

**“Thrice Great Pompey”: Shakespeare’s  
Ironic Use of Pompey in *Love’s Labour’s  
Lost*, *Measure for Measure*, *Julius Caesar*,  
and *Antony and Cleopatra***

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The myth of Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (108-48 BC) is based on the span of his career from the Alexander-like rise in his early years followed by his defeat and ignominious decapitation. Shakespeare uses Pompey’s meteoric rise to fame as a source of comic inversion in *Love’s Labour’s Lost* and *Measure for Measure*, in which the pretensions to prominence, respectively, of the clownish Costard and disreputable Pompey Bum provide a mock heroic perspective on Pompey the Great. When the low characters mimic the actions and events of Pompey’s life, we laugh not only at their pretensions, but also at Pompey the Great’s vainglorious aspirations to rule the world. Thus, history is present in the comedies in an ironic vein.

In *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, although he is not a character, “Pompey the Great cast an enormous shadow.”<sup>1</sup> Pompey’s fall is emphasized as Caesar’s defining accomplishment in the civil war and is then referred to and repeated in a number of parallel and analogous contexts after Pompey’s death. By referring to characters, events, and places from Pompey’s life, Shakespeare points to the ways in which these aspects and concomitant themes recur in future contexts. Pompey may have been killed, but Shakespeare presents his example and influence still operating as history repeats itself to establish a sense of tragic necessity in the continuing Roman civil war. Shakespeare’s use of Pompey in this deflationary and repetitive manner may be indebted to Lucan’s *Pharsalia* (Book 9), in which Pompey’s soul inhabits the

heart of Brutus and the mind of Cato, who, in a sense, repeat his motivations and actions.<sup>2</sup> Such repetition implies that great figures are interchangeable and pretentious in their claims to uniqueness.

As a result, although *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra* involve tragic action, comedy is implicit in the inevitable repetition of certain roles and events. As Jack D'Amico has stated, "Shakespeare's Roman actors arouse laughter because they are trapped in roles they neither fully understand, nor control. . . . The political role seems a given which the hero, driven by will, ambition, honor, or pride, cannot escape, and the values that place that role center stage are . . . subjected to a radical critique. Public life appears laughable to beings who look down on a hero."<sup>3</sup> At the heart of Shakespeare's treatment is the notion that no amount of power and strategy can make the characters' destinies any less repetitive and reductive.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, some of them achieve a tragic grandeur and heightened humanity in their struggle to assert their individuality in the deterministic contexts they encounter.

Shakespeare would have known Pompey's life primarily from Plutarch's *The Lives of The Noble Grecians and Romans*, Lucan's *Pharsalia*, and *The Tragedie of Caesar and Pompey*, or *Caesar's Revenge*, the anonymous revenge tragedy written around 1594.<sup>5</sup> In these accounts, Pompey emerges as Rome's answer to Alexander the Great, who achieved his first ceremonial triumph at the age of twenty-six, a signal honor, as Plutarch noted: "For if he had been made senator, so young, it had been not so great a matter: but to have such honour before he was senator, that was marvellously to be noted."<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, as well as Cicero, Lucan, Pliny, and Petronius, recounted his three major triumphs of conquering Africa, Spain, and Asia—in effect, the whole world: "The greatest honour that ever he won, and which never other Consul of the Romans but himself obtained, was this: that he made his . . . triumph of the three parts of the world. . . . So that it appeared . . . that he had triumphed in manner of all the land that is inhabited."<sup>7</sup>

To commemorate his victories, Pompey had three trophies carved on his seal ring, and he grandiosely listed the great spoils he gained in his conquest of Asia: "Cneius Pompeius Magnus, Imperator, . . . defeated, routed, put to the sword, or received the submission of twelve million two hundred and seventy-eight thousand men, . . . captured eight hundred and forty-six vessels, . . .

