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Shakespeare's "The Tempest" and Jacobean political contexts

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Shakespeare's The Tempest

and

Jacobean Political Contexts.

by

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Chapter One: The Problem

Many recent interpretations of Shakespeare's The Tempest[1] have tended, in various ways, to identify it as a play concerned with colonial exploitation.[2] Such critics have responded to words in the play also found in Jacobean exploration accounts--e.g., "plantation" (2.1.147), "Indian" (2.2.35), "still-vexed Bermoothes" (1.2.229). Additionally, it has been argued that the play's first scene derives from William Strachey's account (1610) of the ship wreck off the Bermudas in July 1609. Although these correlations may be suggestive, they do not support the view that The Tempest reflects Renaissance exploration accounts. If such claims for the play's "colonialist dimension" are questionable, what motivates such insistence upon a "colonialist" interpretation? How is it that unregenerate Caliban is seen to be the play's hero and Prospero is its tyrant-exploiter? Such criticism overlooks dramatic terms with potential Jacobean political overtones.

The aim of this study, however, is not to deny Jacobean interest in colonial exploration; rather, it is mainly to examine the validity of the current critical view that The Tempest endorses an imperialist stance. These critics share the notion (1) that Caliban is a sympathetic hero of the play; he suffers at the hands of the ruling figure Prospero; and he is "oppressed," "disenfranchised," or "exploited" (Hirst 22); (2) that just as Caliban's enslavement is said to be a focus, so the play reflects "colonialist practices" (Brown 48). This tends to give a "colonialist dimension"

(Griffiths 159) to important actions and speeches in Shakespeare's Jacobean comedy.

Concerning Caliban's sympathetic portrayal, instances are numerous, ranging from Kermode's proposal that "Caliban is the core of the play" (Ed. xxiv). Still further, some critics argue not only that "Caliban is the rightful spirit of the play's center" (Patterson 155), but also that his claim--"The island's mine" (1:2:333-4)--represents a legitimate challenge to Prospero: like Orgel who sees in Caliban's declaration a formidably "significant counter-claim to Prospero's authority" (24), so, Caliban, according to Barker and Hulme, offers a "compelling and defiant counter" (199) to Prospero. "Caliban's claim" to the island, argues another of his proponents, is not "easily dismissed" (Greenblatt Chronicle B3). Indeed, justifying Caliban, another commentator argues that "Caliban's curses are the most powerful condemnation of Prospero's way of life" (Hirst 19).

In addition, Caliban's justification has thus been, to a large extent, at the expense of Prospero. Critical attempts discrediting of Prospero have also stressed Caliban's supposed claim to the island (1.2.333-334). Such views are anticipated by Hazlitt (1818) who maintained that "Prospero and the rest are usurpers" (Daniell 80). Indeed, to a recent commentator, Prospero has himself "in effect created the conspiracy" (Greenblatt Negotiations 145). Hence critics sympathic to Caliban find his legitimate possession of the island "answered by Prospero only with hatred, torture, and enslavement" (Greenblatt Negotiations 157). One recent

production of the play carries this interpretation even further: Caliban is a "demoralized, detribalized, dispossessed suffering field hand" (Jonathan Miller in Hirst 77).[3] According to some critics, Caliban's heroic status is increased by his supposed suffering at the hands of Prospero. Recent criticism has also maintained that pitting the "Planter" Prospero against the "aboriginal" Caliban (Hawkes Rag 2) reflects similar correlations in Jacobean exploration tracts. "Surely," notes another critic, the play "does suggest the customarily-listed New World interests" (Daniell 75). That the play draws on "the context of the coloniser and the native" (Hirst 21) is validated by Thomas Cartelli's insistence: the play presents "the model for brutal British colonialism in Africa" (Daniell 81).[4]

Such proposals that The Tempest reflects "colonialist practices" (Brown 48) has indeed hardened into an assumption. Considering the play's supposed "colonial" sources (e.g., Strachey's letter), Kermode asserts, "Shakespeare had these documents in mind" (Ed., xxviii). Confidently, Patterson holds it "inarguable that . . .Shakespeare intended a contribution to a philosophical debate on colonialism and race relations" (156), although she maintains the contribution was "subversive."

Whatever the scholarly merits of their case, proponents of the play's "colonialist discourse" evince easy slippage from hypothesis into fact. To illustrate further, Stephen Greenblatt's influential essay (1988) echoing, among others, Kermode (Ed., xxvi-xxxiv), assumes it likely that "Strachey's

account . . . is likely, along with other New World materials, to have helped shaped The Tempest" (147). Although Greenblatt does concede that "the play was performed long before Strachey's narrative was printed," he concurs with the presumption of scholars that Shakespeare "read a manuscript version of the work [Strachey's letter]" (147). Later in the essay, however, his earlier, more tentative assertion about this "conjunction of Strachey's unpublished letter and Shakespeare's play" (149) slips into an absolute indebtedness on Shakespeare's part: "Such then," he now proclaims positively, "were the narrative materials that passed from Strachey to Shakespeare, from the Virginia Company to the King's Men" (154). Thus Greenblatt's limited hypothesis becomes definite, absolute fact.

Although the above citations represent the prevailing tendency of much recent commentary, critics are not lacking who question the hypothesis that The Tempest is a "pro-imperialist" play. Against such prevailing "colonialist" interpretations, some critics have directly entered the lists. With regard to the first aspect, that Caliban is the sympathetic hero, Anne Barton qualifies the notion of Caliban's alleged "victimization" (53). In opposition to such supposed sympathetic depictions, "Caliban, in fact, " asserts Skura, "is more like the devils Strachey expected to find on the Bermuda island (but didn't) than like the Indians whom adventurers did find in Virginia" (49). Demoting "the displaced native, Caliban," Deborah Willis sees Antonio as a far more serious threat to Prospero (286). Such interpretations revise the notion of Caliban's centrality to

the play, though Caliban remains, in general, a "native," an "Indian," a "cannibal."[5]

Relatedly, reacting to such recent villifications of Prospero, Robert M. Adams avers that "it's easy to exaggerate Prospero into an early instance of 'plantation mentality'" (25). Tempering recent indignation to Caliban's supposed "enslavement," Anne Barton maintains that "Prospero has merely repeated, in a milder form, what that earlier exile Sycorax did to Ariel--and what Stephano in his turn proposes to do to Caliban and Miranda" (55).

With regard to the "colonialist" theory, opponents have questioned this pro-imperialist emphasis. Such interpretations concur on this point: recent criticism "flattens the text into the mold of colonialist discourse" (MacDonald 43). Also opposed to the pro-imperialist notion, Edward Pechter maintains that colonialism can be seen as "only a marginal or allusive presence in a text with some other center" (298). Skura similarly declares of the work: indeed, "we have no evidence that seventeenth century audiences thought the play referred to the New World" (47). Among recent critics, "some emphasis on colonialism is now expected" (Griffiths 179). So, as R.S. White complains, "We have, over the last few years, had an awful lot of essays about colonialism, post-colonialism and The Tempest from writers who seem to have seized on the subject as on the latest fashion" (222).

In view of the numerous assertions that The Tempest concerns "colonial imperialism," this study proposes to

examine the relevance to The Tempest of the popular modern theory. Against such anachronistic twentieth-century interpretations, this study proposes to examine The Tempest within Jacobean political contexts.

Notes

1. All quotations are taken from Shakespeare's The Tempest, ed. Frank Kermode (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1977).

2. For a listing of older studies see Charles Frey, "The Tempest and the New World," Shakespeare Quarterly, 30 (1979), 31, n. 10. Among the more recent essays two Trevor Griffith's may be singled out for its detailed history of images of Caliban on the nineteenth and twentieth-century stages: Alden T. Vaugham and Virginia Mason Vaughan, Shakespeare's Caliban, Cambridge: Canbridge UP, 1991 and Trevor Griffith "'This Island's mine': Caliban and Colonialism," Yearbook of English Studies, 13 (1983), 159-80. See also the discussions by Francis Barker and Peter Hulme, "Nymphs and Reapers Heavily Vanish: the Discursive Con-texts of The Tempest," in Alternative Shakepseares, ed. John Drakakis (London: Methuen, 1985), 191-205, 235-237; and Paul Brown, "'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine': The Tempest and the Discourse of Colonialism," in Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism, ed. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985), 48-71. Other essays that make the topic of colonialism their central theme are the following: Paul N. Siegel, "Historical Ironies in The Tempest," Shakespeare Jahrbuch, 119 (1983), 104-11); Thomas Cartelli, "Prospero in Africa: The Tempest as Colonialist Text and Pretext," in Howard and O'Connor, Shakespeare Reproduced, 99-115; Terence Hawkes, "Swisser-Swatter: Making a Man of English Letters," in Drakakis's Alternative Shakespeares, 26-46; Stephen Orgel, "Prospero's Wife," Representations 8 (1985), 1-13 and "Shakespeare and the Cannibals," in Witches, Cannibals, Divorce: Estranging the Renaissance, Selected Papers from the English Institute, NS 11, ed. Marjorie Garber (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1986), 40-66; Stephen Greenblatt, "Martial Law in the Land of Cockaigne," in Shakespearian Negotiations: The Circulation of Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England (Berkeley: U of California P, 1988), 129-63.

