

# Sisterhood and the law in Thomas Watson's *Antigone*

Eleni Spinelli

Date of deposit	29 October 2021
Document version	Author's accepted manuscript
Access rights	Copyright © 2021 The Society for Renaissance Studies and John Wiley & Sons Ltd. This work is made available online in accordance with the publisher's policies. This is the author created, accepted version manuscript following peer review and may differ slightly from the final published version.
Citation for published version	Spinelli, E. (2021). Sisterhood and the law in Thomas Watson's <i>Antigone</i> . <i>Renaissance Studies, Early View</i> .
Link to published version	<a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12785">https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12785</a>

Full metadata for this item is available in St Andrews Research Repository at: <https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>



University of  
St Andrews | FOUNDED  
1413 |

## **Sisterhood and the Law in Thomas Watson's *Antigone***

Printed in 1581, Thomas Watson's translation of Sophocles' *Antigone* is a Neo-Latin tragedy composed and performed within the context of legal education in sixteenth-century England.<sup>i</sup> In addition to translating the play from Greek, Watson added his own commentary in the form of the *Pomps and Themes*, where the characters' behaviour is examined from a legal perspective. As a result, Watson's own analysis of the law and its shortcomings in *Antigone*'s story are highlighted, and he uses the principle of equity to provide a solution in judging *Antigone*'s choice of her family over the state. Indeed, although she is not completely absolved in the *Pomps and Themes*, Creon's intransigence is judged as detrimental to the benefit of the community. Throughout the play, the two sisters *Antigone* and *Ismene* represent opposing, yet equally valid models of approaching citizenship. As such, these women can be seen as arguing their respective cases on stage, which here stands as a fictional court of law. In this article, focusing on the scenes of dialogue between *Antigone* and *Ismene*, I argue that the relevance of the sisters' interaction lies in the depiction of women pleading their cause on stage, which leads Watson to identify them as examples of opposite yet universal approaches to citizenship. Watson's *Antigone* is thus concerned with the sixteenth-century legal discussions surrounding law and conscience in relation to English common law, as well as with the role of women litigants and their intellectual equality.

In the sixteenth century, Neo-Latin tragedy found its primary place in the context of academic drama.<sup>ii</sup> It was typically composed for and staged at European academic institutions, with most of these tragedies portraying biblical topics or stories.<sup>iii</sup> As Sarah Knight argues in regards to Neo-Latin drama at academic institutions, the learning and performing of Latin was central to both the grammar schools and the universities, where students gained linguistic proficiency first, and then honed their rhetorical, performing, and compositional skills in Latin.<sup>iv</sup> This didactic context for Neo-Latin drama is also found in

England's universities.<sup>v</sup> For instance, in the years around the publication of *Antigone*, Thomas Legge's *Richardus Tertius* was performed at St John's College, Cambridge in 1579, while at Christ Church, Oxford William Gager's tragedies were staged (*Oedipus* and *Meleager* in 1582, *Dido* in 1583).<sup>vi</sup> Although printed in 1581, in the introductory paratexts to *Antigone* there is mention of earlier performances of the play.<sup>vii</sup> These, as Dana F. Sutton and Tanya Pollard suggest, likely took place either at the Inns of Court or at one of the universities, or both.<sup>viii</sup> Indeed, while Sutton argues for a performance at Oxford, given Watson's brief time as a student there in 1569, there is record of an *Antigone* being performed at St John's College, Cambridge some time in 1581.<sup>ix</sup>

Watson likely wrote his *Antigone* during the 1570s when he was in France, and a number of Latin translations of the play were printed on the continent during the course of the sixteenth century.<sup>x</sup> The 1558 Basel edition of *Antigone*, translated by Thomas Kirchmeyer (Naogeorgus), is explicitly quoted by Watson in regards to the *dramatis personae*.<sup>xi</sup> The prefatory paratexts contain Watson's dedicatory poem to the earl of Arundel, a summary of Sophocles' life, an "Argument for the *Antigone* by Thomas Watson", a second argument of the play, this time from the perspective of Nature, and writings by contemporaries of Watson's lauding his play.<sup>xii</sup> These comments unanimously praise Watson's translation, either equating it in value with Sophocles' own Greek text, or stating that Watson's Latin even surpasses the original.<sup>xiii</sup> On Watson's literary Latin it is worth noting that the classics scholar Dana F. Sutton compiled a detailed commentary on Watson's play, showing the intertextual nature of Watson's Latin composition.<sup>xiv</sup> The translation is faithful to Sophocles, although Sutton has suggested that Watson did not translate the tragedy directly from Greek but used Naogeorgus' translation as an intermediary text.<sup>xv</sup>

Following an eight-line poem to the earl of Arundel, there are four *Pomps* (composed in iambic senarii) and four *Themes*, one for each of the main characters (Creon, Antigone,

Haemon, Ismene).<sup>xvi</sup> The *Pomps* are structured as trials, in which characters give opposing statements regarding the events of the play, either defending or attacking a character's behaviour. Then, other characters, playing the judge's part, weigh the arguments and decide who is right. The *Themes*, on the other hand, are composed each in a different meter, and are designed as moral commentaries on the behaviour of the four main characters.

Viewed in the context of legal education, where the play was likely performed, Watson's *Pomps and Themes* resemble a kind of exercise in legal rhetoric that was popular at the Inns. In particular, the polyphonic nature of the *Pomps* is found in the readings, where readers would illustrate hypothetical cases to be discussed by the legal experts present, such as barristers, benchers, and judges.<sup>xvii</sup> Given both the content and the information available on the performance of *Antigone*, then, it seems evident that the play was written for an expert audience, and to be staged in an academic context. On the purpose of Watson's *Antigone* we can only speculate. However, it appears to diverge from what Jessica Winston argues in regards to dramatic production by members of the Inns of Court, that they were 'extracurricular activity' in which members engaged outside of their studies, as having only an indirect relationship to law, or as functioning as a way to cope with professional changes in the members' law careers.<sup>xviii</sup> On the contrary, Watson's *Antigone* represents an instance of drama that explores and challenges the law, written by a playwright trained in legal matters and performed within the context of legal education.

