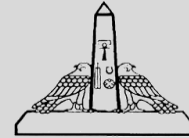


كلية الآداب

حوليات آداب عين شمس المجلد ٤٦ ( عدد يوليو - سبتمبر ٢٠١٨ )

<http://www.aafu.journals.ekb.eg>

( دورية علمية محكمة )



جامعة عين شمس

## **Orientalism and Hegemony of Empires: Egypt, Rome and Britain in John Dryden's *All for Love***

**Samia AL-Shayban \***

Associate Professor-College of Arts - Department of English Language and Literature- King Saud University

### **Abstract:**

Conventional criticism of John Dryden's *All for Love* (1677) traces the love story between Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt and Mark Antony the Roman general. This paper refrains from centralizing the love story and reads *All for Love* as propaganda for Rome's imperialism and by extension the rising British Empire. This reading reconstructs the dramatic role of the characters not as personas in the love story but as independent and dynamic agents who can fulfill or obstruct the imperial hegemony of Rome. Surprisingly, critics tend to ignore the distinct cultural aspects of ancient Egypt which Dryden manipulates to deliver his message. Through the use of images, which in most part depend heavily on fundamental aspects from the ancient civilization of the land of the pharos, the paper reveals Dryden's constructs of symbolic, military and political contrast between Egypt and Rome. The symbolic contrast reveals how Dryden employs gods, the Nile and the pharaohs along with their symbolism of power, life and death to assert the superiority of Rome. In the military and political contrast, Dryden allows Egypt to be effeminate while Rome is manly. The contrast between the effeminate Egypt and manly Rome is conducted through, Cleopatra, Caesar Octavius and Mark Antony. To be able to appreciate Dryden's imperial propaganda, discourse analysis is to be used along with Edward Said's critique of orientalism. Such multi-perspectivism enables us to discern the contrasted images of the Occident and the Orient which are designed to stress the supremacy of Rome and justify the annihilation of Egypt.

**Key words;** Egypt, Rome, hegemony, imperialism, the Nile, Osiris, Isis, Cleopatra, Octavius, Antony.

### Introduction

“*All for Love*, and most Correct of all,  
Of just and vast applause can never fail, Never!”  
(Gould 307)

Gould depicts the vast and just applause received by Dryden’s play almost ten years after its premier in 1677. What makes such testimony significant is the fact that Gould was notorious for his scathing criticism of Restoration theatre and its immoral practices. To give such positive comment is a sure testimony of the enduring success and popularity of *All for Love*. In 1699 Gildon, a prominent restoration critic, considers *All for Love* a “Master piece that few of the Ancients or the Moderns ever equal’d” (v). Pope judges it to be “the most complete” English tragedy (Spence 207). Significantly, this outstanding critical acclaim was matched by a theatrical success. Caldwell argues that *All for Love* and for “over 150-year period of major and minor evolution of the London stage ... was a staple in a repertory that rejected even David Garrick’s attempt at Shakespeare’s *Antony and Cleopatra*” (183). Vieth points to the enduring legacy of the play. He states, “Countless audiences and readers have considered it Dryden’s masterpiece” (xiv). As a result of its dramatic excellence, the play was staged 123 times between 1700 and 1815 (Vieth xiv).

Understandably, the immensely popular *All for Love* has a long critical history that is both diverse and challenging. Caldwell comments on the twentieth century critical approach to the play, “The result of ... searches for a single encompassing meaning that the only consistency amongst the criticism of *All for Love* is, inconsistency.” In spite of the apparent diversity and inconsistency of the play’s interpretation, which Caldwell finds frustrating, the love story of Antony and Cleopatra remains the central point. Hughes argues that the lovers exist in “an environment of inner and outer instability” (563). As such he concludes that the “the only objective” of the play is “instability” (556). Canfield rejects this concept of instability and argues that it is through Cleopatra, the “jewel of great price,” and her love for Antony, the play emerges with sublime constancy (38-39). The same approach is to be traced in Sherman’s critique, who argues that above all else, the play affirms the power of love (30). In her turn, Brown stresses the tragic situation of Dryden’s lovers. Antony, she argues

Is caught between the claims of empire and his love for Cleopatra. Alternatively, he pursues a “brave Roman fate” presenting himself as an honorable soldier in battle against Octavius and defending his hold on the Roman Empire and Cleopatra’s Egypt together. (71)

In her critique of *All for Love*, Kewes argues that Dryden’s Cleopatra would be viewed “by the audience in the context of contemporary visual

presentation of Egyptian queen ... in praise of, ... royal mistresses, especially the Duchess of Portsmouth" (145-146). Considering the examined criticism of the play, one can notice that critics offer a narrow readings as they isolate the characters from their historical and dramatic function. Giving such a confining interpretation of a play that remained popular for 150 years after its premier in 1677 is not only restricting but most importantly devaluing. Viewing, the historical context of the play which is the war between Rome and ancient Egypt, the love story of Antony and Cleopatra becomes a minor detail in the bigger picture wherein the fate of empires is decided. Furthermore, the ancient Egyptian monarchs are not considered mortals but divine entities with a role that goes beyond the mundane occupations of daily life to embrace the cycles of the cosmos (Auerbach 24-31). Thus, to read Cleopatra's love for Antony and her tragic end from a mortal perspective is highly restrictive.

The life span of *All for Love* coincided with the Second Hundred Years' War. The Second Hundred Years' War term is used by historian Seeley in his influential book, *The Expansion of England*, first published in 1883 to describe a series of wars between Britain and France for colonial dominance (24-30). Usually these wars involved allies of both sides from European countries (3-50). Lenman comments on the bloody wars between Britain and its European rivals to amass wealth and territories in and outside Europe.

Colonial wars in the early-modern era of European History were the episodes of violence associated with the establishment of ... dominions (usually but not always overseas), trading supremacies on oceanic routes, and plantations or colonies; ... as well as the subsequent struggles between European states ... for control of or access to imperial prizes .... [T]he massive military confrontations in Western Europe generated by duels between states or coalitions of states fighting for or against potential political or economic hegemony. (3)

*All for Love's* survival of the notoriously fickle London audience and during a century marked by wars and economic hardship kept the critics intrigued. Caldwell argues that the play's significance "is located primarily in the moment of production" (184). Indeed, the play showed remarkable adaptability; however, it is essential to stress that the reason for *All for Love* adaptability is primarily embedded within the fabric of the play itself. *All for Love* tells the story of Rome on the threshold of becoming an empire. Britain from 1677 until the end of the eighteenth century was standing in the exact historical moment of Rome as dramatized in *All for Love*; it was on the threshold of establishing its own empire. Brown argues that

The celebration of ancient imperial cultures led directly to an analysis of their failures and their fall .... It was Rome, ... that had drawn ... the west into the orbit of the universal empire and thus paved the way for the emergence of Europe .... Yet the profound legacy made the collapse of the founding political system all the more sobering. (73)

In *All for Love* Dryden does not celebrate ancient Egypt. In fact, he is being elegiac in depicting its ruin. Furthermore, he is not concerned with historical analyses of Egypt's fall, as he is busy displaying Rome's might and its natural right to inherit the ancient empire of Egypt. As a result, there is nothing sobering about Dryden's dramatization of Rome. If anything, it is a jollification of Rome's victory and the annihilation of Egypt. However, the play is far from being a simple retelling of historical events of ancient imperial powers or indeed a mere exotic entertainment. This paper aims to read the play as imperial propaganda for the Roman Empire and by extension the rising British Empire. For that end, the paper avoids the dominant critical tradition which centralizes the love story between Cleopatra, the queen of the Nile, and the Roman general Mark Antony. This reading reconstructs the dramatic role of the characters not as personas in the love story but as independent and dynamic agents who can fulfill or obstruct the imperial hegemony of Rome.

Surprisingly, critics tend to ignore the distinct cultural aspects of ancient Egypt with its gods, goddesses, priests and Pharaohs which Dryden manipulates to deliver his message. Through the use of images, which in most part depend heavily on fundamental aspects from the ancient civilization of the land of the sacred Nile, the paper reveals Dryden's constructs of symbolic, military and political contrast between Egypt and Rome. The symbolic contrast reveals how Dryden employs gods, the Nile and the pharaohs along with their symbols of power, life and death to assert the superiority of Rome. In the military and political contrast, Dryden allows Egypt to be effeminate while Rome is manly. The contrast between the effeminate Egypt and manly Rome is conducted through, Cleopatra, Caesar Octavius and Mark Antony. Thus, Cleopatra emerges effeminate who in turn is contrasted with the manly Octavius. Antony is dramatized as both a manly Roman and effeminate Egyptian. It is these two versions of his character which are contrasted to differentiate between Rome and Egypt. To understand the symbolic contrast between the images of Egypt and Rome and be able to appreciate Dryden's imperial propaganda, discourse analysis is to be used. Edward Said's critique of orientalism enables us to discern the contrasted images of the Occident and the Orient represented by the Roman and Egyptian characters. Such multi-perspectivism of critical approaches is necessary to expose Dryden's complex manipulation of his text to justify the supremacy of Rome's imperial ideology and the annihilation of Egypt's political autonomy.