received as allies one thousand five-hundred and thirty-eight cities and fortresses, and . . . conquered all the country from the Maeotis to the Red Sea.”<sup>8</sup> As a result of his conquests, his image was inscribed on coins, and cities and religious cults were named in his honor. In 67 BC, when the Roman world was beset by piracy, Pompey received the command of the whole of the Mediterranean to combat pirates. In effect, as Mary Beard has maintained, he can be considered the first Roman emperor, who dominated the Roman political process for two decades and conquered more territory than any Roman general before him.<sup>9</sup>

To solidify his power and overcome the criticism of him in contemporary plays, Pompey built the first permanent stone theater in Rome. At performances, he wore a golden wreath and embroidered toga, endorsing the traditional connection between politicians and theater. He decided to add a portico which extended toward the Porticus Minucia Frumentaria. Pompey’s statue was located near the portico, which had trophies, statues, gardens, and external stations. He also constructed the *curia Pompeia* within the theatre as a senatorial meeting place, which became the only place outside the sacred forum area to be called a *curia*. With the completion of the temple of Venus Victrix in 55 BC, the 48,000 square-meter complex emerged as a triumphal armory, a kind of Forum Pompeium, over which he presided as an augur dedicated to Venus Victor. Pompey’s statue in the curia, the statuary and booty from his military campaigns, and his new house next to it, all attested to the grandiose plan of this complex. Overall, it represented his desire to be the best and excel over others, serving as a channel of self-glorification and a reminder of his great military achievements and triumph over the entire world. Moreover, it added a great asset to Rome’s architecture, setting the standard for monumental building of the imperial age and reinforcing the republican ideal of the individual pursuit of glory and honor.<sup>10</sup>

Unfortunately, however, Pompey’s stature became measured by the later part of his career rather than by his earlier triumphant times. As Plutarch noted, after 50 BC, Pompey was recalled from semi-retirement to be the Republican counter to Caesar, who “growing to be great, overthrew him in the end with the self same means he [Pompey] employed, to the overthrow of others.”<sup>11</sup>

Plutarch lamented that Pompey should have died at the height of his Alexander-like fame because everything he did afterwards undercut his former triumphs: “O happy had it been for him, if he had died when he had Alexander’s fortune: for all his life afterwards, made his prosperity hateful . . . and . . . brought his greatness to nothing.”<sup>12</sup> In the *Pharsalia*, Lucan saw Pompey as a pompous sham in the latter part of his life, dreaming about his past triumphs as he sank into futility:

He dreamed he had taken his seat in Pompey’s Theater  
and was scanning the . . . Roman crowd . . .  
By their joyful voices his own name was tossed starward . . .  
acclaimed in his pure white toga, as if it were conqueror’s  
scarlet.<sup>13</sup>

In 48 BC, Pompey suffered the ignominious beheading by the eunuch henchman of Cleopatra’s brother Ptolemy. The manner of his death became infamous. Pompey was lured onto an Egyptian ship, where he was received in a deceptively deferential way, and he was stabbed from behind and beheaded: “Then having stricken off Pompey’s head, they threw his body overboard, for a miserable spectacle to all those that were desirous to see him.”<sup>14</sup> Caesar turned away in disgust when he was presented with the head as a trophy, and he killed those involved in Pompey’s murder. However, it was widely acknowledged that he had ordered the assassination and therefore had feigned his revulsion.<sup>15</sup>

Pompey’s gruesome fate was seen as an ironic and dismal ending to a life once celebrated as magnificent. Pliny described his third triumph in 61 BC, which featured an iconic portrait head of him made entirely out of pearls, as an expression of Pompey’s vaunting hubris and an ironic foreshadowing of his pitiful demise: “There was a likeness in pearls of Pompeius himself. . . . Those frank features, so venerated throughout all nations, were here displayed in pearls! Never . . . would Pompeius have so long maintained his surname of ‘Magnus’. . . , if on the occasion of his first conquest his triumph had been such as this. . . . Assuredly such a portrait as this had been no less than a downright ignominy . . . were we not bound to behold in it a menacing presage of the . . . time when that head . . . was to be displayed, severed from the body.”<sup>16</sup> At the height of his career Pompey was Fortune’s darling, but “in the last years of his life, . . . most particularly after his death, Pompey

became the scapegoat for Rome’s ruin, for her ruined fantasies both of freedom and empire.”<sup>17</sup>