The didactic function of the play is retained in the printed text, where marked *sententiae* can be observed throughout both the play and the *Pomps and Themes*, and their presence is also advertised on the title page.<sup>xix</sup> However, Watson might not have been directly involved in the process. As G.K. Hunter, as well as Peter Stallybrass and Zachary Lesser, argue on the marking of *sententiae* in early modern England, *sententiae* were often not marked by authors, but by printers during the editing phase of the publication process.<sup>xx</sup>

Furthermore, the prefatory paratexts to Watson's *Antigone* reveal the strong didactic aim of this adaptation. Indeed, in the dedicatory poem to the earl of Arundel, Watson writes how while still on the continent:

arripui Sophoclem, docui mitescere Musas:

e Graecis pepigi metra Latina modis.

taliter absumens turbatus utilis horas,

Antigonem docui verba Latina loqui. (l. 47-50)

[I took up Sophocles, I taught his Muses to grow gentle, I made Latin out of his Greekish verse. Thus while disturbed I spent my hours a useful man, I taught Antigone how to speak Latin]<sup>xxi</sup>

For Watson, then, the idea of teaching is central to his own approach to the original text, as the didactic process starts with Antigone herself, and is then transferred to the teachings that she has to offer to the audience.

As Sutton observes, the *Pomps and Themes* would have been necessarily informed by 'contemporary ideas about law, government, the rights of the sovereign and the responsibilities of the individual citizen'.<sup>xxii</sup> More specifically, however, I argue that an analysis focused on the legal aspects of Watson's perspective on the play is needed, which is essential to achieve a better understanding of the elements that informed his reading of *Antigone*. Indeed, while it is true that his version of the play remains concerned with issues of rebellion, tyrannical behaviour, and citizenship, all that is balanced with Watson's intention to offer a practical demonstration of the legal principle of equity. Equity, a translation of the Greek term *epieikeia*, describes the possibility of exceptions inherent in every positive law in case applying that law in a specific instance would mean disregarding the law of God or the law of reason.<sup>xxiii</sup> It is thanks to Watson's illustration of the proper application of equity that

Antigone's case is resolved in the *Pomps and Themes*, encouraging the reader to view the clash between family and state through the specific legal perspective of equity.

A legal perspective on the play is announced from the title page, where Watson is introduced as 'interprete', a translator, and as 'I.V. [iuris utriusque] studioso', a scholar of both branches of the law.<sup>xxiv</sup> Watson is thus identified as a specific kind of legal expert, one that has received his education in canon and civil law at university rather than training in common law at the Inns of Court.<sup>xxv</sup> As Bradin Cormack notes, experts in canon and civil law had traditionally occupied positions in the ecclesiastical courts, equity courts, and the High Court of the Admiralty.<sup>xxvi</sup> With the advent of English common law these became 'the chief focus of jurisdictional tension in England'.<sup>xxvii</sup> In the specific case of Watson, we have scant information about his legal education. He briefly attended Oxford in 1569 and left for Europe the next year.<sup>xxviii</sup> Throughout the following decade, sources locate him as travelling between England and France, with a more definitive return to England by 1581.<sup>xxix</sup> In *Antigone*, a conflict between law and conscience is staged, and Watson offers a legal commentary in which equity is identified as the proper solution, and not the death sentence issued by Creon. The tension between law and conscience, central in both the play and the *Pomps and Themes*, reflects Cormack's observation that 'during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as English law became more homogenized, literary fictions looked to instances of jurisdictional crisis'.<sup>xxx</sup> In particular, Watson's *Antigone* highlights the unstable status of equity at the time. In this regard, Harry Keyishian argues that drama seems to be a particularly apt medium to show the use of equity as opposed to the strict letter of the law: 'As both comedy and tragedy reveal discrepancies between deserving and punishment, they engage in ongoing Renaissance legal controversy between advocates of positive law – of strict adherence to precedent – and advocates of equity – loosely, of judicial discretion'.<sup>xxxi</sup>

This is illustrated in sixteenth-century legal scholarship in Christopher St German's *Doctor and Student* (first printed in Latin as *Dialogus de legum Angliae fundamentis et de conscientia* in 1528). Written in the form of a dialogue between a teacher and his student, in this treatise St German seeks to incorporate equity within English common law. According to Cormack, this was aimed at increasing the 'prestige' of common law and at providing guidelines for the treatment of equity within the legal system.<sup>xxxii</sup> In St German's words, equity is justified in this way:

the dedes and actes of men/ for whiche lawes ben ordained happen in dyuers maners infynytlye. It is not possyble to make any generall rewle of the lawe/ but that it shall fayle in some case. And therefore makers of lawes take hede to suche thynges as may often come and not to euery particular case/ for they coulde not though they wolde And therefore to folowe the wordes of the lawe/ were in some case both against Iustyce & the common welth: wherefore in some cases it is good and even necessary to leue the wordis of the lawe/ & to folowe that reason and Justyce requyreth/ & to that intent equitye is ordeyned/ that is to say to temper and myttygate the rygoure of the lawe.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

Here, not only does St German present equity as a necessary correction to laws drafted by men and thus fallible, but he also argues how it can be used to prevent the application of the law from diverging from justice and the good of the commonwealth.