**Symbols of life and death: Egypt's demise and Rome's rise:**

As part of Dryden's design to promote Rome's supremacy, he portrays Egypt as a defeated kingdom and Rome as a victorious empire. To that end, symbols of death and life emerge as central agents. On the symbolic level, Dryden adopts a discourse designed to construct Egypt as a dying power while Rome is a flourishing one. To be able to understand Dryden's dramatization and the ideological message behind such construct, discourse analysis of Phillips and Jorgensen is employed. They argue that discourse does not, "neutrally reflect[s] ... identities and social relations, but, rather play[s] an active role in creating and changing them" (1). To articulate Egypt's image of death, Dryden chooses two significant representation of ancient Egypt; the Nile and the pharaohs. Duiker and Spielvogel argue that "Two of the most important sources of life for the ancient Egyptians were the Nile... and the pharaoh" (16). With the help of the Nile and the pharaohs, Dryden constructs a discourse in which he creates a dramatic reality that sustains his imperial message. To the ancient Egyptians, the Nile was the source of life in the vast empty desert. Mieroop explains the centrality of the Nile in ancient Egypt,

The Nile ... shapes Egypt .... Wherever its water reaches the soil can be farmed; where it does not reach the earth is parched and it is impossible to grow anything on it .... [The Nile] timing is in perfect harmony with agricultural cycle. (7-8)

Ina Dryden's dramatization, the perfect cycle of the Nile is tragically disturbed. Serapion who is the priest of Isis reports to his friend, Myris the untimely inundation of the Nile.

Our fruitful Nile  
Flowed ere the wonted season, with a torrent  
So unexpected, and so wondrous fierce,  
Men and beasts

Were borne above the tops of the trees. (1.1.2-4; 6-7)

Serapion describes the flood through a multilayered images of death and destruction. Phillips and Jorgensen argue that "With language we ... contribute to reconstructing reality .... Meanings and representations are real. Physical objects ... exist, but they only gain meaning through discourse" (8-9). According to the discourse analysis, the Nile and the flood are but physical objects/events with no meaning in themselves. These objects gain significance and meaning through occupying a place in Serapion's discourse. Accordingly, the Nile which is perceived by the Egyptians as the source of life becomes deadly and destructive. The Nile's regular inundation around which the Egyptians regulate their lives, experiences an untimely flood that destroys all signs of life. To the priest of

Isis, this untimely and destructive inundation is an indicator of “Portents and prodigies” which become “so frequent.” To obtain deeper understanding of Serapion’s discourse, we need to explain the genesis of his name. Armistead explains, “Serapion must be considered to represent his namesake of Serapis, who is Alexandrian god who fuses the legendary king Apis with the mythical consort of Isis, Osiris. Serapis-Osiris was the god of reason and the impulse toward order” (Armistead 93). In order to appreciate Serapion connection to reason and order, it is essential to understand Isis-Osiris mythology. According to Egyptian mythology, Serapis/Serapion is connected to Osiris who was the first king of Egypt. After his murder and resurrection, Osiris becomes the king of the underworld. The annual inundation is considered to be Isis’ tears of sorrow over the death of her husband Osiris whose body was thrown into the Nile (Clayton 35-48). Isis who is considered to be the most powerful deity in ancient Egypt was connected to various functions, but we will consider the function relevant to her connection with the Nile. She is the goddess of resurrection and rebirth as she brought back her husband to life and gave birth to their son Horus, the Sun King (Clayton 99-112). This action can explain the meaning of her name which means the throne. As such she is the personification of the throne itself and the representation of the Pharaoh’s power (Assmann 23-25). One can but notice the complex connection between Serapion and Isis-Osiris mythology. As Isis priest, Serapion is the human voice of her knowledge and ultimately, her power. Serapion’s relationship with Isis, who is connected to Osiris, leaves us in a better position to perceive the centrality of the Nile in their relationship. To appreciate the centrality of the Nile in Serapion’s discourse, we need to consider Laclau and Mouffe’s view of the “nodal point.” They define the nodal point as “a privileged sign around which the other signs are ordered; the other signs acquire their meaning from their relationship to the nodal point” (105). Within the context of Serapion’s discourse, the Nile is the nodal point that gives the meaning to the other host of signs or moments that bear meanings and representations. Thus, Serapion, Isis, the flood, Osiris, life and death are all firmly related to the Nile. Armistead explains Serapion’s role “As a priest of Isis and namesake of Serapis, Serapion can serve as an oracle for both and hence can speak of order and regeneration as well as for death and disorder” (93). Isis and Osiris who are also connected to Serapis, speak through the Nile. As an oracle, Serapion does not speak for himself, but for the privileged sign which is the Nile. Kvale argues, “The self no longer uses language to express itself; rather language speaks through the person. The individual self becomes a medium for the culture and its language” (36). Thus, one can say Serapion is a medium who presents the discourse of the nodal point which is the Nile. The Nile itself, delivers Isis and Osiris message of death and destruction through its untimely flood. The death message is stressed

through connecting the flood with Isis' tears lamenting the death of Osiris. To the ancient Egyptians, the message though clear is yet ominous.

To stress the ominous signs delivered by the Nile, through its destructive and untimely inundation, Dryden employs the Pharaohs, the second essential element in the cycle of life of ancient Egypt. Once again, Isis Priest delivers an ominous discourse,

Last night, between the hours of twelve and one,  
A whirlwind rose, that, with a violent blast,  
The iron wicket, that defends the vault,  
Where the long race of Ptolemies is laid,  
Burst open, and disclosed the mighty dead.  
From out each monument, in order placed,  
An armed ghost starts up: the boy-king last  
Reared his inglorious head. A peal of groans  
Then followed, and a lamentable voice  
Cried, Egypt is no more! (1.1.17-28)

According to discourse theory of Jorgensen and Philips, one can read the violent wind, the dead kings of ancient Egypt and their ghosts as natural phenomena with no meaning in themselves (9-8). The particular construct which Serapion delivers, gives a particular meaning which is firmly connected with ancient Egypt's beliefs and conventions. Ancient Egyptians believed that all dead pharaohs are associated with Osiris, the king of the dead and the Lord of the afterlife. As Osiris was resurrected from death, all dead kings will be resurrected and gain immortality (Wilkinson 105). As the lord of the underworld and judge of the dead, Osiris could be perceived as the lamentable voice that delivers the death message of Egypt. In this context, Osiris/the lamentable voice is also the nodal point that stresses the death message. With the recent military defeat of Egypt in its naval encounter with the Roman army, Osiris' message is very much at home. Armistead clarifies that Dryden and his audience were well informed of almost everything related to ancient Egypt. He states,

Dryden was writing for audience and readers who had access to a great variety of information about ancient Egypt...Dozens of ancient, medieval and Renaissance books – many of them in new editions and translations – told of plants ...pharaohs; ruins ...and religion. (89)

Dryden's well-informed audience in Egyptology can conclude that the dramatist has chosen to reenact the Osiris-Isis-Horus myth through *All for*

*Love*. The Nile's inundation (Isis' tears) laments the death of the pharaoh, Cleopatra who is also Osiris. As the lord of the underworld and the judge of the dead, Osiris announces the death of Cleopatra/the pharaoh who is also identified with Egypt. Isis, who is associated with the fertility of the Nile, gives birth to a new king to rule Egypt, the Roman Horus, Octavius. Dryden makes it clear from the opening of the play that Egypt as a political entity comes to an end and becomes part of the newly born Roman Empire. With such dramatization, Dryden divinized the Roman Empire. Its birth is sanctified by Isis, the throne bearer and the mother of kings and professed by Osiris, the god of the underworld. In this way, Rome emerges as a divine power ushered in by the Egyptian gods to rule Egypt.

Significantly, the divinity of Rome is stressed not only through Egypt, but through Rome itself. Unlike Egypt, Rome is presented with signs of victory and dominion. To deliver Rome's promising position, Dryden enlists the Egyptians, Serapion and Alexas. The significance of such choice goes beyond the fact that both are Egyptians to embrace the nature of their dramatic roles. Serapion, the Priest of Isis, the oracle who reads beyond the physical reality. Alexas is an experienced courtier who is Queen Cleopatra's senior political advisor. To avoid accusations of partiality and stress his objectivity, Dryden allows Rome to be praised by its foes. Our first encounter with Rome is through Ventidius, Mark Antony's "great lieutenant in the East" (1.1.102), who is noticed by Serapion. He inquires, "But who's that stranger? By his warlike port,/His fierce demeanour, and erected look,/He's of no vulgar note" (1.1.98-100). The fact that Serapion delivers Rome's note of superiority reminds us of his role in delivering the doomed fate of Egypt. Pointedly, Ventidius, the brave and victorious Roman lieutenant is center of the discourse. To be able to appreciate such position, one needs to be aware of the defining bond between Rome and war. To the Romans, war "was a way of life" (Ashworth 18). Mars, the Roman god of war was "the son of Juno, and father of Romulus and Remus. After Jupiter, he was the Romans' most important god" (Ashworth 18). The Romans believed that they are descendants of Mars, the war god through Romulus and Remus who established Rome. The Roman historian Livius believed that the glorious military heritage of the Romans justified their claim of divinity. He writes

Now, if any nation ought to be allowed to claim a sacred origin and point back to a divine paternity that nation is Rome.... For such is her renown in war that when she chooses to represent Mars as her own and her founder's father, the nations of the world accept the statement with the same equanimity with which they accept her dominion. (bk 1)