One of the earliest complaints about this recent political criticism was Edward Pechter's "The New Historicism and its Discontents: Politicizing Renaissance Drama," PMLA, 102 (1987), 293-303. Recently, the colonialist view has been criticized by Meredith Anne Skura, "Discourse and the Individual: The Case of Colonialism in The Tempest," Shakespeare Quarterly, 40 (1989), 47; Russ McDonald,

"Rereading The Tempest" and Kurt Tetzeli Von Rosador, "The Power of Magic: From Endimion to The Tempest," both in Shakespeare Survey, 43 (1991), 15-28; 1-14.

3. Commentators have also attempted to devalue Prospero by introducing a distance between Shakespeare and him: "Prospero's play and The Tempest," insists one critic, "are not necessarily the same thing" (Barker and Hulme 199)--or, conversely, by aligning the playwright and his character: "Prospero, and hence Shakespeare himself, are not masters of all they command" (Patterson 159). Further, another interpretation maintains that "Prospero's savage description . . . is not an objective one" (Hirst 19).

4. For a review of third-world views of colonialism and The Tempest see Rob Nixon, "Caribbean and African Appropriations of The Tempest," Critical Inquiry, Spring (1987) Volume 13, Number 3, 557-578.

5. Regarding "Indian" see Stoll and RQ XLIV, No. 2, Summer 1991, 202 n 21: the Latin word "India" may refer to the geographical "India" (see Curtius, "India topos") or, as Ian Thomson points out, may refer to an area "roughly equivalent to modern Ethiopia" (see Vergil, Aeneis 6. 794).] Regarding the Caliban/cannibal anagram claim, Caliban's name may be recalled in Jonson's The Alchemist, when Subtle rails at Face: You have "Never been known, past equi clibanum, / The heat of horse-dung, under ground" (1.1.86). Here Caliban's name may suggest horse dung.

Chapter Two: Prospero's Stage "Tempest": "Tempest," Time, and Three Renaissance Political Notions.

The Strachey Problem

Critics have argued that Shakespeare used Renaissance voyage literature as a source for The Tempest's (c. 1610) opening storm scene. Among other sources that have been proposed, William Strachey's letter to the Virginia Company (1610, unpublished), these critics maintain, is particularly relevant to the play's opening scene.[1] Especially with regard to Strachey's account of the 1609 shipwreck, critics who claim this as a source, maintain that there is "ample proof" of Shakespeare's friendship with members of the Virginia Company as well as of his interest in their project. For this reason, these critics aver, Shakespeare must have read Strachey's letter in manuscript (Hirst 11).

Strachey's 1610 letter, according to these critics, contains verbal parallels with The Tempest. These apparent resemblences include, among others, the following examples from the play's opening storm scene (1:1). First, Strachey's term, "unmerciful tempest," is allegedly echoed in the play's violent shipwreck onto a strange island (Greenblatt, Negotiations 149). Second, Strachey's description of St. Elmo's fire in the ship's rigging supposedly inspired Ariel's "sometimes I'd divide / And burn in many places (1.2.198-99) (Hirst 11). Third, Strachey's depiction of the governor "heartening every man unto his labor" (Greenblatt, Negotiations 149) purportedly resembles the Boatswain's

exhortation to the mariners, "Heigh, my hearts!" and "You mar our labour" (1.1.5 and 13).

Such coincidences may be just that. They are too vague and general for any specific source claims. One wonders what else one would expect in a narrative depiction of a ship foundering in a storm. Turning from these so-called sources, we find instances where such descriptions seem to be commonplace. For instance, as one critic has pointed out, the St. Elmo's fire recurs in other voyage literature. Among others, Richard Eden's account of Magellan's voyage tells of St. Elmo's fire in ship's rigging and other such storm-at-sea commonplaces (Frey 31). Such awareness appears in one of the most respected editions of the play, "Mention of St. Elmo's fire occurs twice in Eden's History of Travel (Kermode n. 1.2.198). This St. Elmo's fire is also found in Erasmus's literary rendition of a ship in a storm, "Naufragium" (Baldwin 742; Rea 281). Against these slight verbal parallels between Strachey's letter and the play, it is possible to ask, "who could tell a sea story without them" (Stoll 487)?

Despite such questions, recent critics of The Tempest seem persistent regarding Strachey's letter. First, they assert that it serves as a source for the opening storm scene and Ariel's later depiction of that scene. Second, they argue that its supposed relevance indicates Shakespeare's "complicity" with the "imperialist" aims of the Virginia Company (e.g., Greenblatt, Barker and Hulme, Brown). The play, one commentator argues, is involved not only in the "apotheosis" and "mystification" of "colonialist discourse"

but also in its "potential erosion" (Brown 68-69). Regarding the play's supposed "imperialist" propensity, for example, these critics point to Prospero's apparent "anxiety" over his "exploitation" of Ariel and Caliban and his "regulation" of Ferdinand and Miranda. I shall address these claims below in my section about Prospero's use of Time.

To promote their notion of play's supposed "unconscious" erosion of these "imperialist" aims, they rely on comparisons between Strachey's letter and Shakespeare's play. In Strachey's letter, for example, these critics maintain that the storm's high seas "leveled" the distinction between those who labor and those who rule. That is, in Strachey, that the aristocrats "labor" alongside their inferiors indicates to these critics a "leveling" of the ship's hierarchy. The Tempest, they allege, portrays a similar blurring of political status in the colonial arena. According to this view, in the confusion of the storm, the Boatswain's speeches against King Alonzo and the other aristocrats aboard the foundering ship enacts a threat to the "imperialist" hierarchy (Negotiations 149).

On the surface, such "leveling" political overtones seem to emerge in the opening scene as the "tempest" worsens. For example, a challenge to Renaissance political authority is heard when the Boatswain (a lower ship's officer) defies the King's councillor: "What cares these roarers for the name of King" (1.1.14). In addition to the "roar" of threatening waves, here, according to one editor, the term "roarers" may also have suggested popular rebellion against authority (Kermode 1.1.14, n.). Furthermore, opposed to the

Boatswain's insolence and the "noise" (s.d.) of the "roarers," Gonzalo, the King's councillor, instructs the Boatswain about the respect due his royal passengers: "remember who thou hast aboard" (1.1.17). Among such political characters are a duke, a king, his brother, and the court entourage. That the Boatswain tells King Alonzo to "keep below" (1.1.9), according to this view, symbolizes a "leveling" of the hierarchy.

Although there seem to be overtones of political "leveling" in this section of the opening scene, this appraisal may need readjusting in light of other exchanges in this same opening scene. Against this notion that the Boatswain provokes political upheaval stands the Boatswain's strict observance of the chain of command that opens the play. In particular, during the confusion of the storm, the Ship Master's commands are efficiently relayed and summarily obeyed by the Boatswain and the mariners. That is, the Master calls, "Boatswain!" (1.1.1); the Boatswain responds immediately, "Here, master. What cheer?" (1.1.2); and the Master commands Boatswain to "speak to the mariners!" (1.1.3). Thus the Master requires and receives this dutiful response from his inferior in the face of potential disaster for the whole ship, "or we run ourselves aground" (1.1.4). Moreover, the Master's word "ourselves" here seems to emphasize a spirit of working together for the good of all. At least among the crew, then, there seems no "leveling" of the hierarchy.

In addition, just as the Master commands the Boatswain's respect, so the Boatswain, in his turn, rallies the mariners

with no opposition from them: "Yare, yare!" (1.1.6) directing them to "Take in the topsail!" (1.1.6). The Boatswain even reminds the mariners of the ship's hierarchy of command: "Tend to th' Master's whistle!" (1.1.6-7) Here, the title "Master" could refer to a range of possible authority figures--among others, the Ship's Master, Prospero (who raises the storm), or even King James, who we suspect attended a performance of the work (1610/11 or 1612). Ending this section with a challenge to the storm itself--"Blow till thou burst thy wind, if room enough!" (1.1.8)--the Boatswain seems confident that at least the crew's hierarchy may fend off disaster. From this perspective, the audience may very well agree with the Boatswain that the wicked usurpers do "assist the storm" (1.1.10).