The plot of *Antigone* is a textbook example of this, and it seems to be the main reason why Watson chose it to be performed at the universities and the Inns of Court before an audience of law students, professors, and practitioners. Watson's interpretation is made clear in the printed text in Nature's Argument and in Creon's *Theme*, where Creon's mistakes are highlighted. For instance, Nature comments on Creon's part in the events that will unfold:

Creonque porro sceptris crudelis tenens  
 dum vult remittere de summo nihil,  
 sed usque durus mente in incepta manet,

nec sanguinis, nec liberum, nec coniugis,

nec vatis aequum praedicantis publice,

nec civitatis curam habens, iras meas

sentiet acerbas. namque luctu flebili

replebo, et omnem clade confundam domum. (l. 64-71)

[And Creon, cruelly wielding the scepter, while he refuses to remit a jot from the whole, but harshly clings to his original purpose, having no care for family blood, children, wife, or a prophet proclaiming the public good, nor any concern for his city, will feel my bitter wrath. For I shall fill him with tearful grieving, overthrowing his entire house with disaster.]<sup>xxxiv</sup>

Creon's behaviour as described by Nature has strong connotations of *hubris*, exaggerated and ultimately destructive self-assertion that leads to the fall of his family and negatively impacts his country. Later, in Creon's *Theme* it is also stressed how in his case

quem nulla flectit ratio, nec prudentia,

nec turgidae frangunt minae,

immo usque pertinax in incepto manet,

nunquam remittit, quod tenet.

non ulla rigidum verba prudentum, aut gravis

authoritas senum movet.

vatum piorum temnitur sacrum decus,

et clara cedit dignitas.

quin in supremum concita impietas deum

prorumpit in tetrum scelus.

praeterita crimen culpa prolectat novum,



nullusque peccandi est modus (l. 258-269)

[The man who is swayed by no reason, nor by prudence, who is not broken by passionate threats, indeed this man stubbornly clings to his original design, never letting go of what he grasps. No words of the prudent, no grave authority of elders ever moves this rigid man. He scorns the holy prestige of pious prophets, their noble dignity yields to him. Indeed, his impiety, provoked against God on high, breaks forth in foul crime. His previous fault invites new guilt, and there is no limit to his sinning.]<sup>xxxv</sup>

It becomes clear from these comments on Creon's actions that, from Watson's legal perspective, he should have spared Antigone from punishment. While she has indeed broken the law, there are cases where a judge could exercise equity, which could be applied in exceptional circumstances by granting mercy to the culprit. As Alan Cromartie explains, equity could be applied by a judge when the well-being of the community was at stake.<sup>xxxvi</sup> Indeed, St German's Doctor argues: 'Equytye is a [ryghtwysenes] that consideryth all the pertyculer cyrcumstaunces of the dede/ the whiche also is temperyd with the swetnes of mercye. And [suche an equytye] must always be obseruyd in euery lawe of man/ and in euery generall rewle therof'.<sup>xxxvii</sup> By being too rigorous, Creon ends up hurting his *polis* more than he would have if he had granted mercy to Antigone. And while Watson makes it clear that Antigone is not blameless and that she should have followed civic laws, ultimately Creon is the one at fault.<sup>xxxviii</sup>

Moreover, Watson further undermines the validity of Creon's punishment through the dedication of *Antigone*, addressed to the earl of Arundel. Philip Howard had inherited the earldom the year before, in 1580, from his maternal grandfather, Henry Fitzalan.<sup>xxxix</sup> Fitzalan and his children, Philip's mother Mary, as well as her sister Jane, the translator of *Iphigeneia* (c1553) and her husband John Lumley, were artistic and literary patrons.<sup>xl</sup> This may have prompted Watson to choose their direct descendant as a dedicatee for his play. Nevertheless, the Fitzalan family and the characters of *Antigone* also shared similar hard choices between

family and state. In particular, Henry Fitzalan's role in supporting the accession of Mary Tudor in 1553 led in turn to the deposition and execution of Lady Jane Grey, who was Fitzalan's niece (his wife, Katherine, was sister to Jane Grey's father).<sup>xli</sup> Although it is uncertain whether any significant memory of Fitzalan's role in Jane Grey's death was still acknowledged almost thirty years later, it is worth taking into consideration Philip Howard's ties to this specific historical example reflecting the choice between family and state that lies at the core of *Antigone*.

In the dedication, while Antigone is again presented as guilty, she is judged even more kindly than she is in the *Pomps and Themes*, and it is through the poem addressed to the earl that we are offered a glimpse into Watson's personal view:

atque pium faceret, ni pius ante fores.  
 illicitam legem tumidis mordebit iambis;  
 fascibus impavido proferet ore deos;  
 tum quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,  
 dicet, et imperii quam sit amarus amor;  
 quam noceat veri monitus contemnere vatis;  
 quam vertat celerem Sors malesana rotam;  
 principis et placitum quam pendula turba sequatur;  
 et quanti faciant caetera membra caput. (l. 82-90)

[she would make you pious, were you not such beforehand. In ranting iambics she will rail at laws that are not lawful; with fearless countenance she will adduce gods against the fasces of government; then she will tell what is fair, what is shameful, what is useful, and what is not, and how bitter is the love of power; how ruinous it is to scorn a true prophet's admonitions; what a fast wheel crazed Fortune sets a-spinning; how the fawning crowd follows its prince's whim, and what value the other limbs set upon the head.]<sup>xlii</sup>

While this account starts with a description of Antigone's behaviour in the play as a character, with Watson clearly stating his opinion in her favour ('she will rail at laws that are not lawful'), it later turns into a list of the teachings that *Antigone* the play will impart. Nevertheless, Antigone's actions as a character again become the focus of Nature's argument, where she is justified to some degree:

victa [...] affectu pio

[...]

sed misera nondum cernit, affectum rudem

debere patriae legibus locum dare. (l. 58, 60-61)

[overcome by pious emotion [...] But the poor girl does not yet perceive that raw emotion must yield place to the laws of one's country.]<sup>xliii</sup>

From this it can be observed how Watson's views on the play seem to be split: the poet is able to comprehend the reason why Antigone is partly in the right and is able to sympathise with her, but the scholar presents Antigone's case as it would be heard and judged in a court of law.