By examining Serapion's description of Ventidius, one notices that the given moments include his physical description and lineage. These moments invoke the Roman god of war, Mars. The Romans depicted their god as a handsome man wearing a helmet and carrying a spear/shield as emblems of his warring nature (Williams 143). Serapion's discourse connects Ventidius with Mars, thus confirming Rome's claim to divinity. As a result, one can point Ventidius who is admired by Serapion, as the nodal point. The personification of Rome through Ventidius is further confirmed by Alexas. He tells Serapion, that Ventidius is the one "Who first showed Rome that Parthia could be conquered" (1.1.103). He also stresses that "A braver Roman never drew a sword" (1.1.111). Historically, the Parthian empire (247 BC-224 AD) was a formidable opponent to the Roman Empire. Consequently, Rome suffered major military defeats opposite to the Parthians (Sheldon 29-80; Schlude and Rubin 82). Publius Ventidius Bassus won impressive victories against the Parthians. As a result, he became the only Roman general to be rewarded a triumphal ceremony (Plutarch 211-218). In Alexas' discourse, Mars, the god of war is the nodal point. Thus, Ventidius with his unparalleled victories as a Roman general, is identified with Mars. Thus, the function of Serapion's and Alexas' discourse which depends upon the positions of Ventidius-Mars as the nodal points confirms the divinity of the Romans. It is the divinity of the Romans that Dryden centralizes to promote the hegemony of Rome. The Egyptians do not claim divinity like the Romans. In fact, the divinity is exclusive to their gods and pharaohs. The official narratives in Ancient Egypt considered their pharaohs as the successors of the gods and therefore divine. They also equated them with Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris (Pinch 85-87). As a result, it is just natural that the divine Romans should be give the sacred land of the Nile to rule with the blessings of the Egyptian and Roman gods. With the help of Michel Foucault's analyses of knowledge and power, one can gain better insight into Dryden's manipulation of Serapion's and Alexas' discourse about Rome's superiority. Their discourse "provides the conditions of possibility for the social." (117; Jorgensen and Phillips 13). Thus, from Foucault's perspective, the powerful position of the Romans made it possible for Dryden's audience to accept the dominance of Rome over Egypt. The Roman hegemony appears "both productive and constraining at the same time (Ryan 202-2013). It is productive as Egypt will be resurrected back to life through the Romans with Octavian as Horus. It is constraining as it presents the Romans' rule as the only solution to save the land of Egypt. In its turn, Britain with its ambitious wars for world dominance during the seventeenth and eighteenth quietly was invited by Dryden's *All for Love* to perceive itself as the new Horus who will rule the world like Rome.

### War and Politics: Egypt's Effeminacy and Rome's Manliness

To endorse the gods' favorable stand from Rome as the new ruler of Egypt, Dryden resorts to the conventional dramatic presentation of the Orient versus the Occident. As such, Dryden employs a dramatic heritage that showed the Orient to be effeminate, corrupt, irrational and dangerous. On the other side, stands the Occident, manly, reasonable and lawful (Orr 97-134; Pattegree 15-69). The different images of the Orient and the Occident are dramatized through constructing characters contrast. The effeminate Orient queen, Cleopatra, is to be contrasted with the manly Roman Caesar, Octavius. To further stress the difference between Egypt and Rome, Mark Antony's character is to be perceived as two contrasting versions; the Roman and the Egyptian Antony. As a Roman, Antony was manly, but his Egyptian character is marked by effeminacy. The rationale behind the characters' choice and the contrasting structure is to reveal Dryden's oriental approach in which he demoralizes Egypt and aggrandizes Rome. In *Orientalism*, Said stresses the long history of orientalism as part of the Western perception of the East. He writes: "The orient is an idea that has history and tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the west" (5). He further explains that to Europe, the Orient "is...one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other" (1). To understand Dryden's dramatic manipulation of the conflict between Rome, the Occident and Egypt, the Orient we need to apply Said's critique of orientalism. Said writes:

Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, ... ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient. (3)

Indeed, it is through understanding Dryden's recurring statements and images of the Orient that enables us to have a fresh view of the conflict between Rome and Egypt and consequently their respective positions within this conflict.

Before we look into the contrast between the manly Romans and the effeminate Egyptian characters, it is essential to clarify the concepts of manliness and effeminacy which are the focal point of the contrast. By clarifying the meaning of these concepts, one can connect them to their dramatic context and consequently to the ideological message embedded within Dryden's *All for Love*. To the ancient Romans, manliness or *virtus*, "characterizes the ideal behavior of a man" (McDonnell 2). Williams provides a more detailed explanation of the concept: "The Roman conceptualization of masculinity as being embodied in restraint and control,

over others and oneself, informs two concepts basic to Roman masculinity: *virtus* and *imperium*" (132). *Virtus*, he continues can mean valor or virtue. *Imperium* is connected to manliness through "the rule or dominion that magistrates exercised over the Roman people, generals over their armies, the Roman people as a whole over their subjects" (Williams 133-134). *Imperium* is also used in connection with "the dominion reason ought to exercise over emotion"(Williams 134). Within the moral structure of the ancient Rome "*virtus* holds a high place as a traditional quality that played a central part in war, politics and religion" (McDonnell 2). In a speech delivered before the Roman populace, Cicero commented on the subject of manliness:

*Virtus* is the badge of the Roman race and breed. Cling fast to it, I beg you men of Rome, as a heritage that your ancestors bequeathed to you. All else is false and doubtful ephemeral and changeful: only *virtus* stand firmly fixed, its roots run deep, it can never be shaken....With this *virtus* your ancestors conquered all Italy first, then razed Carthage, overthrew Numantia, brought the most powerful kings and the most warlike peoples under the sway of this empire. (*Philippics* 13; bk. 4)

Cicero's speech reveals that to the Romans, manliness is not only a military and ethical concept but above all a political and ideological weapon. It enabled the Romans to achieve supremacy over other nations. This is most befitting in our context, as the Romans' annihilation of Egypt is dramatized as a direct result of this manliness. Opposite to manliness is effeminacy which the Romans deemed a vice unfitting and unworthy of respect. Cicero was in the habit of accusing his enemies of effeminacy. He writes that within the Roman moral system, "exist certain percepts, even laws that prohibit a man from being effeminate" (*De Finibus* 193; bk.2). Seneca makes it clear that he does not want to be an effeminate man with no control over his emotions or actions. He says "if I must suffer illness, it will be my wish to do nothing out of control, nothing effeminately" (Epistle 67; vol. 2). Jantzen explains the Roman concept of effeminacy:

Fundamentally, it meant the opposite of having active power, the power of manliness, and having instead to submit oneself to another....When Cicero accused an opponent of effeminacy, he regularly linked the idea of the feminine, the servile, and the sexually passive: such person could not be a *vir*, a manly man worthy of respect. (270)

A similar Roman concept of effeminacy was to be traced during Dryden's era. During the Restoration,

Unmanliness is often associated with 'effeminacy'... subordination to unruly passion....The amorous Charles was criticized for effeminacy which was perceived as associated with political aloofness and irresponsibility. He was unwilling to respond to...military action. (Owen 165-166)

In *Troilus and Cressida* (1679), Dryden centralizes the concepts of manliness and effeminacy. In this play Dryden is judged by critics as "quite sharply masculinist (Owen 168).The play has been read by many as an attack upon Charles II and his brother and heir Duke of York as "England's effeminate and self-centered royal brothers." (Owen 168-169).

### **Queen Cleopatra**

Having established a similar meaning of effeminacy in Rome and Restoration England, we are in a better position to understand Dryden's rationale in constructing a contrast between Cleopatra and Octavius. To ensure the effeminate image of the queen of the Nile, Cleopatra is dramatized as vanquished and servile. Opposite stands Octavius Caesar who is victorious (virtus) and commanding (imperium). In *Orientalism* Said writes that to the West there are "two aspects of the Orient that set" them apart. The first aspect dictates that the west is "powerful" and the Orient is defeated. The second aspect is the irrationality of the Orient(57). One can notice that the two aspects of defeat and irrationality are connected to effeminacy that marks the character of the oriental Cleopatra. Dryden introduces Cleopatra as a defeated sovereign on both military and personal levels. Before Cleopatra's physical appearance on the stage, the news of her naval defeat and the victory of Rome in the battle of Actium is reported by Myris (1.1.53). To such news Serapion asserts that Egypt cannot stand another defeat. Should Egypt suffer another defeat on the hands of the Romans, then it "is doomed to be/A Roman Province" (1.1.71-72). It is interesting to know that amidst such threats, Cleopatra fails to fight bravely as a true monarch. Cowardly, she flees the battle of Actium along with her army, thus, failing to defend her crown and country. She herself confesses

True,  
I fled, but not to the enemy. 'Twas fear;  
Would I had been a man, not to have feared! (2.1.432-5)

Cleopatra's fear and desertion in the battlefield prove her to be an effeminate monarch. As a monarch, she is expected to display "virtus" and not feminine weakness. However, Cleopatra is an oriental queen, which

indicates that by nature she is effeminate. Said argues that the "Orient was routinely described as feminine" (Said 225). Her defeat becomes complete in the last naval confrontation with Octavius. Her devoted Serapion delivers the fatal message of the gods,

O horror, horror!  
Egypt has been; our latest hour has come;  
The queen of nations, from her ancient seat,  
Is sunk forever in the dark abyss;  
Time has unrolled her glories to the last,  
And now closed up the volume. (5.1.77-82)

