we might call the special sovereignty of theater.

### **Speaking of Tragedy**

Matthew Hunter

In recent years, ordinary language philosophy has enjoyed a revival among literary critics interested in recovering the particular linguistic resources that are unique to literary texts. This essay extends that revival by reassessing the place of tragedy—both classical and Shakespearean—in J.L. Austin's thought. Beginning with the observation that the first lecture of *How to Do Things with Words* concludes by evoking Euripedes' *Hippolytus*, it proposes that the genre of tragedy presents both an inspiration and a challenge to Austin's celebrated speech-act theory. Whereas Austin draws upon the rituals of modern liberal institutions (boardrooms, marriage ceremonies, boats) in order to understand the classic performative speech-act as an utterance that coordinates intention with uptake, tragedy dwells beyond ritual in order to stage moments when uptake cannot be coordinated with intention: when a god actually honors a curse (*Hippolytus*), when banishment causes death (*King Lear*), when eloquent pleas make nothing happen (*Metamorphoses*, *Titus Andronicus*). Indeed, this essay will propose that the arc of tragedy is from speech-acts of catastrophic efficacy to speech-acts that are agonizingly inefficacious. Tragedy thus stages the coordination of intention and uptake as an ongoing challenge to social life, even as its limit. In the absence of such coordination, speech gets dramatized as the action of committing oneself to social worlds with which, one learns, it is not possible to cohere. It is this preoccupation with incoherence that makes tragedy into such a compelling resource for thinking about the peculiar knowledge that literary works create.

## Male Friendship in *Antony and Cleopatra*

Joyce MacDonald

In 3.6, Shakespeare's Octavia is "wretched" that her loyalties are torn between her husband and her brother, two old "friends" whose amity is now suffering the same kind of tension. The idea of friendship—*amicitia*—carried significant weight in a Roman political lexicon, indicating not only the extension of gestures of trust, solidarity, and affection, but the gracious return of such gestures to the giver. Octavia's marriage to Antony is an example of this reciprocal exchange between friends, designed to reiterate and strengthen and secure the two men's bond. Examining aspects of friendship between men in *Antony and Cleopatra*, this paper will argue that as foundational a principle of social organization that it was in the Roman world, friendship nevertheless emerges as a site of tense play with the rules of gender and status that it was meant to proclaim and uphold. As Octavius' heartbroken response to the news of Antony's death indicates, the friendship between him and Antony may never have been fully contained and defined by the public, instrumental exchanges between them. He remembers Antony as his "competitor," in a relation that would have been fully bounded by the rules of amity, but also as his "brother," his "mate," his "friend and companion". *Antony and Cleopatra*, I will argue, undoes and revalues Roman traditions of *amicitia* in a way that leaves a trace of Antony's invocation of "new heaven, new earth"—here, an alternative model of relations between men—behind.

## Lear at Colonus

James J. Marino

The rise of psychoanalysis led to a search for Oedipus figures in Shakespeare's plays, but in the case of *King Lear* it did the opposite. Lear was read as an Oedipus figure before Freud, but not after. Psychoanalytic criticism actively disidentifies Lear and Oedipus; one of the key goals of Freud's famous essay on the three caskets is to effect this disidentification.

*King Lear* was previously compared with *Oedipus at Colonus*, for reasons that should be obvious: an aged king who has lost power relies on his faithful and self-sacrificing daughter as he nears death. This Oedipus, the toxic patriarch who curses his heirs and unsparingly depends on his favorite daughter, the Oedipus who resembles his father Laius, is the figure psychoanalysis insistently marginalizes. Freud never mentions *Oedipus at Colonus* anywhere in his published works, but alludes to it in his private correspondence, calling his daughter Anna "my Antigone." Freud's reimagining of Oedipus, the perpetual son wrestling with his feelings for his parents, excludes the figure of Oedipus the father.

Shakespeare's chief source for the Oedipus legend would not have been Sophocles (or Freud), but Gascoigne's *Jocasta*, a version of Euripides's *Phoenissae*. Gascoigne's blind and bitter Oedipus, a patriarch past his power, is the mythic figure Freud has taught us not to recognize. But he is easily seen in both Lear and Gloucester. *King Lear* has two Oedipus figures whom Freud does not want us to notice.