The claim that the opening scene represents a "leveling" of authority also seems problematic especially since by the beginning of Act II the audience learns that the aristocrats on board, except for Gonzalo, are opponents to the throne. That is, Antonio is a usurping duke, King Alonzo is a confederate king, and Sebastian is a would-be usurping king. It is true that the audience does not at the time the storm know of Alonzo, Sebastian, and Antonio's villainy. Levels of the audience, however, may very well suspect their treachery. Whereas King Alonzo and Gonzalo's remarks to the Boatswain seem officious, Antonio and Sebastian's seem venemous: e.g., Sebastian: "A pox o' your throat, you bawling, blasphemous, incharitable dog!" (1.1.38-39). It is not as if the Boatswain challenges an authority that is above reproach in Alonzo, Antonio, and Sebastian. Rather, the Boatswain rails

against usurpers. Furthermore, although the "tempest" may also suggest a crisis for Prospero's rule, at this point in the play, this hubub is orchestrated by the rightful Duke of Milan, Prospero against the usurpers. While the Boatswain's defiance of the aristocrats may seem an indictment of the "ruler's authority" (Greenblatt, Negotiations 156), it may foreshadow Alonzo, Antonio, and Sebastian's treachery.

Another difficulty with relating Strachey to Shakespeare emerges when these aristocrats refuse to labor. In Strachey's account, aristocrats "labor" alongside their inferiors. An earlier Shakespearian ship-in-a-storm scene seems a much closer parallel to Strachey than to The Tempest. Like Strachey's nobles who join with the mariners against the storm, in the Shakespearian Pericles, Prince of Tyre (circa 1608-09) Pericles quite readily "works" against the destructive force of a storm. In a passage that seems to foreshadow the storm opening The Tempest, Marina recalls the sea storm that separated her from her father, Pericles. Whereas in The Tempest the usurpers distain assisting the Boatswain's labors to stave off destruction, in Pericles, as in Strachey's account, quite the opposite occurs. Pericles encourages the seamen. Most significantly, he "galls" "His kingly hands haling ropes" (4.1.53-54).

Furthermore, unlike the aristocrats in The Tempest, Pericles pitches in, even "clasping to the mast, endur'd a sea / That almost burst the deck" (4.1.55-56). Again unlike the subverters in The Tempest, it is Pericles who attempts to rally the mariners against the storm--"'Good seamen'" (4.1.53). Further, in Pericles the mariners seem afraid of

the storm: "the boatswain whistles, and / The master calls, and trebles their confusion" (4.1.63-64). Much like Gates's efforts to rally the mariners in Strachey's account, against the seamen's "confusion, Marina describes Pericles's fortitude: "My father, as nurse said, did never fear" (4.1.52). Strachey's "leveling" account of Gates's shipwreck seems more appropriately compared to the storm in Pericles than to its counterpart in The Tempest.

Questions remain, then, regarding the "colonialist" notion that (1) Shakespeare's "tempest" parallels Strachey's "tempest" and (2) this supposed parallel would have evoked for the Renaissance audience a colonialist critique. If these commentators' claims are not convincing, it is possible that the word "tempest" recurs in other Renaissance political contexts. In the pages that follow I shall suggest that the use of the word "tempest" may have yet partially unexplored political overtones. For example, "tempest" recurs in Renaissance sources and elsewhere in Shakespeare as a symbol of royal instability. In addition, the word "tempest" may have been heard by some of the audience as tempus and so evoke Renaissance commonplace notions of political time.[2]

II. Prospero's "Tempest" (1:1) and Royal Instability

In the previous section, I have cited objections to the relevance of Strachey's letter (pub. 1625) to Shakespeare's The Tempest. Such objections question the view which holds the play to contain a critique of colonialism. According to this "colonialist" view, Shakespeare uses Strachey's account of the shipwreck of 1609 as a source for the play's opening

"tempest." Linking the play and Strachey's letter, this view claims, for example, that the action on Strachey's ship is reflected in the play (Negotiations 149). While such critics insist that the opening scene's political overtones are pointedly "imperialist," instead, this section will attempt to show that Shakespeare's "tempest" may have evoked for some of the audience a more commonplace Shakespearian symbol for a time of royal crisis.[3]

Just as many of Shakespeare's plays contain conspiracies against a king, so the action of The Tempest centers around a set of political conspiracies seeking to overthrow the play's "prime Duke" (1.2), Prospero. These conspiracies are a result of Prospero's neglect of the "manage of my state" (1.2.70). As outlined in Prospero's exposition (1.2), "rapt in secret studies" (1.2.77), Prospero handed over the administration of his dukedom to his brother Antonio, who proceded to "extirpate me and mine" (1.2.125). To bring the usurper Antonio and his confederates, King Alonzo and his brother Sebastian, to justice, Prospero raises a "tempest" at the opening of the play. Among other motivations, to regain his dukedom Prospero conjures this "tempest."

It is not surprising, then, that the word "tempest" recurs in the play to suggest a time of royal crisis. In addition to the play's title, the word "tempest" and such related words as "storm" appear fifteen times throughout the play. The word "tempest" itself occurs significantly three times in Shakespeare's play. In these three instances when the word "tempest" is used, there seems to be evidence

indicating some connection with royal vulnerability: 1) the initial scene's dramatic display of a foundering ship with royal passengers (1.1) may symbolize the monarchy in crisis; 2) referring to this same "tempest" (1.2.194), Ariel's depiction of the "King's ship" (1.2.196) in great danger may also have suggested a crisis for royal authority; 3) against when Prospero "first raised the tempest" (5.1.6), Ariel assures Prospero that the "King and's followers" (5.1.7) are "Confined together" (5.1.7), suggesting that the opening "tempest" may also evoke an image for princely wrath; 4) finally, referring to "this last tempest" (5.1.153), Prospero reveals that the instability of rule suggested by the opening scene's "tempest" has passed, "My dukedom since you have given me again" (5.1.168). The word "tempest" seems to recur, then, as a watchword for times of royal crisis.

Returning to the play's title word "tempest," the opening scene's depiction of a foundering ship may suggest a commonplace emblem device, with its storm suggesting a time of royal crisis. The word "tempest" or its variants often appear in the political mottoes in emblem books dedicated to Renaissance princes. Within this context, a ship in a storm may depict a state in political turmoil for the prince. Such emblem books often depict the state as a ship at sea:

> We to the Sea, this World may well compare;
> For, ev'ry Man which liveth in the same,
> Is as a Pilot, to some Vessell there . . .
> When of Kingdomes, any gayne the Sway,
> To Generalls of Fleets, we liken these
> (Wither Pl. 37).

Accordingly, the "Principe" is termed "en governor la nave de su estado" [the governor of the ship of state].[4] In these emblem books, royal stability is often represented as a ship in calm seas. One such emblem is accompanied by the inscription "Tempore Perficitur" [Perfect weather/time] (Typotius Pl. 180). This inscription is illustrated by a ship sailing smoothly through a calm sea.

Monarchical instability, on the other hand, is periodically figured as a ship in a storm. For example, in one emblem book, the motto Tempestate Probatur [Testing Time] accompanies a depiction of a ship foundering in stormy seas (Henkel Pl. 44). Another engraving, dedicated to the Archduke Ferdinand of Burgundy, is entitled "Resistunt Firmata" [Firm Resistence] (Typotius Pl. 95). This plate shows a ship in rough seas battling three winds. For both emblems, the winds and the waves seem to symbolize political troubles and the foundering ship a royal crisis. This ship of state motif significantly appears on the "ryal," a coin minted in honor of King James's reign at about the time of the play's composition (MacKay 48). Such emblematic allusions to the word "tempest" as a monarch in a ship may have occurred to spectators watching The Tempest opening storm scene.

This context of royal turmoil recurs with the word's second appearance. Responding to Prospero's request for information, Ariel describes how the "rest of the fleet" "supposed" they saw the chief of state, "his great person" (1.2.237), "wraked" by the "tempest" (1.2.194). Eventhough

King Alonzo does not "perish" (1.2.237), still the "King's ship" was "nigh shore" (1.2.216) and so in danger. In fact, the politically suggestive phrase, "King's ship" emerges four times (1.2.196,225,228,236) in the space of thirty lines. It seems possible that the audience heard in the phrase "King's ship" an aural pun on the word "kingship." If this be the case, then the association of "King's ship" with "kingship" may further indicate that the word "tempest" here evokes a crisis for the monarchy. That is, if the "King's ship" is in a state of crisis, then "kingship" may be in a state of turmoil. Moreover, the related phrase, "King's son" recurs twice within these same thirty lines. These six repetitions of the word "King" seem to underline the significance of the apparent "wrake" to Prospero's dukedom. That is, the "tempest" endangering the "King's ship" may symbolize the turmoil created by Prospero's overthrow.