With the fall of Egypt, Cleopatra falls as well. Aware of her end, she responds, "Enough, Serapion:/I've heard my doom" (5.1.109-110). It is befitting that Serapion is the one who announces the end of Egypt's political autonomy. At the opening of the play he is the one who read the ominous signs that point to Egypt's imminent doom. With such dramatic manipulation, Dryden wants to deliver the message that Egypt's fate was decided by the gods. As a result, Rome's army is not a factor in its downfall. The Romans appear on the scene with Egypt's fate already decided by the gods. When Alexas prays that the loud shouts from the port bring kind news, Cleopatra prays, "Osiris make it so!" (5.1.71). Osiris, the god of the underworld, is the one who decides the fate of the pharaohs. Thus, the queen prays for him to pronounce her a kind fate. According to Said's oriental critique, one concludes that Egypt's fall has nothing to do with the gods. The Romans or the Occident destroys Egypt, the Orient as a punishment for challenging its power and displaying aspiration for independence (Said 56). Goldsworthy argues that long before Octavius, the Romans planned to annex Egypt but their rivalry delayed such fate. He writes,

Egypt's exceptional agricultural productivity and  
burgeoning trade routes had long excited Roman greed.  
The kingdom's annexation as a province was only prevented  
by the jealousy of politicians unwilling to let any rival  
senator profit from the process. (*Augustus* 205)

The presence of the powerful Octavius as the new Caesar, Goldsworthy believes, "removed this obstacle, and the country was now to be formally part of Rome's empire" (*Augustus* 205). Caesar had a pressing need for Egypt's wealth to buy the loyalty of his legions who fought in Actium and those who abandoned Antony. Eventually, he "would keep [Cleopatra's] kingdom as a largely private possession, with revenue going to his personal

funds”(Augustus 193). History had proved that Egypt’s fall was not the work of the gods but rather the result of a mediated and well-constructed plan of the Romans. It is interesting to note that Egypt has always been the target of imperial powers. Thousands of years after the Romans, Britain, still perceived Egypt a coveted prize. The orientalist Richard Burton who lived in the nineteenth century writes in his well-known book, *Pilgrimage*, “Egypt is a treasure to be won.” He judges it to be “the most tempting prize which the East holds out to the ambition of Europe, not excepted even the Golden Horn” (114). Burton’s words show that that the imperial legacy of *All for Love* transcends the time frame of its popularity and survives well into the twentieth century when Britain proved itself the heir to the Roman Empire in Egypt.

Cleopatra’s spectacular military defeat is an external symptom of her weak character. As a sovereign, she fails to induce obedience, loyalty and respect from her inferiors. The Roman Legions that defeated the Parthians under Ventidius’ leadership refuse to fight for Cleopatra, although they are paid from the Egyptians’ coffers. Antony asks Ventidius to bring the legions from “Lower Syria.” To that he responds that the legions

Said they would not fight for Cleopatra.  
 Why should they fight indeed, to make her conquer?  
 And make you more a slave? To gain you kingdoms,  
 Which, for a kiss at your next midnight feast,  
 You’ll sell to her? Then she new-names her jewels  
 And calls this diamond such or such a tax;  
 Each pendant in her ear shall be a province. (1.1.417-423)

The given picture of Cleopatra is of a female sovereign who does not have command over the military body whom she pays. Furthermore, she is portrayed not as a queen but simply as an evil and luxurious oriental woman. She is a dangerous siren who uses powerful men, be it in war or love, for her private gains. By naming her jewelry after the conquered territories, Dryden distances her from the army, her position as a ruler and stresses her character as a tactless self-indulgent female. This also serves to highlight the sharp contrast between her luxurious life and the dangerous enterprise of the Roman legions. Obviously, Dryden goes to considerable lengths to dramatize Cleopatra as an unflattering figure to say the least. In harmony with Said’s critique of Orientalism, Dryden does not differ from the orientalist as he perceives “the Orientals as a phenomenon possessing regular characteristics” (64). Cleopatra emerges a faithful representative of the oriental female with “her luxuriant and seemingly un-bounded sexuality” (Said 187). She is “mysteriously attractive” but dangerous at the same time. The Roman Legion draws a mark between themselves as representatives of the Occident and Cleopatra who embodies the Orient. The

Roman Legions are portrayed as the self, while Cleopatra is the other. By turning Cleopatra into the other, Dryden is actively voicing Rome's war propaganda against the queen of the Nile. Goldsworthy gives his historical assessment of Cleopatra's position in the geopolitical game of her time. He argued that Cleopatra

had little power and importance in a Mediterranean world overwhelmingly dominated by Rome. Cleopatra was one of many client rulers, ultimately dependent on Roman backing to remain in power and protect them from rivals. (Augustus 181)

Goldsworthy's assessment of Egypt's geopolitical importance is not accurate. It is true that Rome had a strong hold in the Mediterranean, However, this does not mean that Egypt and by extension Cleopatra had none. A testimony of Egypt's unparalleled value is the complex and expensive Roman military and moral campaign to make it part of its extending empire. Goldsworthy explains that Cleopatra was the victim of the power conflict between Antony and Caesar. To justify his war against Antony, Caesar constructs a propaganda campaign that made Cleopatra the enemy of Rome. She is portrayed as a "sinister eastern queen [with] decadent courtiers" (Augustus 183). By making Cleopatra the enemy, Caesar screens his real target. Such propaganda, made it possible to convince the people that "they fought a foreign threat to Rome, rather than another bloody civil war between rival Roman warlords" (Augustus 188). Cleopatra is not a victim but like Antony is the target of Rome. They are a serious threat to Rome's hegemony. Cleopatra with the help of Antony attempted to assert Egypt's independence and its political autonomy.

As a sovereign, Cleopatra fails not only to procure the loyal of her Roman Legions whom she pays but also her own Egyptian army. Serapion confides to Alexas, the queen's advisor, that the Egyptians "in their servile hearts ... own Octavius" (1.1.50). He makes it clear that the Egyptians' army is not loyal to their own queen but to her enemy. The disloyalty of the army plays a critical role in the loss of her crown and life. In the final battle between Rome and Egypt, Serapion reports to the queen that "Our land's last hope," the navy, is not vanquished – they did not refuse to fight or even flee. He explains:

... Your well-appointed fleet,  
Row out, ...  
.....  
With a dissembled smile would kiss at parting

And flatter to the last. The well-timed oars  
 .....  
 ...meet the foes. And soon indeed they met,  
 But not as foes....  
 ... th' Egyptian galleys  
 (received like friends) passed through and fell  
 behind  
 The Roman rear, and now they all come forward  
 And ride within the port. (5.1.95-6;100-101; 103-103-108)

The fact that the Egyptian navy joins the Roman invaders, marks a serious defect in both the queen and her army. The queen lacks the strong character to attract the loyalty of the navy. The action of the navy is typical oriental behavior. The orientalist, Evelyn Baring, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Cromer writes that Orientals “are ... much given to...intrigue, cunning. ...They are inveterate liars...and in everything oppose the clarity, directness, and nobility of the occident” (qtd. in Said 38-39). Indeed, Dryden’s Egyptian navy acts differently from the Roman Legions. Whereas the Egyptians resort to treachery, the Romans act with honesty in their open rejection of fighting for Cleopatra. The Egyptians are not only treacherous, but also despotic. They are willing to exchange the defeated Cleopatra and fall under the rule of foreign but victorious Caesar. Once again, Dryden’s oriental view of the Egyptians is echoed by the British in the twentieth century. Addressing the House of Commons in 1910, Arthur James Balfour explains the political situation of the oriental nations. He says

All their great centuries...have been passed under  
 Despotisms, under absolute government. ...[N]ever in all the  
 revolutions of fate and fortune have you seen one of those  
 nations of its own motions establish what we, from a Western  
 point of view call, self-Government. (qtd. in Said 33)

Balfour summarizes a concept that has been around for hundreds of years and concludes that people in the Orient do not possess an independent nature like those of the Occident.

The Roman Ventidius believes that the oriental Cleopatra does not have the character that renders her worthy to rule Egypt. Being unworthy oriental queen denies her any right to respect. When presented with the queen’s gifts of priceless jewels, he responds to Alexas

Tell her I’ll none on’t.  
 I’m not ashamed of honest poverty:  
 Not all the diamonds of the East can bribe  
 Ventidius from his faith. (2.1.213-216)



Accepting and appreciating gifts from a sovereign is not only a mark of respect but most importantly a recognition of superiority. By rejecting the gift, Ventidius makes it clear that he does not believe that Cleopatra is superior in any way. In fact, he scorns her massive wealth by owning his poverty. He confirms her unworthiness not only of his emperor, but also of Egypt's wealth. He believes that Egypt's wealth should be given to those who deserves it. He says, "I hope to see/ These, and the rest of her sparkling store,/Where they shall more deservingly be placed" (2.1.216-218). To Ventidius, the person who is worthy of Cleopatra's wealth is "the wronged Octavia" (2.1.220). Octavia is not only Antony's wife but Caesar's sister as well. By pointing to Octavia as the person worthy of Egypt's wealth, he points to Rome at the same time. Thus, by implication Ventidius is not simply contrasting the two women, the mistress and the wife, but by extension the Orient and the Occident. The Orient is, conventionally, immoral and luxurious while the Occident is moral and moderate. This sense of moral superiority is part of his identity as a Roman. Gruen argues that "the Romans had a confident sense of their own distinctiveness, their superiority over other nations and their place in the world" (13). Cicero in particular is well known for articulating Rome's superiority and the inferiority of other nations. The Egyptians in particular are scorned by Cicero who finds it suitable to call the ancient Egyptians delusional and perverse. Largely this is the result of [a]"range of peculiar customs and practices [that] struck observers as bizarre, none more so than the extraordinary worship of the animals" (qtd. in Gruen 20). In such context, it is most befitting for Ventidius to find Cleopatra a typical oriental ruler who inspires no authority, loyalty or respect.