More importantly still, an important aspect of Watson's play that shows his legal perspective on *Antigone* is the *Pomps and Themes*. Arguably, the very purpose of these is the presentation of opposing arguments that lead to a final decision, except for Ismene's *Pomp*, where there appears to be no real conflict between the characters.<sup>xliv</sup> The mimetic nature of the *Pomps and Themes*, that can be seen as pretence-trials or legal disquisitions such as the readings at the Inns of Court, follows the rhetorical process of arguing *in utramque partem*, a technique that was taught in Elizabethan grammar schools and constituted an essential skill of the legal profession.<sup>xlv</sup> In the *Pomps*, the characters' behaviour is analysed and praised or condemned accordingly. In his adaptation, Thomas Watson presents us with an interpretation

of these two characters that may have been to some extent informed by humanist debates on women and their intellectual equality. Antigone and Ismene represent two opposite models of womanhood, the former subversive, the latter acquiescent. Both of them, however, are presented as virtuous. On the one hand, Ismene is elevated to being a paragon of good citizenship. On the other hand, Antigone, although still guilty in Watson's eyes, is granted a certain degree of exculpation, as her good intentions are never doubted and she is described as having 'pious emotions' and a 'great spirit'.<sup>xlvi</sup>

Throughout *Antigone*, the audience witnesses Antigone and Ismene argue on stage, both defending their choices to stand either with nature's law or with men's laws. Fundamentally, then, the two sisters are portrayed in the act of defending their actions on a stage that not only stands for a fictional court of law during the play and the *Pomps and Themes*, but is also physically immersed in the context of academic drama, performed in spaces linked to legal education. By doing this, Watson presents the women in *Antigone* equally as capable as men of arguing in a public court on their own behalf, and are therefore portrayed as intellectual equals to men. A Renaissance precedent to the 'profeminist' argument of women's intellectual equality can be found in Thomas Elyot's *Defence of Good Women* (1540).<sup>xlvii</sup> Elyot wrote this treatise in the form of a dialogue between two men on the inherent virtue and intellect of women. One of them, Caninius, who believes women's wit to be fundamentally inferior to men's, states that 'In the parts of wisdom and civil policy, they [women] be founden unapt and to have little capacity. But their most unperfection is their inconstancy, which proceedeth of their said natural debility'.<sup>xlviii</sup> However, Elyot has his profeminist character, Candidus, reason with Caninius and succeed in proving that 'natural reason is in women as well as in men', concluding that 'Then have women also discretion, election, and prudence, which do make that wisdom which pertaineth to governance'.<sup>xlix</sup> The debate is ultimately settled by Queen Zenobia herself, who appears in order to confirm

Candidus's arguments in favour of women. Elyot's choice to include Zenobia herself in the dialogue reveals, as Constance Jordan argues, his 'remarkable willingness to contest the philosopher's authority', that is Aristotle's.<sup>l</sup> In doing so, Jordan observes, Elyot transfers Aristotle's authority onto Zenobia, who instead carries experience and history as her supporting arguments.<sup>li</sup> In Elyot's dialogue, much like in *Antigone* and in Watson's legal commentary to the play, the two women are shown as perfectly capable of discretion, election and prudence, as well as of rational judgment and constancy of opinion.<sup>lii</sup> Antigone and Ismene then reflect Elyot's point that women can employ their intellectual faculties as well as men.

Watson elevates the two sisters to exemplary figures which he uses to illustrate two different approaches to law and citizenship that transcend gender. Indeed, in Antigone's *Pomp* her actions are not attributed to her physical person, but rather to her soul, 'animus':

privata magnus respicit dum animus mala,

partem in sinistram ductus affectu levi (Pomp II, l. 94-5, my bold)

[When a great spirit pays attention to private misfortunes, led in a wrongful direction by fickle emotion]<sup>liii</sup>

Furthermore, in Ismene's *Pomp*, the teachings that the audience are supposed to learn from her behaviour are written in the masculine, and thus generalised to comprehend all genders:

foelix putandus, mente qui prudens agit.

gratus piusque est in suos; legi datae

parere novit; semper illaesus manet;

omni ex periculo liber evadit; bono

fert placidus animo quicquid adversi venit. (Pomp IV, l. 195-199, my bold)

[He is to be deemed happy who acts prudently, with intelligence. He is kindly and pious towards his own people; he knows how to obey decreed law; he always remains unharmed; he emerges unscathed from ever[y] peril; whatever adversity befalls him he bears calmly with a good mind.]<sup>liv</sup>

This generalisation in terms of gender within the description of the sisters' actions in a legal context is extremely important, since the concept of citizenship in both Sophocles' and Watson's times was charged with gender implications, as women were denied rights that were granted to men, including pursuing legal careers. As Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne note, the rhetorical training available to young men enabled them to achieve the status of what in ancient Rome would have been called the '*vir civilis* (the civil man), who knows how to plead in the law courts for justice and to deliberate in the councils and public assemblies of the *res publica*'.<sup>lv</sup> On the contrary, the purpose of women's education was to shape their moral and religious character, their social behaviour, and to prepare them to be successful household managers, wives, and mothers.<sup>lvi</sup>

Having said this, it must also be remembered that women were not precluded from using the law courts *tout court*, and that they often participated in legal actions as either defendants or plaintiffs. As Tim Stretton writes, during Elizabeth's reign more than 20,000 cases involved women litigants, especially in the court of Chancery, where one quarter of all cases saw the participation of women as plaintiffs or defendants.<sup>lvii</sup> However, women were expected to be assisted by a male counsel who would speak on their behalf.<sup>lviii</sup> As a result, the occurrence of women pleading their cause or defending their actions or reputation directly was a rare sight, and usually looked upon unfavourably in the courtroom.<sup>lix</sup> Thus, while the appearance of women defendants was not unusual, it is significant that in the play *Antigone* and *Ismene*, by defending their actions in their own words, would have made a striking impression on Elizabethan audiences. Ultimately, as Watson considers *Ismene* as virtuous and understands the personal circumstances of *Antigone*'s actions, they both manage to build

successful cases, at least in Watson's opinion, by defending to each other their actions against positive law (in Antigone's case) or in its favour (in Ismene's case). In particular, Watson's argument in favour of Antigone being granted mercy reflects an appropriate use of equity, which should have been exercised by Creon. Of course, Antigone and Ismene are considered extraordinary women, like the Biblical and ancient figures portrayed in Renaissance treatises in defence of women. They are an exception to the rule of female silence. Nevertheless, the pretence of drama (and the fact that no actual women were allowed on stage) leaves room for female characters to plead their case in front of an audience. Of course, this is even more significant in Watson's play, where the audience was likely composed of legal experts.