## Dido's Mighty Line

Andrew Mattison

This paper discusses 16th- and 17th-century English verse treatments of the suffering and death of Dido, focusing on the influence that prosody and lineation in Book IV of the *Aeneid* have on prosody and lineation in English. Through that extremely specific topic, it addresses the broader question of how English Renaissance versifiers conceived of the English verse line in relation to the Latin one. My central claim is that there is a stickiness, a tenacity to

Vergil's lineation at the end of Book IV that reveals itself in English adaptations of his text. If I'm right, it suggests a possibility that Renaissance poets and critics were drawn to but that more recent prosodists have resisted: that there is a Latinate element at the heart of English prosody. That element has previously been sought at the level of the foot, with controversial and at best inconclusive results. I suggest we should look for it instead at the level of the line, and that we recognize it as something that does not operate independently but is tied to specific literary elements (such as narrative and characterization) that are being imitated. Examples are drawn from translation as well as adaptation and allusion in drama. Translations discussed range from the Earl of Surrey's to John Denham's more than a century later. Dramatic examples include Marlowe's *Dido* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, which, I believe, applies lessons learned from Marlowe's play to the problem of dramatic verse lineation.

### **“The Sodomites, or Worse”: Martial’s Epigrams and the Early Modern Sexual Economy**

Ian Frederick Moulton

In his 1583 moralistic tract *The Anatomy of Abuses*, Philip Stubbes famously claimed that actors gather in “secret conclaves” where “they play the Sodomites, or worse.” This phrase has often been used by modern scholars to argue that acting was seen as a sodomitical activity in early modern England. But little attention has been given to the question, what is worse than sodomy? The answer, I believe, lies in early modern readings of classical Latin texts, in particular the epigrams of Martial. About one tenth of Martial's epigrams deal in some way with illicit or disorderly sexuality. Commentaries on Martial, easily available to Latin readers in early modern England, explicated in some detail the significance of such practices as anal sex, sex between men, oral sex, and masturbation as part of their general annotation of Martial's poems. This paper, part of a larger study of the sexual discourses facilitated by early modern commentaries on Martial, argues that early modern readers of Martial (including Ben Jonson) were well aware just what was worse than anal sex in Roman discourses of sexuality. And it address the larger question of the extent to which early modern elite male attitudes towards illicit sexuality were shaped by classical Latin texts.

### **Anonymous Heywood and the Classical Art of Misreading**

Joseph M. Ortiz

Literary criticism of Thomas Heywood has tended to downplay his humanist credentials, sometimes to the point of ridicule. This critical dismissiveness has traditionally stemmed in part from Heywood's “wayward” classical citations in his *Apology for Actors* (1610), but also from his freewheeling use of classical material in his *Ages* plays. This paper argues that, contrary to settled opinion, the depth of Heywood's humanist learning is in fact considerable and that his idiosyncratic classicism can be read as a deliberate challenge to his fellow dramatists. First, I suggest that Heywood's *Ages* plays, particularly *The Golden Age* (1611) and *The Silver Age* (1613), are a direct response to Ben Jonson's brand of humanism in plays like *Poetaster* and *Sejanus*. Second, I offer a reading of Heywood's *In laudem*, an “anonymous” poem that Heywood strategically placed at the beginning of the *Apology*. Although neglected by Heywood's critics, the poem fuels the idea that the primary intended audience for the treatise was neither professional actors nor antitheatrical polemicists, but other London playwrights themselves. The poem also shows that, paradoxically, Heywood found in lesser known classical texts a model for his own satirical, “unclassical” approach to works of antiquity.