Indeed, the word "tempest" recurs in contexts of royal difficulties in Jacobean political writings. Since King James was Shakespeare's royal patron and the predominant political figure of the realm, King James's political experiences and attitudes may have been relevant for Shakespeare's consideration. Political instability haunted James early on as England's monarch. In 1606, for instance, a conspiracy to blow up Parliament and the King was discovered. King James was still occupied with preventing the recurrence of the Gunpowder Plot, even at the time of the play's performance (1610). At this time, to isolate any would-be conspirators, he insisted, against the Pope's vehement protestations, that all English Catholics sign an

Oath of Allegiance (McIlwain, Works 71-109). One of the King's foremost apologist for the Oath, John Donne, uses the word "tempest" as an image for the Pope's attempt to usurp James's authority: "If you be fishers of men, why dooth hee which sends you, first raise stormes and tempests of Treason, and Scandall; and expose you to a certaine shipwracke?" (Pseudo-Matyr D2). Here the word "tempest" suggests a political crisis both for James's kingship and for the authority of his rival, the Pope. In this sense, then, the word "tempest" may have suggested to some of the audience, especially the aristocratic Blakcfriars's audience, a conspiracy against the monarch. These connotations of royal turmoil seem applicable to The Tempest, particularly in light of the conspiratorial intentions of Antonio and Sebastian.

In addition to its association with royal vulnerability, the word "tempest," in its third appearance evokes the king's wrath against these traitors, in particular, when Prospero remembers "when I first raised the tempest" (5.1.6) against his enemies. Responding to Prospero's question about his foes, "How fares the King and's followers" (5.1.7), Ariel responds that they are "confined together" (5.1.8). That "the King, his brother, and yours [Prospero's] abide," that they are "all prisoners," and that they "cannot budge" (5.1.7-12) may have seemed an appropriate punishment for usurpers. At this juncture in the play, then, the word "tempest" appears within the context of Prospero's princely retaliation against the usurpers.

As a duke in exile, Prospero's anger at the subverters may have recalled numerous biblical references identifying

God's wrath with a "tempest." Comparing the king's power with God's power was commonplace during the Renaissance. For instance, "But the Lord sent out a great winde into the Sea," begins Jonah 1:4, "and there was a mightie tempest in the sea, so that the ship was like to be broken" (Geneva version). Indeed, for political purposes, King James himself was fond of drawing parallels between a king's wrath and God's wrath (Basilicon Doron 32). The word "tempest" may have evoked for the audience the force of God's and the king's wrath.

The final appearance of "tempest" again seems to ring with overtones of royal instability. In this case, along with its connotations of political turmoil and princely wrath, Prospero's reference to the "last tempest" (5.1.153) contrasts sharply with the stability of Prospero's restoration and continuance. In particular, Alonzo dejectedly expresses his seemingly dashed hopes for the politically advantageous marriage of Ferdinand and Miranda: that they "were both in Naples, / The King and Queen there!" (5.1.149-50). Before clearing up this misconception, however, Prospero reveals his identity to the usurpers in terms of his ducal status: "I am Prospero, and that very duke / Which was thrust forth of Milan" (5.1.159-60). This revelation indicates that Prospero's political goal throughout the play has been achieved: My dukedom since you have given me again" (5.1.168). At this point, Prospero unfolds for King Alonzo what could have been seen as a symbol for royal continuity, "a wonder [Ferdinand and Miranda] to content ye / As much as me my dukedom" (5.1.170-71). The

duchy's stability suggested by the "auspicious gales" (5.1.314)--Prospero regaining his dukedom and secures the marriage of Ferdinand and Miranda--contrasts with "This last tempest," a symbol for the monarch's instability and wrath, as suggested above.

Taken together, these four instance of the word "tempest" seem to form a pattern suggestive of the play's political probing. First, the opening storm scene (1.1), whose action dramatizes the title word, depicts the ship of state in what seems the turmoil caused by monarchical overthrow. Second, Ariel's account of the apparent shipwreck (1.2) again portrays the upheaval caused by royal usurpation. Third, Ariel's assurance (5.1) that the King and his entourage (two usurpers and a King's councillor) are "confined" seems akin to a traitor's detention allowing Prospero to regain his dukedom. Fourth, Prospero's revelation that he is Duke of Milan and that the future King and Queen have survived contrast with "This last tempest." In brief, the term "tempest" may have evoked for some of the audience Renaissance notions of royal instability and princely wrath.

Such possible overtones of royal instability suggested by the word "tempest" seem reenforced by Shakespeare's earlier uses of the word within similar settings of royal upheaval. For example, Shakespeare does use the word "tempest" to emphasize the turmoil created by conspiracies against kings in the History plays. In 2 Henry VI, for instance, both York, an ambitious noble with some royal claim, and commoner Jack Cade, at York's instigation, attempt

to usurp the throne. Distressed by these attempts at his overthrow, the King complains that his rule is threatened by both ends of the political hierarchy: "Thus stands my state, 'twixt Cade and York distressed" (4.9.31). As an image for the throne's turmoil, the King compares quelling Jack Cade's rebellion to "a ship having 'scaped a tempest" (4.9.32). Here, Shakespeare seems to use the word "tempest" as an image for royal instability that looks forward to its similar use in The Tempest.

The word "tempest" also has similar currency in Shakespeare's Jacobean tragedies. In Macbeth, for example, the hostile Norwegian forces marching against King Duncan are described as "shipwracking storms" (1.2.25-26). Here, "shipwracking storms," a phrase related to the word "tempest," may possibly have been received by the audience as a danger to Duncan's monarchy. Furthermore, in the next scene, the Witches promise that they will initiate trouble for Macbeth: "though his bark cannot be lost / Yet it shall be tempest-tossed" (1.3.25-26). Indeed, the witches' suggestion, among other motivators, impels him to regecide, the ultimate royal instability. This use of the word "tempest," moreover, looks forward to the tumultuous fate of another of Shakespeare's grim usurpers. That is, in Macbeth's final "blow wind, come wrack" (5.5.50), he, the usurping king, ironically invokes the Shakespearian grand symbol for monarchical upheaval, the storm. In both 2 Henry 6 and MacBeth, then, the word "tempest," and the related words "storm" and "wrack," seem set in scenes depicting royal instability.

Beside the play's possible allusion to Jacobean exploratory ventures, the word "tempest," then, may have evoked for some levels of the audience royal instability.

* * *

Prospero's "Tempest" and Time's Scarcity

Apart from the title word's overtones of royal instability already proposed, the term "tempest" could have suggested in its sound the word tempus. If words related to tempus--tempestus, tempo, and temps--suggest a connection to "Time," the word "tempest," in its Renaissance sense, may have denoted a particular time, period, or occasion (OED, s.v. 4).

In this sense of tempus--a particular time--the title word "tempest" may be noted in a Renaissance political context. For example, Francis Bacon seems to use the word "tempest" to indicate a time when a prince should be alert to political turmoil. That is, "Shepeards of People," according to Bacon, should discern "Kalenders of Tempests in State," ("Of Seditions and Troubles" 79). Similar uses of the word "tempest" also seem to call for a royal vigilance during a time of political commotion. The word "tempest," according to Sir Walter Raleigh, seems to call for "excellent wisdom": "when tempests are, and subjects bent on sedition," notes Raleigh, "the one requires an excellent sailor, the other the aid of some excellent wisdom" ("The Cabinet-Council"). If the word "tempest" in these instances indicates a time of political turmoil against which princes should be prepared, the title may also have overtones of a particularly urgent political-time.

Along with the title "tempest" and its possible temporal connotations, the opening storm scene repeatedly emphasizes time's urgency. Although we would expect storm scenes to carry a sense of urgency, other of Shakespeare's storm scene's seem not to employ time-words so emphatically. In The Tempest, however, against Gonzalo's admonition to "be patient" (1.1.16), the Boatswain implores him in terms of time words: "work the peace of the present" (1:1:21) or submit to "the mischance of the hour" (1.1.24). The urgency suggested by these time words "present" and "hour" is complemented by other time-related words. For instance, with adverbs of time, the Boatswain rallies the crew to move quickly: "Yare; yare!" (1.1.4, 32). Most editors define this word "yare" as "quickly or briskly" (e.g., Kermode, Orgel, 1.1.4., n.). Such emphasis on an urgent time seems highlighted by large number of commands in the scene. Repeatedly, characters command others to act quickly. The Master and Boatswain's opening lines seem largely imperative:

> Master: Boatswain!
>
> Boatswain: Here, Master. What cheer?
>
> Master: Good, speak to the mariners; fall to't yarely, or we run ourselves aground. Bestir! Bestir!
>
> (1.1.1-4).

The Boatswain, in his turn, issues a string of commands: "Take in the topsail! Tend to th' master's whistle! Blow till thou burst thy wind, if room enough!" (1.1.5-7). Temporality and swift response, then, seem emphasized in the crucial first scene.

In the sections that follow, I shall explore whether this urgency of storm-time, especially regarding its possible political relevance, echoes through the rest of the play. In particular, I shall consider the following: Prospero's "present business" (1.2.136): Political Vigilance; and Antonio's "any business that we say befits the hour" (2.1.283-84): Political Over-Reaching. These parallel responses to temporality seem to operate within a play whose very title, as suggested above, evokes tempus.