The effeminate Cleopatra's inability to command her inferiors, is the natural result of her servile character. The queen is dramatized as a slave to her passionate love for Antony. Concerned over her love rather than crown and country, she shouts

I am no queen.  
Is this to be a queen, to be besieged  
By yon insulting Roman, and to wait  
Each hour the victor's chain? These ills are small,  
For Antony is lost, and I can mourn  
For nothing else but him. (2.1. 9-14)

Dryden depicts Cleopatra with a complex oriental image. She is both oriental sovereign and woman who by the necessity of her identity is doomed to fail. Cleopatra's attitude is representative of oriental sovereigns who are "given to feelings of emptiness, loss, and disaster" (Said 56). It is

rather unbecoming of a queen who is in the middle of a war with one of the mightiest military powers of the time to spend her time mourning the loss of her lover rather than her country. Her sense of loss takes further dimension as she tells Alexas, "...Antony/ Has taught my mind the fortune of a slave" (2.1.16-17). As such she insists that she is "fit to be a captive" and calls on Octavius to "prepare [his] bands" (2.1.15-16). With such stand Cleopatra defines and identifies herself through the power of the Romans. The power of the Romans de-queens Cleopatra; as such she admits and internalizes her lack of majesty and slavish nature. Said argues that "the Orient has helped to define Europe...as its contrasting image" (1-2). Cleopatra's emotional enslavement to Antony motivates Alexas to ask with surprise, "Does this weak passion become a mighty queen?" (2.1.7). He also advises her, "Call reason to assist you." To that the queen responds most truly, "I have none./ And none would have" (2.1.19-20). The queen confirms her unreasonable character and inability to obtain one. The fact that she does not consider changing this tragic fate makes her a willing player in her downfall. The Roman Antony dominates her sexually, while the Roman Caesar dominates her politically. In such situation, the oriental Cleopatra is a complete representation of the Orient. Hsu-Ming explains how the imperial Occident constructs the connection between the oriental woman and the Orient. He explains, "The passive, over-sexualised oriental woman was a symbol of the pacified, feminized East embracing Western imperial penetration and domination" (242). In such context, Cleopatra defines Rome, the Occident as the superior power and Egypt, the Orient as the inferior one (42).

Since Cleopatra denies herself royal status, the only identity she can claim is that of a woman. Oriental women tend to have an unflattering image to say the least. Said writes that in European writings, oriental women "express unlimited sensuality, they are more or less stupid, and above all they are willing" (207). Significantly, Dryden's Cleopatra fits perfectly into the image of stupid oriental women. She ignores the disastrous defeat of her navy and thinks of nothing but her love for Antony. After the defeat in Actium, the desperately pessimistic Serapion inquires, "How stands the queen affected?" To that Alexas responds,

Oh, she dots,  
She dots, Serapion, on this vanquished man  
And winds herself about his mighty ruins, (1.1.84-86)

The mighty queen's condition is almost comic. Mindless of the tragic end of Actium, she is dotingly in love. Alexas' words render an image of weakness and helplessness. To stress the queen's lack of self-control, she is portrayed as a wind blowing in a ruinous place, which in our context is Antony. Alexas says that the queen, "...winds herself about [Antony] mighty ruins" (1.1.86). The image detaches the queen from reality and turns her into a

ghost-like figure that haunts ruined places. The image is highly charged with ominous signs which is reminiscent of Serapion's description of the strong wind that disturbed the dead kings of Egypt. The queen's detachment from reality becomes more visible through her celebration of Antony's birthday. Serapion gives the details of the queen's command:

Romans, Egyptians, hear the Queen's command  
... "Let labor cease."

.....  
Set out before your doors  
The images of all your sleeping fathers  
With laurels crowned: with laurels wreath your  
Posts.  
And strow with flow'rs the pavement; let the priests  
Do present sacrifice: pour out the wine,  
And call the gods to join with you in gladness. (1.1.152;159-  
164)

Amidst war, confusion and defeat, Cleopatra finds it fit to celebrate. The elaborate celebration looks like a Roman Triumph rather than a birthday party. The celebration has most of the key elements of a Roman triumph (Beard 71). It has the crown laurels, the public involvement, the sacrifice for the gods, the religious ceremonies, the regalia and the wine libations. The fact that the queen has the stomach to stage such an elaborate celebration shows that she is not only far from being reasonable but also unconcerned with the fate of Egypt. Dryden dramatizes Cleopatra as the perfect oriental woman and sovereign; she is a "willing" slave. Her willingness to be enslaved by the Romans echoes her navy which abandons her and joins the victorious Octavius. The fact that she occupies herself with Antony and allows ancient Egypt to fall without serious attempt to save are the ultimate evidences of her effeminacy.

Said writes that the Occident turns the Orient "into a theatre for his representation of the Orient" (86). He, also argues that the Orient was always silenced and is denied the physical or vocal space to express itself. Dryden in *All for Love* fails to give the Egyptians the space to voice themselves. The voice we hear is that of the Romans, who as the victors had the chance to tell the story from their perspective. Throughout history, Cleopatra and the Egyptians by extension were never given the chance to speak for themselves. Chauveau complains that

The reign of Cleopatra is...recounted from only one point of view: that of Rome. ... The Greek and Roman historians ...portrayals of this period are stamped in large part by the

intense and...negative propaganda campaign unleached by Augustus...against the Queen...before and after Actium. (1)

Significantly, this unbalanced historical and critical approach toward the Egyptian queen remained unchanged and manifested “in most of the modern biographies devoted to her” (Chauveau 2). Goldsworthy indicates that

The literary sources were all written either by Romans or by Greeks writing under the Roman Empire at least a century after Cleopatra’s death. A good deal of information and personal anecdote comes from Plutarch’s *Life of Mark Antony*. This is the only biography of him to survive from the ancient world. A familiar complaint is that the story is not simply told by the victors, but always from the Roman viewpoint – in some cases that this is a male Roman viewpoint. (*Antony and Cleopatra* 10)

The picture we have of Dryden’s Cleopatra is the one constructed by the Romans. After all to Dryden “Roman affairs are by far [his] primary concern, while matters internal to Egypt are practically ignored” (Chauveau 2). Thus, Cleopatra in particular and the Orient in general are isolated from their own history to become part of that of the Romans. Young develops a critique of the West’s manipulation of history. He opposes the way the West manipulates the history of other nations to reposition and justify their own actions. This stand motivates him to

develop an epistemological critique of the West’s greatest Myth-History. [He] challenges European Marxism’s claim to totalizing knowledge through its grounding on a dialectical theory of history, conceived as external and claimed as objective but in fact operating within the limits of a fundamentally European perspective. (2-3)

One can say that modern day historian, Goldsworthy’s over simplification of Cleopatra’s importance in ancient Egypt, is in line with the orientalist’s perception of the Orient. Such perspective is of value to our argument, particularly in connection with the newly discovered studies conducted by Medieval Arabic scholars. The Egyptologist, El-Daly draws an image of Cleopatra which is in sharp contrast with the Anglo-Roman traditional view of the queen of the Nile. He argues that Arab scholars “often refer to Cleopatra as “the virtuous scholar” (131). She was known not only for her scholarly endeavor in various fields but also for her generous support of the arts. El-Daly, argues that Queen Cleopatra wise rule of Egypt along with its unique geopolitical position which was unmatched in the ancient world increased its wealth and power. He further stresses that for three hundred

years after her death, Cleopatra's reputation was still strong in the region (130-140). Rome coveted Egypt's wealth and its geopolitical location and for that Rome constructed a complex and costly military and propaganda campaign against the queen of Egypt. The discrepancy between the Roman Cleopatra that Dryden dramatizes and the one presented by medieval Arab scholars reveals the deliberate Orientalizing of the Egyptian queen. Thus, Young's argument regarding the West's manipulation of other nations' history to narrate their own is very much at home. In *All for Love*, it is not only Rome that uses Egyptian history as a vehicle to tell its own story, but Britain as well. Thousands of years after the fall of the Roman empire, Dryden follows Rome and uses the history of Egypt, not to tell their own story, but rather that of Rome and by extension the present and future of Britain's imperial agenda.