**English Nymphs in Ovidian Landscapes:  
The Entertainments at Bisham Abbey and Sudeley Castle (1592)**  
Lindsay Reid

In Elizabethan England, those privileged enough to access the gardens at Kenilworth Castle or Nonsuch Palace could enjoy the experience of inhabiting tangibly Ovidian spaces. Visitors wandering through the former encountered a large Italianate fountain, its octagonal base intricately carved with mythological scenes. In the latter, the sensory experience was further heightened since guests might – presumably at their own peril – actually amble through Diana’s own grove as described in *Metamorphoses* 3. Likewise, contiguities between contemporary English and fictive Ovidian landscapes were regularly explored in royal entertainments of the era. This paper centres on two such theatrical experiences devised for Queen Elizabeth’s benefit during her 1592 summer/autumn progress. Temporarily transforming local landscapes into classically infused storyscapes, these entertainments were analogously used as vehicles to promote eligible teenaged daughters as potential maids of honour: at Bisham Abbey, Elizabeth and Anne Russell played a twinned set of alter-Syrinxes being harassed by the notoriously lascivious Pan while, at Sudeley Castle, Elizabeth Brydges was cast as Daphne, the best-known victim of Apollo’s lustful predation. In both entertainments, then, Ovidian sexual politics and Elizabethan courtly politics seem to have conspicuously converged. Foregrounding conceptual similarities between the Bisham and Sudeley entertainments, this paper asks: in a context where distinctions between physical and imaginative spaces were habitually blurred, what were the implications of populating these spaces with living English “nymphs” and of treating the natural landscape as an expansive stage upon which familiar Ovidian scenarios of sexual violation might be replayed?

**Caliban’s Schoolroom**  
Amanda Ruud

*The Tempest* is recognized as one of Shakespeare’s most classically allusive works primarily because of Prospero. Prospero, who describes himself as a scholar of the liberal arts “without parallel,” invokes and manipulates classical--and especially Roman--literature in his island sorcery. Prospero wields classical learning as a tool of control and oppression in this play, and the character most directly subject to the effects of Prospero’s misapplied humanist learning is perhaps Caliban.

This essay, however, will focus on *Caliban’s* classical learning. While examinations of Caliban’s subaltern voice have drawn on Antonio Gramsci and Gayatri Spivak to describe the colonial implications of Prospero’s language training, I hope to examine how Caliban draws on the classical rhetorical training he received from Prospero to gain language for his experiences of loss and alienation. Caliban declares that the primary profit of his rhetorical education is that he knows “how to curse,” but he also employs rhetorical devices such as *topographia* (the description of a place and a type of *enargeia*) that Quintilian associates with control, persuasion, and the poetic evocation of absence and loss. This essay will ask what is made possible by an examination of Caliban as an eloquent, classically-trained rhetorician and what antiquity offers to Caliban’s imagination of authority.

## **Allegory, Antiquity, and the Primitive Church in *The Virgin Martyr***

Bailey Sincox

In some ways, Thomas Dekker and Philip Massinger's *The Virgin Martyr* (c. 1620) fits the bill for traditional studies of classical reception. Its setting is the Roman city of Caesarea. Its inciting incident is Diocletian's promulgation of stringent religious policy circa 303 CE; both Diocletian and Maximian appear as characters. However, neither *The Virgin Martyr*'s plot nor the late antique sources from which it is drawn fit quite as comfortably. Building upon the *Martyrology of St Jerome* (c. 430-50 CE) and Aldhelm's *De Virginitate* (late 7<sup>th</sup> century CE), the play dramatizes the life of Dorothea, a young Christian charged with apostasy. Furthermore, its form is a morality play and its mode is allegorical, subjugating the literal, classical narrative to a patently early modern polemic.

This paper begins by problematizing patristics' marginal place in classical reception studies. However, it then demonstrates that *The Virgin Martyr* thematizes an ambivalent relationship to antiquity. By making Diocletian's daughter Artemia (type of Revelation's "Whore of Babylon") the Catholic Church, the play condemns the classics as immoral and idolatrous. Indeed, Dorothea disputes the Roman religion by calling Venus a "whore" and Jupiter "a loose adulterer, / Incestuous with his sister" (3.1.139-44). Yet, by making Dorothea symbolize Protestantism (à la Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"), the play also denies antiquity's alterity, yoking the past to the present via the primitive or "true" church suffering patiently until the eschaton. Thus, this paper argues that *The Virgin Martyr* imagines antiquity as a source of apocalyptic temporality even as its allegorical machinery attempts to transcend the classics.