The two dialogue scenes between Antigone and Ismene are significant in two respects, as their conversations are based on two underlying elements that inform the entirety of their interaction: the contrast between being sisters sharing the same blood and yet having different perspectives on family and country, and a discourse based on equal status. As Mark Griffith observes, in ancient versions of the Theban saga Ismene was not present, and it was Sophocles' introduction of her character that added a new conflicting dynamic, this time between people of the same blood, rank, and gender.<sup>lx</sup> Their clash of personalities and opinions was aimed at complicating the audience's reaction to Antigone's behaviour, to show another perspective on the events and, fundamentally, to have Ismene work as 'a companion and foil' to her sister.<sup>lxi</sup> In both Sophocles' and Watson's *Antigone*, the two sisters are divided by their choices. They have both been influenced by the past misfortunes of their family, but with different outcomes. On the one hand, Ismene attempts to maintain her place in society and in the present moment:

imo istud animo agitare par est, foeminas

nos esse, nec certare cum viris decet.

tum praeter haec, potentiores nos regunt.

locum hisce vel gravioribus demus malis.

facti ipsa veniam ab inferis supplex petam,

nam vis id invitam patrare compulit.

illi obediam ultro, quisquis imperio praeest.

temere ad opus qui fertur, amentem puto. (l. 61-68)

[it is useful to consider in our hearts that we are women, and that it is not appropriate to compete against men. And that besides that, we are ruled by more powerful people. Let us yield to these or to even more grievous evil. I myself, supplicating, will ask forgiveness for this, since reluctantly I am forced to comply. I will obey him whose authority rules. I think anyone who does something rashly is insane.]<sup>lxii</sup>

There is a strong element of social acceptance behind Ismene's choice. In particular, she is concerned with safety, which in turn is achieved by adhering to established social norms. On the other hand, Antigone chooses to live projected towards a future, or rather, eternal, dimension:

[...] namque temporis manet

plus, quo inferis, quam his, qui supersunt, obsequor.

illic iacendum usque est. (l. 74-76)

[for there remains a longer period of time in which I will have to please those who are below, than those who are here. For I will have to lie there forever.]

In the same way, Antigone wants to be reunited with the past and rejects her present circumstances, whereas Ismene has learnt from the past not to overstep limits (l. 68). Lastly, the gods of the underworld are especially important to Antigone, as the 'inferi' (l. 521) is where she will be reunited with her dead loved ones.<sup>lxiii</sup> By contrast, Ismene chooses the world of men and their laws, detaching herself further from the past: 'ego numen haud violabo: verum civibus / hoc facinus invitis facere non sum potis' ('I am not disobeying the



gods at all, but I am not able to do this without the consent of the city', l. 78-79). This unbridgeable distance between the sisters is best epitomised in line 555, when Antigone states: 'tu vitam adoptast, mori est votum mihi' ('You chose life, I wish to die'). Watson's translation choices are extremely effective here, as he modifies the Greek text by employing two different main verbs and placing them in contrast to each other. He uses the verb 'adopto' (to adopt), which describes a social relationship established through a legal process, to define Ismene's choice, thus further highlighting Ismene's link to positive law. However, Watson chooses 'votum est', from the verb 'voveo' (to wish), which pertains to the sphere of the divine and describes an action that will be realised in the future, to refer to Antigone's choice. By contrast, the same line in the Greek text contains one main verb, and thus does not carry the differentiation than can be found in Watson's translation: 'σὺ μὲν γὰρ εἴλου ζῆν, ἐγὼ δὲ κατανεῖν' (555, 'Yes, you chose life, and I chose death!').<sup>lxiv</sup> Here, the main verb 'εἴλου' (the aorist of *αἰρέω*, which in its middle voice, found here, means 'to choose') supports both options chosen by the sisters, 'ζῆν' (infinitive of *ζάω*, 'to live') as well as 'κατανεῖν' (aorist infinitive of *καταθνήσκω*, 'to die'). Watson's translation also differs from Naogeorgus's version, who translated this line as 'Vitam eligebas nempe tu, sed mortem ego'.<sup>lxv</sup> Naogeorgus, like Sophocles, structures the sentence by having one main verb, 'eligebas', support two direct objects, 'vitam' and 'mortem', representing the two different options chosen by Antigone and Ismene.

Despite being opposite, however, the two sisters are also one and the same. In the opening line of the play Antigone calls forth Ismene onto the stage by introducing her in l. 1 as 'o stirpe eadem Ismene, germanum caput' ('oh Ismene, [my] very own sister, of the same blood'). Furthermore, later in the play, Antigone speaks of the irreplaceable bond between siblings (although in this case she is referring to the brother she has just buried), by arguing that while one could substitute a spouse or a child, siblings are of the exact same genetic

make-up, and if the parents are dead, one cannot have another sibling. Thus, siblings are seen as the most precious relatives to have.<sup>lxvi</sup> Ismene's despair at the idea of losing her sister is a further confirmation of that, because Antigone's death will sever the tie between the sisters, leaving Ismene truly alone, incomplete (l. 544-560).

The other main feature that marks the dialogues between Antigone and Ismene as different from the interactions between all the other characters in the play is their equal status. Indeed, there are no barriers of gender, age, and socio-political position between them. In their first dialogue scene (l. 1-99), Antigone reveals her plan to bury their brother Polinices and asks her sister to be her accomplice, which Ismene refuses, citing the authority of the laws of Thebes. She then, in turn, tries to persuade Antigone to refrain from disobedience, but in vain. Nevertheless, the scene ends with Ismene's reassurance that her sister is still dear to her, despite their differences: 'si constitutum habeas, abi. hoc scito tamen, tuis amica pergis, at demens tibi.' ('If you have decided, go. And yet know that you continue to be dear to your own, even though you are acting foolishly', l. 98-99).

