

A NEW LOOK AT SHAKESPEARE'S THE TEMPEST:
SOURCES AND DATE

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TO MY MOTHER AND FATHER

PREFACE

The first printed edition of The Tempest appears in the F₁ publication of Shakespeare's plays by John Heminge and Henry Condell (1623); and the first known performance of the play is recorded in the Revels Accounts on November 1, 1611. While many Shakespearean scholars have concerned themselves with determining the source and establishing the date of composition for The Tempest, their efforts have not solved either problem.

Consequently, I chose to reinvestigate much of the scholarship contained in the works of these past scholars in a further attempt to discover Shakespeare's source material with the hope of establishing a more credible date of composition for The Tempest.

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CHAPTER I

A STUDY OF THE SOURCES OF THE TEMPEST:

THEORIES AND FACTS

The problem of source confronts scholars attempting to establish a substantial view of Shakespeare's The Tempest. Two works, Joseph Ayrer's Die Schöne Sidea and Antonio de Esclava's Primera Parte de las Noches de Invierno, are generally accepted as having a resemblance to the plot of The Tempest; but in both cases, one notes that the instances paralleled are important enough only to indicate the further necessity for some unknown source. Ayrer, author of Die Schöne Sidea, died at Nuremberg in 1605.¹ The only extant version of his play is contained in his Opus Theatricum (1618).² Thus, if one assumes that the present composition date of 1610/1611 for The Tempest is correct, Ayrer could not possibly have witnessed a performance of Shakespeare's play, at least not in its extant form. The two plays, however, must have had a common source since similarities in episodic detail and general structure

¹Henri Grégoire, "The Bulgarian Origins of The Tempest of Shakespeare," SP, XXXVII (April, 1940), p. 237, fn.

²Loc. cit.

are evident. For example, in Die Schöne Sidea, Ludolff is a deposed ruler who possesses magical powers; Englebrecht is a patient log-bearing prince; Sidea is Ludolff's beautiful daughter who rules over the young prince and is eventually betrothed to him; Runcifal is Ludolff's spirit-devil who assists him; and Englebrecht and his squire are charmed by the magician when they attempt to draw their swords. One may pursue the parallels between these two plays, however, no further. In addition, The Tempest and Die Schöne Sidea contain no parallel phrases or speeches; the temperament of the characters in both plays is entirely different; and there are no storm and no enchanted island in Ayrer's play (Ludolff inhabits a forest domain). The title-page to Ayrer's Opus Theatricum, however, does indicate that many of the sixty-six pieces included in his work are translations or adaptations, including a version of The Spanish Tragedy and a piece resembling Much Ado about Nothing.³ From this evidence, it is possible to suggest that Ayrer may have seen English plays performed in Germany and, later, have borrowed from them. For example, he may even have seen an Ur-Tempest at some time during the 1590's and have adapted Die Schöne Sidea from a play possibly even

³J. M. Nesworthy, "The Narrative Sources of The Tempest," Review of English Studies, XXIV (October, 1948), p. 285.

written by Shakespeare, or some other playwright. However, this logic is speculative, for the common source for both Ayrer and Shakespeare might just as well have been Celinde und Sedes, the title of a play in Anglo-German play lists of 1604 and 1613, although one notes that there is no Celinde in Ayrer's play.⁴

The second proposed source which, indeed, has much in common with Shakespeare's The Tempest, is a Spanish collection of short tales by Antonio de Esclava, entitled Primera Parte de las Noches de Invierno. Esclava's work contains, in the fourth chapter, a story analogous to the plot of The Tempest. In it, Dardanus, a magician king, is forcibly deprived of his kingdom and sails away with his only daughter, Seraphina. In mid-ocean, Dardanus uses his magical powers to divide the seas and, then, creates a beautiful submarine realm where he and his daughter may reside. When Seraphina is mature, Dardanus takes captive the son of his usurping foe and brings the youth to the under-water dwelling. Seraphina marries the young prince; and when the usurper dies, Dardanus is restored to his kingdom. It is obvious that Esclava's story contains some resemblances to the plot of The Tempest, but its details

⁴Sir E. K. Chambers, Shakespearean Gleanings, p. 76.

point only to the fact that both Eslava and Shakespeare may have obtained their plots from the same source. Eslava's stories were published in 1609, a date close to the 1610/1611 date of The Tempest. However, there is no evidence to show that Shakespeare knew Spanish or that he had ever read Noches de Invierno.⁵ Nevertheless, what similarities there are between Noches de Invierno and The Tempest have led Henri Grégoire to argue that a work by Abbé Mauro Cribini, entitled Il Regno degli Slava (1601), was the source of an Italian novella which was, in turn, a direct source for Noches de Invierno, The Tempest, and, also, Ayres's Die Schöne Sidea.⁶ His theory rests on the facts that Eslava had used historical references in his other works and that eleven Carolingian legends have also been noted in various other works by Eslava.⁷ Grégoire is convinced, however, that Eslava utilized a chapter of Byzantine-Bulgarian history in the composition of the fourth tale of Noches de Invierno, because he has discovered that certain names which Eslava employed are also traceable to Cribini's Il Regno

⁵Nosworthy, op. cit., p. 284.

⁶Grégoire, op. cit., p. 237.

⁷Ibid., p. 244.

degli Slavi.⁸ Nevertheless, since much of the intrigue relevant to the works of Eslava, Ayrrer, and Shakespeare is missing from the Oribini history, Gregoire concludes that Oribini could not have been the direct source after which these works were patterned.⁹ He thinks, instead, that the original source is a novella, based upon Oribini's Il Regno degli Slavi, and possibly written in Italian.¹⁰ It is, indeed, possible that an Italian novella may well have been based upon Oribini's work; but such a novella is not as yet available to the scholarly world. Perhaps, in view of the structural peculiarities of historical reference traceable in Eslava, Ayrrer, and Shakespeare, one should agree with Kermode, who thinks that an assumption which rests on such an historical view is "a prize mare's nest" and should not be stressed to any great degree.¹¹

The date of Noches de Invierno (1609), however, may be significant since it is so close to the proposed date for The Tempest. Nosworthy, although he fails to give any

⁸Ibid., p. 245; 253-254.

⁹Ibid., p. 254.

¹⁰Loc. cit.

¹¹Frank Kermode (ed.), The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare. The Tempest, p. lxvi.

evidence, states that certain reasons do exist to show that Eslava's tale was known in England long before 1609.¹² At any rate, one suspects that Shakespeare did not have need of Oribini or Eslava as sources for the names he appropriates for his characters in The Tempest, for he may have found these names, also, in William Thomas's Historie of Italie, first published in 1549 and, again, in 1561. If this be true, however, it is clear that Shakespeare has not represented these characters in their original historical roles. Nevertheless, the divergent details may be accounted for in the belief that Shakespeare did not always follow exact details of history, possibly changing historical facts in the interests of his plays.¹³ Thomas recounts the story of Prospero Adorno, the Duke of Milan's lieutenant in Genoa, who is deposed because of his relations with Ferdinand, King of Naples; and later, Antony Adorno becomes governor of Genoa. Thomas also describes the attempt of Charles VIII to depose Alonso, King of Naples. Alonso, then, unites Milan and Naples by marriage, but relegates his kingdom to Ferdinand, his son, and afterwards retires to Sicily to

¹²Nesworthy, op. cit., p. 284.

¹³Ibid., p. 282.

Alonso is replaced by Prospero Adorno, since the island magician in The Tempest has an only daughter. Deposition accounts for Prospero's presence on the enchanted island, and Thomas's Antonio Adorno, the usurping brother, would have suggested Antonio; and Prospero Adorno is transferred from Genoa to Milan since a union of Milan and Naples is required. Although a large percentage of the names in The Tempest are accounted for in Thomas's Historie of Italie, Mosworthy thinks that Shakespeare would possibly have known about the details involving Prospero Adorno, Antony Adorno, Ferdinand, and Alonso and would not, therefore, have had to borrow from Thomas.¹⁵

Furthermore, it is possible that Shakespeare may have become acquainted with the names of his characters in various other works of the period. Two travel books, Richard Eden's History of Trauayle (1577) and Sir Walter Raleigh's Discoverie of Guiana (1596), contain references to personages whose names correspond to characters' names

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 282-283.

¹⁵Loc. cit.

in Shakespeare's play. In the Discoverie of Guiana, Raleigh mentions Adelantado, Don Gonzales, Cemenes de Casade, who was involved in the search for El Dorado. Also, Don Anthonio de Berreo, Raleigh's Spanish rival in search of El Dorado, is important, since his wife, Doña Maria, was the niece of Don Gonzalo.¹⁶ On the other hand, various parallels, to be discussed later, may also have come from Eden's History of Trauayle; but in particular, two significant references to names in Shakespeare's play are to be found in Eden. The Pantagonian devil, Setebos, who appears in Eden's work, is mentioned twice in The Tempest. For example, Eden reports that after the captain had succeeded in chaining two giants to the ship ". . . they roared like bulles, and cryed upon theyr great devill Setebos to to help them."¹⁷ Eden's work also contains an English

¹⁶Sir Walter Raleigh, The Discoverie of the Large Rich, and Bevytiful Empyre of Guiana, with a relation of the great and Golden Citie of Manoa (which the Spanyards call El Dorado) And of the Provinces of Emeria, Arromais, Amapais, and other Countries, with their rivers, adjoining. p. 24.

¹⁷Richard Eden, The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies, and other countreys lying ether way, towards the fruitful and ryche Moluccaes As Moscouia, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Aegypte, Ethionia, Guinea, China in Cathayo, and Giapin: With a discourse of the Northwest passage. p. 455^v.

translation of a book written by an Italian, Gonzalus Ferdinandus Oviedus, a name which hardly needs an explanation of its connection with The Tempest.

Since it has been established that Shakespeare acted in Jonson's Every Man in His Humour, it is possible to think that he may have learned of the names of Prospero and Stephano from this experience, because Jonson listed them in his dramatis personae in the 1601 Quarto publication of the play.¹⁸ Indeed, some scholars think that Shakespeare may have learned the correct pronunciation of Stephano from having acted in Jonson's play, since he had obviously mispronounced the name in his earlier play, The Merchant of Venice.¹⁹ By the time that Jonson had published his 1616 Folio, however, he had made significant changes in the text of the play. For example, he had changed the Italian Florence setting to London and exchanged Italian names for English ones. In the 1601 Quarto, one observes that Jonson used only three English names: Clement, Gob, and Tib. The change from the Italian to English may be important to the problem of The Tempest, although these

¹⁸O. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson (eds.), Ben Jonson, IX, p. 168.

¹⁹Kernode, op. cit., p. lxx.

changes may be the result of Jonson's attempt to present a "vernacular realism" in his folio edition.²⁰

In view of the foregoing information, one concludes that Shakespeare did not necessarily derive the names of his characters from Thomas's Historie of Italie since he undoubtedly could have come into contact with such names as he uses in The Tempest in various other works. Nevertheless, Thomas certainly offers the most complete listing of names for characters, so that Shakespeare would have needed to know only this one work in order to have disclosed certain events relevant to The Tempest. The changes which Shakespeare makes in reference to these historical data would, of course, be in keeping with the structure of the play and do not necessarily indicate that he needed to derive his information from literary sources so varied as those aforementioned.

The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune, a play published in 1589, has some curious similarities to The Tempest. For example, a magician is banished from the Court and inhabits a cave, also referred to as a cell. He is enraged when his books are stolen and burned. His servant leaves him to seek the life of a courtier; and his son,

²⁰Herford and Simpson, op. cit., I, p. 359.

whom he has not seen since birth, is restored to him (an event which brings to mind the recognition scene in the final act of The Tempest). Similarities, here, are only those which have a relation to the general plot, however, since the rhyming verse in the old play is very poor and the blood episode is grotesque. Therefore, The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune as a source is rather basic when considered with the entire action in The Tempest, and it becomes only a play analogous to The Tempest, and not the original source. Indeed, one readily agrees with Boedle who says: "There is nothing in the play to lead one to read it twice."²¹

Another suggestion for the source of the main plot in The Tempest, although it has not received wide acclaim since its publication in 1905, should be mentioned in this discussion. It was Joseph de Perott who suggested a Spanish romance by Diego Ortunex de Calahorra, entitled Espania de Príncipes y Caballeros, as a probable plot source for The Tempest.²² Calahorra's romance appeared in several editions and was translated into English and printed in nine volumes under the title of Mirroure of Knighthood. The English

²¹R. W. Boedle, "Original of Cymbeline and Possibly of The Tempest," N&Q, IV (November 19, 1887), pp. 404-405.

²²Joseph de Perott, The Probable Source of the Plot of Shakespeare's Tempest, p. 212.

translation was licensed on August 4, 1579, and printed at various times up to the year 1601.²³ Calahorra's story contains ships, sometimes controlled by magical powers; storms, conjured by magicians; books, which are taken from magicians, depriving them of their powers; spirits; and a wicked, devil-worshipping witch, who, because of her illicit behavior with the devil, gives birth to a son. Perott also points out that Sycorax is a corruption of the name of an arch traitor, Judas Iscariot.²⁴ Claribel (masculine) and Claribella (feminine) are mentioned by Calahorra, but Shakespeare could have found these names in the works of a more contemporary English author, Edmund Spenser.²⁵ Perott gives a few, brief plot outlines of some of the tales in Calahorra's romance and particularly draws interesting parallels between the Mirroour of Knighthood and The Tempest. In each case, however, one finds the resemblances to be slight and concludes that Perott has merely cited one more work analogous to The Tempest, which is not the direct source of the play.

²³Loc. cit.

²⁴Ibid., p. 215.

²⁵Kermode, op. cit., p. lxxv.

Not only is the source for the main plot of The Tempest as yet undetermined, but it is also obvious that scholars are not in agreement about the source for the storm sequence. They have, therefore, explored the annals of English literature for accounts of storms similar to the one that occurs in The Tempest searching for a possible source. They point out that one such sea voyage occurred in the year 1609, which, judging from the number of extant commentaries upon the event, must have caused a great stir among the English people. A brief description of this voyage enables one to determine the significance of the narrative.²⁶ In the year 1609, Sir George Summers and Sir Thomas Gates set sail for the Virginia colony with a fleet of nine ships. The voyage was not without mishap, however, for a storm dispersed the ships; and one of the sea vessels, the Sea-Adventure, carrying Summers and Gates, was separated from the rest of the fleet. As the intensity of the storm increased, the crew, having sighted land, was forced to run the ship aground, where it was greatly damaged by rocks as it approached the shore. The Sea-Adventure soon became securely lodged between two of these boulders, and the crew

²⁶The following account of the storm is taken from an essay by Edmund Malone, included in The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, XV, pp. 385-395.

had fears that the ship might be rent to pieces by the force of the tempestuous waters. The storm ceased, however, leaving the ship firmly lodged between the rocks. Those on board were able to escape since they were near the coast of Bermuda, an island ". . . supposed to be given over to Devils and wicked spirits." No lives were lost in the storm, and the passengers and crew of the Sea-Adventure found the strange land to be ". . . the richest, pleasantest, and most healthful place they had ever seen." By the autumn of 1610, these men returned safely to England, where their strange tales offered vast source material for literary comment. The present dating of The Tempest, therefore, rests upon the publication of several documents during 1610-1611 relating to the wreck of the Sea-Adventure. Malone was the first to suggest that the Bermuda pamphlets were the direct source of the storm sequence in The Tempest. Since Malone's article (1808), scholars have thoroughly investigated this problem, many believing that Shakespeare knew about the pamphlets and took his material from them. On the other hand, there are some who maintain that the connection between The Tempest and the 1609 incident has been greatly magnified by those determined to establish Shakespeare's

source.²⁷ Since shipwrecks are a rather commonplace occurrence in much of the literature dating from antiquity, one wonders why scholars have been so intent upon establishing a date for The Tempest in connection with these Bermuda pamphlets? The fact remains, nevertheless, that scholars have been concerned mainly with three works which they consider pertinent to the source study of The Tempest:

(1) Silvester Jourdan's A Discovery of the Bermudas, Otherwise called the Ile of Divels, by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers and Captayne Newport, with diverse others, dated October 13, 1610, and published in London in the same year; (2) the Council of Virginia's A True Declaration of the estate of the Colony of Virginia, with a confutation of such scandalous reportes as have tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprize, entered at Stationer's Hall November 8, 1610, and published in the same year; and (3) an unpublished letter by William Strachey which finally appeared in print in 1625 under the title of A True Repertory

²⁷Some of the scholars who are unable to accept the Bermuda proposal include E. E. Stoll, J. D. Rea, Clara Longworth de Chambrun, and J. M. Nesworthy. Discussions of the views held by these scholars and various others will be presented at length in this section.

of the wrack, and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight; upon, and from the island of the Bermudas, dated July 15, 1610.²⁸

Jourdan's A Discovery of the Bermudas was published on October 13, 1610, a little more than a month after Gate's arrival.²⁹ Jourdan must have thought that his pamphlet would not be accepted by the authorities, for one notes that it was not licensed and, subsequently, not listed in the Stationer's Register.³⁰ Gayley has made a rather definitive study of the relationship between the Summers and Gates

²⁸Charles Mills Gayley, Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America, pp. 45-50.