1

In the two comedies, Shakespeare uses the names and actions of the low, buffoonish characters Costard and Pompey Bum to ridicule his pride in his grandiose military achievements. In *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, the sexual puns concerning Costard deflate Pompey, which is appropriate for a play in which a panoply of linguistic, intellectual, and spiritual pretensions are punctured.<sup>18</sup> Costard the clown has been designated to play Pompey the Great in the *Play of the Nine Worthies* “because of his great limb or joint,” which adds a sexual dimension to the meaning of Pompey’s greatness.<sup>19</sup> The usual lineup for the nine worthies was Hector, Caesar, Alexander, Judas Maccabeus, Joshua, David, Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Boulogne. Shakespeare substitutes Pompey for Caesar, an ironic inversion of history.

Costard gulelessly continues the sexual pun when he declares, “For my own part, I am, as [they] say, but to perfect one man in one poor man, Pompion the Great, sir” (5.2.501-502). In Costard’s comic version of the Incarnation, Pompey is the poor man united with Costard’s more perfect self as based on his great part. Shakespeare uses Costard’s pomposity as an analogy to Pompey’s inflated ego.

The sexual innuendoes and the deflation of Pompey continue when Costard says that “it pleas’d them to think me worthy of Pompey the Great; for my own part, I know not the degree of the Worthy, but I am to stand for him” (5.2.507). Costard considers himself more worthy than the putative Worthy whose worth he does not know. Moreover, Costard’s name means a “large apple,” which in a slang sense can also refer to the head.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, *Pompion* comes from the Old French *pompon*, “a pumpkin,” a head-like melon, which also had the attributed meaning of a “pompous, self-important person.”<sup>21</sup> Both names allude sarcastically to Pompey’s head and its multiple meanings, including his beheading and the inevitable pun on *pomp* and *pomposity*.

When the playlet begins, Costard enters carrying Pompey’s celebrated leopard’s head shield and declares, “I Pompey am” (5.2.547), which is denied immediately by his audience. In a sense,

Pompey's claim to greatness is being undercut by the mocking manner in which his comic surrogate is treated. Shakespeare plays on Pompey's appellation as "thrice great" in honor of his conquering the tripartite world by having "great" repeated three times in successive contexts. Costard repeats, "I Pompey am," three times; when he adds "Pompey surnam'd the Big" (5.2.550)—recalling Fluellen's reference to "Alexander the Pig" in *Henry V* (4.7.11-18)—he is told it is "The Great," and he corrects himself by repeating "Great" twice (5.2.552-53). The Princess continues the litany of greatness by saying, "Great thanks, great Pompey" (5.2.558), and Costard apologizes, "I made a little fault in 'Great'" (5.2.559). The comic repetition of Pompey's honorific title creates a hollow and deprecatory tone.

As the *Play of the Nine Worthies* continues, Costard achieves victories over other Worthies in a parody of Pompey's military prowess. Costard "defeats" Alexander the Great, played by the curate Nathaniel, who is chided for giving up and is summarily escorted offstage. This is historically ironic because Pompey was often compared in physical appearance and military conquests to Alexander. Plutarch remarked that he "had a certain resemblance (as they said) of the statues and images of King Alexander. And because every man gave him that name, he did not refuse it . . . insomuch as there were some which . . . did openly call him Alexander."<sup>22</sup> The actor playing Hector, Don Armado, has "killed" (5.2.682) Costard by winning the pregnant Jaquenetta from him, and the audience incites them to fight within the context of the playlet, but Armado refuses.

As a result of his victorious bravado, Costard is saluted as "Most rare Pompey!" and "Renowned Pompey!" (5.2.683, 684), and, finally, in a crescendo of praise, Berowne declares, "Greater than great, great, great, great Pompey! Pompey the Huge!" (5.2.685-86). Berowne mockingly inflates Costard's ego by heightening the praise of his Pompey persona. However, Charles David Stewart argued that the line with the four "greats" should be repunctuated to have the first "great" apply to Costard because Shakespeare is not mocking Pompey the Great by saying that Costard is greater than he is.<sup>23</sup> But that is exactly what Shakespeare is comically saying by conflating the clown and the Roman leader. Finally, as *The Norton Shakespeare* notes, Berowne's litany ends with a bawdy allusion to

Costard’s oversized member.<sup>24</sup> The historical Pompey the Great has been diminished by being impersonated by and conflated with the greatly endowed clown, who, ironically, has proved to be “the best Worthy” (5.2.561) in the play of the Nine Worthies.