When the two sisters are seen together for the second and last time in the play (l. 536-581), Ismene has changed her mind on sharing Antigone's fate, not so much because she has been persuaded by her sister's argument, but rather because she is reluctant to be separated from her:

ISMENE	opus ego confeci. illa si consentiat,  tum criminis culpaeque particeps ero.
ANTIGONE	hoc aequa te iusticia prohibebit. mihi  nec consulebas, nec ego tecum contuli.
ISMENE	non me tuis refraenat in malis pudor,  quin me fidelem miseriae sociam dabo.

ANTIGONE facti reos Orcus manesque inferi

norunt; amicam non amo lingua tenus.

ISMENE ne dedecus tantum imprimas, ut non soror

occumbam, et una mortuum tecum expiem.

ANTIGONE ne (quaeso) vitam amitte, nec facias tua,

aliena quae sunt. facta sufficient mea. (l. 536-47)

[ISMENE I did the deed with her. If she consents, then I will share the blame for the crime.

ANTIGONE This the impartial justice will not allow you to do. You did not consult with me, and I did not discuss this with you.

ISMENE Shame does not prevent me in your hour of need from giving myself up as your faithful companion in misery.

ANTIGONE Pluto and those below know who did the deed; I do not appreciate a friend who is so only in words.

ISMENE Do not force such a dishonour on me, of not dying as a sister and with you as one appeasing the dead.

ANTIGONE Please do not abandon your life, and do not make yours deeds that are not. My death will suffice.]

As it can be seen in this exchange, Ismene insists on taking part of the blame for Antigone's crime. However, it is clear that she does this not because she thinks Antigone is in the right, but rather because she wants to be as one with her in death, too. For Ismene, the fear of separation from her sister is even greater than the fear of death. Immediately after this, the pace of the dialogue between the sisters is accelerated, as it transforms into *stichomythia*:

ISMENE quae vita dulcis esse te abrepta potest?



she does not resent her sister for her choice to obey and live according to different laws (l. 554-560).

Therefore, Ismene's attempt at persuasion only partially succeeds, as Antigone is emotionally affected by her sister's change of heart and the prospect of their separation, even as she rejects her arguments. In the same way, Antigone's own initial request to Ismene is not accepted on rational grounds, but emotional ones. To the sisters, who find themselves at completely opposite poles, the only thing that elicits a response to each other's attempts at persuasion is the prospect of being separated, something that had not happened for their brothers, who had died together even as enemies. As Simon Goldhill argues, what Sophocles' *Antigone* ultimately did was to present the concept of sisterhood in a public setting and to show how it could carry political implications as much as relationships between brothers.<sup>lxviii</sup> At the same time, Sophocles gave the sisters two clashing identities, so that they would be united in family but divided by their approaches to citizenship.<sup>lxix</sup> In the end, Antigone aptly summarises their interaction and their irreconcilable differences by stating: 'his tu sapere videris, et aliis ego' ('to some you will have seemed wise, to others I will have', l. 557).

Thomas Watson's translation of *Antigone* is necessarily informed by the opposing approaches to citizenship represented by Antigone and Ismene. However, he further emphasises this opposition by analysing the reasons for their behaviour in the *Pomps and Themes*, and by regarding the women chiefly as litigants rather than family members. Watson's interpretation of Sophocles' *Antigone* allows for the portrayal of women pleading their cause in public, on a stage which stands for a fictional court of law, and the significance of his adaptation lies precisely in the legal quality of his commentary. By framing the play with his paratexts and the *Pomps and Themes*, Watson argues for the application of equity in Antigone's case. In doing so, Antigone and Ismene are regarded as universal examples of different approaches of citizenship, and are considered models for virtues, from piety to

obedience to the state, that are not presented only as feminine in a private setting but become ungendered in a public one.

Watson's version of *Antigone* demonstrates the playwright's interest in the concept of equity and its applications. His modifications of Sophocles' play turn *Antigone* into a specialised educational tool, at the same time taking into account the reality of women litigants and giving them the possibility of defending and pleading their causes directly. Ultimately, *Antigone* sheds light on Watson's legal expertise, which significantly contributes to a deeper understanding of his work, since little is known about his life and his training. Not only does this play help establish Watson's position as a legal expert, but it also attests to his involvement in legal debates, as it is immersed in and reflects on contemporary legal issues. Through his choice of topics in conjunction with the modes and techniques of law in *Antigone*, Watson firmly establishes himself as an important voice in early modern academic drama and more specifically within the field of legal education.

I would like to thank the Society for Neo-Latin Studies, University of Warwick, for awarding the SNLS Ann Moss Essay Prize to this essay in 2019, and for the valuable feedback I received from their readers. I am also very grateful to the reviewers of this article for Renaissance Studies for their helpful suggestions during the revision process. Furthermore, I would like to thank Dr Angelica Vedelago for our insightful conversations. Finally, I am grateful to Funds for Women Graduates for awarding me a maintenance grant during my third year of doctoral studies, which achieved the impossible feat of making me a less anxious and worried researcher.

---

<sup>i</sup> Thomas Watson, 'Antigone', in *The Complete Works of Thomas Watson (1556-1592). Volume I*, ed. and trans. Dana F. Sutton, 16-115 (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1996). References and quotations from Watson's *Antigone* in this article refer to this edition, unless otherwise stated. While I include Sutton's translation of the introductory paratexts and of the *Pomps and Themes*, I provide my own translation of excerpts from Watson's play.

<sup>ii</sup> Gary Grund, 'Tragedy', in *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*, ed. Sarah Knight and Stefan Tilg, 103-118 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 108, DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199948178.013.7.

<sup>iii</sup> Grund, 108-9.

<sup>iv</sup> Sarah Knight, 'University', in *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*, ed. Sarah Knight and Stefan Tilg, 233-47 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 233, DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199948178.013.21.

<sup>v</sup> Frederick Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), 16.

<sup>vi</sup> Grund, 109. For the performance dates, see Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson, *British Drama, 1533-1642: A Catalogue. Volume 2* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012-2018), 224-36, 291-2, 295, 318.