²⁹Malone, op. cit., XV, p. 405.

³⁰Nevertheless, pamphlets were popular in England, and some very interesting parallels do exist between these works and The Tempest. For example, in the second pamphlet referred to above, A True Declaration, one finds the following statement which may have some significance to the problem of the storm sequence: "What is there in all this TRAGICALL-COMME DIE, that should discourage us with impossibilities of the enterprise?" Fleay points out that the reference to the Bermuda incident as a "tragicall-comedie" indicates that The Tempest was known and on stage prior to the appearance of this pamphlet literature; cf., Frederick G. Fleay, A Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare, p. 248. Since the word, comedie, however, also appears in Greene's A Groat's-worth of Wit, in reference to a pamphlet which Greene and Thomas Nashe had written, one suggests that the statement in A True Declaration may refer to these pamphlets which had been written earlier; cf., Donald J. McGinn, "A Quip from Tom Nashe," Studies in the English Renaissance Drama, p. 174.

shipwreck account and The Tempest.³¹ With two exceptions, which he notes in connection with the Jourdan document, he maintains that Shakespeare took his material from the Strachey letter, further stating that the coincidences which exist between The Tempest and A True Declaration are derived from one common source; i.e., Strachey's unpublished letter.³² Gayley's argument has had many supporters, among them E. P. Kuhl, Morton Luce, and Robert Cawley. Kuhl believes emphatically that it was the account of the shipwreck of Summers and Gates off the coast of Bermuda which inspired Shakespeare to write The Tempest and that it was from Strachey's unpublished letter that Shakespeare drew his information.³³ Luce maintains that Shakespeare followed the account in the pamphlets concerning the wreck of the Sea-Adventure but, not wishing to misrepresent the story in his report, used only the barest outline of these details and added to or subtracted from the original record at will.³⁴ Cawley suggests that there are verbal parallels

³¹Gayley, op. cit.

³²Ibid., p. 49.

³³E. P. Kuhl, "Shakespeare and the Founders of America: The Tempest," PQ, XLI (January, 1962), p. 128.

³⁴Morton Luce (ed.), The Works of Shakespeare, The Tempest, pp. xvii-xviii.

between the Strachey letter and The Tempest which are definite evidences to show that Shakespeare knew about this document.³⁵ It is necessary, therefore, for one to examine some of the incidents noted by Cawley for a clearer concept of his argument.³⁶ The following parallels cited by Cawley seem to be important; but, as it will be shown, Shakespeare had other accounts of shipwrecks from which to borrow.

In describing the contrast between the sea and the sky, Strachey reports that the "roaring" of the sea ". . . did beat all light from heaven." In The Tempest, Miranda tells Prospero about the water's being in such a "Rore" that the sea "Dashes the fire out."³⁷ Cawley has observed, however, that such phrasing is frequent in Shakespeare and may be found in Othello, II.i.12-15, II.i.92-93; King Lear, III.vii.59-61; Titus Adronicus, III.223-224; Julius Caesar, I.iii.5-10; and in others of his plays.³⁸ Thus, one concludes that Shakespeare did not necessarily need the

³⁵Robert Cawley, "Shakespeare's Use of the Voyagers," PMLA, XLI (1926), p. 688.

³⁶The quoted material in this section which relates to Strachey's letter has been taken from Cawley.

³⁷Throughout this study, the spelling used in the quotations from The Tempest is that found in John Heminge and Henry Condell's Mr. William Shakespeare Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies, a facsimile edition prepared by Helge Kokeritz and Charles T. Prouty.

³⁸Cawley, op. cit., p. 691.

Strachey letter as a source for his knowledge of such events. Furthermore, according to Strachey, the crew and passengers of the Sea-Adventure were so filled with terror that the ". . . best prepared, was not a little shaken." In The Tempest, Ariel tells Prospero that none of the passengers or crew aboard the king's vessel was capable of suppressing his horror of the storm. Although Cawley points out that both The Tempest and Strachey's letter contain words like amazement, death, comfort, cried, thunder, and wind, one needs not attribute any particular importance to these terms, which are commonplace and necessary references often used in describing an individual's reaction to any storm. Cawley thinks there is a parallel between The Tempest and Strachey's letter in the shipwreck sequence, noting that in both works there is an appeal to the men involved to resort to prayer. This parallel, however, does seem to force the issue, because in numerous works in which men are shown to be similarly involved in circumstances which tax their moral strength, they often have turned to prayer. In tales from antiquity or in the works of Shakespeare's contemporaries, one discovers that it is not unique to find men seeking the aid of their God in times of stress. Furthermore, Cawley notes that in both Strachey and Shakespeare, those involved in the storm sense that they are "lost" and fear that the ship will "split." Again, these so-called "parallels" are

insignificant, when one considers the usual sequence of events which occur in the time of a shipwreck. In The Tempest, Cawley notes the presence of commands like "Take in the toppe-sale," and "Downe with the top-Mast," and points out that Strachey also makes similar references to the "top-sayle" and records that the crew ". . . purposed to have cut downe the Main Mast." However, in Rabelais's description of a shipwreck, discussed at length elsewhere in this study, one observes similar commands which minimize the significance of Cawley's "parallels." Finally, Cawley discovers additional parallels between the persons on board the Sea-Adventure and Shakespeare's characters in The Tempest, and singles out the ship's master and the boatswain. Since one thinks it unlikely that a ship would have sailed without these personages aboard, it is necessary for one to conclude, therefore, that Cawley's argument is not especially pertinent to the problem of source in The Tempest.

Before considering further instances of parallels between the Strachey letter and The Tempest, one should examine a number of additional shipwreck accounts from which Shakespeare may have taken his material. The various storm sequences which scholars have investigated indicate that a number of such accounts may lie behind Shakespeare's storm in The Tempest. Rea, for example, has suggested that

Shakespeare's source for the storm is to be found in a Colloquia of Erasmus called "Naufragium." William Burton had translated and published his English version in 1606 under the title, Seven Dialogues both Pithie and Profitable.³⁹ Rea argues that both "Naufragium" and The Tempest have certain dramatic parallels. For example, in I.i. of The Tempest, he observes that nothing is known about the characters or their destination, indicating that Shakespeare's original source had no setting, and he points out that both "Naufragium" and The Tempest are also relatively timeless and placeless. In addition, he notes that the substance, time, and form of the account in Erasmus are very close to those in Shakespeare. Both of these storms are treated in the form of a dialogue, and what would otherwise tend to be rather tragically conceived under normal circumstances is, instead, treated in a comic vein.⁴⁰ Rea includes Burton's translation in his article, although he confesses that he has omitted certain religious matters since he feels that Shakespeare would not have used such material.⁴¹ The translation, reprinted by Rea, affords the reader an

³⁹John D. Rea, "Source for the Storm in The Tempest," MP, XVII (September, 1919), p. 280.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 280-281.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 282.

opportunity to note any existing parallels which may be as significant as those found in the Strachey letter. For example, the style of Erasmus's long narrative, interrupted by short speeches, is comparable to the material related by Prospero in the opening speeches of I.ii. in The Tempest.⁴² One also notes that in Erasmus's Colloquia the sailors throw many "vessels" into the sea, "cast the sails over-board," command "the maine-maste to be sawen down," while the master of the ship exhorts "every man to commend himself to God." One thinks the Strachey letter even less significant to The Tempest when he notes that the Erasmus dialogue also indicates that the master fears that the ship may "split all to pieces." Rea even suggests that in Erasmus the quarrelsome Italian, described as the ambassador to the King of Scotland, represents Gonzalo in The Tempest.⁴³ However, as Kermode remarks, this similarity is somewhat exaggerated; and one tends to agree with Kermode.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the significance of this storm as portrayed by Erasmus rests in the fact that Shakespeare had access to it. Although there is available no conclusive evidence to show beyond a doubt

⁴²Loc. cit.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 281-282.

⁴⁴Kermode, op. cit., p. xxvii, fn.

that Shakespeare had ever read the Colloquia, Baldwin feels certain that Shakespeare had done so and thinks that the tempest in Shakespeare's play has its roots in the tradition of Erasmus.⁴⁵

Erasmus, however, is not the only writer who affords the scholar a chance to determine the extent of Shakespeare's borrowing. Perhaps, the most interesting storm narrative Shakespeare could have used is found in Book IV of Rabelais's Gargantua and Pantagruel. Clara Longworth de Chambrun thinks that he chose Rabelais's storm description and argues that, while Shakespeare did not follow Rabelais explicitly, he did utilize the necessary components of this narrative.⁴⁶ She feels confident that Shakespeare would have been acquainted with Rabelais's Gargantua and Pantagruel, since other Elizabethan writers knew of the work and had drawn material from Rabelais. She is convinced that such a great humorist would have been noticed by Shakespeare.⁴⁷ In fact, she shows that Shakespeare, during his career, was himself accused of using Rabelaisian techniques by those who were scandalized

⁴⁵T. W. Baldwin, William Shakespeare Small Latine and Lesse Greeke, pp. 742-743.

⁴⁶Clara Longworth de Chambrun, Shakespeare Actor-Poet, p. 236.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 238.

in Henry IV, and points out that Joseph Hall had commented that it was difficult to perceive whether Shakespeare wrote certain scenes from his ". . . own habit of the riotous misrule in London taverns, or imitated from Wicked Rabelais' drunken Revellings."⁴⁸ Another significant point in Chambrun's thesis concerns Nashe's requesting permission to publish an English translation of Rabelais, a request which was denied, so that Nashe's translation was never printed.⁴⁹ The significant chapter from Book IV is entitled "How Pantagruel Escaped from a Mighty Tempest at Sea and How Panurge and Friar John Behaved Themselves during the Storm." Therefore, while Cawley suggests that Shakespeare found the title for the play in one of the Bermuda pamphlets in which the word tempest appears in italics, one observes that it also appears in Rabelais's account. At any rate, the point is hardly significant enough to merit much consideration on either account.

The storm sequence, however, as developed by Rabelais, deserves a closer examination in lieu of the circumstances which parallel action in The Tempest. At the beginning of the storm in Rabelais, as also in The Tempest,

⁴⁸Quoted in ibid., p. 240.

⁴⁹Loc. cit.

the master of the ship recognizes the danger and alerts his crew. An order is given to "lower the sails;" and the "main-sail," the "main-topsail," and the "fore-topsail" are also mentioned. One is told that a "nor'wester" begins to blow so that the air becomes "darkly opaque and somber." As in similar narratives, Rabelais's storm is accompanied by "lightning," "flaming clouds," ". . . thunder-claps, blinding flashes, zigzag streaks, and other ethereal ejaculations." All aboard the vessel are terrified, and Panurge begins ". . . to bawl out in mortal terror." Here, Panurge's wailing may be comparable to the "howling" referred to by the boatswain in The Tempest. Friar John refers to Panurge as a "gallows-bird" whose "destiny is not to die by water." Gonzalo makes a similar remark about the boatswain whose ". . . complexion is a perfect Gallows." In hopes of escaping the storm and being placed securely on dry land, Panurge and Gonzalo offer to give "eighteen-hundred-thousand crowns" and "a thousand furlongs of Sea," respectively. The appeal to prayer is also found in Rabelais. It is particularly noteworthy that the chaotic disturbances, in both instances, are given the same chronology and that certain comments in relation to the elements are also closely paralleled. If one considers these parallels accidental, he

is confronted with a second perplexing situation when he tries to explain the apparent similarities in the sequence of action.⁵⁰

Joseph Hunter calls attention to a storm found in Harrington's translation of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso (1591).⁵¹ Hunter reproduces a portion of Harrington's translation and notes certain resemblances to The Tempest. For example, the master's whistle, "great gastly flames," striking of the sails, contempt for rank and royalty, an eventual resorting to prayer, and cries of disaster are present, as well, in Ariosto's poem.⁵² Hunter points out several other parallels which, he is convinced, come from Ariosto, but the significance of such proposals only points to the fact that another storm narrative was available to Shakespeare. One thinks, therefore, that Hunter's suggestion is less important to the whole problem of the storm sequence in The Tempest than any of the aforementioned ones.

One might well question the significance of including in this investigation a discussion of the various

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 237.

⁵¹Joseph Hunter, New Illustrations of the Life, Studies, and Writings of Shakespeare, p. 170.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 170-173.

storm sources suggested by these other scholars who have been determined to discover material relevant to The Tempest. However, in relation to the storm itself, the only evidence that one has that Shakespeare actually may have read Strachey's letter is contained in some isolated words and phrases, and of these there is nothing which Shakespeare could not have found in the accounts of other voyages cited. No one passage in Shakespeare is worded in exactly the same way as the account in the Strachey letter, and the words used in The Tempest are also rather common to the accounts of all shipwrecks.⁵³ The only allusion to the American continent is found in Ariel's "still-vest Bermoothes," and this reference to Bermuda is not pertinent to the setting of Shakespeare's play. The play seems, rather, to indicate that the Bermudas were a considerable distance from Prospero's own enchanted island.⁵⁴ Indeed, Nosworthy has suggested that the casual plot of the deposed duke and his associates derived from Thomas's Historie of Italie and that the location of the play is Sicily, not Bermuda.⁵⁵ Possibly scholars would not have been so eager to establish a

⁵³Elmer Edgar Stoll, "Certain Fallacies and Irrelevancies in the Literary Scholarship of the Day," SP, XXIV (October, 1927), p. 488.

⁵⁴Rea, op. cit., p. 279.

⁵⁵Nosworthy, op. cit., p. 287.

connection between the Bermuda pamphlets and The Tempest were it not for Ariel's remark. Nevertheless, one thinks that Shakespeare undoubtedly knew of other Elizabethan voyages earlier than 1610, since the reference to "anthropophagi" in Othello proves that he knew of monsters discovered on these many voyages; and one recalls that other references to monsters and storms had been made by Raleigh in 1596.⁵⁶ Thus, it is unnecessary to rely too much upon conjectural thinking in proposing that The Tempest may have been a play that was revived in 1611 merely because it was topical and that "Bermoothes" may have been added to the text in the 1611 production. The fact remains, however, that the Bermudas were discovered many years before 1609.⁵⁷ Indeed, Raleigh himself had made a specific reference to the Bermudas in The Discoverie of Guiana. In the account of his sea voyage published in 1596, Raleigh shows that he was acquainted with the idiosyncrasies of the Bermuda isles and reports that he had found the Bermudas to be ". . . a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and storms."⁵⁸ Thus, the Bermudas were infamously known long before the account of a

⁵⁶Stoll, op. cit., p. 488.