### **Octavius Caesar**

Rome's writing of its own history with the help of the Orient is stressed through the contrast between the effeminate Cleopatra and the manly Caesar, who is victorious and commanding. Quoting Cromer, Said writes, "I content myself with noting the fact that...the Oriental generally, acts, speaks, and thinks in a manner exactly opposite to the European" (39). Said clarifies that the orientalist, tend to stress the differences between the Occident and the Orient. Like Young, Said explains such method is motivated by the Occident's desire to define its identity and its superiority as a political means that leads to hegemony and dominance. To secure the audience sympathy with Caesar as opposed to Cleopatra, Dryden eliminates his physical presence from the play. The presence of the victorious Caesar opposite the beautiful and defeated Cleopatra can be a serious threat to Dryden's imperial propaganda. Historically, Cleopatra and Caesar met in Alexandria after her final defeat. The defeated queen was already Caesar's captive when the meeting took place. According to the Roman Historian Dio, the meeting was a disappointment to the captive queen. He reports the conversation between Octavius and his captive Cleopatra,

Be of good cheer,...and keep a stout heart; for you shall suffer no harm. She

Was greatly distressed...because he would [not]...look at her...falling at his

Knees...she said, I neither wish to live nor can I live, Caesar. But this favour I

Beg of you...I may...die with Antony. (37)

Goldsworthy reports that Octavian was not concerned with the captive queen emotional and mental distress, but rather with the list of her treasures. He writes,

The meeting ended with little resolved. Octavian was determined to take her to Rome to be led in triumph...The prospect of being led as a captive along the Via Sacra for the amusement of the Roman mob repelled her....She decided to kill herself. (*Antony and Cleopatra* 383-384)

Understandably, Dryden did not dramatize the meeting between The Egyptian queen and Octavia. He also did not stage Octavian concerns with the queen treasures rather than her fate. The humiliation of the beautiful queen who is forced to give up her country, wealth and dignity by the victorious Caesar is hardly entertaining. Thus, it is essential for Dryden to avoid the dramatization of such historical event. In the light of Caesar's well-known ruthless character, such manipulation is even more pressing as his physical appearance can evoke his well-known negative qualities. Goldsworthy draws attention to the fact that "Caesar Augustus has slipped from the wider consciousness," while Cleopatra on the other hand survived his ruthless propaganda (*Augustus* 2). In history, he is remembered as "the young, murderous warlord of the civil war" (*Augustus* 2). He was known to be "weak, even cowardly,...cold and manipulative,...[c]alculating, devious and utterly ruthless" (*Augustus* 2-3). Dryden does not want to be considered partial toward Caesar. On the contrary, he is keen to give the impression of objectivity. He solves this problem not only through Caesar's physical absence from his play, but also through allowing him to be criticized by his foe and rival Mark Antony. Ventidius asks Antony "Has he courage?" (2.1.130). By allowing Ventidius, the professional old general to ask such a question, Dryden wants to show that Caesar was not reputed to be a coward. Had he been one, Ventidius would have known. Antony responds, "But just enough to season him from coward" (2.1.131). To Antony, he is neither a coward nor a brave man. Furthermore, Antony's words are delivered immediately after his shameful defeat in Actium. In such context, it is unlikely that the audience can take seriously the words of the man who flees the battle and abandons his soldiers. The fact that Caesar is a rival and enemy discredits his judgment even more. Having done that, Dryden, presents Caesar as the opposite of the effeminate Cleopatra. He endows him with the Roman qualities of manliness, thus, making him victorious and commanding. Caesar emerges victorious as he defeats Cleopatra and annexes Egypt to be a province in the Roman Empire. Actium is his first decisive victory; however, he is not physically present to report this spectacular victory. The task falls to Antony who tells Ventidius,

Actium, Actium! Oh-

.....

I lost a battle.

.....

Antony,-.....

Like a coward, fled,  
Fled while his soldiers fought; fled first. (1.1.312;319;325-  
327)

Dryden allows Octavius' victory to be paraded through Antony's depiction of his flight and subsequent defeat. His image of himself fleeing the battlefield while his soldiers are still fighting brings to the mind Octavius fighting with his generals and soldiers until victory. In such context Antony's action echoes Cleopatra's who also fled the battlefield. Such subtle and indirect contrast brings Caesar and Cleopatra face to face. Dryden achieves two important points, he maintains Caesar's physical absence from the stage without giving the audience the chance to forget his victory over Cleopatra. He allows Cleopatra to move to the background, thus, denying her a favorable contrast with the aggressive and victorious Caesar. Another point achieved through such dramatic manipulation is that it allows Caesar to be seen not as an individual but as a Roman. Rome is brave and consequently victorious. By doing that, Dryden retains credibility and objectivity in his attempt to mark Caesar as a brave soldier. The audience cannot deny the bravery of Rome. On a similar note, the audience will perceive Cleopatra not as an individual but as a representative of the defeated and cowardly Orient. Under such circumstances, Cleopatra deserves to lose her crown and kingdom to the brave and victorious Roman Caesar.

The other element that distinguish Octavius Caesar from Cleopatra is his commanding (*imperium*) character. The Romans connected *imperium* with individual virtue. Star writes, "The community recognizes personal integrity, which leads to one's being considered worthy of rank and status..., high political office..., and the power to command" (142). Scipio Amelianus writes about the internal moral qualities, but also focuses on *imperium* within the structure of the Romanmoral world, "From integrity is born esteem, from esteem, official office, from official office, the power to command" (qtd. in Malcovati 131). We should note that Caesar's *imperium* affects not only the Romans but most significantly, the Egyptians as well. Serapion informs his fellow priest Myris, "Our faint Egyptians pray for Antony,/But in their servile hearts they own Octavius" (1.1.50). It is important to realize that Dryden reveals Caesar's commanding ability not through the Romans but the Egyptians. The Egyptians are in state of war with Caesar who desires to annex their country for its wealth and geopolitical location. Thus, his ability to command the loyalty of his foes is most telling. The Egyptians prove that they are commanded by Caesar not only in their hearts but through their actions as well. The Egyptian navy displays practical evidence through abandoning their queen and joining

Caesar's invading army. Serapion tells his queen that "your well-appointed fleet/Rowe out" to meet the Romans "not as foes," but rather as friends (5.1.95-6;104). Cleopatra's fleet, which joins that of Caesar, "all come forward/And ride within the port" (5.1.107-108). Caesar's imperium is not less apparent over his loyal friends. Ventidius advises Antony to find a friend in Caesar's "army who has pow'r to move him" (3.1.74). Maecenas and Agrippa, Caesar's powerful generals have strong influence on him; however, Antony confirms that "They're both too deep in Caesar's interests" (3.1.76). The contrast between Cleopatra and Caesar could not be more apparent. Caesar has the ability to command both friends and foes; Cleopatra does not.

Significantly, Caesar is favoured not only by mortals, but most importantly by the gods. Dolabella, Antony's former friend confesses, "Fortune is Caesar's now" (3.1.165). Goddess Fortuna which is depicted as blind is the personification of luck. In his essay "On the Fortune of the Romans," Plutarch discusses the supremacy of the Romans and concludes that Rome captures a unique moment in history. He explains that Fortune is accused of "being a thing inconstant..., [and]... gifts the untrustworthy" (323). To him this is not the case with the Romans who ruled supreme. For the first time, virtue which is "accused of being a fair thing, but unprofitable" joins forces with Fortuna to achieve the hegemony of Rome (Plutarch 323). Thus, Caesar is the product of this unique combination of virtue and Fortune. His individual virtus attracts Fortuna to be on his side and consequently on that of Rome. Caesar's supremacy negates Antony's view who judges him to be, "The minion of blind Chance,/But holds from Virtue nothing" (2.1.127-128). Fortuna's support for Caesar is endorsed by Heaven itself. Antony wonders, "Why should" Caesar "Be all the care of Heaven?" (2.1.154;156). According to the Roman's concept of the universe the answer to such question is obvious. Dryden wants to help his audience to think along with the Romans and connect Caesar's imperium with his virtuous character. As a reward to Caesar's virtue, mortals, gods, earth and Heaven make it their business to help him to achieve supremacy. Opposite stands Cleopatra who has been abandoned by the gods as a punishment for her effeminate character. The promising fate of Rome and demise of Egypt are ordained by the gods. Thus, Rome is rewarded for its manly power and virtuous conduct with imperium over the world. Egypt on the other hand is punished for its effeminacy and corruption with losing its independence.

### **Mark Antony**

To further stress the inferiority of the Orient and the superiority of the Occident, Dryden dramatizes Mark Antony with a character that has two versions. Thus, we have the Roman Antony and the Egyptian one. The self or the Occident stands for the Roman Antony while the other, the Orient represents the Egyptian version of his character. Significantly, the Egyptian Antony we meet on the stage is dramatized in binary opposition against



Antony the Roman. The Roman Antony is utilized as a historical reference with the function of discrediting the Egyptian Antony. The Occident Antony's ideological function goes beyond marking the inferiority of the Orient to reveal its corrupting power. Isaac clarifies that the corrupting influence of the Orient is a recurrent theme in Roman literature (359-365). Briant writes that "the theme of Alexander [the Great]'s moral decadence under the corrupting influence of the Orient became a veritable topos of Roman literature" (203). Long time before Mark Antony, Alexander the Great was attacked and undermined with similar accusations. According to the Roman moralists, Alexander's disastrous evolution is the result of the negative effect of the Orient. He emulated the Orient's taste for political tyranny, lack of control over passion, and drinking. As a result, he is no longer his former self. In the Roman writings Antony occupied a position similar to that of Alexander. This is largely due to Octavius' propaganda which accused him of falling under the sinister influence of the Oriental queen. Goldsworthy gives a detailed explanation of Antony's anti-propaganda orchestrated by Caesar and his close circle. He details the dominant view of Antony which stresses that he "was in thrall to a sinister eastern queen and her decadent courtiers" (*Augustus* 183). After Actium, Horace wrote "Epode IX: To Maecenas" where he criticizes the performance of Antony,

A Roman (ah, deny it after times),  
Sold into bondage to be a female master,  
Empales her camp-works, and parades her arms,  
And serves, her soldiers, under wrinkled eunuches.  
Shaming war's standards, in their midst, the sun  
Beholds a tent lawn-draped against mosquitoes. (486)

Historical Antony is accused of abandoning his Roman self and becoming the Egyptian other. This is exactly what Dryden is stressing in his dramatization of Antony. If anything, Dryden endorses the Roman propaganda against Antony and makes no effort toward impartiality. Central to this dramatic contrast between Antony the self and the other is the Roman goddess Fortuna. While residing in Egypt, Antony upholds the contrast between the absence and presence of Fortuna in his life.