In *Measure for Measure*, as Josephine Waters Bennett has pointed out, the low comic character Pompey is, like Costard, a surrogate for Pompey the Great.<sup>25</sup> He bears the deflationary surname *Bum*, which contains a double pun alluding to his prominent backside and his dubious moral character. In addition, Cedric Watts has maintained that, despite the absence of proof from the OED, it is possible to conclude from Shakespeare’s and his contemporaries’ plays that the words *bottom*, *bum*, and *ass* or *arse* were synonymous. Since *ass* in the sixteenth century could mean a fool, Pompey Bum’s name therefore can indicate his role as a fool.<sup>26</sup> As with Costard, Shakespeare uses an oversized physical attribute to provide a comic parallel with Pompey’s political magnitude. Pompey Bum undergoes a social and professional rise from bawd/tapster to become a hangman, which provides a comic inversion of Pompey’s historic rise and decline. Shakespeare also includes action concerning beheading as a comic allusion to Pompey’s decapitation.

Elbow accuses Pompey of attacking his wife when she enters Mistress Overdone’s brothel looking for stewed prunes, slang for prostitutes. Trying to ferret out what happened, Judge Escalus banter with Pompey about the size of his posterior and his coarse relationship to his historical namesake: “Troth, and your bum is the greatest thing about you, so that in the beastliest sense you are Pompey the Great” (2.1.217-19). After Pompey predicts that houses will be empty if all adulterers are “head[ed] and hang[ed]” (2.1.238), Escalus warns him that if he does anything wrong, he will punish him as Caesar treated Pompey: “I shall beat you to your tent, and prove a shrewd Caesar to you” (2.1.248-49). As Pompey Bum is being led to justice for bawdry, Lucio also banter about his being defeated as Pompey the Great was by Caesar. But he gets it wrong when he says that Pompey was led in triumph by Caesar (3.2.43-44); rather, it was his sons Gnaeus and Sextus who were treated in this way.

The references to Pompey’s defeat in the Roman civil war are deflationary and ironic. The comic Pompey not only manages to

avoid punishment, but he also rises to a dubiously higher social status.<sup>27</sup> The Provost offers him the new job of hangman and asks, “Can you cut off a man’s head?” (4.2.1-2). Barnardine’s head will be cut off and delivered to Angelo as bogus proof of Claudio’s death. Pompey Bum tells Barnardine to rise and be hanged, but he begs off, and they substitute another head from a plague victim named Ragozine. Pompey Bum, a coarse and ironic analogue to Pompey the Great who rose to great heights only to lose his head, rises from the depths to become a headsman, which, as Bennett noted, is an ironic occupation for a man who once was involved with maidenheads.<sup>28</sup>

## 2

In the two Roman history plays, Pompey, although dead, exerts an important influence over the subsequent events in the lives of his successors. In *Julius Caesar*, Murellus harangues the Roman crowd about their forgetfulness of Pompey, whom they once revered from “tow’rs, windows, . . . [and] chimney-tops” (1.1.38-39). However, his former glory has been erased by Caesar, who has weakened and dishonored Rome by precipitating the civil war. Murellus contrasts Pompey’s beneficial victories, which brought foreign captives to Rome, with Caesar’s internecine “triumph over Pompey’s blood,” literally meaning Pompey’s sons, but having the extended meaning of the Roman people.<sup>29</sup> In addition, as Clifford Ronan argues, “The phrase ‘Pompey’s blood’ . . . stresses the . . . spilling of the blood of Pompeius Maximus himself . . . [and] Caesar’s chief rival is, after Brutus, Pompey,” who is referred to in key statements throughout the play.<sup>30</sup>