⁵⁷Gwynneth Bowen, Shakespeare's Farewell, p. 6.

⁵⁸Raleigh, op. cit., p. 73.

shipwreck in 1610. Gayley, however, points out the fact that Shakespeare found the names, Gonzalo and Ferdinand, in Gonzalus Ferdinandus Oviedus, Strachey's authority on the Bermuda Islands.⁵⁹ Oviedus's name does appear in Strachey's letter; but as has been mentioned before, the 1577 publication of Richard Eden's History of Trauayle also contains not only Oviedus's name but also the English translation of the book which he had written about one hundred years earlier.⁶⁰ Gayley, who is greatly intent upon establishing the Strachey letter as the source for the storm in The Tempest, has also pointed out a possible parallel reference to St. Elmo's fire in both Strachey and The Tempest.⁶¹ However, this reference to such a fire is not unique to the Bermuda incident. On the contrary, references to St. Elmo's fire occur in many contemporary works, among them Eden's History of Trauayle and Erasmus's Colloquia. As early as 1577 in the History of Trauayle, Richard Eden wrote the following account of St. Elmo's fire:

. . . there appeared in their shippes certayne flames of fyre, burnyng very cleare, whiche they cal saint Helen, and saint Nicholas: these appeared as though

⁵⁹Gayley, op. cit., p. 62.

⁶⁰Bowen, op. cit., p. 7.

⁶¹Gayley, op. cit., p. 56.

they had been upon the mast of the shippes, in
 suche clearenesse, that they took away theyr syght
 for the space of a quarter of an houre . . .⁶²

In a further reference, he explained the qualities ascribed
 to such phenomena:

There are two maner of fyers engendred of exhaltations,
 whereof the one is hurtful, the other without hurt.
 That which is hurtful, is fyre indeed, engendred of
 malicious and venemous vapours The other kind
 is no true fyre, but lyke the matter that is in such
 old putrified wood, as geveth the shynyng of fyre,
 without the substance or quality thereof.⁶³

One final consideration as to the location of the fire in
 relation to the ship is dealt with when Eden explains that
 there are

. . . two lights of Sainct Peter and Sainct Nicolas,
 which for the most part fall on the cables of the
 shyppes, leaping from one to another, with a certayne
 flutteryne noyse lyke byrdes⁶⁴

Throughout his narrative, Eden continually refers to the
 appearance of this strange fire present during tropical
 storms, and one concludes that these details were common-
 place in descriptions of storms at sea. Erasmus also makes
 use of St. Elmo's fire, although the action which he de-
 scribes occurs during the afternoon when one assumes it
 should have been light enough to see clearly. Erasmus

⁶²Eden, op. cit., p. 433^v.

⁶³Loc. cit.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 433^r.

describes this fire, also called "Castor" and "Pollux," as it ". . . rolled it selfe along the brimmes of the ship, and falling from thence down into the middle roomes, it vanished away."⁶⁵ His account begins at night, with the appearance of a ball of fire, and then rapidly changes in its sequence to daylight. This sudden shift from darkness to daylight is interesting in view of the fact that Shakespeare also introduces the ball of fire in daylight hours.⁶⁶ Although this similarity is well worth noting, one should not overemphasize the significance of such a parallel in view of the frequent references to this fire in numerous contemporary accounts. The reference to this fire in Strachey's letter should also receive only a slight consideration in the total pattern. Cawley draws further parallels to the crew of the Sea-Adventure who fall asleep after their exhausting experience, the survival of all aboard the ship, and the wreck which occurs "neere the land."⁶⁷ One suggests that these parallels, however, are insignificant. Shakespeare would have been quite an unimaginative individual had he required from a series of

⁶⁵Quoted in Rea, op. cit., p. 283.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 281.

⁶⁷Cawley, op. cit., pp. 693; 698.

pamphlets such obviously normal reactions of men who have survived a severe storm.⁶⁸ Indeed, Parrott has attached so much emphasis to the Bermuda incident that he is willing to conclude that the storm report and the working of Shakespeare's imagination are sufficient evidence to account for the plot of The Tempest, and argues that, since the setting of an enchanted island would naturally have called for a conjuring magician, the addition of such a character as Prospero would undoubtedly have required no parallel in Shakespeare's source.⁶⁹ His theory, however, seems to be founded upon rather illogical thought. It is true that Shakespeare was capable of creating great dramatic art, but, one proposes, not from an "imaginative nothingness." Since Parrott supports the 1610/1611 composition date for The Tempest, one feels that he has evidently overlooked the parallels between The Tempest and Ayrer's Die Schöne Sidea. One doubts whether Shakespeare could have "imagined" a play so closely parallel to Ayrer and feels that some common source must have been available to both authors, since Ayrer, who died in 1605, could hardly have been acquainted with the accounts of the Summers and

⁶⁸Karl Elze, Essays on Shakespeare, pp. 10-11.

⁶⁹Thomas Marc Parrott, Shakespearean Comedy, p. 392.

Gates expedition. True, Shakespeare probably read the accounts of the 1610 shipwreck, since such reports were circulated among the members of the Virginia council and since Shakespeare's patron, Lord Southampton, secretary of the Virginia Company, was very much concerned with colonial expansion.⁷⁰ The thought of creating dramatic work from such material actually may have presented itself to an enterprising playwright, but one must consider other factors; and in light of the information given above, one may assume, with a degree of certainty, that Shakespeare would not have needed the Strachey letter, or for that matter, the Bermuda pamphlets in order to create the shipwreck scene in The Tempest. Since the references made and the parallels cited seem rather natural in any description of a shipwreck, one may account for the similarity between Strachey's letter and The Tempest through subject matter and the common language of the time.⁷¹

Of all of the widely divergent theories concerning The Tempest, one matter of source on which scholars agree concerns Gonzalo's ideal commonwealth speech. Most authorities point out that this particular speech is a direct

⁷⁰Loc. cit., Chambrun, op. cit., p. 230.

⁷¹Stoll, op. cit., p. 488.

parallel of a passage in one of Montaigne's Essays which was translated by John Florio and published in 1603. In II, Gonzalo describes his ideal commonwealth to Antonio and Sebastian:

Gen. I' th' Commonwealth I vvould (by cōntraries)
 Execute all things: For no kinde of Trafficke
 Would I admit: No name of Magistrate:
 Letters should not be knowne: Riches, pouerty,
 And vse of seruice, none: Contract, Succession,
 Borne, bound of Land, Tilth, Vineyard none:
 No vse of Mettall, Corne, or Wine, or Oyle:
 No occupation, all men idle, all:
 And Women too, but innocent and pure:
 No Soueraignty.

Seb. Yet he vvould be King on 't.

Ant. The latter end of his Common-wealth forgets
 the beginning.

Gen. All things in common Nature should produce
 Without sweat or endeour: Treason, felony,
 Sword, Pike, Knife, Gun, or neede of any Engine
 Would I not haue: but Nature should bring forth
 Of it owne kinde, for foyzon, all abundance
 To feed my innocent people. (II.1.147-164)

The parallel passage in Montaigne is to be found in "Of the
 Caniballes" as follows:

It is a nation, would I answer Plato, that hath no kinde
 of trafficke, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence
 of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike
 superioritie; no use of seruice, or riches or of pov-
 erty; no contracts no successions, no partitions, no
 occupation but idle; no respect of kindred, but common,
 no apparell but natural, no manuring of lands, no use
 of wine, corne or mettelle. The very works that import
 lying, falsehood, treason, dissimulations, covetousness,
 envie, detraction, and pardon, were never heard amongst
 them.⁷²

⁷²Montaigne, The Essayes of Michael Lord of Montaigne
Translated by John Florio, I, p. 220.

The evident parallels in these two passages are clear. The Tempest is the only play by Shakespeare in which one may find a passage taken directly from Montaigne and repeated at any length.⁷³ Certainly, Elizabethan literature brought writers into contact with many stock ideas and passages, and had Shakespeare not been acquainted with the Montaigne Essays, some of Montaigne's ideas which Shakespeare reiterates in his plays would still have existed.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, no play written by Shakespeare after Florio's publication of Montaigne's Essays (1603) is devoid of Montaigne influence.⁷⁵ Later plays show a continual decrease of pertinent Montaigne influence, but The Tempest seems to be an exception for it is as strongly affected in vocabulary by Montaigne as was Hamlet.⁷⁶ Thus, one must assume that either Shakespeare was again working under the influence of

⁷³George Coffin Taylor, Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne, p. 4; also G. C. Waterston, "Shakespeare and Montaigne: A Footnote to The Tempest," The Romantic Review, XL (October, 1949), p. 165.

⁷⁴Taylor, op. cit., p. 6.

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 27; 33.

⁷⁶Waterston, op. cit., p. 165.

Montaigne late in his stage career, or that The Tempest has been incorrectly dated. The following table, compiled by G. O. Taylor reveals some interesting facts concerning Montaigne's influence.⁷⁷ The dates added to the table are those cited by Hardin Craig in his edition of Shakespeare's plays.⁷⁸

Date	No. of Words to a page	No. of Words in the play
I. <u>Hamlet</u> (1600-1601, 1603)	3.4	125
II. <u>Lear</u> (1605-1606)	3.4	116
III. <u>Tempest</u> (1611-1612)	3.4	72
IV. <u>T. & C.</u> (1601-1602)	3.2	105
V. <u>Macbeth</u> (1605-1606)	2.9	70
VI. <u>All's Well</u> (1602-1603, 1607)	2.8	80
VII. <u>A. & C.</u> (1606-1607)	2.8	98
VIII. <u>Wint. Tale</u> (1610-1611)	2.8	79
IX. <u>Tim of Ath</u> (1605, 1607-1608)	2.8	68
X. <u>Meas. Meas.</u> (1604-1605)	2.7	67
XI. <u>Coriolanus</u> (1607-1608)	2.3	94
XII. <u>Cymbeline</u> (1609-1610)	2.3	83
XIII. <u>Othello</u> (1604-1605)	2.2	71
XIV. <u>Pericles</u> (1608-1609)	1.8	45
XV. <u>Henry VIII</u> (1612-1613)	1.6	52

The percentage of Montaigne's words found in The Tempest, in view of the fact that the play is definitely shorter than any other Shakespearean play, is indeed remarkable. This influence seems strange since it ranks The Tempest

⁷⁷Taylor, op. cit., p. 32.

⁷⁸Hardin Craig (ed.), The Complete Works of Shakespeare, p. 38.

with the earlier plays, Hamlet, Lear, and Troilus and Cressida. Does it not seem credible to rank The Tempest among the plays written early in Shakespeare's career since there is no reason to assume that Shakespeare would make such direct use of a book which in 1611 was no longer new.⁷⁹ Some discrepancies in the above table, however, should be clarified. Othello, although written shortly after Florio's translation had appeared in print, shows little influence from the Essays. This play is, however, representative of rapid progression of thought, and the nature of the play would have allowed the dramatist little time for a commentary upon man or upon life in general.⁸⁰ Also, Troilus and Cressida shows a large percentage of the influence but is thought to have been written before the Essays were published; and The Merchant of Venice reveals in its description of the music of the spheres, a knowledge of Montaigne's Essay xxii.⁸¹ The date of The Merchant of Venice (1596-1597) is also too early for the translation by Florio. The answer to these problems may be found in examining Florio's status in England. Since Florio was employed in the house

⁷⁹Elze, op. cit., p. 9.

⁸⁰Taylor, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

⁸¹Elze, op. cit., p. 7.

of Southampton, Shakespeare's patron, as a teacher of modern languages,⁸² it is possible to think that Shakespeare may have had ample opportunity to read Florio's translation in manuscript. The translation, at least in part, was known in manuscript, for it was entered in the Stationer's Register as early as 1599; and it must have been known by 1600, since Sir William Cornwallis refers to it, though not by name, in one of his Essays printed in 1600.⁸³

This investigation of possible sources for The Tempest makes it possible for one to question the 1610/1611 dating of the play, because it has revealed that the only evidence pointing to the composition date of 1610/1611 is contained in the Bermuda pamphlets or Strachey's unpublished letter, but one feels that these parallels are insignificant in view of the fact that shipwreck accounts in the Elizabethan-Jacobean period are not unique. In addition, one notes that many allusions in The Tempest may be to works of a much earlier date: i.e., Richard Eden's History of Trauayle (1577); Sir Walter Raleigh's Discoverie of Guiana (1596); William Thomas's Historie of Italie (1549 and 1561); and John

⁸²Ibid., p. 14.

⁸³Ibid., p. 14; also Hunter, op. cit., p. 145.

Florio's translation of Montaigne's Essays (1603). Thus, one suggests a date prior to 1610/1611 for the composition of The Tempest.

CHAPTER II

THE COMMEDIA DELL' ARTE AND THE TEMPEST: POSSIBLE SOURCE AND SUGGESTED PARALLELS

Ferdinando Neri, an Italian scholar, first proposed that there were episodes resembling the plot of The Tempest to be discovered in certain Italian scenari in his work entitled Scenari delle Maschere in Arcadia in 1913. In 1920, H. D. Gray, following Neri's suggestion, published an interesting article in which he cited parallels between these Italian scenari and the plot of Shakespeare's play.⁸⁴ Gray's work is most convincing, and one is puzzled by the lack of scholarly attention accorded to it in recent studies of this phase of the problem. The particular scenari in question originally appeared in a large collection undertaken by Basilio Locatelli and are preserved in a MS., dated 1622.⁸⁵ It was from this manuscript that Neri obtained the five scenari contained in his 1913 publication.⁸⁶ Locatelli, however, did not claim authorship of

⁸⁴H. D. Gray, "The Sources of The Tempest," MLN, XXXV (June, 1920), pp. 321-30.

⁸⁵Chambers, op. cit., p. 79, reports that the Locatelli MS. is in the Casanatense at Rome.

⁸⁶Gray, op. cit., p. 323.

these pieces, but admitted that he had merely collected them and had made them suitable for the stage.⁸⁷ Although Locatelli's 1622 MS. does not antedate the composition of The Tempest, it is, nevertheless, possible that these scenari had been acted in Italy and elsewhere abroad, prior to their ever having been put into print.⁸⁸ In form, they are comparable to plot outlines or, perhaps, to Elizabethan stage "plats."⁸⁹ They describe only the action of the five intended performances in assignments to characters and contain no dialogue. Chambers thinks it unlikely that Shakespeare had seen any of these particular scenari and states that Italian acting groups were not frequent visitors to Elizabethan England.⁹⁰ Winifred Smith, however, in

⁸⁷Loc. cit.

⁸⁸Loc. cit.; Chambers, op. cit., p. 80.

⁸⁹Sir E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, II, p. 264, notes: "The professional Italian actors of the second half of the sixteenth century played both the popular commedia dell' arte and the literary commedia erudita, or commedia sostenuta. The former, with its more or less improvised dialogue upon adventures of the zanni, the arlecchino, the dottore, and other standing types, was probably best adapted to the methods of wandering mimes in an alien land."

⁹⁰Sir E. K. Chambers, Shakespearean Gleanings, p. 80.

her comprehensive view of the Italian commedia dell' arte states that Italian companies were not only in England in Shakespeare's time but that they were also upon the continent and were acquainted with English actors.⁹¹ She cites evidence to show that Italian musicians were in England, particularly during the latter half of the sixteenth century; and points out that although the records from 1550 on are incomplete, the Revels Accounts do refer occasionally to "the Italian players."⁹² She also argues that Italian actors were more prominent in England than the records show or scholars have indicated and believes that the "lively," "exaggerated" Italian commedia dell' arte was a style with which Shakespeare was familiar in The Comedy of Errors and The Two Gentlemen of Verona.⁹³ Thus, it is possible to think that Shakespeare may have been acquainted with them. As mentioned earlier, Shakespeare knew John Florio and had made use of a passage from Florio's translation of Montaigne's Essays in Gonzalo's commonwealth speech. His acquaintance with Florio may also account for at least a portion of the suggested Italian influence. Furthermore, it is known that

⁹¹Winifred Smith, The Commedia dell' Arte, p. 170.