<sup>vii</sup> On the post-1581 performance, see Tanya Pollard, *Greek Tragic Women on Shakespearean Stages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 276, DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780198793113.001.0001. On the pre-publication performance, see Watson, *Antigone*, 28-29. Gabriel Harvey also commented on a performance of Watson's *Antigone* in his marginalia (Sutton 1996, 3).

<sup>viii</sup> Dana F. Sutton, 'Oxford Drama in the Late Tudor and Early Stuart Periods', *Oxford Handbooks Online* (2016): 19-20, DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.013.99; Pollard, 276.

<sup>ix</sup> Sutton (1996), 3; *APGRD*, <http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/productions/production/1201> (accessed July 2021).

<sup>x</sup> *Antigone*, 20-23; Pollard, 242-259. For Thomas Watson's biographical information, see Sutton 1996, vii-xxxv; Ibrahim Alhiyari, 'Thomas Watson: New Birth Year and Privileged Ancestry', *Notes and Queries*, 53 (2006): 35-40, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/notesj/gjj120>; Albert Chatterley, 'Watson, Thomas (1555/6-1592)', *ODNB* (2008), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28866>. The broader context of literary production in which Watson might have been involved, and especially his ties to Christopher Marlowe, are investigated, among others, by James P. Bednarz, 'Marlowe and the English Literary Scene', in *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Patrick Cheney, 90-105 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Michael J. Hirrel, 'Thomas Watson, Playwright: Origins of Modern English Drama', in *Lost Plays in Shakespeare's England*, ed. David McInnis and Matthew Steggle, 187-207 (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Constance B. Kuriyama, 'Second Selves: Marlowe's Cambridge and London friendships', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 14 (2001): 86-104, viewed at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24322989> (accessed 8 September 2021).

<sup>xi</sup> Sutton (2016), 19. Sophocles, *Sophoclis tragoediae septem, Latino carmine redditae, & annotationibus illustratae, per thomam naogeorgum Straubingensem. Collectae sunt etiam gnomai, dictag; proverbialia ex hisce tragoediis, per eundem Graecè et Latinè*. Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1558, USTC 694173. Digital copy from the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Viewed at: [http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO\\_%2BZ17925790X](http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ17925790X) (accessed 30 July 2021).

<sup>xii</sup> Watson, *Antigone*, 30-1.

---

<sup>xiii</sup> Watson, *Antigone*, 24-31.

<sup>xiv</sup> Sutton (1996), 117-29.

<sup>xv</sup> Sutton (2016), 19-20.

<sup>xvi</sup> Sutton (1996), 5. The meters of the *Themes* are varied: Creon's *Theme* is composed in iambic distiches, while Antigone's *Theme* is in anapaestic dimeters. Ismene's *Theme* is a sapphic poem, and Haemon's *Theme* is composed in Choriambic Asclepiadeans. (Sutton 1996, 105-13).

<sup>xvii</sup> J.H. Baker, 'The third university 1450-1550: law school or finishing school?', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight, 8-24 (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2011), 18-9; Alan H. Nelson and John R. Elliott, Jr. (eds.). *Records of Early English Drama. Inns of Court. Vol. 1* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010), xiv.

<sup>xviii</sup> Jessica Winston, *Lawyers at Play: Literature, Law, and Politics at the Early Modern Inns of Court, 1558-1581* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 3, 9, 12, DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198769422.001.0001.

<sup>xix</sup> *Sophoclis Antigone. Interprete Thoma Watsono I.V. studioso. Huic adduntur pompæ quædam, ex singulis tragædiæ actis deriuatæ; & post eas, totidem themata sententijs refertissima; eodem Thoma Watsono auctore.* London: John Wolfe, 1581, USTC 509429.

<sup>xx</sup> G.K. Hunter, 'The Marking of Sententiæ in Elizabethan Printed Plays, Poems, and Romances', *The Library*, s5-VI, no. 3-4 (1951): 171-88, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s5-VI.3-4.171>; Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass, 'The First Literary "Hamlet" and the Commonplacing of Professional Plays', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 59, no. 4 (2008): 371-420, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/shq.0.0040>.

<sup>xxi</sup> Watson, *Antigone*, 22-3. It is unclear why Sutton chose to use the pejorative adjective 'Greekish' in his translation, since Watson's original 'Graeci', from 'Graecus, a, um', carries a neutral connotation.

<sup>xxii</sup> Sutton (1996), 6.

<sup>xxiii</sup> Alan Cromartie, 'Epieikeia and Conscience', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Law and Literature*, ed. Lorna Hutson, 320-35 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 322-5, DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199660889.013.22.

<sup>xxiv</sup> Watson, *Antigone*, 16.

<sup>xxv</sup> Bradin Cormack, *A Power to do Justice: Jurisdiction, English Literature, and the Rise of Common Law, 1509-1625* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 2, DOI:10.7208/chicago/9780226116259.001.0001.

<sup>xxvi</sup> Cormack, 2.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Cormack, 2.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Sutton 1996, 9.

<sup>xxix</sup> Ibrahim Alhiyari, 'Thomas Watson: New Birth Year and Privileged Ancestry', *Notes and Queries*, 53 (2006): 35-40, 40; Albert Chatterley, 'Watson, Thomas (1555/6-1592)', *ODNB* (2008).

<sup>xxx</sup> Cormack, 1.

<sup>xxxi</sup> Harry Keyishian, "Punishment Theory in the Renaissance: the Law and the Drama", in *Shakespeare and the Law*, ed. Paul Raffield and Gary Watt, 175-84 (Oxford and Portland, OR: Hart Publishing, 2008), 177. In particular, Keyishian highlights the ability of drama to show the crucial element of intent: 'drama, by providing access to the minds of characters so that we can gauge their level of responsibility and guilt, is all about the discovery of intent. It permits playwrights to give audiences access to as much of a character's intent as necessary to shape an audience's response to it. But in the process drama also discloses how fragile and ephemeral intent is' (183).