Prospero's "present business" (1.2.136) and Political Vigilance

Timely but skilled action against Antonio, Sebastian, Alonzo and Caliban seems suggested in Prospero's speeches in Acts One, Four, and Five. As in Lear where "ripeness is all" (5.2.11)[5], timeliness seems a key dramatic factor in Shakespeare's plays. In Prospero's reminder, for example, that "'Tis time" (1.2.23) to regain his dukedom, we find the first suggestion of his ability to await the propitious moment. Even when Prospero is not on stage, the force of timely action seems present for the audience. Indeed, a significant number of his lines refer to his watchful energy. Echoes of Prospero's "present business," (1.2.136) would seem to suggest the audience's perception of the play's time.

Prospero's timeliness may be further hinted at in his account of his past political failure (1.2.38-140). After relating his own disregard for "temporal royalties" (1.2.110) and the treachery of Antonio, Sebastian, and Alonzo (1.2.23-

184), Prospero proclaims the urgency of his "present business": "I am ready now" (1.2.187).

Among other connotations, then, Prospero's "present business" may suggest timely action. His awareness of opportunity brings to mind Renaissance topics about Time: e.g., "Take Time When It Comes"[6]. Prospero's capacity to await the right moment also seems anticipated in earlier Shakespearian plays. A famous example comes to mind, when, after agreeing with Poins to doublecross Falstaff, Prince Hal, now alone on stage, promices the audience,

> I'll so offend to make offense a skill,
> Redeeming time when men think least I will
> (1 Henry IV, 1.2.204-05).

Hal will "redeem" Time when least expected; from different angle, Prospero will when "'Tis time" (1.2.23). These conceptions of Time are also echoed in books of advice to merchants.[7] While neither Prospero nor Hal belong to the merchant class, both protagonists, like the merchants of the advice books, seem to harness or control Time to advance their interests. Jerome Turler in The Traveler (1575), for example, asserts that "to say or doo anything," traveling merchants should know "the easiness or hardness of oportunytie touching the meetest times" (Solomon 522). The merchant, Thomas Gainsford writes in The Rich Cabinet (1616), "must have understanding to make use of time" (Solomon 122).

Prospero's timely action seems also to be found in the Humanist mirror-for-princes writings. Erasmus, for one, advises rulers in his popular "Adages," about the

advisability of a "wise promptness":

> in the case of princes it sometimes only needs a moment of idleness or a single hasty decision to raise untold storms, and bring about the ruin of human affairs. On the other hand, if Make haste slowly [festina lente] is the rule, that is, a wise promptness together with moderation, tempered with both vigilance and gentleness, so that nothing is done rashly and then regretted, and nothing useful to the commonweal omitted out of carelessness--I ask you, what could be more happy, and stable than such a realm?
>
> (1508, ed.: 172).

"I knew a wise man [a political ambassador] that had it for a byword," writes Sir Francis Bacon, in "Of Despatch" (1612), "when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, Stay a little that we may make an end to it sooner."

These instances of timely action bring to mind Prospero's account of his political negligence. Before Prospero tells Miranda he is a duke--"Of whence I am" (1.2.19)--Miranda remembers his reluctance to tell her she is a duke's daughter:

> You have often
> Begun to tell me what I am; but stopped
> And left me a bootless inquisition,
> Concluding, "Stay: not yet"
>
> (1.2.33-36).

Here, Miranda seems to describe Prospero's restraint in divulging her identity as a duke's child. The suggestion for

timely action in his response--"The hour's now come; / The very minute bids thee ope thine ear" (1.2.36-37)--seems an expression of his capacity to act at the right time.

Again, these timeliness pattern echoes when Prospero reveals to Miranda their former political rank and details the circumstances attending his loss of Milan:

> If now I court not, but omit, my fortunes
> Will ever after droop. Here cease more questions . . .
> I am ready now
> (1.2.183-84 and 187).

Here, a readiness seems the culmination of Prospero's previous restraint. Amidst Antonio, Sebastian, and Alonzo's usurpation of his duchy, on the one hand, and their presence on his isle, on the other, Prospero's resolve to act "at this time" thus seems one of skillful foresight, to the end of regaining Milan. His plan to regain his duchy, moreover, appears to motivate his "remembrance" of his former title detailed in the exposition: "Twelve year since, Miranda, twelve year since, / Thy father was Duke of Milan and / A prince of power" (1.2.53-55).

Like Miranda, Ariel is introduced amidst Prospero's reminders of Time's urgency: the "time 'twixt six and now / Must by us both be spent most preciously" (1.2.240-41). Reacting to Ariel's petition for "liberty" (1.2.245), Prospero responds that the Time is not right: "Before the time be out? No more!" (1.2.246). The "preciousness" of Prospero's Time is further emphasized when Ariel again attempts to sue for his freedom. After Ariel reminds Prospero of his "worthy service" and Prospero's promise "To

bate me a full year" (1.2.246-50), Prospero reminds Ariel of his servitude to the witch Sycorax emphasizing Ariel's impatience: "Dost thou forget / From what a torment I did free thee?" (1.2.250-51) and "Hast thou forgot / The foul witch Sycorax . . . Hast thou forgot her?" (1.2.257-59) and "I must / Once in a month recount what thou hast been, / Which thou forget'st" (1.2.261-63). To moderate Ariel's impatience, Prospero underscores the need for timely action. Thus Ariel's request to be free seems premature--"before the time be out" (1.2.246).

This timeliness pattern expressed by Prospero to Ariel echoes through the play. At the close of Act 1, Prospero proclaims to Ariel, "Thou shalt be as free / As mountain winds; but then exactly do / All points of my command" (1.2.499-501). Also, just before the betrothal masque for Ferdinand and Miranda, Prospero requests, "Dearly, my delicate Ariel. Do not approach / Till thou dost hear me call" (4.1.48-49). At the start of Act 5, immediately before he will "present" himself "As I was sometime Milan," Prospero urges Ariel, "Quickly, spirit! / Thou shalt ere long be free" (5.1.85-87). Finally, his dukedom regained, "'tis time" for Prospero, after one last task, to free Ariel: "My Ariel, chick, / That is my charge. Then to the elements / Be free, and fare thou well!" (5.1.316-18).

Prospero's warnings about timely action seem even to apply to sexual indulgence. Prospero, for instance, warns Ferdinand against taking liberties with his daughter:

> If thou dost break her virgin-knot before
> All sanctimonious ceremonies may

With full and holy rite be minist'red

(4.1.15-17)

and

do not give dalliance

Too much the rein

(4.1.51-52).

Warning sons and daughter against "this swift business" (1.2.451) is not unique to The Tempest among Shakesperian plays. Prospero's timely motif seems foreshadowed, for example, in the Shakesperian play Pericles Prince of Tyre (1608-09). Just as King Simonides "commends" his daughter for choosing Pericles (2.5.22), so Prospero seems pleased with Miranda's attraction to Ferdinand: "It goes on, I see, / As my soul prompts it" (1.2.420-21). Both fathers, however, seek to check the lovers' ardour. As for Simonides, although he "will no longer have it delay'd" (2.5.22), still he "must dissemble it" (2.5.23). As for Prospero, he must "this swift business / I must uneasy make" (1.2.451-53). Regarding other similarities, just as Prospero insists that Ferdinand is a "traitor" (1.2.461); so Simonides calls Pericles a "Traitor" (2.5.55).[8] In addition, accused of treachery, both prospective sons-in-law attempt to resist by threatening with a sword (Temp:1.2.467; Per2.5.64). Finally, Simonides warns Thaisa not to give herself too freely--"Yea, mistress, are you so preemptory?" (2.5.73); conversely, Miranda begs Prospero "Make not too rash a trial of him" (1.2.468).[9] Both Polixenes and Prospero, then, insist that their daughters' delay further intimacy with their suitors.

Prospero's capacity to await the propitious moment also seems suggested in his response to Caliban's "foul conspiracy" (4.1.139).

> I had forgot that foul conspiracy
> Of the beast Caliban and his confederates
> Against my life: the minute of their plot
> Is almost come
>
> (4.1.139-42).

So Prospero announces Caliban's conspiracy and its imminence.[10] In response to this imminence, Prospero three times expresses his need to act quickly: in an aside, "the minute of their plot / Is almost come (4.1.141-42); to Ariel, "Come with a thought!" (4.1.164); and, again to Ariel, "We must prepare to meet Caliban" (4.1.166). Just as he does against the conspirators Antonio, Sebastian, and Alonzo and the courtly lovers Ferdinand and Miranda, so too Prospero proposes an urgent but judicious action against Caliban. Timely action, then, seems to comprise Prospero's attitude toward <u>tempus</u> or fleeting Time.

Indeed, Act Five opens with Prospero's final, grand statement of the timeliness formula--

> Now does my project gather to a head.
> My charms crack not, my spirits obey, and time
> Goes upright with his carriage
>
> (5.1.1-3).

Once thought "incapable of temporal royalties" (1.2.110), Prospero seems to have maintained the "charms," the "spirits," and the "time"--a virtuoso political performance--

through the play. This elasticity of conduct, prized by Renaissance Humanists in their advice to Princes (Wind 99-101), enables him, finally, to regain his dukedom, to insure its continuity in the union of Ferdinand and Miranda, and to retire to Milan "where / Every third thought shall be my grave" (5.1.310-11).