⁹²Ibid., pp. 172-73.

⁹³Ibid., pp. 15; 179-80.

Will Kemp, who acted Peter in Romeo and Juliet and Dogberry in Much Ado about Nothing, was familiar with the Italian companies; and although he did not imitate the exact style of the Italian clowns, he did utilize some of their techniques.⁹⁴ Thus, it seems obvious that Italian companies were known in England and abroad and that some English groups may have profited from this Italian influence.⁹⁵

An examination of the particular group of scenari included in Meri's publication will reveal parallels that are worthy of consideration as possible sources for The Tempest. In order to assist the reader in comprehending the general action contained in each of the scenari, the present author has made a brief summary of each piece.⁹⁶ Since H. D. Gray has previously noted many of the parallels between these scenari and The Tempest, his suggestions are herein noted, and further evidence which the present author feels significant has been included as additional commentary.

⁹⁴L. B. Wright, "Will Kemp and the Commedia dell'Arte," MLN, XLII (December, 1926), pp. 519-20.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 517.

⁹⁶The summaries are not, however, literal translations, and the intended acting sequence within each scenaria has been followed without regard to act and scene division in order to avoid the necessity of lengthy discussion. The general action is not, however, misrepresented.

LA PAZZIA DI FILANDRO
(The Madness of Filandro)

Filandro reports that when he and Clarice left Naples, their ship was wrecked in a tempest; and he now believes Clarice to be dead. She is, however, disguised as a man in order to protect her virtue and is using the name Biagino. Coviello explains that he and his son, Florindo, came to Arcadia to escape enemies, and Zanni relates that he is on the island to escape a jail sentence. A satyr of Arcadia falls in love with the nymph Lidia and tries to take her into the grotto; but through trickery, she ties him to a tree. Gratiano relates that he has found his way to Arcadia through peril at sea but is afraid and asks whether men or beasts inhabit the island. Gratiano, seeing Zanni and Coviello, says that he does not know if Zanni is man or beast. Zanni has a head and legs, but so also does an ass. When Gratiano and Zanni leave, Coviello determines to dress himself as a nymph and attend the nymph's festivities in order to seek the love of Lidia. However, he hopes that no god will fall in love with him and change him into a tree. The satyr whom Lidia tied to the tree escapes, finds Lidia, seizes her by the tresses, and ties her to a tree. Florindo unties her, and they declare their love for each other. Coviello, Gratiano, and Zanni, being drunk, make various actions. Lidia and Clarice say they have been lost at sea and, by chance, have arrived in Arcadia. Lidia and Florindo discover Gratiano is their father, and Clarice and Florindo discover Coviello is their father. Florindo marries Clarice. They all celebrate and leave.

The following parallels have been previously noted
by Gray:

- (1) The action of the satyr who tries to take the nymph, Lidia, into the grotto against her will is comparable to the attempted attack by Caliban upon Miranda's virtue.⁹⁷

⁹⁷Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

- (2) Coviello, Gratiano, and Zanni, the drunken clowns, are reminiscent of Caliban and his confederates.⁹⁸
- (3) A strong parallel is noted in Gratiano's saying that he is not certain if Zanni is man or beast. Zanni has a head and legs, Gratiano notes, but so does an ass. Trinculo speaks of Caliban's being "Leg'd like a man; and his Finnes like Armes."⁹⁹

One finds, however, that there is further evidence of paralleled action between La Pazzia di Filandro and The Tempest. For example, the shipwreck of which Filandro speaks, occurs after he and Clarice leave Naples. In The Tempest, Alonso is King of Naples; and as the characters explain, they had been sailing from Tunis to Naples when the storm and subsequent wreck had occurred. (II.i.). Also, Filandro, Gratiano, Lidia, and Clarice arrive on the island of Arcadia after having suffered many perils at sea, an experience which is comparable to the plight of the characters in The Tempest. Furthermore, when Coviello attires himself as a nymph in order to attend the nymphs' festivities, he speaks of the danger of his being turned into a

⁹⁸Loc. cit.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 326.

tree should one of the gods, believing him to be a woman, fall in love with him. In The Tempest, it is reported that Ariel had been confined in a tree for a period of twelve years by the wicked witch, Sycorax, when he had failed to follow her commands. (I.ii.270-80). Furthermore, Coviello, Gratiano, and Zanni appear drunk and make "various actions." When Prospero questions Ariel concerning Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano, he replies that

. . . they were red-hot with drinking,
 So full of valour, that they smote the ayre
 For breathing in their faces: beate the ground
 For kissing of their feete; yet alwaies bending
 Towards their proiect (IV.i.171-74)

The drunken behavior of Caliban and his conspirators may be Shakespeare's use of the "various actions" referred to in this scenario. Finally, toward the end of the scenario, the identity of the lost children is discovered, and they are reunited with their respective fathers. This episode is reminiscent of the reunion scene of The Tempest wherein Alonso discovers that his son, Ferdinand, is alive; and, later, the father and son rejoice over their great fortune. In all but the final scenario discussed in this section, this kind of scene occurs. Since the parallel action applied to each discussion, one considers further references to this point to be unnecessary.

GRAN MAGO
(The Great Magician)

Sireno is in love with Filli, and Elpino is in love with Clori. Zanni cautions Elpino against love-making, fearing that the magician may forbid it. Zanni relates that he is in Arcadia as a result of a shipwreck and has reared his master's children who also survived the shipwreck. Pantalone, Gratiano, and Burattino say they have been shipwrecked and are lost in the woods. They rejoice at being together again, say they are hungry, and pray to Bacchus who enters and tells them to make a sacrifice. The magician enters and tells that he will lose all if he cannot control the strangers. He makes spells, draws circles, and performs other ceremonies. He commands that there will be no mingling of blood. A spirit brings two garlands, one which causes love, the other hate. The magician hangs the garlands on a tree and makes a spell to silence Zanni and protect himself against Fillipa. The captain reveals his love for Clori, and she tells him to go into the grotto where she will soon follow. She sends an old woman into the grotto, however, to play a joke on the captain. The old woman enters the grotto thinking that her lost pig is there. Zanni, victim of the magician's spell, becomes mute when he tries to tell Clori of the strangers in Arcadia. The captain appears from the grotto and is enraged when he discovers the old woman is not Clori. He frightens Pantalone, Gratiano, and Burattino by telling them they must hunt to appease the magician. Grotesque features follow involving Sireno, Clori, Gratiano, and Filli as they adorn themselves with the garlands of love and hate. Pantalone and Gratiano pray to Bacchus and a fountain throws forth food. After eating the food, however, Pantalone becomes an ass, Fillipa a tree, and Burattino a frog. The magician appears and throws the garlands into a fiery gulf which soon closes. He puts a spell on the strangers indicating that when they enter the field of gold they will be tormented and mourn at their travail. Zanni's speech is restored and the magician gives Gratiano and Zanni food. The magician fears that his kingdom will be taken from him and makes spells and commands the captain to stand guard. Elpino, Clori, Sireno, and Filli discover that the magician has caused contrary feelings of love and hate and rejoice. Pantalone eats the leaves from the tree where Fillipa is confined and both return to their original form. Pantalone discovers Sireno and Filli are his children who were lost in a shipwreck. Gratiano recognizes Elpino and Clori as his

children who were abducted by pirates. After striking his wand and frightening the lovers, the magician consents to the marriage of Filli and Elpino and Clori and Sireno. Spirits appear and dance.

Gray:

- (1) Fillipa is changed into a tree when she eats the food expelled from the enchanted fountain. (Ariel had been confined in a tree when he refused to follow the commands of Sycorax.)¹⁰⁰
- (2) Garlands are hung upon a tree to fool the "comic masks." Prospero hangs clothing on a line to divert Caliban and his conspirators.¹⁰¹

One notes, however, that further parallels may be drawn between the similar action in The Tempest and Gran Mago. For some reason, which he does not explain, Zanni warns Elpino against love-making and fears that the magician may forbid the act in Arcadia. In The Tempest, after Ferdinand declares that Miranda will be Queen of Naples, Prospero explains: "They are both in eythers pow'rs: But this swift busines / I must vneasele make, least too light winning / Make the prize light." (I.ii.450-52). Thus, he deprives Ferdinand of Miranda's company and forces him to carry logs. (III.i.9-11). Also, when Ferdinand is released

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 325.

¹⁰¹Ibid., pp. 326-327.

from his menial task, Prospero warns him against illicit love-making. (IV.1.15-23). Perhaps, Zanni felt that the magician might forbid love-making if Elpino violated the honor of Glori. The warning in the scenario, at any rate, does seem to have much significance for this scene in The Tempest. Furthermore, Pantalone, Gratiano, and Burattino, victims of a shipwreck, arrive safely on the enchanted island. Each thinks that his companions have been drowned; but when all discover each other alive upon the island, they rejoice over their good fortunes. These three comic characters remind one of Stephano and Trinculo in The Tempest. When Stephano speaks to Caliban, Trinculo, thinking that Stephano has drowned, fears that devils torment him in the sound of Stephano's voice. (II.ii.90-1). A recognition scene follows as each man marvels at the other's survival and explains how he has arrived safely on shore. (II.ii.100-33). In addition, the magician draws circles on the earth and invokes spirits to grant his commands. Prospero draws a similar circle on the earth but does not rely upon its powers to control his spirits--at least, one finds no evidence of such events in the play. However, Prospero's conjuring causes the King and his company to become helpless when they enter the magic ring. A similar reference in a scenario to be discussed later is of greater significance in

connection with the magic circle. Also, the magician casts a spell upon the strangers, warning them that they will be tormented when they enter the field of gold and will mourn their travail. In The Tempest, Caliban, explaining that he is tormented by Prospero's spirits, says:

For every trifle, are they set upon me,
Sometime like Apes, that moe and chatter at me,
And after bite me: then like Hedg-hogs, which
Lye tumbling in my bare-foote way, and mount
Their prickes at my foot-fall: sometime an I
All wound with Adders, who with clousen tongues
Do hisse me into madness (II.ii.8-14)

Certainly, Prospero (the magician) torments Caliban and causes him ". . . to mourn his travail." Finally, the fountain of Bacchus, which expels food for the hungry strangers, is like the magic banquet brought before Alonso and his company in The Tempest. The food from the fountain, however, transforms the characters who partake of it; whereas, in The Tempest, the characters who attempt to enjoy the food are prevented from doing so when it vanishes quite strangely. (III.iii). Another scenario, to be discussed later, has a more significant parallel to this action.

LA NAVA
(The Ship)

Pantalone and Gratiano discourse about their having come into the country by fortune. They say that they are dying of hunger and thirst and beseech Bacchus for aid. Their request is granted, and a fountain throws forth bread, wine, and other things to eat. They refresh themselves and leave. Elpino expresses his love for Clori, but Clori is

betrotted to Sireno. The magician calls his spirits to bring two crowns, one giving love to the wearer, the other hate. A grotesque set of circumstances follow as first Sireno then Clori, Pantalone, Gratiano, and Zanni adorn the separate crowns. Clori and Sireno finally realize that the garlands, which caused them to experience the emotions of love and hate, were an invention of the magician, and they celebrate. Spirits appear and take Clori into the grotto. The magician explains that he has abducted the lover to punish Sireno. Sireno is terrified when flames come from the grotto, and he flees. Later, however, Clori appears and explains that she has escaped from the magician. The magician comes forth, makes spells, and invokes the spirits to take the crowns. A captain appears on the back of a dolphin and says that he is to attempt the rescue of the queen who is being held by the magician. The captain succeeds, and he and the queen speak of embarking and leave. The magician is enraged and causes a storm. The captain and queen are shown on the sea lamenting their peril and calling to Jove for aid, but the ship sinks, and the sea disappears. Clori and Elpino discover Gratiano is their father, and Sireno discovers Pantalone is his father. They all pray to Jove to punish the magician for the cruelty done to them. Jove grants their wish, and the magician is struck by lightning and converted into a rock which bursts. Clori marries Sireno, and Jove reports that the captain and queen have been saved and will marry. All of the company celebrate and leave.

Gray:

- (1) The captain and the queen are presented in a storm-tossed vessel lamenting their fate, but their lives are spared. The shipwreck in The Tempest hardly needs be explained as a parallel to this action.¹⁰²

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 324.

- (2) The magician is changed into a rock. In The Tempest, Caliban speaks, ". . . here you sty-me / In this hard Rooke," and Miranda answers, "Deseruedly confin'd into this Rooke." Also, one recalls, Ariel had been confined in a tree by Sycorax.¹⁰³
- (3) The garlands conjured by the magician are worn by the "comic masks." Similar action occurs in The Tempest when Stephano and Trinculo discover the garments which Prospero has hung on a line to divert the conspirators.¹⁰⁴

One finds, however, that La Nava contains two additional descriptions of action relevant to The Tempest. For instance, as in the previous scenario, the fountain expels food for the strangers. This time, however, the strangers suffer no ill effects from eating this food. The fountain is comparable in its purpose to the III.iii. magic banquet in The Tempest; but again, the action differs, for in the play, the King and his company are deprived of the banquet food. One other particularly significant event, however, is to be found in this fountain episode. Both food and wine issue forth from the magical fountain, and one recalls that

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 325.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., pp. 325-326.

Stephano escaped the shipwreck ". . . vpon a But of Sacke, which the Saylor heued o'reboard" (II.ii.126). Thus, he and his companions are well-supplied with wine during their stay on the island. Secondly, in order to punish Sireno and make him mourn his loss, the magician abducts Clori. Later, however, Clori escapes the magician, and the lovers are married. In The Tempest, Prospero deprives Ferdinand of Miranda's company ". . . least too light winning / Make the prize light." (I.ii.451-52). When Miranda thinks Prospero is "hard at study," she goes secretly to Ferdinand. (III.i.19-21). The two lovers seal their pact of love (III.i.64-89); and later, Prospero consents to their marriage.

LA TRI SATIRI
(The Three Satyrs)

The magician describes how the spirits and wild creatures follow him and obey his commands. Filli is told by the magician to cease hunting and follow Venus. Filli scorns him, and he touches her with his wand and transforms her into a tree. Pantalone speaks of a shipwreck and the loss of his companions. After he describes his misfortune, Pantalone sees a ship at sea and calls to his companions but receives no answer. Lightning appears and Pantalone is afraid it will eat him. Burattino comes forth from the mouth of the lightning and speaks of being in the body of the lightning but expelled for playing tricks. Zanni appears from a rock which bursts and tells that he was transformed into the rock by a black-magic maker because he would not follow the commands. They all enter a temple after which Gratiano and Coviello appear and speak of their lost companions and leave in search of food. Fausto and some shepherds offer gifts and food before the temple, and

Pantalone, Zanni, and Burattino appear dressed as gods and accept the offerings. Fausto and the shepherds leave, and Pantalone, seeking to make a weapon, strikes the tree into which Filli has been transformed, and she appears. They determine to enjoy the food but are driven away by a satyr. Filli, however, remains, saying that she is determined to hunt instead of following Venus. The magician is angry and causes her to sleep by a fountain. Upon awaking, Filli is supposed to fall in love with her own reflexion; but contrary to the magic spell, she falls in love with Burattino whom the magician changes into a woman. Pantalone and Zanni appear with the magician's book which they have stolen. They open the book, and satyrs appear saying that they will do all that is commanded of them. The two men determine to use the book to make themselves esteemed by all the country and force Fausto, with the aid of the book, to obey them. The magician discovers the theft and is enraged. He enchants the fountain so that whoever drinks from it will be turned into a beast. After refreshing themselves at the enchanted fountain, Gratiano is transformed into an ass, and Coviello becomes an ox. The satyrs report that they must follow the possessor of the book; and the magician, seeking to protect himself against such treason, draws a magic circle on the earth with his wand. Eventually, all of the characters enter the circle and are forced to dance continually and are unable to escape the spell. After receiving a promise that his book will be returned, the magician breaks the spell and restores Gratiano, Coviello, and Burattino to their original forms. Gratiano recognizes Fausto as his son; Pantalone recognizes Filli as his daughter; and Coviello recognizes Clarice as his daughter. Fausto marries Filli, and Clori is promised one of Pantalone's sons for her husband. They speak of embarking for Venice and celebrate.