Now, Antony, wouldst thou be borne for this?  
Glutton of fortune, thy devouring youth  
Has starved thy wanting age. (1.1.232-234)

Antony is no longer a young man but rather a mature one. As a young man fortune was abundant in his life to the extent of gluttony. As such, nothing is left to grace his aging years. In old age, he emerges a defeated general who abandons his soldiers in Actium. He blames himself for the “disastrous evolution.”

Fate could not ruin me, till I took pains  
And worked against my Fortune, chid her from me,  
And turned her loose,  
My careless days and my luxurious nights  
At length have wearied her, and sh's now gone. (1.1.345-9)

Antony explains clearly the reasons that Fortuna abandons him. He blames his careless days and luxurious nights. He also criticizes his conduct as a soldier, “I ...have...disgraced/The name of soldier with inglorious ease” (1.1.334-335). According to the Roman moral system, Antony is no longer manly. He stops living the life of a Roman soldier. He has lost his individual virtue, as a result, Fortuna which is attracted to virtue abandons him. Antony's condition presents him in sharp contrast with the virtue Caesar who is protected by Fortuna. Antony is not only a sharp contrast to Caesar but most importantly, to his former Roman self. He recalls to Ventidius,

Fortune came smiling to my youth, and wooed it,  
And purple greatness met my ripened years.  
When first I came to empire, I was borne  
On tides of people, crowding to my triumphs  
The wish of nations, and the willing world  
Received me as the pledge of future peace.  
I was so great, so happy, so beloved,  
Fate could not ruin me.(1.1.338-345)

In Antony's youth, the smiling Fortuna was his constant companion. He belonged to the Roman elite which furnished him with the chance of being at the center of power. He enjoyed power, the love of the people and military success (*Antony and Cleopatra* 391-393). This magnificent and successful life was in the past.

As the other and without the presence of Fortuna, Antony moves further away from his Roman self. Our initial meeting with Antony is marked by his black despair. Serapion informs Alexis that Antony is, “Here in Isis' temple lives retired/ And makes his heart a prey to black despair” (1.1.66-67). It is of note that Dryden introduces Antony while hiding himself in Isis' temple and suffering from black despair. By placing Antony in Isis' temple, Dryden aims to stress his alienation from his Roman self. Isis is the most revered deity in ancient Egypt as she was worshipped by “all

the people of Egypt, male and female, royal and common, alike” (Mark). To turn Isis’ temple into Antony’s sanctuary can be interpreted on various levels. It can be perceived as a confirmation of his otherness as an Egyptian. The goddess is also associated with mourning the dead as she suffered the loss of her husband-king Osiris. As a mark of the loss, Isis’ “original headdress was the empty throne of her murdered husband(Mark). Antony’s choice of Isis’ temple can be seen as most befitting to his state. He is mourning the loss of his throne as the Roman emperor of Egypt. Cicero argues that the “Romans’ special quality rests in their *Pietas* and *religio*, in their convictions that all things are governed by the will of the gods” (qtd. in Gruen 24). In this context, Dryden insinuates that Antony is no longer a Roman as he does not worship the Roman gods. He becomes an Egyptian and a worshipper of Isis. Since he is no longer a Roman, it falls automatically that he is no longer superior. In fact, he becomes inferior which is by implication Egyptian and other. Estranged from his Roman religion and by association, goddess Fortuna, Antony falls into deep depression. Antony’s severe depression is displayed in various forms that are marked by self-defeat. He asks his attendants to play him sad music, “Give me some music; look that it be sad./I’ll sooth my melancholy till I swell/And burst myself with sighing” (1.1.250-252). Antony’s desire for sad music reflects not only his deep depression but also his self-indulgence. He calls himself “shadow of an emperor” who is going to celebrate his birthday “with double pomp of sadness” (1.1.238; 223). With such gloomy mode, Antony finds it easier to escape his reality to a state of nature where he is another man.

...I fancy  
I’m now turned...a commoner of Nature;  
Of all forsaken, and forsaking all,  
Live in a shady forest’s sylvan scene. (1.1.253-256)

His inability to cope with his current self, motivates him to seek an escape to nature where he might find peace away from his responsibilities. Such self-indulgent attitude is a mark of his oriental effeminate character. He fails to take responsibility and face the reality of the situation. In this context, Antony’s attitude is identical to that of Cleopatra who prefers emotional indulgence to a dignified kingly behavior. To the Roman stoics, Antony’s behavior does not belong to a Roman soldier who is known for his great and independent soul. To Seneca in particular the military imperium is firmly connected to the imperium of the self (Star 23). Seneca argues in the moral letter to Lucilius, “On Baiae and Morals” that a man is like a soldier in a constant state of war with himself. He writes, “We ... have a war to wage, a

type of warfare in which there is allowed no rest” (*Moral Letters to Lucilius* 51). Antony lost his imperium as a soldier and as a man. In another moral letter to Lucilius “On the Fickleness of Fortune,” Seneca argues that a man should not allow himself to be conquered by Fortune. This is explained through the fact that Fortune gives the “the raw material of Goods.” What happens to these goods be it positive or negative is within our control. The direction of goods provided by Fortune is decided by man’s soul. To Seneca, “the soul is more powerful than any sort of Fortune; by its own agency it guides its affairs in either direction, and of its own power it can produce a happy life, or a wretched one” He advises Lucilius to say to Fortune “you have to deal with a man; seek someone whom you can conquer” (*Moral Letters to Lucilius* 98). Apparently, Antony does not possess a strong soul; consequently, he unmans himself when he allows Fortune to conquer him and suffers severe depression. His depression in the face of his changing fortune shows his lack of courage in the face of adversity. Seneca makes it clear that it is a “courageous act” to lose with “equanimity” (*Moral Letters to Lucilius* 98). Within the context of Seneca’s argument, Antony emerges as an ungrateful man. In his despair, Antony is thankful for all the greatness Fortune bestowed upon him. Instead of using his past good fortune to fortify his present and future, he spends the time lamenting his losses. With such behavior, we conclude that Antony does not possess a manly soul but rather an effeminate one like that of Cleopatra. As a result, Antony confirms that he is not the Roman self but the Egyptian other who is weak and defeated.

This contrast between the Occident, the self and the Orient, the other has deep roots within ideological and historical premises. Dryden has rooted the seeds of this conflict within the destructive fabric of the Orient. Egypt brings about its own doom as a result of its effeminate nature. Cleopatra, the Egyptian queen plays a central role in losing her crown and Kingdom. Significantly, the destructive nature of the Orient is not only self-inflecting but most dangerously infectious. This is most obvious of the evolution of the Roman general Mark Antony, from the victorious self to the defeated other. This tragic transformation is the result of the influence of the luxurious orient that unmanned him. According to the power structure as explained by Said’s oriental critique, the Occident self is superior, the Orient is the inferior other. The inferiority of the Orient is perceived through the Egyptian queen Cleopatra, who is effeminate. Octavius Caesar represents Occident Rome which is manly and victorious. Thus, the Roman hegemony comes into the scene not only as a historical event, but most importantly as a divine order. Egypt’s only option to redeem itself is through its annihilation and rebirth as part of the Roman Empire. Thus, Rome, Egypt and Dryden compose a tight net that explains not only the text of *All for Love* but most importantly, the ideology that informs it. The play goes beyond the Roman Empire and its imperial agenda to embrace the

aspiring British Empire. Dryden employs the historical Roman Empire to explain and justify Britain's imperial ambition during his time and promote its future as a dominant power. Such conclusion can help to explain *All for Love's* popularity on the English stage throughout the eighteenth century which was critically formative of the emerging British Empire. This, shows that hegemony in drama and history is the course of the victorious Britain and the fact that empires are never short of propagandas and justifications.

**الملخص****الاستشراق و سيطره الامبراطوريه: مصر وروما و بريطانيا في من (أجل الحب) لجون درايدن سامية آل شيبان**

يركز النقد الأدبي لمسرحيه (لأجل الحب) للكاتب البريطاني جون درايدن و التي تم عرضها للمره الاولى في لندن ١٦٧٧ على قصة الحب بين الملكة كليوباترا و القائد الروماني مارك أنتوني. يتجنب هذا البحث قصة الحب و يقرأ المسرحيه بوصفها إعلانا للإمبراطوريه الرومانيه و في السياق نفسه للإمبراطوريه البريطانيه الصاعده. الدعايه تتمحور حول أحقيه روما لاحتلال مصر، و إنهاء استقلالها السياسي و تحويلها الى إقليم في الإمبراطوريه الرومانيه. من اللافت للنظر ان النقاد يتجاهلون خصوصيه الحضاره المصريه القديمه بما تحمله من رموز و الدور الذي يلعبه نهر النيل و ما يحيط به من أساطير مرتبطه بالحياه و الموت مما يشكل الوعي الجمعي المصري و التي أستخدمها الكاتب المسرحي و طوعها بحيث كانت وسيله ملائمته لإصال فكرته الاستعماريه للمتلقي. إستثمر الكاتب ملكه مصر كليوباترا لتقديم صورته لمصر مبنيه على الضعف و الهزيمه. في الوقت نفسه قدم روما من خلال الامبراطور أوكتافيس سيزر بصوره القوي المنتصر. و لتوضيح توجه الكاتب هنا فسوف تتم الاستعانه بنظريه التحليل الخطابي و نظريه الاستشراق لادوارد سعيد. هذا المنحى النقدي المتعدد يعطي صورته و اضحه عن الاسلوب المعقد و غير المباشر الذي تبناه الكاتب للتأكيد على صورته الغرب المنتصر و الشرق المنهزم و الذي من خلاله يعطي روما الحق في إنهاء الحكم الذاتي في مصر و جعلها مجرد إقليم في امبراطوريتها الشاسعه.