Antonio's "let us both be sudden"(2.1.300): Political Opportunism

Opposed to Prospero's vigilance is Antonio and Sebastian's precipitousness. On the one hand, Prospero awaits an opportune moment to act. In his first mention of the word "time," Prospero had decided that "'Tis time / I should inform thee [Miranda] farther" (1.2.22-23). Antonio and Sebastian, on the other hand, evidence an opportunistic restlessness. "I am out of patience" (1.1.51), complains Sebastian in the opening storm scene. Similarly, as they are about to kill King Alonzo and Gonzalo, Antonio urges Sebastian, "Then let us both be sudden" (2.1.300). This apparent contrast between Prospero's prudent action and Antonio and Sebastian's "sudden" action may be further suggested in Antonio's conspiracy speech (2.1.195-291). In particular, Antonio's murderous words, "let us both be sudden" (2.1.300) may indicate a subverter's recklessness.

Precipitousness seems suggested when Antonio introduces Sebastian to his wicked plan, "Th' occasion speaks thee" (2.1.201). The word "occasion" often connoted in the Renaissance a fleet moment in Time. This moment was depicted in emblems as a swiftly moving figure with a forelock and no hair behind. Another example of the headlong movement of

"occasion" occurs in Marlowe's The Jew of Malta (1589). At the end of a speech with apparent machiavellian overtones, Barabas decides to be "circumspect": "Begin betimes; Occasion's bald behind:/Slip not thine opportunity (5.2.44). Similarly, seizing the "occasion, Antonio and Sebastian attempt to supplant Alonzo and Gonzalo. Assassinating Alonzo and Gonzalo would seem to expedite their advancement. Antonio, that is, would be free "from the tribute" he pays Alonzo, and Sebastian would be established as "the King" of Naples (1.2.288-90). Antonio and Sebastian's "nimble" propensity (2.1.169), moreover, seems anticipated by the "honest old councillor" Gonzalo. Immediately before the conspiracy speech, Gonzalo points out that his attempt to cheer Alonzo seems merely an "occasion" (2.1.168) for their "nimble lungs" (2.1.168-69). "Nimble" like all Machiavellian opportunists, Antonio and Sebastian seem to act in a material time-world, whose dimensions are "occasions" for personal advancement.

Besides using "occasions" for personal advancement, Antonio in his avarice seems to preempt Time's three dimensions--past, present, and future: "what's past is prologue, what to come, / In yours and my discharge" (2.1.247-48). The way Antonio takes possession of Time, his "past" becoming Sebastian's "prologue," brings to mind Macbeth's similar view of the Witches' prophesies as "happy prologues to the swelling act / Of the imperial theme" (Macbeth 1.3.128-29).[11] Sebastian apparently accepts Antonio's importunities: "Thy case, dear friend, / Shall be

my precedent" (2.1.284-85). In addition, Antonio's steals Time: according to Ariel, "Open-eyed conspiracy / His time doth take" (2.1.295-96). Also, Time is distorted by Antonio's hunger for "advancement" (2.1.262). In some ways, Lady Macbeth's unbridled ambition seems to anticipate Antonio's. When, for instance, she instructs Macbeth that "To beguile the time, / look like the time" (1.5.64-65), she is in effect advising him to be a hypocrite. Lady Macbeth's advice to her husband--Adjusting to the times--seems to evoke Machiavelli's similar advice in a letter to Giovan Battista Soderini (1506): "adapt to the times" he tells Soderini (Skinner 97). Similarly, Antonio assures Sebastian that the surviving courtiers will, in machiavellian style, hypocritically "tell the clock to any business that / We say befits the hour" (2.1.283-84). Time, among other material aspects of the world, seems shaped by the conspirators to realize their ambitions.

Just as Antonio takes over Time, so he, using Tide/Time analogy, seeks to persuade Sebastian to commit regicide. To this end, Antonio will teach Sebastian's "standing water" (2.1.215)--i.e., neither ebbing or flowing--"how to flow" (2.1.216). Against the "ebb" of Sebastian's "hereditary sloth" (2.1.216-17), Antonio offers the machiavellian "flow," in a recitation of deceit, expedience, and murder: "Will you grant me / That Ferdinand is drowned?" (2.1.237-38); "'How shall that Claribel / Measure us back to Naples?" (2.1.252-53); referring to King Alonzo, "There be that can rule Naples / As well as he that sleeps" (2.1.256-57); and "[There be] lords that can prate / As amply and unnecessarily / As this

Gonzalo" (2.1.257-59). Sebastian's threat or his "advancement" (2.1.262) endangers "habitual legitimacy."[12] That is, according to Antonio, if Ferdinand is drowned and Claribel, "heir to Naples" (2.1.250), is too far away to "Measure us back to Naples" (2.1.253), then Alonzo and Gonzalo's murder would seem to secure the conspirers' "advancement." Their sinster reasoning suggests that, like the machiavellian "new prince," the plotters "pursue their own ends without regard to any structure of law" (Pocock 165). In this "machiavellian world of delegitimized power-seekers" (Pocock 165), there is no room for "ebbing men," according to Antonio:

> Ebbing men indeed
> (Most often) do so near the bottom run
> By their own fear or sloth
> (2:1:220-22).

Antonio's "flow" seems related to the machiavellian time-realm, where "li tempi e le cose" [the times and circumstances] should determine the power-seeker's course of action. Antonio's Tide/Time imagery brings to mind another of Shakespeare's conspirators, Brutus. Against Cassius's advice to lie "still" (JC 4.3.201-02)--like the machiavellian "fox"--Brutus argues "our cause is ripe" (4.3.215)--like the machiavellian "lion" (Machiavelli, The Prince 61):

> There is a tide in the affairs of men
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
> Omitted, all the voyage of their life
> On such a full sea are we now afloat,

> And we must take the current when it serves
> Or lose our ventures
>
> (4.3.218-224).

Like Brutus, Antonio attempts to seize Time (to "flow") according to his apparently insatiable appetite for self-advancement: "Then let us both be sudden" (2.1.300).

In addition to Brutus, other of Shakespeare's subverters suggest a link between a character's "sudden" action and power-seeking. In Henry IV, Part 1 (1597), for example, Worcester, an opponent to the throne awaiting the "occasion" to "save our heads by raising of a head" (1.3.273, 281), has little trouble persuading Hotspur to act "When the time is ripe, which will be suddenly" (1.3.291). "And 'tis no little reason bids us speed" (1.3.280), says Worcester of his "plot" to overthrow King Henry IV. Just as Worcester's "sudden" action seems in contrast to King Henry IV's "time to pay us home" (1.3.285), so Antonio's "sudden" action seems antithetical to Prospero's deliberate action.

In Julius Caesar (1599-1600) the word "sudden" seems to carry similar subversive overtones. The conspirator Cassius, for instance, immediately before the attempt upon Caesar's life, implores Casca to "be sudden, for we fear prevention" (3.1.19). Like Cassius, Antonio, just before attempting to assassinate Alonzo, tells Sebastian to be "sudden" (2.1.300). In response to the Caesar's "sudden" assassination, Antony, although disclaiming any attempt on his part to incite the plebians, suggests to them a "sudden" course of action:

> Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up
> To such a sudden flood of mutiny
> (3.2.208-09).

This "sudden flood of mutiny" may echo Cassius's instructions to Casca. If, moreover, Antony's use of the word "sudden" echoes Cassius's, the word's repetition may suggest subversive overtones for both Antony's attempt to incite the mob and Caesar's murderers. In either case, the word "sudden" appears to suggest rebellion.

Antony's antagonist, Brutus, also urges "sudden" action. Just before the Battle of Philippi, for example, Brutus issues the order for his troops to attack Octavius's forces "suddenly":

> Let them set on at once; for I perceive
> But cold demeanor in Octavius' wing,
> And sudden push gives them the overthrow
> (5.2.3-5).

Here, although the word "sudden" seems to denote a surprise attack, it may also recall the rebellious connotations of its previous uses. If Cassius's, Antony's, and Brutus's use of the word "sudden" may suggest overtones of rebellion, Antonio's "suddeness" may also connote revolt. Conversely, Caesar's unwatchfulness may anticipate Prospero's past lack of vigilance, leading to his loss of Milan. Caesar, that is, ignores both the soothsayer's "Beware the ides of March" (1.2.19) and Calpurnia's "Do not go forth to-day" (2.2.50). Similarly, Prospero, "being transported / And rapt in secret studies" (1.2.76-77), ignored the signs that his brother

Antonio "set all the hearts i' th' state / To what tune pleased his ear" (1.2.84-85). On the one hand, Caesar's and Prospero's lack of vigilance seems to have made them vulernable to Cassius's and Antonio's "suddeness." On the other hand, "suddeness" suggests the action of assassains, usurpers, and conspirators, as in the Shakespeare's King John (1596-97), when Hubert warns the Bastard against assassains:

> The king, I fear, is poison'd by a monk.
> I left him almost speechless; and broke out
> To aquaint you with this evil, that you might
> The better arm you to the sudden time
> Than if you had at leisure known of this
> (5:4:23-27).