Gray: . . .

- (1) Filli is transformed into a tree. As mentioned previously, Ariel has also suffered the same kind of misfortune because he would not follow the demands of the witch, Sycorax.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 325.

- (2) Pantalone tells of the shipwreck and fears he is alone in Arcadia and thinks that his companions are lost. A ship appears on the sea, and Pantalone calls to his companions but receives no answer. The shipwrecked persons in The Tempest are similarly dispersed about the island, and they lament the loss of their companions.¹⁰⁶
- (3) Zanni comes forth from a rock where he had been confined for not following the commands of the magician. Ariel suffers a fate somewhat like Zanni's, when he was transfixed in a tree for not following the commands of Sycorax. Furthermore, as mentioned before, Caliban speaks, ". . . here you sty-me / In this hard Rocke," and Miranda answers, "Deseruedly confin'd into this Rocke."¹⁰⁷
- (4) Pantalone, Burattino, and Zanni appear in stolen garments; and in The Tempest, Trinculo and Stephano take the apparel left them by Prospero.¹⁰⁸
- (5) The magician's book is stolen, and the comic figures plan to use their newly acquired powers to every

¹⁰⁶Ibid., pp. 324-325.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 325.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 326.

advantage. More will be said concerning this parallel in Chapter III; but for the present, suffice it to say that Caliban and his conspirators plan a similar kind of plot which does not materialize in the action of the play.¹⁰⁹

One finds, however, that La Tri Satiri offers even further significant parallels to The Tempest. For instance, the Arcadian magician completely controls all of the persons, beasts, and spirits in his domain. Throughout The Tempest, Prospero is the ruler of his enchanted island. At no time during the play does he lose his control over the spirits or the shipwrecked company. Also, Burattino reports that he had been in the body of the lightning but was expelled for the tricks he had played while being confined. As mentioned before, allusions to St. Elmo's fire seem to have been commonplace in contemporary storm accounts; but Burattino's report may have suggested to Shakespeare the well-known allusion in a speech in which Ariel tells Prospero that he had appeared as a ball of fire during the tempestuous storm scene in I.i. (I.ii.196-206). Furthermore, when the magician's book is stolen, he seeks revenge by drawing a circle on the earth and conjuring a spell. As each of the

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 328.

characters enters the enchanted circle, he is forced to dance and is unable to escape from the spell. These characters are released only after the magician has been promised the return of his book. Prospero employs the same kind of magical device with the King and his company. (V.i.). In The Tempest, however, Prospero's charm causes those involved to become transfixed when they enter the circle. Nevertheless, both of these magicians confine the other characters as a means of accomplishing their desired end. Finally, Pantalone, Burattino, and Zanni, with the aid of the powers contained in the magic book, make plans to become esteemed personages. One recalls that Caliban similarly implores Stephano and Trinculo to assist him in killing Prospero, abducting Miranda, and stealing Prospero's books. (III.ii.96-114). Stephano agrees to Caliban's proposal and determines to become king of the island, make Miranda his queen, and appoint Trinculo and Caliban as his "Vice-royes." (III.ii.115-18). In The Tempest, however, the plan is not accomplished. Nevertheless, both groups of conspirators eventually lose their anticipated monarchy; and the magician remains omnipotent.

ARCADIA INCANTATA
(Enchanted Arcadia)

The scenario opens with a tempestuous scene and a ship sinking. The magician says that the strangers will not

leave Arcadia without his consent. Pollicinella, Coviello, Tartaglia, and the doctor appear separately, telling of the sea misfortune and of being alone on the island. Finally, the four recognize one another and rejoice. Pollicinella is separated from his companions and is taken by priests to the temple to be sacrificed. The magician intervenes, however, and causes the priests to be beaten by two spirits when the priests resist the command to relieve Pollicinella. The doctor, Coviello, and Tartaglia find a fruit tree and want to pick the fruit since they have nothing to eat. They fear that the landowners may be angry; but seeing no one, they attempt to take the fruit. Flames come from the tree, however, and the fruit vanishes into the air. When Silvana appears, speaking of having been ravished by Dameta, she is enamored of the three strangers and caresses them. The magician reproves them; and when they ignore his warning and scorn him, he strikes them with his wand and they become motionless. Before breaking the spell, the magician implores them to be honest. The magician conjures a spell and creates a garland which will make the wearer resemble a loved one. Various grotesque happenings involving Pollicinella, Silvio, Filli, Clori, Fileno, the doctor, Coviello, and Tartaglia follow. The magician, invisible, takes the garland and states that he will make Pollicinella King of Arcadia. The magician gives Pollicinella a book, a crown, and a sceptre. When the doctor, Coviello, and Tartaglia mock him, Pollicinella orders them hanged. The magician intervenes, saying that he has not given Pollicinella the book to abuse others, and takes the book from Pollicinella. Silvio and Clori, Fileno and Filli, and Silvana and Dameta marry.

Gray:

- (1) This scenario is particularly significant in that it opens with a storm-tossed ship as does The Tempest.¹¹⁰
- (2) The recognition scene between Pollicinello, Coviello, Tartaglia, and the doctor is reminiscent of the

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 324.

Stephano-Trinculo meeting.¹¹¹

- (3) With the power of his wand, the magician makes Silvana, Coviello, Tartaglia, and the doctor immobile. Similarly, in The Tempest, the King and his companions "stand charm'd" when they enter Prospero's magic circle.¹¹²

One discovers that three other suggestions appropriate to The Tempest are found in Arcadia Incantata. For example, the magician states that he is in complete control of the strangers in Arcadia and has determined that they will not leave the enchanted island until he has given them his consent. Throughout the action in The Tempest, Prospero is in control of his captives, and he does not permit them to leave the island until all have been reconciled. Not until the final act of the play does he allow his captives to embark with promises of ". . . calme Seas, auspicious gales, / And sails, so expeditious, that shall catch / Your Royall fleets farre off" (V.1.315-17). Secondly, when Coviello, Tartaglia, and the doctor attempt to pick the fruit from the enchanted tree, the fruit vanishes. This

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 326.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 329.

action sequence almost directly parallels the scene of the magic banquet in The Tempest. Alonso and his followers are amazed by the spectacle, but Alonso states, "I will stand to, and feede, / Although my last, no matter, since I feele / The best is past" (III.iii.49-51). When Alonso approaches the magic banquet, ". . . Ariell (like a Harpey) claps his wings vpon the Table; and, with a quiet device, the Banquet vanishes." (III.iii.s.d.). The enchanted fruit which vanished may well have suggested the magic banquet sequence to Shakespeare. Furthermore, when Sylvana meets Coviello, Tartaglia, and the doctor and caresses them, the magician reproves them for their lust. They scorn his warning, however, and he enchants them, and they remain motionless. He, then, exhorts them to be honest and breaks his spell. One recalls that Alonso and his companions, also, become immobile when they enter Prospero's circle. (V.i.). While Prospero holds these men in his spell, he reproves those responsible for his exile and urges them to confess their guilt. Prospero, however, forgives them for their previous cruelty and restores them to their former senses. (V.i.71-171). In both the scenario and The Tempest, the magicians employ the same method of enchantment to induce punishment for those who have committed evil and urge them to be honest.

The intended action discussed in relation to these scenari too closely parallels that of The Tempest to be coincidence. Since these scenari afford only a summary of the intended action, however, one has no way of determining exactly how the pertinent stage business may have been conducted, but the action descriptions are conclusive. These scenari deal with almost every important action represented in The Tempest: (1) an enchanted island controlled by a magician who has powers over all persons in his domain; (2) a shipwreck scene showing the lamenting of those involved; (3) fruit on a magical tree, which disappears into the air; (4) characters who think themselves alone upon an enchanted island and bewail their lost companions; and (5) a conjuring magician who draws circles upon the earth and strikes characters with his wand to make them immobile. These scenari offer the opportunity for vast comparison, but one feels that it is superfluous to recount all of the parallel actions previously cited. The plot involving a usurping brother or a ruler restored to his dukedom, however, is missing in each of the aforementioned scenari. Nevertheless, as Gray notes, Shakespeare would hardly have needed a new source for the same narrative he had previously employed in As You Like It.¹¹³

¹¹³Ibid., p. 329.

At the same time, however, one should remember that Shakespeare's characters also bear names and identities closely parallel to those discovered in Thomas's Historie of Italis, and Shakespeare may have discovered his plot of a deposed ruler in this work. Collins told Edmund Malone that the source for The Tempest was an Italian romance entitled Aurelio and Isabella (1588).¹¹⁴ At the time of Collins's disclosure to Malone, however, he was suffering from an illness which resulted in his death. Subsequent examinations of Collins's theory have proved it to be false.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, his allusion to an Italian source in conjunction with the Italian names utilized by Shakespeare may suggest these present scenari. In any event, lacking more satisfactory evidence with which to disprove the influence of these scenari, it is possible to think that the source for The Tempest lies within the Italian commedia dell' arte.

¹¹⁴Malone, op. cit., p. 1.

¹¹⁵Loc. cit.

CHAPTER III

MASQUE-LIKE FEATURES OF THE TEMPEST: TEXTUAL PROBLEMS AND SUGGESTED REVISIONS

An examination of the text of The Tempest reveals that Shakespeare made use of the unities of time and place in the composition of this play. It is also apparent that this play is exceptionally short, in fact, one thousand lines shorter than the average Shakespearean play.¹¹⁶ Parrott thinks that Shakespeare probably decided to make use of the unities of time and place in order to shorten the action and, ironically, to provide himself more time for developing the prevailing masque-like mood of ". . . music, dance, and spectacle."¹¹⁷ It is also probably worth noting that Shakespeare made use of these same unities in only one of his other plays--The Comedy of Errors (1594?) in his so-called "early period."¹¹⁸ Kermode thinks that the unities in The Tempest are an indication of the influence of Italian comedy, perhaps the result of Shakespeare's having utilized

¹¹⁶H. D. Gray, "Some Indications That The Tempest Was Revised," SP, XVIII (April, 1921), p. 133.

¹¹⁷Parrott, op. cit., p. 393.

¹¹⁸Peter Alexander, Shakespeare's Life and Art, p. 213.

an Italian source, but he cautions that it is unwise for one to make a definite commitment, because the Italian scenari post-date The Tempest and the influence of the commedia dell' arte has not been firmly established.¹¹⁹ This investigation has already shown, however, that similarities between these scenari and the plot of The Tempest cannot be explained as coincidental, because the 1622 publication of these pieces does not necessarily imply that they had not been staged at a much earlier date. Nevertheless, one thinks it strange, indeed, that Shakespeare would return to an old dramatic practice in the unities at a date so late in his career. Therefore, it is important to consider further the possibility that Shakespeare's play may be assigned an earlier date in chronology than heretofore has been deemed credible. At least, it seems clear that Shakespeare had probably not resorted to the unities of time and place in The Tempest merely to simplify his task of later having to insert a masque into the fourth act. For example, one notes that the masque-like features of this play--i.e., the magic banquet, the masque in IV, and the antimasque of Caliban and his fellow conspirators--are handled in the space of three hundred and fifty lines. Gray has maintained that at each of these focal points in

¹¹⁹Kernode, op. cit., pp. lxxii; lxxi.

the action of the play, The Tempest turns from being a full length drama. He is also convinced that the first two acts have not been shortened but are, actually, one hundred lines longer than the first two acts of The Winter's Tale.¹²⁰ Consequently, a reinvestigation of the textual problems of the F_1 text of the play may reveal inconsistencies too divergent to be attributed to Shakespeare's negligence or oversight. Indeed, an examination of the movements involving the two groups (Caliban and his conspirators, and the King and his followers) within the action of the play may show that The Tempest has been revised and that the masque contained in IV has been inserted.

In II.i., Antonio and Sebastian plot the death of Gonzalo and Alonso. Ariel, however, who reports that Prospero has foreseen the danger and has sent him ". . . to keepe them living . . . ," alerts the intended victims to their danger and prevents regicide. As the scene closes, the King and his company leave the stage, explaining that they will search for Ferdinand, the King's lost son. In III.iii, however, when this group next appears, Antonio and Sebastian are, again, shown as they plan a second attempt upon the lives of Gonzalo and Alonso, an action which, at

¹²⁰H. D. Gray, "Some Indications That The Tempest Was Revised," SP, XVIII (April, 1921), p. 134.

once, is misleading, because nothing more is revealed about these plans when this secret discussion is interrupted by the sudden appearance of ". . . seuerall strange shapes . . ." who bring in a banquet, ". . . dance about it with gentle actions of salutations, and inviting the King, etc., to eate," depart. When Alonso approaches this banquet, Ariel enters ". . . (like a Harpey) claps his wings upon the Table, and with a quiet deuice the Banquet vanishes." Ariel, then delivers a long speech, after which the "shapes" reënter to ". . . dance (with mockes and mowes)," and take the banquet away. By this time, Alonso, Sebastian, and Antonio are (in Gonzalo's words) "desperate;" but the members of the King's party leave the stage of their own free wills. In V.i., however, Ariel next reports to Prospero that the King and his followers are

Confin'd together
 In the same fashion, as you gaue in charge,
 Just as you left them; all prisoners Sir
 In the Line-groue which weather-fends your Cell,
 They cannot boudge til your release: The King
 His brother, and yours, abide all three distracted,
 And the remainder mourning ouer them¹²¹

After listening to Ariel's report about the captives' ". . . sorrow, and dismay," Prospero commands, "Goe, release them Ariell, / My Charmes Ile breake, their senses Ile restore, /

¹²¹The italics are the present author's.

And they shall be themselves." But no reference has been made, one notes, to Prospero's having confined this group by means of his charms in any earlier scene in the play. Gonzalo had described them in their last scene before Prospero's above-mentioned remark, as having been "desperate;" the term which Ariel uses in his report to his master is "distracted." In their "distracted state," however, none of them was rendered incapable of movement in any line-group. Gray thinks that by removing the banquet episode from the text, one can readily see that III.iii may originally have contained a second attempt by Antonio and Sebastian to kill Gonzalo and Alonso, an event which then may have resulted in Prospero's having confined the entire group, as Ariel's speech implies that he has done.¹²²

Chambers, on the other hand, believes that the incomplete nature of the plot to kill Gonzalo and the King should not concern one, since, as he explains, it is clear that Prospero could easily have overcome any attempt upon the King's life. Chambers adds that Shakespeare left the Antonio theme undeveloped so as to contribute to the blackness of Antonio's character.¹²³ Indeed, Chambers may be correct. However,

¹²²H. D. Gray, "Some Indications That The Tempest Was Revised, SP, XVIII (April, 1921), p. 138.

¹²³Sir E. K. Chambers, Shakespearean Gleanings, p. 79.

Gray maintains that Shakespeare, in the act of revising The Tempest for court performance, would naturally have deleted any second scene involving an attempt upon the life of the King.¹²⁴

Discrepancies also exist in connection with the second group of shipwrecked individuals and Caliban, their native guide. For example, in II.ii., Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo meet, discuss the qualities of the enchanted isle, and leave the scene under Caliban's leadership, for he has already promised to show these shipwrecked "gods" the wonders of his strange habitat. When these three characters again appear, they are shown in the act of planning to steal Prospero's books, to kill him, and to abduct Miranda. Ariel is present at this conference and comments, "This will I tell my Master." Then, he plays a tune upon a "Tabor and Pipe," and the three conspirators leave the scene under the influence of his music. The important matter for one to note, here, is the fact that Ariel has told the audience that he would inform Prospero of this plot which he has overheard, because he never succeeds in doing so in the F₁ text of the play. When one next sees the three conspirators, the masque has already been performed.