At the height of Caesar’s ascendancy, the fledgling conspirators tell the people to remove the celebratory images from Caesar’s statues (1.1.64-65). Further, when they enlist sympathizers to their cause, Metellus suggests Caius Ligarius, who “doth bear Caesar hard, / Who rated him for speaking well of Pompey” (2.1.215-16). Their statements and actions portend that Caesar will be subject to the same historical process of rise and fall as Pompey, which is fulfilled with his assassination.<sup>31</sup> Repetitive history unfolds with Pompey providing the precedent and paradigm in the cyclical history of the Roman civil war.<sup>32</sup>

The most important locus for the developing conspiracy is the portico of Pompey’s theatre, where, as Cassius tells Casca and



Cinna, a meeting is scheduled of "Some certain of the noblest-minded Romans / To undergo . . . an enterprise / Of honorable-dangerous consequence" (1.3.122-24). Plutarch found this site to be providential because of the inescapable association of Pompey's revenge against his conqueror:

Furthermore, they thought also that the appointment of the place where the counsell shoulde be kept, was chosen of purpose by divine providence. . . . For it was one of the porches about the Theater, in the which there was a certaine place full of seates for men to sit in, where also was set up the image of Pompey, which the city had made and consecrated in honor of him: when he did beawtifie that parte of the citie with the Theater he built, with divers porches about it. In this place was the assembly of the Senate appointed to be, just on the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, which the Romanes call, Idus Martias: so that it seemed that some god of purpose had brought Caesar thither to be slaine, for revenge of Pompey's death.<sup>33</sup>

Shakespeare shifts the location of the assassination from Pompey's theater to the Capitol to heighten the providential vengefulness of Caesar's death at the center of Roman power in the theater erected by his former adversary and at the base of Pompey's statue. As Plutarch explained, "Caesar . . . was driven . . . against the base [of Pompey's statue], which ranne all of a goare bloude, till he was slaine. Thus it seemed, that the image tooke just revenge of Pompeys enemy, being throwen downe on the ground at his feete, and yelding up his ghost there, for the number of wounds he had upon him."<sup>34</sup> Caesar repeats his rival's fall from greatness in front of his statue, which, as Brutus declares, becomes covered with Caesar's blood (3.1.114-16).<sup>35</sup> Shakespeare links Pompey and Caesar as victims of their ambitions and the treachery of their seeming allies.<sup>36</sup>

The comments of the conspirators after the murder of Caesar intensify its theatrical and repetitive qualities. Cassius says that in ages to come, "Our lofty scene [shall] be acted over" (3.1.112), and Brutus adds that the scene will be enacted in sport, whereas now Caesar lies low in the dust at the base of Pompey's statue (3.1.114-16). Similarly, Antony places Caesar's fall, along with that of Rome and its citizens, within a dramatic context as he reconstructs how

the murderous wounds were made in Caesar's sacred garment (3.2.170-96).

The repetitive pattern continues with Cassius, who says he, like Pompey at Pharsalia, is forced to rely on one decisive battle at Philippi (5.1.74-75). In addition, as Cassius commits suicide with the sword "that ran through Caesar's bowels" (5.3.42), he exclaims, "Caesar, thou art reveng'd / Even with the sword that kill'd thee" (5.3.45-46). Similarly, when Brutus sees the body of Titinius, he declares, "O Julius Caesar, . . . / Thy spirit walks abroad, and turns our swords / In our own proper entrails" (5.3.94-96). In sum, after Caesar defeated his powerful rival Pompey, he in turn was killed when he attempted to attain complete control over Rome; and, subsequently, his assassins have been defeated in a climactic battle.<sup>37</sup>

In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Pompey's influence is continued by his son Sextus Pompeius; like his father, he is a triumvir who controls the seas, but, at the same time, he attempts to maintain a measure of neutrality in the ongoing civil war. As a result, he is a divided figure. On the one hand, he is a powerful military figure who is determined to avenge his father's death, but, on the other hand, he does not seek the great power that undermined his father and caused his defeat. Despite his efforts to establish himself as a redoubtable figure in his own right, his decisions are evaluated according to his father's example and his success attributed to his illustrious parentage. Anthony decries the rise of Sextus to power based on his father's merits:

Our slippery people,  
Whose love is never link'd to the deserver  
Till his deserts are past, begin to throw  
Pompey the Great all his dignities  
Upon his son, who, high in name and power,  
Higher than both in blood and life, stands up  
For the main soldier; whose quality, going on,  
The sides o' th' world may danger (1.2.183-92)

In act 1, scene 3, Anthony again derides "the condemn'd Pompey, / Rich in his father's honor" (1.3. 49-50). Similarly, the Messenger tells Octavian that Sextus is strong at sea, has attracted disaffected troops, and his father's name gives him more strength than his own military prowess has earned (1.4.36-39). After the strategic

meeting with Antony and Caesar, the pirate Menas remarks that "thy father, Pompey, would ne'er had made this treaty" (2.6.82-83). The influence of the dead father looms over the present, which inevitably repeats the past.

At the same time, Sextus has become Pompey's avenging spirit. He has gathered a force "to scourge th' ingratitude that despitiful Rome / Cast on my noble father" (2.6.22-23), but he wonders why he lacks avengers against Pompey's former enemies. He also accuses Antony of not paying for his father's house, a charge which Antony wrongly declares is irrelevant to their present business.

The most important illustration of the continuation of the past into the present occurs when Sextus meets with the other triumvirs on his father's boat to celebrate their treaty. The setting is significant because it recalls the occasion of Pompey's death after he was welcomed aboard a ship by presumed allies and killed. Menas makes a similar offer to Sextus about eliminating the "three world sharers" while aboard the ship so that Sextus can "be lord of all the world" (2.7.69, 61). This offer is repeated three times (63, 67), ironically recalling "thrice-great" Pompey, the conqueror of the world.<sup>38</sup>

But Sextus rejects Menas's offer because he has told him beforehand he was going to do it. If Menas had just done it, then Sextus could have denied his approval of the murders afterwards. However, Sextus refuses to play a hypocritical, Caesar-like role in the death of his ostensible allies. Further, Sextus also rejects the possibility of emulating his father by gaining control of the world. Nevertheless, he is set up to be killed in the ensuing battle with Octavian and Lepidus, and Antony "threats the throat of that his officer / That murd'red Pompey" (3.5.18-19). Antony most probably ordered his death and, like Caesar, acts quickly to distance himself from the assassination. The ultimate irony is that Sextus's attempt to forge his own identity results in his being killed in a way that is similar to his father. Nothing he does to avoid his father's fate enables him to escape the role that history demanded of him in the repetitive process which undercuts his claims of individual behavior.

As the enmity between Octavian and Antony is intensified, the references to Pompey as a martial and romantic precedent also increase. Antony has offered to meet with Octavian in "single

fight / . . . at Pharsalia, / Where Caesar fought with Pompey” (3.7.30-32). However, Enobarbus warns Antony about Octavian’s superior navy whose ships “are those that often have ’gainst Pompey fought” (37). In his growing anger at Cleopatra’s apparent deception when she fled from battle knowing he would follow, Antony reminds her that she was Caesar’s “morsel” (3.13.116) and “a fragment / Of Cneius Pompey’s” (3.13.117-18). In fact, Cleopatra was not the lover of Pompey,<sup>39</sup> but Shakespeare has Antony make the accusation to intensify the repetitive nature of the civil war. Pompey and Caesar loved Cleopatra and were subsequently killed, and now Antony, her current lover, will meet a similar fate. Finally, as she prepares for death, Cleopatra depicts herself and her maids as the subjects of scurrilous future dramas:

The quick comedians  
Extemporally will stage us, and present  
Our Alexandrian revels: Antony  
Shall be brought drunken forth, and I shall see  
Some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness  
I th’ posture of a whore. (5.2.216-21)

Like Pompey and Caesar, who became the subjects of popular plays, Antony and Cleopatra will be reduced to the stage reenactment of their noble passion.