### **"Sweet Marjoram of the Salad": Abortifacient Plants and the Shakespearean Bed Trick**

William Steffen

Scholars have long debated how to solve the problem of *All's Well That Ends Well*, one of Shakespeare's most notorious "problem plays." In the play's denouement, Helena, who has used a "bed trick" to conceive a child with her husband without his consent, is finally accepted by Bertram as his lawfully wedded wife. I suggest that scholars have overlooked one possible reading of the play's troubling end: that Helena has used her knowledge of abortifacient plants to fake her pregnancy in order to achieve autonomy over her social station and sexual desires without succumbing to the obligations of patriarchal social reproduction that she labors to meet. The abortifacient plants mentioned in the play (iris, Herb of Grace (rue), and sweet marjoram) are situated in a botanical and gynecological discourse that goes back to Dioscorides, who catalogued a number of plants used for birth control in the first century. Helena's bed trick might also be situated in a classical lineage that begins with Ovid, whose tale of Myrrha features a bed trick to explain the origin of a common abortifacient in ancient and early modern societies. But it would be a mistake to think that the bed trick is a convention of Western literature alone. The Lakota trickster figure Iktomi, for example, who is credited with creating both potions and culture, is also associated with the bed trick. Several scholars have traced the ways in which European colonialism, which brought European botanists into contact with new species of plants and indigenous plant knowledge in the Americas, coincided with attempts to erase any mention of abortifacient properties from botanical publications. I propose that *All's Well* not only stages how plants afford Helena the agency to evade patriarchal expectations; it also uses Helena's pregnancy to rehearse the patriarchal, military, and colonial processes through which cultural knowledge about plants is shared, appropriated, and suppressed.

## **“How charming is divine Philosophy!”: Euripidean Morality in John Milton’s *A Maske***

David Vaughan

This paper examines how Milton’s reading of Euripides informed his conception and composition of *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle* (also known as *Comus*). Written and performed in 1634 for John Egerton, the Earl of Bridgewater, Milton first published *A Maske* in 1637 after some revision from the performed version. Much work has been done to address the influence of Platonic philosophy on *A Maske*, but the role of Euripides has received less attention. Yet, notes recorded after the composition of *A Maske* indicate that Milton considered Euripides a dramatic authority. Around 1639, he describes the drama of “*Sophocles and Euripides*” as “doctrinal and exemplary to a Nation.” Additionally, in his commonplace book, Milton writes that nothing “in all philosophy is more serious or more sacred or more exalted than a tragedy rightly designed [or] more useful for seeing at a single view the trials and vicissitudes of human life?” In *A Maske*, Milton stages the moral problem of *sophrosyne* (variously chastity, temperance, and virginity) in the life of The Lady, whose virtue was tempted by the Bacchic Comus. By examining the presentation of *sophrosyne* in Euripidean tragedy alongside Milton’s *A Maske*, I will discuss how Milton confronts and reimagines Hellenic conceptions of morality and dramatic form in a Protestant English masque. Here, Milton, not yet the revolutionary polemicist nor the epic poet, presents moral action in a theatrical masque to demonstrate that virtue is a performative act.

## **Medieval Afterlives of Tragedy and the 1518 *Agamemnon***

Andrew Wallace

The paper studies the gaps, impasses, and generative errors that persist throughout the reception of ancient Greek and Roman tragedy. It is, of course, well known that ancient tragedies were lost to western Europe during late antiquity and the Middle Ages. It is perhaps less well known, however, that this was also the period during which the genre’s name began to acquire its mysterious power to both solicit and resist interpretation.

The first half of my essay shows how certain aspects of the reception of the genre during the Middle Ages, when tragic plays are unknown but the word “tragedy” baffles and tantalizes commentators, continue to set conditions for understandings of the genre up to and even beyond the printing of the *editiones principes* during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The second half of the essay makes a case study of the confusing—even disastrously unreadable—1518 edition of the plays of Aeschylus. This Aldine edition, which was edited by Franciscus Asulanus, contains hundreds of errors, incorporates long sections of unintelligible Greek, and mistakenly runs together the fragmentary texts of two tragedies (*Agamemnon* and *Choephoroi*). The single, incomprehensible *Agamemnon* that resulted from Asulanus’ labours is an accidental landmark on the path to modernity’s understanding of tragedy as a kind of intellectual puzzle.