¹²⁴H. D. Gray, "Some Indications That The Tempest Was Revised," SP, XVIII (April, 1921), p. 136.

It is also at this point in the action that Prospero appears as if he were alarmed by a sudden thought of the ". . . foule conspiracy / Of the beast Calliban, and his confederates . . ." against his life; yet, as far as the F₁ text is concerned, Prospero has not been informed by Ariel about these conspirators, certainly not at the time of this remark. One wonders, as well, why Shakespeare should bother to have Prospero express fear of a "drunken butler," a "simple-minded jester," and a beast, when it is perfectly clear throughout the play that Prospero is always in control of all of the individuals in the action about him.¹²⁵ The only possible explanation for this obvious discrepancy in the speeches just mentioned lies in the possibility that The Tempest, in an earlier version, did contain visual evidence for Prospero's alarm. Judging from his remark, he / known of the forthcoming appearance of the conspirators by the time the masque has ended; yet the text of the play in F₁ does not reveal how he has obtained this information, nor does it permit him to realize that Ariel had, in the meantime, controlled these forces by leading the conspirators through "Tooth'd briars, sharpe firzes, pricking gosse, & thorns . . .," and has ". . . left them /

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 135.

I'th'filthy mantled pools" (This statement, by the way, is the only speech in the play in which negative qualities of Prospero's isle are mentioned.) Had this play, in an earlier version of the text, dealt with the capture of Miranda, the attempted murder of Prospero, and the stealing of the books, there might have been a valid reason for Prospero's show of concern over the approach of Caliban and his drunken companions at the conclusion of the masque sequence in IV. However, in the F₁ text, Prospero has not encountered these fellows, so that his expressed alarm at the close of the masque is unaccounted for. Instead, he instructs Ariel to bring forth the "trumpery" from his cell "For stale to catch theesues," referring by theesues to Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo. However, since the audience has not yet seen these three as they rummage about Prospero's cell, one considers Prospero's accusation to be premature and, as far as the plot is concerned, unwarranted. Again, had there been an earlier version of the play in which the conspirators' attempts at stealing Prospero's magic books had been depicted, theesues would now have more meaning in Prospero's remark. Gray thinks that Prospero's alarm at the end of the masque in IV and the conspirators' plan to steal his books may have marked the climax of an earlier version of the play, because he is convinced that

the F_1 text has no structural climax.¹²⁶ On the other hand, Chambers maintains that the plot of Caliban and the conspirators is "mere farce" which ends appropriately enough in the "filthy mantled pool," and he argues that the "alarm" of Prospero's was a device employed by Shakespeare to end the masque quickly, thereby eliminating the ". . . necessity of staging the full teams of dancers" ¹²⁷ One agrees with Gray that the play has no structural climax, however. For example, Shakespeare's climax usually occurs in IV, followed by a summary of past action and general dramatic conflict along with an explanation of all foregoing events. As one observes, the fourth act is completely taken up with the masque and ends with Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo as they are being "hunted soundly" about the stage. There are no scenes in IV; rather, there is simply one continual action. Moreover, in IV, after the conspirators have been chased about the stage by Ariel's spirits, Prospero says to Ariel:

Let them be hunted soundly: At this hour
Lies at my mercy all mine enemies:
Shortly shall all my labours end, and thou
Shalt have the ayre at freedome: for a little
Follow, and do me service.

(IV.1.261-65)

¹²⁶Ibid., pp. 138-39.

¹²⁷Sir E. K. Chambers, Shakespearean Gleanings, p. 79.

Then, the two leave the stage, apparently intent upon performing a service in which Ariel's assistance is required. However, when V.1. begins, Prospero and Ariel are again present; indeed, they open the scene. Since no apparent scene shift is called for at any time in V, and since Prospero explains to Alonso, "This Cell's my Court: heere haue I few attendants, / And subjects none abroad: pray you looke in," one assumes that Prospero and Ariel have not altered their stage positions taken at the close of IV. For example, the conspirators would have been "hunted soundly" directly in front of Prospero's cell, inasmuch as Caliban says to his fellows, prior to the start of the antimasque, "Pre-thee (my King) be quiet. Seest thou heere / This is the mouth o' th' Cell: no noise, and enter." (IV.214-15). Thus, one sees that the same characters at the close of IV are again on stage at the opening of V and apparently in the exact same location of their previous action. This arrangement is peculiar, especially for Shakespeare, and strongly suggests that an earlier version of this play may have included additional scenes in IV (not involving Ariel or Prospero) in the closing portions of the act.

It is necessary, at this point in the present investigation, to reconsider the general format of The Tempest in the 1623 Folio. The fact that it occupies an initial position

in the Folio has attracted much attention, and one feels that it is necessary to review the important studies of this problem. In their introductory remarks to the 1623 Folio, Heminge and Condell state that ". . . the fate of all Bookes depends vpon your [the reader's] capacities . . . you [the reader] will stand for your priuiledges wee know: to read, and censure. Do so, but buy it first." One feels that the command, "buy it first," reflects painstaking effort on the part of the editors to have presented the first play in the Folio in proper and careful form, assuming that a prospective buyer would note the careful attention accorded it and think that all plays in the edition had been given this kind of attention. Indeed, one thinks that The Tempest did receive unusual care in its preparation for printing as the first play in the Folio. Chambrun, for example, has noted that there are no discernible misprints in the F₁ text (although she is not entirely correct in her observation) and thinks this evidence indicates that the play was carefully made ready for printing.¹²⁸ In addition, the play is one of four in the 1623 Folio with a dramatis personae. Furthermore, one thinks that careful consideration must have been given the designations of entrance and

¹²⁸Chambrun, op. cit., p. 227.

exits in the text, inasmuch as there is no discernible massing of characters at the beginning of the scenes, and entrances have been carefully marked at the precise point at which a character speaks, and not before. One is also aware of thirty-five stage directions in The Tempest, most of which are more elaborately conceived than any found in the other plays of the Folio. For example, in the eight Folio plays following The Tempest, one finds only forty-five stage directions in all and notes that their phrasing is simple.¹²⁹ The careful punctuation and elaborate stage directions in this play, as Chambers observes, also may stem from the fact that Shakespeare may have been some distance from London in 1610/1611, and, wishing to compensate for his absence, had supplied the producer with a detailed account of the "stage-business."¹³⁰ Greg argues, however, that the terms, "quiet device" in reference to the banquet which disappears, resemble the terminology of a stage machinist and not the words of direction to actors, and even thinks that this phrasing may suggest the work of Ralph

¹²⁹John Laddie Somer, "Ralph Crane, Elizabethan Scrivener, and the 1623 First Folio of Shakespeare's Works" (unpublished Master's thesis, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas, 1960), p. 102.

¹³⁰Sir E. K. Chambers, Shakespearean Gleanings, p. 80.

Crane, scrivener.¹³¹ For instance, Crane's favorite spelling of bath and doth appears in the play, nine and fifteen times, respectively; parentheses are used eighty-nine times; and the hyphen is used profusely in the five ways in which Crane was known to have employed it.¹³² Greg points out that the abundance of elaborate stage directions in this play also reveals that, as the first play in the Folio, The Tempest received much attention and may actually have been a copy meant to be used ". . . as a model for the editing of the volume."¹³³ He also suggests that the stage directions, which are in the present tense and which resemble those of a court masque, may point to a

. . . manuscript carefully prepared by Crane, in which the author's directions were preserved and elaborated and the marks of stage use (supposing the original to have been used as a prompt-book) eliminated.¹³⁴

Thus, the calligraphic marks in the text point to the work of Crane; and the elaborate stage directions may be a result of the use of the manuscript as a model for future editing.

One must next consider the nature of the masque in IV. Usually, masques were written for special occasions

¹³¹W. W. Greg, The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare, p. 151.

¹³²Somer, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

¹³³Greg, op. cit., p. 152.

¹³⁴Loc. cit.

at court and were probably performed only once.¹³⁵ Rhodes, therefore, suggests that The Tempest, with its revision marks and stage directions indicative of the masque, was probably an alternate text, not ever performed in a public playhouse.¹³⁶ Quiller-Couch points out that the brevity, the economy of scene shifting, and the stationary setting of The Tempest indicate that the play was written for court performance, since, as he explains, the Royal Banqueting House at Whitehall would not have been equipped with the facilities to be found in the professional playhouses.¹³⁷ A number of scholars agree that the F₁ The Tempest was, indeed, a court play, written to celebrate the wedding of King James's daughter, Elizabeth, to Prince Palatine (1613).¹³⁸ The entry in the Stationer's Register, however, provides one with no particular evidence concerning the performance of The Tempest, since the play is merely listed along with several other dramas that were to be presented

¹³⁵Kermode, op. cit., p. xii.

¹³⁶R. Crompton Rhodes, Shakespeare's First Folio, p. 101.

¹³⁷Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, Notes on Shakespeare's Workmanship, pp. 306-07.

¹³⁸Fleay, op. cit., p. 249; also, Enid Welsford, The Court Masque, p. 324; and H. D. Gray, "The Sources of The Tempest," MLN, XXXV (1920), p. 327.

before the royal couple. At the same time, Sidney Lee has pointed out that a shrewd playwright like Shakespeare would hardly have chosen a

. . . plot, which revolves about the forcible expulsion of a ruler from his dominions, and his daughter's wooing by a son of the usurper's chief ally . . . as the setting of an official epithalamium in honor of the daughter of a monarch so sensitive about his title to the crown as James I.¹³⁹

Certainly, one thinks that this choice would not have been in keeping with any desire by Shakespeare (or his acting company) to gain favor from the king. Gray, however, offers a solution which may be quite valid, in proposing that The Tempest was revised and the masque inserted at the time of the 1613 performance.¹⁴⁰ Consequently, the main F₁ plot would have been that of the early form of the play: i.e., the main plot, except for the masque in IV. Since Greg maintains that the original text was selected for court presentation and not written especially for the occasion, he believes that the existing F₁ plot would not, therefore, have been offensive.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹Sidney Lee, A Life of William Shakespeare, p. 255.

¹⁴⁰H. D. Gray, "Some Indications That The Tempest Was Revised," SP, XVIII (April, 1921), p. 133.

¹⁴¹Loc. cit.

In connection with the masque in IV, scholars have concerned themselves with the problem of authorship of the piece, among them Fleay, Greg, and Chambers. Fleay is confident that the verse in the masque is Beaumont's.¹⁴² Chambers, however, finds no reason for assigning authorship of the masque to anyone other than Shakespeare, claiming that the masque ". . . had to be pitched in a different key."¹⁴³ Greg, on the other hand, thinks that the punctuation used in the masque is less careful than that in the play itself and notes that the style is also distinctly different from that displayed in other portions of the drama, and concludes that the masque must have been written by another author.¹⁴⁴ He does not identify the author, however. Inasmuch as the style of masques obviously differs from that of plays, one proposes that the question of who was responsible for writing the masque in IV is of less importance than determining whether the masque may have been added at a later time after the play had been written.

¹⁴²Fleay, op. cit., p. 249.

¹⁴³Sir E. K. Chambers, Shakespearean Gleanings, p. 91.

¹⁴⁴W. W. Greg's review of the edition of Shakespeare by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and J. Dover Wilson in MLR, XVII (1922), p. 179.

Two scholars maintain that the masque was planned for at a point in the action much earlier than its present location in the play, citing a speech of Gonzalo's in II.1., primarily concerned with the Golden Age theme that is developed in the masque itself.¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, one must remember that at least one of the dances in The Tempest is still present in the drama even if the masque is eliminated. Indeed, the strange shapes that bring in the banquet and dance before the King and his company, inviting them to eat, might also reflect the economic utopia alluded to in Gonzalo's speech. However, Gonzalo's remark either as a foreshadowing of the masque in IV or the magic banquet, does not appear to have much significance when one considers the utopian theme of the "flawless island of plenty" which permeates the play. While the masque is appropriate to The Tempest and can be considered an integral part of the drama, its omission, nevertheless, does not obviate the dramatic action as a whole.

Chambers feels that there has been no abridgment of the play to allow for the inclusion of the masque and believes that there is no evidence to show that the play has

¹⁴⁵Francis Neilson, Shakespeare and The Tempest, p. 160; also, Thomas P. Harrison, Jr., "Aspects of Primitivism in Shakespeare and Spenser," Texas Studies in English, XX (1940), pp. 53-54.

ever been recast.¹⁴⁶ He does, however, admit that Prospero's second sermon to Ferdinand is rather "clumsy," although he maintains that the rest of the dialogue in IV is handled most satisfactorily.¹⁴⁷ Greg, on the other hand, detects evidence of "botching" both before and after the masque, and thinks that the "additions" which appear at the end are quite obvious, concluding that ll. 148-58 are irrelevant to the sequence of the action.¹⁴⁸ Parrott, however, thinks that the masque was possibly an attempt by Shakespeare to give his audience both an entertaining play and a general concept of the delightful staging of a court masque, inasmuch as he detects no actual dramatic conflict in The Tempest and concludes that the play is not, therefore, "great drama."¹⁴⁹ Perhaps, his opinion is accurate, but there is evidence to show that the masque is an insertion undertaken after Shakespeare had already written the play.

Two suggestions about the masque are pertinent to this discussion, since they show how it may be eliminated

¹⁴⁶Sir E. K. Chambers, Shakespearean Gleanings, p. 93.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 89-90.

¹⁴⁸W. W. Greg's review of the edition of Shakespeare by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and J. Dover Wilson in MLR, XVII (1922), p. 179.

¹⁴⁹Parrott, op. cit., p. 394.

from IV without violating the general action of the drama. For example, at the close of the masque, Ariel tells Prospero that he was the one who "presented Ceres." Had Ariel done so, a change of costume would have been required, and it is obvious that the intervening passages before the masque (IV.1.51-9) would have allowed the actor portraying Ariel the necessary time for such a change. This action would also explain the presence of intervening passages after the masque, as well. Greg has shown that doubling of actors' parts was a frequent practice on the Elizabethan stage and suggests that it is feasible to think that Ariel did play the part of Ceres, but he also believes that any insertion for the purpose of allowing time for a costume change is not very clear.¹⁵⁰ Chambers, furthermore, does not think that Ariel's remark implies that he had acted the role of Ceres, but that he had, instead, "staged-managed the show."¹⁵¹ Thus, these arguments, based upon Ariel's statement and his subsequent need for a possible costume change, may be discredited for a lack of substantial evidence to show that doubling actually took place in the performance

¹⁵⁰W. W. Greg's review of the edition of Shakespeare by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and J. Dover Wilson in MLR, XXII (1922), p. 179.

¹⁵¹Sir E. K. Chambers, Shakespearean Gleanings, p. 89.

of this play. At any rate, one thinks that Prospero's expressed alarm at the end of the masque remains unwarranted, especially since Prospero immediately takes the time to deliver the "Clowd-capt Towres" speech and appears, as he speaks, to be in no state of passion now about the Caliban conspiracy. His unwarranted alarm and his subsequent inaction, then, may be ample proof that the "Clowd-capt Towres" speech was also an insertion made at a later date following the composition of the play.

The lines constituting a break in the masque (ll. 117-27) are also considered to be the marks of evident insertion, possibly undertaken at the same time as was the "Clowd-capt Towres" passage.¹⁵² As mentioned earlier, Chambers thinks Prospero's second sermon to Ferdinand (ll. 51-54) awkward; and Greg admits that the speech is "flatter" than Prospero's previous warnings to the young man and thinks that it, too, may have been written, therefore, at the same time as the previously mentioned passages.¹⁵³ Both Gray and Greg contend, furthermore, that the dance of the Nymphs and Reapers was a part of the

¹⁵²W. W. Greg's review of the edition of Shakespeare by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and J. Dover Wilson in MLR, XVII (1922), p. 180.