In The Tempest, the subverters' "sudden time" seems echoed in the Caliban's "foul conspiracy" (4:1:301) against Prospero's life. For example, in his attempt to surprise Prospero, Caliban cautions Stephano and Trinculo to "tread softly" (4.1.194), "speak softly" (4.1.205), "be quiet" (4.1.215), and make "No noise" (4.1.216). Against Caliban's advice, Stephano and Trinculo, distracted by the "frippery" (4.1.225), delay the plan--"to do the murder first (4.1.231): the fools "dote thus on such luggage" (4.1.230). Just as Antonio and Sebastian plot while the king and his entourage sleep, so Caliban promices Stephano, "I'll yield him [Prospero] thee asleep, / Where thou may'st knock a nail into his head" (3.2.59-60). To overthrow Prospero, then, Caliban urgently attempts to persuade the two fools "not to lose our time" (4.1.246).

Prospero, however, anticipates Caliban's plot. Although

Prospero "forgot that foul conspiracy / Of the beast Caliban and his confederates / Against my life" (4.1.139-41), this lack of vigilance seems short-lived: the minute of their plot / Is almost come (4.1.141-42). Apparently having been distracted by the masque--"some vanity of mine art" (4.1.41)--Prospero, upon remembering Caliban's approach, "starts suddenly" (4.1.138, s.d.). He now seems ready to act at the right time: "We must prepare to meet with Caliban" (4.1.166).

Finally, the word "sudden" suggests, in terms of The Tempest, an ethical transgression on the part of Antonio and Sebastian. Whereas the villains' and the fools' attempts to be "sudden" fail; Prospero's capacity to await the right time succeeds. That is, Caliban's "always bending / Towards their project" (4.1.174-75), like Antonio's "Let it be to-night" (3.3.15), is thwarted by Prospero's vigilant "this hour":

> At this hour
> Lie at my mercy all mine enemies.
> Shortly shall all my labors end
> (4.1.262-64).

Antonio's "sudden" action thus contrasts to Prospero's matura celeritas.[13] Although both Prospero and Antonio emploi du temps, Prospero tends to await the mature time, whereas Antonio acts in desperation. In the great reconciliation scene of Act Five, after portraying his brother Antonio as ambitious (5.1.75), remorseless (5.1.76), and unnatural (5.1.79), Prospero says, "I do forgive thee" (5.1.78). Antonio's subsequent silence suggests Prospero's

continued vigilance.

* * *

As has been suggested above, through the play, Prospero awaits the right moment to act. He seems equally watchful about the future at the end of Act Five. First, he announces to Alonzo and his entourage his plans for how they will spend the night and how they will return to Naples (5.1.300-302). Second, he ennumerates his hopes:

> I have hope to see the nuptial
> Of these our dear-beloved solemnized

and

> thence retire me to my Milan, where
> Every third thought shall be my grave
> (5.1.308-09; 310-11).

Prospero's two hopes--Ferdinand and Miranda's marriage and his "retirement"--suggest two, opposing notions of Time: a permanance evoked by a dynastic marriage and an evanescence suggested by a meditation upon mortality.

Regarding permanance, through the play, the lovers seem to express their love in terms of perpetutity, by using, among other words, the word "ever." For example, when Miranda first sees Ferdinand, she exclaims, "Would I might / But ever see that man!" (1.2.169). In similarly unwavering terms, Ferdinand exchanges vows with Miranda: "My mistress, dearest, / And I thus humble ever" (3.1.86-87). Permanance thus seems suggested by the expressions of love between Ferdinand and Miranda. Their promise of constancy may anticipate Prospero's "hope to see the nuptial," which may suggest the continuance of his line.

Opposed to the lovers' permanent "ever" stands Prospero's mention of the symbol for mortality, "my grave" (5.1.311). For Prospero, the moment of Kairos becomes the moment of evanescence; what was once a time of diligence and constant application now becomes "every third thought" (5.1.311) upon mortality, possibly another kind of watchfulness. Other echoes of this permanance/evanescence duality may be noted earlier in the play. The masque's intimations of concord--"Harmonious charmingly" (4.1.119)--and continuity--"Long continuance" (4.1.107)--seems undercut by its abrupt termination--"Prospero starts suddenly and speaks" (4.1.s.d.). From another perspective, if the nuptial contract figures political legitimation, then the masques's interruption may suggest an uncertainty of succession. That is, the leisure of Prospero's "some vanity of mine art" (4.1.41) seems replaced by the watchfulness of the "minute of their plot" (4.1.141). Similarly, as outlined by Prospero in his exposition (1.2), Prospero's study in his library gives way to action in the world of the corrupt and desperate power-seekers, like Antonio. These corruptions and struggles--"the great globe itself, / Yea, all which it inherit" (4.1.153-54)--however, "shall dissolve" (4.1.154). Possibly, Prospero's, "Every third thought shall be my grave" (4.1.311), suggests the brevity of this world and the nearness of death in tempus/Time. In so doing, Prospero's "my grave" may also recall the corruption and moral degradation of the conspirator's "sudden" time.

* * *

Whatever political overtones the word "tempest" may

possess, it seems apparent, first, that the word is motivated by dramatic exigiencies. While it may have recalled for some of the audience exploration accounts, it may also have presented a dramatic representation of a desperate moment for the monarchy. Rather than being a "leveling" image within a "colonialist" discourse, the word "tempest" functions in relation to the dramatic sequence of events--a theatrical display of a royal emergency at the play's start, a vivid contrast to the "auspicious gales" (5.1.315) at the play's end. In addition to its apparent function as an image for royal instability, the word "tempest," in its sense of a particular time (tempus), elicits from Prospero timely action and from Antonio "sudden" action. In view of the above, attempts to isolate the word "tempest," as an evocation of Renaissance colonialist ventures, apart from its dramatic and contextual considerations, should be received with caution.

Notes

1. Along with Strachey's unpublished letter, Silvester Jourdain's Discovery of the Barmudas (1610) and the Council of Virginia's True Declaration (1610) which have been regarded as relevant to the play. See also Strachey's A True Reportory of the Wracke (1625). See especially Kermode, "Appendix A," 135-141.

2. One commentator, in particular, has pointed to the "double meaning of tempus: both 'storm and 'time'" (Bergeron 182). These "time" connotations, for this commentator, relate to particular times in the play: 1) the destructive potential of the storm suggest "the end of time"; 2) the afternoon on Prospero's island appears to be "the beginning of a measure of time"; 3) and the propitious moment that suits Prospero's purposes corresponds to "the right time" (182-83). Another commentator divides "time" into "'new' time for Ferdinand and Miranda" and "'old' time--that is, a possible regeneration in the present of the past--for Prospero, Alonzo, Antonio, and Sebastian" (Uphaus 94). These commentaries, among others, offer no consensus about the formal divisions of time in the play, let alone their possible significances.

3. Recently critics have made claims for the word's Renaissance political connotations. One such critic notes that Shakespeare's use of the word "typifies the Renaissance use of tempests as symbols of political chaos, on another level it is a means of re-establishing order" (Schmigall 64). Similarly, it has been posited that the storm scene recalls King Lear both in its natural violence and in the larger issues it raises about the relation of nature to human authority" (Orgel 5). The "initial 'tempest'," another critic maintains, "becomes retroactively a kind of antimasque or disorderly prelude to the assertion of that courtly authority which was supposedly in jeopardy" (Brown 58). Along these lines, the storm represents "a violent confrontation of nature with the social order," resulting in "the deprivation of majesty's sacred character" (Kott 300-01) or "the limitations of human power" (Mebane 179). These commentators, then, generally limited the word's possible suggestions to political chaos.

4. Found in Emblemata: Handbuch Zur Sinnbildkunst Des XVI. und XVII (Pl. 1461).

5. See Elton, Lear 99-107.

6. See Dent Proverbial Language for other instances of time's urgency in Shakespeare's plays, e.g., "Take Time by the Forlock": Err 2.2.69 ff., 106, Ado 1.2.14f., JN 3.1.324, AWW 5.3.39, OTH 3.1.49; and "Take time when time comes": AYL 5.3.30, 3H6 5.1.48, Ant 2.6.23, Temp 2.1.301 ff.

7. I have borrowed heavily from Julie Robin Solomon, "'To Know, To Fly, To Conjure': Situating Baconian Science at the Juncture of Early Modern Modes of Reading," Renaissance Quarterly Volume XLIV Number 3 Autumn 1991: 513-558, especially, 521-28.