**Works Cited**

- Armistead, Jack. M. *Otherworldly John Dryden: Occult Rhetoric in his Poems and Plays*. London, Routledge, 2014.
- Ashworth, Leon. *Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Rome*. London, Cherrytree Books, 2005.
- Assmann, Jane. *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*. Ithaca, Cornell UP, 2015.
- Auerbach, Patrick. *Ancient Egypt: A Guide to the Gods, Pharaohs, Dynasties and the Traditions of Ancient Egypt*. New York, CreateSpace, 2016.
- Beard, Mary. *The Roman Triumph*. London, Belknap Press, 2007.
- Briant, Pierre. *Darius in the Shadow of Alexander*. Translated by Jane Marie Tood. Massachusetts, Harvard UP, 2015.
- Brown, Laura. "Dryden and the Imperial Imagination." in *The Cambridge Companion to John Dryden*, edited by Steven N. Zwicker, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 59-74.
- Burton, Richard. *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, vol. 1, New York, Dover Publications, 1964.
- Caldwell, Tanya. "[Meanings of All for Love, 1677-1813](https://www.questia.com/read/1G1-133755946/meanings-of-all-for-love-1677-1813)," *Comparative Drama*, vol. 38, no. 2/3, 2004, pp. 183-211. <https://www.questia.com/read/1G1-133755946/meanings-of-all-for-love-1677-1813>. Accessed 12 June, 2017.
- Canfield, Douglas. "The Jewel of Great Price: Mutability and Consistency in Dryden's *All for Love*," *ELH*, vol, 42, no.1, 1975, pp. 38-61.
- Chauveau, Michel. *Egypt in the Age of Cleopatra: History and Society under the Ptolemies*. Translated by. D. Lorton. London: Cornell, 2000.
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *Philippics*. Translated by S. Bailey, bk. 4, London: Chapel Hill, 1968.
- . *De Finibus*. Loeb Classical Library, 1931.

- [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cicero/de\\_Finibus/2\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cicero/de_Finibus/2*.html). Accessed 17 March, 2017.
- Clayton, Matt. *The Egyptian Mythology*. Santa Monica, CreateSpace Publishing, 2017.
- Dio, Cassius. *The Roman History*. Translated by Bill Thayer, bk 51. The Loeb Classical Library, 1917.  
[http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/e/roman/texts/cassius\\_dio/51\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/e/roman/texts/cassius_dio/51*.html). Accessed 20 August, 2017.
- Duiker, William, and Jackson Spielvogel, "The First Civilizations and the Rise of Empires (Prehistory to 500 CE): The Egyptian Civilization, the Gift of the Nile." in *The Essential World History*. Boston, CENGAGE Learning Publishing, 2015.
- EL-Daly, Okasha. *Egyptology: The Missing Millennium, Ancient Egypt in Medieval Arabic Writings*. Portland, Cavendish Publishing, 2005.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. (Trans. A.M. Smith). New York: Pantheon Books, 1972
- Gildon, Charles. *Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets*. London, 1699.
- Goldsworthy, Adrean. *Antony and Cleopatra*. New Haven, Yale UP, 2010.
- . *Augustus: First Emperor of Rome*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Gould, Robert. "A Play-House: A Satyr." in *The Restoration Theatre*, edited by Montague Summers. London, Humanities Press, 1934.
- Gruen, Erich. "Cicero and the Alien." in *Roman Literature, Gender and Reception*, edited by B. K. Gold & D. Lateiner, London, Routledge, 2013, pp. 13-27.
- Horace, Quintus. *The Odes and Epodes of Horace: A Metrical Translation into English*. Translated by R. B. Lytton. New York, Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1870.  
<https://archive.org/details/odesandepodesho05horagoog>. Accessed 20 May, 2017.
- Hughes, Derek. "The Significance of *All for Love*," *ELH* 37, no.4 (1971):540-563.
- Hsu-Ming, Teo. "Orientalism and the Mass Market Romance Novels in the Twentieth Century." in *Edward Said: The Legacy of a Public Intellectual*, edited by P. Ganguly and N. Curthoys, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2007, pp. 241-261.
- Isaac, Benjamin. *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*. Princeton, Princeton UP, 2006.
- Jantzen, Grace. *Foundation of Violence*. London, Routledge, 2004.
- Kewes, Paulina. "Dryden's Theatre and the Passion of Politics." in *The Cambridge Companion to John Dryden*, edited by Steven N. Zwicker, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 131-155.
- Kvale, Steiner. "Postmodern Psychology: A Contradiction in Terms?" in *Psychology and Postmodernism*, edited by Steinar Kvale, London, SAGE Publications, 1999, pp. 31-57.
- Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe, C. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London, Verso, 2000.
- Lenman, Bruce. *England Colonial Wars, 1550-1688, Conflicts, Empire and National Identity*. New York, Routledge, 2001.
- Livius, Titus. *The History of Rome*. Translated by C. Robert, bk 1, New York, E. P. Dutton and Co, 1912.  
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.02.00>. Accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- [Malcovati, E. Oratorum, Romanorum Fragmenta: Liberae. Turin, Paraviae, 1955.](http://www.ancient.eu/isis/)
- [Mark, Joshua. "Isis," \*Ancient History Encyclopedia\*. 2016. http://www.ancient.eu/isis/. Accessed 10 Feb, 2017.](http://www.ancient.eu/isis/)
- [McDonnell, Myles. \*Roman Manliness: "Virtus" and Roman Republic\*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006.](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521875783)

- Mieroop, Marc. Van *A History of Ancient Egypt*. Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.
- Orr, Bridgett. *Empires on the English Stage, 1660-1714*. Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2007.
- Owen, Suzan. *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Pettegree, Jane. *Foreign and Native on the English Stage, 1588-1611: Metaphor and National Identity*. London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Pinch, Geraldine. *Egyptian Mythology: A Guide to the Gods, Goddesses, and Traditions of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford UP, 2004.
- Phillips, Louis. and Marianne Jørgensen *Discourse Analyses as Theory and Method*. London, SAGE Publications, 2011.
- Plutarch, Lucius. "The Life of Antony." in *The Parallels Lives*. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin, vol. 9, Loeb Classical Library, 1920  
[http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Antony\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Antony*.html). Accessed 17 Oct, 2017.
- . *De Fortuna Romanorum*, vol. 4, Loeb Classical Library, 1936.  
[http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Moralia/Fortuna\\_Romanorum\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Moralia/Fortuna_Romanorum*.html). Accessed 2 Sep, 2017.
- Ryan, Kevin. "Hegemony and the Power to Act." in *Hegemony and Power: Consensus and Coercion in Contemporary Politics*, edited by Mark Haugaard and Howard H. Lentner. Oxford, Lexington Books, 2006, pp. 191-212.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York, Pantheon Books, 1978.
- Schlude, Jason and Benjamin Rubin, editors. *Arsacids, Romans and Local Elites: Cross-Cultural Interactions of the Parthian Empire*. London, Oxbow Books, 2017.
- Seeley, John. *The Expansion of England*. Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2010.
- Seneca, Lucius Annaeus. *Moral Letters to Lucilius*. Translated by R. M. Gummere, vol.2, A Loeb Classical Library, 1920.  
[https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Moral\\_letters\\_to\\_Lucilius/Letter\\_51](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Moral_letters_to_Lucilius/Letter_51). Accessed 23 Aug, 2017.  
[https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Moral\\_letters\\_to\\_Lucilius/Letter\\_98](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Moral_letters_to_Lucilius/Letter_98). Accessed 23 Aug, 2017.
- Sheldon, Rose. M. *Rome's Wars in Parthia: Blood in the Sand*. London, Vallentine Mitchell, 2010.
- Sherman, Stuart. "Dryden and the Theatrical Imagination." in *The Cambridge Companion to John Dryden*, edited by Steven N. Zwicker, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2004, pp. 15-36.
- Star, Christopher. *The Empire of the Self: Self-Command and Political Speech in Seneca and Petronius*. Baltimore, John Hopkins UP, 2012.
- Spence, Joseph. *Observations, Anecdotes and Characters of Books and Men*, edited by Osborn, J.M. Oxford, Oxford UP, 1966.
- Tombs, Robert and Isabella. Tombs. *That Sweet Enemy: Britain and France: The History of Love-Hate Relationship*. New York, Vintage, 2006.
- Vieth, David. Introduction. *All for Love* by John Dryden, Lincoln, Nebraska UP, 1972, pp. xiii-xxvi.
- Wilkinson, Richard. *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*. London, Thames and Hudson, 2017.
- Williams, Craig. *Roman Homosexuality*. Oxford, Oxford UP, 2010.
- Young, Robert. *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*. London, Routledge, 2004.