¹⁵³Loc. cit.

original form of the play which followed closely upon Ariel's "jingle," since it is this dance which Prospero interrupts.¹⁵⁴ For Greg, ll. 146-47 are absurd, and he is convinced that they have been unquestionably altered to allow for the insertion of the masque,¹⁵⁵ suggesting that, originally, these lines may possibly have been written down as follows:

Ferd. You do look, my lord, in a moved sort,
As if you were dismayed.
Pros. Sir I am vexed.

In lieu of these suggestions from Chambers, Gray, and Greg-- (a) that Prospero's second warning to Ferdinand is awkward and possibly an insertion, (b) that the lines which cause a break in the masque have been inserted, (c) that the "Clowd-capt Towres" speech is irrelevant to the action, and (d) that the original text of the play contained the dance of the Nymphs and Reapers--one proposes that initially the action in IV may have been constructed as follows:

What Ariell; my industrious seruat Ariell. Enter Ariell.
Ar. What would my potent master? here I am.
Pro. Thou, and thy meaner fellowes, your last service
Did worthily performe: and I must vse you

¹⁵⁴Loc. cit.; H.D. Gray, "Some Indications That The Tempest Was Revised," SP, XVIII (April, 1921), p. 134.

¹⁵⁵W. N. Greg's review of the edition of Shakespeare by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and J. Dover Wilson in MLR, XVII (1922), p. 179.

In such another trickes: goe bring the rabble
 (Ore whom I giue thee powre) here, to this place:
 Incite them to quicke motion, for I must
 Bestow vpon the eyes of this yong couple
 Some vanity of mine Art: it is my promise,
 And they expect it from me.

Ar. Presently?

Pro. I: with a twincke.

Ar. Before you can say come, and goe,
 And breathe twice; and cry, so, so:
 Each one tripping on his Toe,
 Will be here with mop, and mowe.
 Doe you loue me Master? no?

Pro. Dearly, my delicate Ariell:

Ar. Well: I conceiue.

Pro. No tongue: all eyes: be silent.

Enter certaine Reapers (properly habited:) they ioyne with
 the Nymphes, in a gracefull dance, towards the end where-
 of, Prospero starts sodainly and sneakes, after which to a
 strange hollow and confused noyse, they heauily vanish.

Pro. I had forgot that foule conspiracy
 Of the beast Calliban, and his confederates
 Against my life: the minute of their plot
 Is almost come:

Fer. This is strange: your fathers in some passion
 That workes him strongly.

Mir. Neuer till this day

Saw I him touch'd with anger, so distemper'd.

Fer. You doe looke (my lord) in a mou'd sort,
 As if you were dismaid.

Pro. Sir, I am vext,

Beare with my weakenesse, my old braine is troubled:
 Be not disturb'd with my infirmitie,
 If you be pleas'd, retire into my Cell,
 And there repose, a turne or two, Ile walke
 To still my beating minde.

Fer. Mir. We wish your peace.

Exit.

Pro. Come with a thought; I thank thee Ariell: come.

Enter Ariell.

Ar. Thy thoughts I cleaue to, what's thy plesure?

Pro. Spirit: We must prepare to meet with Caliban.

Ar. I my Commander.

Pro. Say again, where didst thou leaue these varlots?

The rest of the play would, then, follow as printed in the

F₁ text.

One feels that this sequence of events, in relation to the masque, is appropriate, since it does not substantially disturb the main action of IV. However, one other theory as to the action in IV may also be pertinent. For example, Prospero's speech, ll. 51-54, may be a direct rejoinder to ll. 31-32. Since the former dialogue is an additional warning to Ferdinand to keep Miranda chaste until they may be married in the church, it is possible that ll. 51-54 might well have been spoken by Prospero for greater emphasis. Thus, these lines would logically follow Prospero's order, "Sit then and talk with her; she is thine own." The "strange, hollow, and confused noise" noted in the stage direction when the Nymphs and Reapers vanish could, then, be the result of the off-stage conspiracy which, in turn, would make the next speech by Prospero more appropriate to the sense of alarm which he claims to feel. The dance, then, may be omitted, since it has not been provided for in the suggested pattern of revision, making Prospero's speech, ll. 35-39, follow Ariel's reply, "Ay, my commander." The basis for this revision centers around Shakespeare's use of the word, rabble. The Middle English connotation of rabble was that of hunters or hunting dogs. Hence, one readily discerns that the subsequent appearance of the dogs that hunt Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban "soundly" could be the

result of Prospero's command to "bring the rabble." Rabble, however, may also refer to Caliban and his conspirators who are planning to murder Prospero and gain command of the island. In either event, the action which follows Prospero's command, if the masque be omitted, would be in harmony with the movement of the play. One proposes that the action, in lieu of these foregoing suggestions, would unfold as follows:

Fer. As I hope

For quiet dayes, faire Issue, and long life,
With such loue, as 'tis now the murkiest den,
The most oportune place, the strongest suggestion,
Our worser Genius can, shall neuer melt
Mine honor into lust, to take away
The edge of that dayes celebration,
When I shall thinke, or Fhce bus Steeds are founderd,
Or Night kept chain'd below.

Pro. Fairely spoke;

Sit then, and talke with her, she is thine owne;
Looke thou be true: doe not giue dalliance
Too much the raigne: the strongest oathes, are straw
To th' fire ith' blood: be more abstenious,
Or else good night your vow.

Fer. I warrant you, Sir,

The white cold virgin Snow, vpon my heart
Abates the ardour of my Liuer.

strange hollow and confused neyse

Pro. Well done, auoid: no more.

What Ariell; my industrious seruat Ariell. Enter Ariell.

Ar. What would my potent master? here I am.

Pro. I had forgot that foule conspiracy
Of the beast Calliban, and his confederates
Against my life: the minute of their plot
Is almost come:

Ar. Ay, my commander.

Pro. Thou, and thy meaner fellowes, your last seruice
Did worthily performe: and I must vse you
In such another tricke: goe bring the rabble
(Ore whom I giue thee powre) here, to this place:
Incite them to quicke motion.

Ar. Presently?

Pro. I: with a twinke.

obviously be assigned to Caliban and his conspirators and to the King and his companions, additions which would show that the play in an earlier form was, indeed, a more dramatic piece and even similar in length and matter of characterization to Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale.¹⁵⁶ In the F₁ text, however, The Tempest is a short play. Chambers suggests that, as in the case of Macbeth, the shortness may be the result of abridgment; however, as he has further pointed out, there is no way of estimating the time involved in the dances and other masque-like features.¹⁵⁷ In lieu of the mounting evidence, however, one concludes that the apparent inconsistencies in the play, the evidence of the play's having been given careful preparation for inclusion in the F₁ printing, the appropriateness of the play to court performance, and the obvious ease with which the masque may be removed, indicate that the F₁ text of The Tempest is probably a revision of an earlier text of the play. By deleting the masque portion, however, one is faced with the task of supplying a sequential action which will bridge the gap left in IV.

¹⁵⁶H. D. Gray, "Some Indications That The Tempest Was Revised," SP, XVIII (April, 1921), p. 131.

¹⁵⁷Sir E. K. Chambers, Shakespearean Gleanings, pp. 93-94.

Gray has elsewhere suggested certain action which may have originally been a part of IV, concerning the scenario, *La Tre Satiri*, discussed in Chapter II.¹⁵⁸ One feels, however, that his proposal needs further consideration. Since such an emphasis is placed upon the Caliban-Stephano-Trinculo attempt to steal Prospero's books, one thinks that the obvious action to consider in relation to IV would center around the behavior of these conspirators. One recalls that Pantalone and Zanni, in *La Tre Satiri*, actually succeed in stealing the magician's books, forcing the satyrs to obey them. The magician became enraged over this theft and formed a circle on the earth, causing those who enter this enchanted ring to become the victims of his magic spell. The magician is, thus, enabled to recover his stolen book and, later, he promises to liberate the conspirators. One has noted that the alarm which Prospero expresses at the end of the masque, therefore, may have been the result of an action similar to the one related in this scenario. Therefore, one additional scene in IV may have involved the stealing of Prospero's books and the attempt by Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano to command the

¹⁵⁸H. D. Gray, "Some Indications That *The Tempest* Was Revised," SP, XVIII (April, 1921), pp. 138-39; also H. D. Gray "The Sources of *The Tempest*," MLN, XXXV (June, 1920), pp. 327-28.

island spirits. Had this action occurred in IV, one feels that Prospero's subsequent action with the conspirators would have been more appropriate, for, as it has been mentioned previously, his "alarm" in the F₁ version is unwarranted. One proposes, therefore, that a second scene in IV could have involved Prospero's attempt to recover his "stolen" books, which action, then, would have left the conspirators under an enchantment until V, when Prospero instructs Ariel to, "Set Caliban and his companions free" and tells him to "vntye the Spell."¹⁵⁹ One feels certain, then, that the addition of the masque to the play would have necessitated the removal of any more pertinent action in relation to the Caliban plot and that the time devoted to the masque in the present text may originally have allowed for a more comprehensive view of the conspirators and their attempt to control the inhabitants of Prospero's island.

¹⁵⁹H. D. Gray, "The Sources of The Tempest," MLN, XXV (June, 1920), p. 328, has noted that the conspirators are never under a spell but that the reference to "dry convulsions" and "aged cramps" may suggest some "punishment" so that the text would be consistent.

CHAPTER IV

PARALLELS AND ALLUSIONS TO OTHER SHAKESPEAREAN PLAYS AND TO CONTEMPORARY WORKS AND EVENTS

A careful examination of the text of The Tempest reveals that Shakespeare has employed words, phrases, and ideas to be found in his other plays, as well as allusions to contemporary ideas and works of a date much earlier than the proposed 1610/1611 date of The Tempest. A study of these parallels, therefore, may also reveal that The Tempest was written at an earlier date than heretofore has been deemed credible.

PARALLELS IN SHAKESPEARE'S OTHER PLAYS¹⁶⁰

The Tempest

(1) I haue great comfort
from this fellow: methinks
/ he hath no drowning marke
vpon him, his complexion /
is perfect Gallowes. (I.i.
28-30)

Other Plays

Go, go, be gone to saue
your Ship from wrack, /
Which cannot perish hauing
thee aboarde, / Being
destin'd to a drier death
on shore Two
Gentlemen of Verona, 1590,
1594-95. (I.i.156-8)

¹⁶⁰The F₁ wording has been used in all references to Shakespeare's plays, and the dates of his other plays are those given by Craig. In obvious cases, the author has felt that an explanation of the parallels was unnecessary.

- (2) Monster, your Fairy,
w you say is harmless
Fairy, / Has done little
better than plaid the
jacke with vs. (IV.i.
197-8)
- Or doe you play the
flowting iacke, / to tell
vs Cupid is a good Hare-
finder, and Vulcan a rare /
Carpenter . . . Much Ado
About Nothing, 1598-99.
(I.i.184-6)

Here, Jacke is probably used in an obscene sense. Partridge in Shakespeare's Bawdy, shows that ". . . Jack in English, like Jacques, in French, is generic for 'man' . . .," but he notes that the word may also have derived from jackes (also Ajax), meaning privy.¹⁶¹ The remark by Stephano may truly imply this last connotation, because Trinculo adds that he smells ". . . all horse-pisse . . .," having waded through the stagnant swamp. In Much Ado About Nothing, the word probably connotes knave.

- (3) Both, both my Girle.
/ By fowle-play (as thou
saist) were we heau'd
thence, / But blessedly
holpe hither. (I.ii.62-4)
- Yet poore old heart, he
holpe the Heauens to raine.
King Lear, 1605-06.
(III.vii.62)
- (4) . . . who t' aduance,
and who / To trash for
over-topping (I.ii.
80-1)
- Now pile your dust,
vpon the quicke, and
dead, / Till of this flat
a Mountaine you haue made,
/ To o're top old Felion.
Hamlet, 1600-01. (V.i.
275-8)
- (5) I pray thee marke
me (I.ii.88)
- Marke me. Hamlet. (I.
v.2)

¹⁶¹Eric Partridge, Shakespeare's Bawdy, p. 135.

In both plays, marke me is used by a father (in The Tempest, to a daughter, in Hamlet, to a son) asking for close attention to an important announcement which is to be made.

(6) My braue Spirit, /
Who was so firme, so
constant, that this coyle
/ Would not infect his
reason? (I.ii.206-8)

(7) What is the time o'
th' day? / Ar. Past the
mid season. / Pro. At
least two Glasses
(I.ii.238-40)

(8) . . . thou didst
promise / To bate me a
full year. (I.ii.249-50)

(9) A Southwest blow on
yee, / And blister you all
ore. (I.ii.324-5)

Madam, you must come to
your Vncle, yonders old
coile at home Much
Ado About Nothing. (V.ii.
97-8)

Or foure and twenty times
the Pylots glasse / Hath
told the theeuish minutes,
how they passe All's
Well That Ends Well. 1602-03.
(II.i.168-9)

. . . I will / not bate
thee a scruple. All's
Well That Ends Well. (II.iii.
233-4)

All the contagion of the
South, light on you, /
You Shamers of Rome: you
Heard of Byles and Plagues
Flaister you o're
Coriolanus, 1607-08. (I.iv.
30-2)

In The Tempest, it is Caliban who utters these vitriolic words; in Coriolanus, it is the titular character himself who speaks thus roughly to his wretched soldiers who, in the midst of battle, have deserted their cause. Both characters speak in the heat of temper.

(10) . . . a man, / or a
fish? (II.ii.24-25) . . .

Hee's growne a very /
landfish, languagelesse,

when thou didst not
 (Savage) / Know thine owne
 meaning; but wouldst gabble,
 like / A thing most brutish,
 I endow'd thy purposes /
 With words that made them
 knowne (I.ii.355-8)

(11) . . . the red-plague rid
 you / For learning me your
 language. (I.ii.366-7)

(12) Come vnto these
yellow sands
 (I.ii.377)

(13) But this swift busi-
 ness / I must vneacie make,
 least too light winning /
 Make the prize light.
 (I.ii.451-2)

This parallel is interesting, because, in The Tempest, it is spoken by Prospero with reference to his daughter and her new-found lover, Ferdinand; whereas, in Romeo and Juliet, it is Juliet who utters these words to Romeo in their first scene together, showing that she fears she is being too eager to accept his offer of love.

(14) . . . all corners else
 o' th' Earth / Let liberty

a monster Troilus
and Cressida, 1601-02.
 (III.iii.263-4)¹⁶²

away
 And
 a w
 spect

Now the Red Pestilence
 strike al Trades in Rome, /
 And Occupations perish.
Coriolanus. (IV.1.13)

Full often hath she
 gossipt by my side, /
 And sat with me on
Neptunes yellow sands.
A Midsummer-Night's Dream,
 1595-96. (II.1.125-6)

. . . therefore, pardon
 me, / And not impute this
 yielding to light love
 Romeo and Juliet,
 1594-95. (II.ii.104-5)

Come the three corners of
 the world in arms / And we

¹⁶²Noted in Sidney Lee, The Tempest, an Introductory Essay, p. xxvi; also, John E. Hankins, "Caliban the Bestial Man," PMLA, LXII (1947), p. 794.

make use of: space enough
/ Haue I in such a prison.
(I.ii.491)

shall shock them. King John,
1596-97. (V.vii.116-7)

No, no, no, no: come let's
away to prison, / . . .
And wee'll weare out / In
a wall'd prison, packs and
sects of great ones, / That
ebbe and flow by th' Moone.
King Lear. (V.iii.8-18)

(15) Dolour comes to him
indeed, you haue spoken /
truer then you purpos'd.
(II.1.20)

But for all this thou shalt
haue as many Dolours for thy /
Daughters, as thou canst tell
in a yeare. King Lear. (II.
iv.54-5)

In both cases, there is a double entendre. In The Tempest,
a "dolour," as well as a "dollar," comes to the entertainer;
in other words, the player receives both monetary rewards
and grief. The meaning in King Lear is similar, with ref-
erence to a maiden's dowry which brings "dollars" and
"delours."