Shakespeare focused on Pompey in the two Roman histories to depict a process which treats the characters as replaceable parts in the narrative of world history. The figures in Rome’s civil war are depicted not only as political actors but also as prisoners of their natures and their repetitive roles, which reduce their individual and collective pretensions to glory and introduce a measure of bitter comedy. Nevertheless, in their struggle to express their individuality in the face of these forces, they manage to achieve a measure of heroic stature which raises them above the level of mere pawns. In the two comedies, by contrast, Shakespeare used the myth of Pompey as the occasion for total mock-heroic deflation. Costard and Pompey Bum serve as Pompey the Great’s foolish surrogates who reenact his career in coarse and ironic fashion. Seeing their ridiculous pretensions to power and acclaim, we concomitantly view Pompey’s heroic pretensions within a similar context and laugh at the grandiosity of his claims to world conquest and his vaunted place in world history.

## Notes

1. Hardin Craig, "The Shadow of Pompey the Great," *Topic* 7 (1964): 6.
2. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, trans. Jane Wilson Joyce (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).
3. Jack D'Amico, "Shakespeare's Rome: Politics and Theater," *Modern Language Studies* 22.1 (1992): 76.
4. For an article on how Shakespeare used Plutarch's *Life of Brutus* in repetitive patterns throughout his canon see Martin Mueller, "Plutarch's 'Life of Brutus' and the Play of its Repetition in Shakespearean Drama," *Renaissance Drama* 22 (1991): 47-93.
5. For articles on the influence of *Caesar's Revenge* on Shakespeare's Roman plays see Jacqueline Pearson, "Shakespeare and *Caesar's Revenge*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 32.1 (1981): 101-04; William Poole, "*Julius Caesar* and *Caesar's Revenge* Again," *Notes and Queries* 49.2 (2002): 227-28; Clifford Ronan, "Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, I. i. 51," *Explicator* 42 (1983): 11-12; René J. A. Weis, "*Caesar's Revenge*: Neglected Elizabethan Source of *Antony and Cleopatra*," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* (1983): 178-86.
6. Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, in *Plutarch's Lives Englished by Sir Thomas North*, vol. 6 (London: J.M. Dent, 1919), 239.
7. *Ibid.*, 285. See also Monroe Deutsch, "Pompey's Three Triumphs," *Classical Philology* 19.3 (1924): 277-79.
8. Pliny, *The Natural History of Pliny*, trans. John Bostock and H.T. Riley, vol. 2 (London: Henry Bohn, 1855), 168.
9. Mary Beard, "Et Tu, Cicero?" Review of *Imperium: Novel of Ancient Rome*, by Robert Harris, *New York Review of Books* (March 15, 2007): 13.
10. Mark Temelini, "Pompey's Politics and the Presentation of his Theatre-Temple Complex, 61-52 BCE," *Studia Humaniora Tartuensia* 7.4 (2006): 3-12, online.
11. Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 285.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, 170.
14. Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 334. Lucan has a long description of Pompey's gruesome beheading and pathetic burial (Book 8), which is paralleled in Kyd's *Cornelia* (1594), *Caesar's Revenge*, Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey* (1599-1607), and Fletcher and Massinger's *The False One* (ca. 1620). For an analysis of the symbolic meanings of Pompey's severed head in Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey*, see Margaret Owens, *Stages of Dismemberment: The Fragmented Body in Late Medieval and Early Modern Drama* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 173-74.
15. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, 265, describes how Pompey's head was paraded on a pike, and when Caesar saw it he pretended to cry over the crime. In 3. 3 of Kyd's translation of Robert Garnier's *Cornélie* (1594), the despondent Cornelia reviews the various Machiavellian reasons why Caesar had her husband murdered (Thomas Kyd, *Cornelia*, in *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, ed. F. S. Boas (rpt. 1954; London: Oxford University Press, 1901), 128-34.
16. Pliny, *The Natural History*, vol. 6, 391.
17. W. R. Johnson, *Momentary Monsters: Lucan And His Heroes* (Ithaca: University of Cornell Press, 1987), 86.