<sup>xxxii</sup> Cormack, 34.



---

xxxiii Christopher St German, *Doctor and Student*, ed. T.F.T. Plucknett and J.L. Barton (London: Selden Society, 1974), 97.

xxxiv Watson, *Antigone*, 35.

xxxv Watson, *Antigone*, 105-7.

xxxvi Cromartie, 325.

xxxvii *Doctor and Student*, 95.

xxxviii Watson, *Antigone*, 34-5.

xxxix J.G. Elzinga, 'Howard, Philip [St Philip Howard], thirteenth earl of Arundel (1557–1595)', *ODNB* (2004), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13929>.

xl Julian Lock, 'Fitzalan, Henry, twelfth earl of Arundel (1512–1580)', *ODNB* (2004), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9530>; Kathryn Barron, 'Lumley, John, Baron Lumley (c. 1533–1609)', *ODNB* (2004), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17179>.

xli Lock.

xlii Watson, *Antigone*, 23-5.

xliii Watson, *Antigone*, 35.

xliv In Ismene's *Pomp* the conflict between characters arguing is erased and she is elevated to an example of moral probity. This also cancels the complexity of Ismene's character, who is torn between following her sister or the law. In the same way, while her rejection of ambition and *hubris* is cited in her *Pomp* as the reason for her ultimate happiness (Watson, *Antigone*, 98-99) one cannot help but notice that she is not happy at the end of the play. On the contrary, she is desperate about losing her sister and she certainly does not 'cheerfully' ('libens') (Watson, *Antigone*, 100-1) obey, either. In previous scholarship, Robert Miola has highlighted a certain degree of bias in favour of Ismene in early modern versions of *Antigone* (Robert S. Miola, 'Early Modern Antigones: Receptions, Refractions, Replays', *Classical Receptions Journal*, 6, no. 2 (2014): 221-44).

xlv For more on this, see Kathy Eden, 'Forensic Rhetoric and Humanist Education', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Law and Literature*, ed. Lorna Hutson, 23-40 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), DOI: [10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199660889.013.5](https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199660889.013.5); Kent Cartwright, *Theatre and Humanism. English Drama in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 160. For more on the connection between the development of dramatic plots and legal proceedings in 16th-century England see Lorna Hutson, *The Invention of Suspicion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Subha Mukherji, *Law and Representation in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

xlvi 'victa [...] affectu pio' (l. 58) (Watson, *Antigone*, 34); 'magnus [...] animus (l. 94) (Watson, *Antigone*, p. 90).

xlvii The term 'profeminist' was used by Pamela J. Benson to describe those early modern texts that are in defence of women but still uphold the greater patriarchal social structure. For instance, they tend to praise certain women as exceptionally virtuous or capable, or to describe women potentially as such, but not to support the political and social implications of that, nor actual change in favour of equality. Therefore, these texts cannot be defined as 'feminist' or 'protofeminist' (as in, feminist texts before 'feminism' was coined as a term or formed as a movement), but Benson defines them as 'profeminist' in that they praise womankind even though they do not advocate for actual equality. (Pamela Joseph Benson, *The Invention of Renaissance Woman: The Challenge of Female Independence in the Literature and Thought of Italy and England*. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 2).

xlviii Thomas Elyot, 'Defence of Good Women', in *The Image of Governance and Other Dialogues of Counsel (1533-1541)*, ed. David R. Carlson, 147-68 (London: MHRA, 2018), 158.

xlix Elyot, 162.

---

<sup>l</sup> Constance Jordan, 'Feminism and the Humanists: The Case of Sir Thomas Elyot's *Defence of Good Women*', *Renaissance Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1983): 181-201, 188, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/2860868>.

<sup>li</sup> Jordan, 185.

<sup>lii</sup> In Elyot's words, these are, respectively, the skill that 'discerneth or severeth one from the other', 'When it taketh the one and leaveth the other', and 'judgment, of some men. The exercise thereof is called prudence; of some, circumspection'(Elyot, 160).

<sup>liii</sup> Watson, *Antigone*, 91.

<sup>liv</sup> Watson, *Antigone*, 99-101.

<sup>lv</sup> Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne, 'Introduction', in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne, 1-24 (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2007), 3.

<sup>lvi</sup> Richards and Thorne, 3.

<sup>lvii</sup> Tim Stretton, *Women Waging Law in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 20, 39, DOI:10.1017/CBO9780511583124.

<sup>lviii</sup> Stretton, 54, 67.

<sup>lix</sup> Stretton, 218.

<sup>lx</sup> Mark Griffith, 'Introduction', in *Antigone*, ed. Mark Griffith, 1-69 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 8.

<sup>lxi</sup> Griffith, 8, 10.

<sup>lxii</sup> The correct translation of line 64 was achieved thanks to the helpful anonymous feedback I received from the Society for Neo-Latin Studies.

<sup>lxiii</sup> l. 89, 451-471, 559-560.

<sup>lxiv</sup> Sophocles, 'Antigone', in *Sophocles. Vol. II*, ed. and trans. Hugh Lloyd-Jones, 1-128 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), DOI: 10.4159/DLCL.sophocles-antigone.1994. All references to Sophocles' *Antigone* in this article are taken from this edition.

<sup>lxv</sup> Sophocles, *Sophoclis tragoediae septem*, fol. 225.

<sup>lxvi</sup> l. 902-906.

<sup>lxvii</sup> The correct translation of line 545 was achieved thanks to the helpful anonymous feedback I received from the Society for Neo-Latin Studies.

<sup>lxviii</sup> Simon Goldhill, 'Antigone and the Politics of Sisterhood', in *Laughing with Medusa: Classical Myth and Feminist Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 141-7, DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199237944.003.0006. Although it has been suggested that at the end of the play Antigone 'kills off' her sister (Goldhill, 157-8), as she refers to herself as dying unmourned and as the last member of the royal house, I would argue that it could be a refusal on her part to acknowledge the separation from her sister, by imagining her as already dead.

<sup>lxix</sup> Goldhill, 148.