(16) . . . a very ancient and
fish-like smell: a kinde of,
not of the newest poore-John
. . . (II.ii.26-3)

Tis well thou art not
Fish: If thou had'st,
thou / hadst beene poore
John. Romeo and Juliet.
(I.i.35-6)

(17) Doe you put tricks
vpon's with Saluages, and
men of / Inde? (II.ii.60-1)

Who sees the heavenly /
That (like a rude and sauage
man of Inde.) / At the first
opening of the gorgeous East,
/ Bowes not his vassal head,
and strokken blinde, / Kisses
the base ground with obedient
breast? Love's Labour's Lost,
1594-95. (iv.iii.222-5)¹⁶³

¹⁶³Sidney Lee, A Life of William Shakespeare, p. 257, fn.

(18) . . . he's a . . . As proper men as euer
Present for any Emperour . . . trod vpon Neates Leather,
that euer trod on Neates- . . . haue gone vpon my handy-
leather. (II.ii.70-1) . . . worke. Julius Caesar,
1599-1600. (I.i.29)

(19) Seb. I thinke hee . . . In his Luery / Walk'd
will carry this Island . . . Crownes and Crowners:
home in his / pocket, and . . . Realms & Islands were / As
giue it his sonne for an . . . plates dropt from his
Apple. Ant. And sowing . . . pocket. Antony and Cleopatra,
the kernels of it in the . . . 1606-07. (V.ii.90-2)
sea, bring / forth more / Is
Islands. (II.i.86-9)

(20) This is a diuell, and . . . Marrie he must haue a
no Monster: I will leaue . . . long spoon that must / eate
him, I haue no long Spoons. . . with the diuell. Comedy
(II.ii.99-100) . . . of Errors, 1592-93. (IV.iii.
64)

Kernode notes that the reference to "long spoon" comes from
a very old saying and cites the same use of the term in
Chaucer's The Squieres Tale, l. 594.164

(21) . . . his bold head / . . . we did buffet it [the
'Boue the contentious waues . . . "angry Flood"] / With lusty
he kept, and cared / Himselfe . . . Senewes . . . Julius
with his good armes in . . . Caesar. (I.ii.107-8)
lustre stroke . . .
(II.i.117-9)

(22) My Mistris shew'd me . . . This man, with lanthorn,
thee, and thy Dog, and thy . . . dog, and bush of thorn,
Bush. (II.ii.141) . . . Presenteth Moonshine . . .
A Midsummer-Night's Dream.
(V.i.136-7)

Caliban's reference to the moon's possessing a "Dog" and
"Bush," one feels, must have had some significance for

164Kernode, op. cit., p. 65, fn.

Shakespeare's audience, since, undoubtedly, it would have brought to mind the rude mechanicals of A Midsummer-Night's Dream. Also, when Puck is referred to as one who has "Misleade night-wanderers, laughing at their harme . . . ,"
one recalls Caliban's saying that Prospero's spirits will not ". . . lead him like a fire-brand, in the darke"

(23) Safely in harbour / Is
the Kings shippe, in the
deepe Nooke
(II.ii.226-7)

. . . I will sell my
Dukedome, / To buy a slobbry
and durtie Farme / In that
nooke-shotten Isle of Albion.
Henry V, 1598-99. (III.v.
12-14)

(24) I myselfe could make
/ A Chough of as deepe chat
. . . . (II.i.265-6)

Chough language, gabble
enough, and / good enough.
All's Well That Ends Well.
(IV.i.22-3)

(25) . . . candied be they,
/ And melt ere they mollest
. . . . (II.i.274-5)

Will the cold brooke /
Candied with Ice, Cawdle
thy Morning taste / To
cure thy o're nights surfet?
Timon of Athens. (IV.iii.
225-7)

(26) If 'twere a kybe
'Twould put me to my
slipper (II.i.
276-7)

If a mans braines were
in's heeles, wert not in
danger of kybes? King Lear.
(I.v.9)

. . . I haue taken note of
it, / the Age is growne so
picket, that the toe of the
Pesant / comes so neere the
heelles of our Courtier, hee
galls his Kibe. Hamlet.
(V.i.150-3)

(27) Dew-lapt, like
Bulls (III.iii.45)

. . . dew-lapt, like
Thesselian Bulls
A Midsummer-Night's Dream.
(IV.i.126)

(28) . . . that there were
such men / Whose heads stood
in their brests? (III.iii.
46-7)

The Antropophague, and
men whose heads / Grew
beneath their shoulders.
Othello, 1604-05. (I.iii.
144-5)

The significance of this passage in Othello, as it is par-
alleled in The Tempest, will be discussed at length in a
later portion of this section.

PARALLELS AND ALLUSIONS TO CONTEMPORARY WORKS AND EVENTS

(1) Sir Walter Raleigh's The Discoverie of Guiana (1596):

. . . that there were such
men / Whose heads stood in
their brests? which now we
finde / Each putter out of
five for one, will bring vs /
Good warrant of. The Tempest.
(III.iii.46-9)

Next unto Arui there are two
riuers Atoica and Caora, and
on that braunch which is
called Caora are a nation of
people, whose heades appeare
not aboue their shoulders,
which though it may be thought
a meere fable, yet for mine
owne parte I am resolued it is
true, because euery child in
the prouinces of Arromaia and
Caauri affirme the same: they
are called Ewaipanoma: they
are reported to haue their
eyes in their shoulders, and
their mouths in the middle of
their brests, and that a
long train of haire groweth
backward between their
shoulders.

.
whether it be true or no the
matter is not great, neither
can there be any profit in the
imagination, for mine owne
part I saw them not, but I am
resolued that so many people

did not all combine, or fore-
 thinks to make the report,
The Discoverie of Guiana.¹⁶⁵

Although Raleigh stated that he did not witness the appearance of such strange people, he, nevertheless, was bitterly ridiculed by the English people who could not believe that such monstrous shapes existed in the newly discovered territories.¹⁶⁶ One notes, however, that such a reference to the Ewainoma is not unique to The Tempest, for the same line is also echoed in Othello: ". . . men whose heads / Grew beneath their shoulders." Neither is the reference unique to Raleigh's 1596 publication, for Harlowe has noted further that Robert Harcourt's men had made a similar report in 1604: "He (the Yaio Indian) further affirmeth of the men whose shoulders are higher than their heads, which he called Wywaypanamy" ¹⁶⁷

(2) Sterling's Tragedie of Darius:

<p>Our Reuels now are ended: These our actors, / (As I foretold you) were all Spirits, and / Are melted into Ayre, into thin Ayre, And like the baselesse fabricke of this vision /</p>	<p>Let greatnesse of her glascie scepters vaunt; / Not scepters, no, but reeds, some brus'd soon broken: / And let this worldlie pomp our wits inchant, / All fades, and scarcelie leaues behind a token. /</p>
---	---

¹⁶⁵Raleigh, op. cit., pp. 56-7

¹⁶⁶Ibid., p. 56, fn.

¹⁶⁷Quoted in loc. cit.

The Clowd-capt Towres,
 the gorgeous Pallaces, /
 The solema Temples, the
 great Globe it selfe, /
 Yea, all which it inherit,
 shall dissolue, And like
 this insubstantial Pageant
 faded / Leau not a racke
 behinde The
Tempest. (IV.i.148-56)

Those golden pallaces, those
 gorgeous halles, / With
 furniture superfluouslie
 faire: / Those statelie
 courts, those sky-encountring
 walles / Envanish all like
 vapours in the aire.
Tragedie of Darius.¹⁶⁸

Also, the concluding lines of this speech in The Tempest
 are echoed in another Shakespearean play.

. . . we are such stuff /
 As dreames are made on; and
 our little life / Is rounded
 with a sleepe The
Tempest. (IV.i.156-8)

Thou hast no youth, not
 age / But as it were an
 after-dinners sleepe /
 Dreaming on both
Measure for Measure, 1604-05.
 (III.i.32-4)¹⁶⁹

The Earl of Sterling's Tragedie of Darius was published
 first in Edinburgh (1603) and later in London (1604).¹⁷⁰

Although evidence exists, as noted in Chapter III, to enable
 one to consider Prospero's famous speech as an interpolation,
 one feels that the echoes noted in these earlier plays may
 point to the fact that this speech was a part of the original
 text. If this be the case, one proposes that these lines

¹⁶⁸Quoted in Morton Luce (ed.), The Works of Shakespeare, The Tempest, p. xxiv; also, Elze, op. cit., p. 15.

¹⁶⁹W. B. G. Watkins, Shakespeare and Spenser, p. 68.

¹⁷⁰Elze, op. cit., p. 15.

originally may have been a part of the epilogue and that their position was altered when the masque was inserted in The Tempest.

(3) "dead Indian"

. . . were I in England now (as once I was) and had but this fish painted; not a holiday-foole there but would give a peece of siluer: there, would this Monster, make a man: any strange beast there, makes a man: when they will not give a doit to relieue a lame Begger, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian The Tempest. (II.ii.27-33)

Trinculo speaks of having his "fish painted" and mentions "a dead Indian." These allusions would hardly be in keeping with the proposed 1610/1611 composition date of The Tempest, since, as Elze points out, similar allusions in Henry VIII (1612/1613) indicate that living Indians were more common.¹⁷¹ He further notes that, by 1609 and 1610, Indians were probably commonplace in England and shows that, as early as 1577, an Indian man, woman, and child were brought to England and painted for the Queen.¹⁷²

(4) "No more dams I'll make for fish"

Lee reports that Caliban's speech is an echo of accounts from travelers in Florida and Virginia concerning Indians who indulged in weir fishing, described as follows:

¹⁷¹Ibid., pp. 17-18.

¹⁷²Lee, cit.

A series of fences made of willow poles, and bound to one another by intricate wicker work, ran in a series of circular compartments from the bank into the river bed, and a clever arrangement of baskets within the fenced enclosures placed great masses of fish every day at the disposal of the makers and owners of the dams.¹⁷³

He further notes that Europeans were unable to discover the construction secret of this dam and claims that the destruction of these dams was the chief cause of England's failure in the sixteenth century to establish a colony in Virginia.¹⁷⁴

(5) Munday's John a Kent & John a Cumber:

(a) Where should this Musick
be? I' the aire, or th'
earth? / It sounds no more:
and sure it waytes vpon /
Some God 'oth' Iland,
sitting on a banke, /
Weeping againe the King
my Fathers wracke. /
This Musicke crept by me
vpon the waters, / Allaying
both their fury, and my
passion / With it's sweete
ayre: thence I haue follow'd
it / (Or it hath drawne me
rather) but 'tis gone. /
No, it begins again. The
Tempest. (I.ii.387-95)

Madame, this sound is of
some instrument, / this
for two houres space it still
hath haunted vs, / now heere,
now there, on eche syde round
about vs, / And questionlesse,
either we followe it, / Or
it guydes vs, least we mistake
our way. Anthony Munday, John
a Kent & John a Cumber. ll.
1100-1104.

Reed has previously noted the similarities between Antony Munday's John a Kent & John a Cumber (1589?) and The

¹⁷³Sidney Lee, The Tempest, an Introductory Essay, p. xxix.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., pp. xxix-xxx.

Tempest.¹⁷⁵ He thinks that the foregoing speeches could not have been coincidental and is convinced, therefore, that Shakespeare must have had a first-hand knowledge of Munday's play.¹⁷⁶

(b) Enter Ariell playing
solemne Musicke (II.i.
s.d.) I vwill not
adventure my / discretion
so weakly: Will you laugh
me asleep, for I / am very
heauy. The Tempest.
(II.i.188-9)

The boy trips round about
Oswen and Amery, sing /
chyme, and they the one
after the other, lay them /
vsing very sluggish gestures,
the ladyes amazed / about
them. John a Kent & John a
Cumber. II. 1145-48.

Like Shrimp, Ariel becomes invisible and plays on a pipe to enchant his listeners. Reed notes that

. . . the only extant Elizabethan prototype of this episode in The Tempest is Shrimp's stratagem--his selective inducement of sleep through the force of music--as depicted by Munday.¹⁷⁷

He is convinced, therefore, that Shakespeare used Munday's spirit, Shrimp, as a model for Ariel's character; but he concludes that Shrimp is a mere "skeleton" of Ariel, whose personality is more "electrifying."¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵R. R. Reed, Jr., "The Probable Origin of Ariel," SQ, XI (Winter, 1960), pp. 61-5.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., p. 64.

¹⁷⁷Ibid., p. 63.

¹⁷⁸Ibid., p. 64.

(c) I shall be pincht to death. The Tempest. (V.1. 276) But shall he neither send his deuilles to pinche us? nor doo any other / harme if we doo as you bid vs? John a Kent & John a Cumber. ll. 1069-70.

Throughout The Tempest, one notes that Caliban refers to being ". . . pincht to death." It is indeed curious, one finds, that Hugh should reveal the same fear of spirits controlled by the magician, John a Kent, in Munday's play.

(6) "Bought a robe for to goo invisibell."

John Henslowe made the preceding entry in his Diary on April 3, 1598.¹⁷⁹ This notation of a "robe" to enable one to become "invisibell" is indeed curious because so much emphasis is placed upon Prospero's possessing a magic robe enabling him to become invisible.

(7) Marlowe's Doctor Faustus (1588-89):

(a) <u>A noyse of Hunters heard. Enter diuers Spirits in shape of Dogs and Hounds, hunting them about: Prospero and Ariel setting them on. The Tempest. (IV.1.s.d.)</u>	<u>Enter Mephostophilis: sets squibs at their backes: they runne about. Doctor Faustus. (ix.s.d.)</u>
---	---

This stage direction in Doctor Faustus occurs after Ventner, Robin, and Rafe have stolen Faustus's magic book and have decided to use it in conjuring. One recalls a similar

¹⁷⁹ Foakes, R. A. and R. T. Ricket (eds.), Henslowe's Diary, p. 325.

episode in The Tempest in which Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo plan to steal Prospero's books, although the action never transpires in The Tempest. Nevertheless, the conspirators are chased about the stage by the "Dogs and Hounds."

(b) Hold, take this booke, peruse it thorowly,
 The iterating of these lines brings golde,
 The framing of this circle on the ground,
 Brings whirlwindes, tempests, thunder and lightning.
Doctor Faustus. (v.607-10)

One recalls that Prospero's magic enables him to draw circles on the earth. However, he employs his conjuring for the purpose of making his victims immobile. One hears nothing of Prospero's having used a circle to cause ". . . whirlwindes, tempests, thunder and lightning;" but one notes that the magic books empowered him to control the elements. Consequently, the tempestuous storm in I.i. of The Tempest may echo Faustus's powers.

Although this present investigation has not exhausted, in any way, the field of possible parallels and allusions to be found within The Tempest, it has, nevertheless, revealed that Shakespeare in The Tempest was writing in the pattern of the magic play previously used by him in A Midsummer-Night's Dream, and by various other authors, at a much earlier date (i.e., the late 1590's). One suggests, therefore, that further investigation into the nature of these magic

plays may reveal conclusive evidence with which to re-date The Tempest, placing it much earlier than 1610/1611 in Shakespeare's chronology. Therefore, one proposes that a more appropriate dating of the composition of this play would be the late 1590's, or, at least, no later than 1603, which is the publication date of Montaigne's Essays translated by John Florio from which it has been shown that Shakespeare patterned Gonzalo's commonwealth speech.

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