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18. The following treatment of Costard in *Love's Labour's Lost* has appeared in my article "'Thrice Great Pompey': Shakespeare's Use of Pompey in *Love's Labour's Lost*," *Discoveries* 27.1(Spring 2010): 1-3, online.

19. William Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans and others (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 5.1.127-28. Subsequent in-text line references to Shakespeare's plays are to this edition. For the sexual innuendo see *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt and others (New York: Norton: 1997), 815 n. 1.

20. *OED Online*, S.V. "costard," <http://oed.com>.

21. *Ibid.*, S.V. "pompion."

22. Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 221.

23. Charles David Stewart, *Some Textual Difficulties in Shakespeare* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1914), 67-68.

24. *The Norton Shakespeare*, 831 n. 671.

25. Josephine Waters Bennett, *Measure for Measure as Royal Entertainment* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 117-18.

26. Cedric Watts, "A Bum Rap?" *Around the Globe* 35 (2007): 33, 35.

27. Owens, *Stages of Dismemberment*, 171, says the role of executioner was so looked down upon that convicted criminals were hired in this position as in *Measure for Measure*.

28. Bennett, *Measure for Measure as Royal Entertainment*, 41.

29. D'Amico, "Shakespeare's Rome," 51, 67.

30. Clifford Ronan, "Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, 1.1.51," *Explicator* 42 (1983): 11.

31. Paul Aldus, "Analogical Probability in Shakespeare's Plays," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (1955): 402.

32. Craig, "The Shadow of Pompey the Great," 7, remarks that in *Julius Caesar*, "Brutus, as a patriot, speaks in the voice of Plutarch's Pompey."

33. Plutarch, *Life of Caesar*, in *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, ed. Geoffrey Bullough, vol. 5 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957-75), 99.

34. *Ibid.*, 86. In *The Life of Marcus Brutus*, Bullough, vol.5, 101, Plutarch says that immediately before the attack, Cassius cast his eye on Pompey's image and said a prayer to it, as if it were alive.

35. In *Caesar's Revenge*, ed. F. S. Boas (London: Malone Society, 1911), Trebonius says "And Pompey, he who caused thy Tragedy, / Here breathles lies before thy Noble Statue" (1738-39).

36. In *The Life of Julius Caesar*, Bullough, vol.5, 79, Plutarch states that Caesar's ambition was as great as Pompey's, and it was not their rivalry that destroyed them but their mutual desire to overthrow the senate. The anonymous author of *Caesar's Revenge* expresses this equation: "Though *Caesar* be as great as great may be, / Yet *Pompey* once was even as great as he" (599-60).

37. Barbara L. Parker, *Plato's Republic and Shakespeare's Rome: A Political Study of the Roman Works* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 131-32, has argued that *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra* depict "a continuing stage in a battle for supremacy waged by a new set of antagonists whose strife emanates from events in the preceding work. . . . [large ellipsis] In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Caesar and Caesarism reemerge in Octavius . . . , Antony supplants Brutus as the Caesarean antagonist, and Actium replaces Phillippi as the battleground where

the power struggle is played out. . . . Antony's suicide replicates Brutus's: each follows from a fall from power, each is preceded by a follower's refusal to assist in the deed, and each transpires on the field of battle. . . . *Caesar* and *Antony* are also structurally similar, Brutus's fall and Antony's rise in the one paralleling Antony's fall and Octavius's rise in the other."

38. Reginald Saner, "Antony and Cleopatra: How Pompey's Honor Struck a Contemporary," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 20.2 (1969): 117-20, recounts that a contemporary pamphlet interprets the scene on Pompey's ship as taking place between Julius Caesar and Pompey the Great instead of Octavian and Pompey's son. This confusion shows the parallel qualities of the narratives.

39. Waino Nyland, "Pompey as the Mythical Lover of Cleopatra," *Modern Language Notes* 64, no. 8 (1949): 515-16, has pointed out that in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Pompey the Great is mentioned as Cleopatra's lover, and Plutarch has Pompey's son, Cneus Pompey, as the lover of Cleopatra. But in fact neither was her lover.