8. Prospero's admonition to the lovers to remain within the prescribed marriage bonds was a Renaissance commonplace. Milton too has "wedded Love" relegate "adulterous lust" to "bestial herds to range" (Paradise Lost 4:753-54). Also, in Comus, a masque thought to recall The Tempest (see Ethel Seaton), the Elder Brother, in a speech praising Chastity, considers its lack a mortal threat:

> but when lust
> By unchaste looks, loose gestures, and foul talk . . .
> The soul grows clotted by contagion
> (463-64 and 467)

Even Ferdinand, upon their initial meeting, twice asks Miranda about her marital readiness in terms of chastity: "My prime request, / Which I do last pronounce, is (O you wonder!) / If you be maid or no?" (1.2.426-28); and "O, if a virgin, / And your affections not gone forth, I make you / The Queen of Naples" (1.2.448-50). At this point in the

play, then, Prospero's supposed "irascibility" seems more a capacity to seize the Time than a need, as depicted by the "colonialist" critics, to "regulate and utilize the sexuality of his 'subject' children" (Brown 62). Just as Prospero will not release Ariel "before the time be out" (1.2.246), so he admonishes Ferdinand not to "break her virgin-knot before" (4.1.15) performing the necessary marriage rites, and not to "give dalliance / Too much the rein" (4.1.51-52).

9. If the timeliness formula calls into question the critically alleged depiction of an "anxious," colonial Prospero, it may also challenge the portrayal of an "irascible" Prospero (Barker 202).

10. That Prospero "had forgot" Caliban's plot has been interpreted by many modern critics as the play's "dramatic climax" (Barker 203). To support this large claim that Caliban's plot proves "uniquely disturbing" to Prospero, these critics allege that Prospero is "anxious," "perturbed," and "suddenly vexed" at this supposed "site of potential fracture" (Barker 202). To support such claims, these critics argue, first, that Prospero's "sudden vexation" seems unique for him in the play (Barker 202); second, that the masque's "strange hollow and confused" (4.1.s.d.) ending emphasizes Prospero's supposed "anxiety"; and, third, that Ferdinand and Miranda's description of Prospero as "in some passion" (4.1.143) and "distemper'd" (4.1.145) further supports their claim that Caliban's threat is formidable. From these points, modern commentators have depicted a colonialist Prospero, who is supposedly "anxious" about the success of Caliban against his "imperialist" design.

Against this modern critical tendency to cast Prospero as an "anxious" colonial overseer in fear of a native revolt, several points may be considered. First, any interpretation of the speeches that immediately follow Prospero's cessasion of the nuptial ceremony should take into account his effort to keep Ferdinand and Miranda ignorant of Caliban's "foul conspiracy." If the play's most prominent editors are correct, Prospero's speech, "I had forgot that foul conspiracy" (4.1.139-42), would seem appropriately contained within an "aside." Such an aside would, technically, be heard only by the audience, not by the lovers. Ignorant of Prospero's motivation for cancelling the masque, the couple, not Prospero, seems concerned about Prospero's "passion":

> Ferdinand: This is strange: your father's in some passion
> That works him strongly.
> Miranda: Never till this day
> Saw I him touch'd with anger, so distemper'd
> (4.1.143-45).

Miranda describes Prospero as "touch'd with anger," not, as modern commentators aver, as anxious. It is Ferdinand and Miranda, not Prospero, who express apprehension--Ferdinand says, "This is strange"; Miranda notes, "Never till this

day"; and Prospero says to Ferdinand, "You do look, my son, in a moved sort, / As if you were dismayed (4.1.143,144,146-47)--at Prospero's command to end the festivities. To accept Ferdinand and Miranda's limited perspective, as recent critics have, is to distort the import of the scene.

Furthermore, Prospero ends his next speech, his famous "Our revels now are ended" speech (4.1.148-158), by describing himself as "vexed" and "troubled" (4.1.158,159). In this speech, according to modern critics, depicts an anxious Prospero. This supposed "weakness," however, seems rather Prospero's contrivance to allay the lovers' concern for him. Even if, as modern commentators believe, Prospero straightforwardly reveals his "anxiety" at the end of the revels speech, this supposed "anxiety" may have other motivations than his alleged fear of Caliban's approach. One such motivation may be found in the lines that precede the description of Prospero in question. That is, Prospero's "beating mind" (4.1.163) may be the result of his own disturbing thoughts about mortality: e.g., "Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve" (4.1.154-55). Also, even if he were anxious about Caliban's approach, he still seems to have enough time to assuage the lovers' concern for him: "be cheerful, sir" (4.1.147) he says to the apprehensive Ferdinand. Besides, as these commentators admit, Prospero seems to dispatch the monster Caliban and the drunken fools Trinculo and Stephano rather easily. The current critical depiction of an "anxious" Prospero, then, should be received with caution.

11. Kermode points out this affinty between The Tempest and Macbeth as gleaned from Knight The Crown of Life 212 ff.
12. This idea comes from Pocock 165.

13. Wind 99

Chapter Three: "All is but Fortune" (5:1:258): Three Renaissance Attitudes towards Fortune in The Tempest.

Two traditional political connotations of the word "tempest" were explored in Chapter Two. First, as an urgent and dangerous storm-time, the word "tempest" may symbolize the potential for royal instability. In particular, the insecurity of a crown is recalled in Prospero's loss of Milan, in addition to Antonio's and Caliban's attempt at regicide. Second, the word "tempest" may have evoked, in its sound, tempus/occasio or fleeting Time. This tempest-time seems to prompt Prospero's deliberate action and the subverter Antonio's "sudden" action.

While the opening storm (1.1) may have evoked royal instability and Time's swift passage, it may also have suggested to some level of the audience another Renaissance topos: Fortune's variability. First, along with references to Time, storms often display Fortune's changeable influence. The connection between storms and Fortune is suggested, for instance, in Boethius's familiar Consolation of Philosophy.[1] There, Dame Fortune likens her own fluctuations to the "sea" either "to fawn with calm, and sometimes to frown with storms and waves" (2:2). "When she [Fortune] blows in our face," according to Cicero, "we are wrecked" (On Duties 69). Second, along with this image of "woe," Prospero's timeliness (1:2:121) may have brought to mind Fortune, especially in Fortune's substitution for Tempo or Occasio when referring to a favorable moment (Matzke 326). Viewing the opening storm and hearing repeated time-words may have suggested aspects of

Fortune to levels of the play's audience.

Beside these references to Fortune in the play, features of the plot may more directly evoke the workings of Fortune. For example, in terms of bad Fortune, Prospero is "Out of the dukedom" (1.2.127), and King Alonzo's "son is lost" (2.1.7). In terms of good Fortune, the usurpers sail by Prospero's island "by accident most strange" (1.2.178), and, as Gonzalo notes, their escape from death "Is much beyond our loss" (2.1.3). This motif of Fortune's "weal and woe," then, seems echoed through the play.

In this chapter I shall examine recurrences in The Tempest of the word "fortune" (twice in 1.2, twice in 2.1, and once in 5.1). Among characters' attitudes toward Fortune's "weal and woe," three seem to form a pattern carrying political connotations: Prospero's "bountiful Fortune" (1.2.178); Antonio's "tender your own good fortune" (2:1:264); and Stephano's "all is but fortune" (5.1.258).

Prospero's "bountiful fortune"(1.2.178): The Storm and The Harvest Masque

Although there is no mention of the word "fortune" during the opening storm scene, other, related words recur there. The Boatswain, for instance, warns the courtiers to "make yourself ready for the mischance of the hour, if it so hap" (1.1.25-26). The words "mischance" and "hap" seem related to the word "fortune."[2] Similarly, "Fate" and "destiny," cognates of the word "fortune," appear in Gonzalo's response to the Boatswain: Gonzalo invokes "good

Fate" (1.1.30) to "make the rope of his [the Boatswain's] destiny our cable" (1.1.31). Fortune, then, seems suggested in the opening storm scene.

These possible references to "fortune" in the storm scene may have been noted by levels of the Blackfriars audience. Since antiquity, Fortune was often associated with the dangers of the sea, especially storm-tossed ships about to be "wracked" against a rocky shore. "To fortune," writes Cicero in On Duties, "belong such occasional mishaps as squalls, storms, shipwrecks . . .which have inanimate causes" (69). The medieval-Latin fortuna, according to one gloss, denoted "Maris tempestas" [sea-storm].[3]

Further linking Fortune with the sea, some Renaissance emblems portray Fortune as responsible for sinking ships. [Appendix A, Fig. 1] "When Seas do rage," the motto states, "[The gallante Shippe] is swallowed in the waue" (Whitney 11). Another emblem depicting a ship about to be dashed upon rocks during a raging storm includes Fortune in the motto: So, howsoever Fortune, turnes and winds" (Wither X). Fickle Fortune, then, was often portrayed as a "stormy quene" (Patch 104), dangerous to ships at sea.

The dangers of Fortune's fluctuations may have been suggested by the foundering ship in the opening storm scene (1.1). In particular, a fear of drowning and shipwreck echo through the first scene. Antonio says, for example, "We are less afraid to be drowned than thou art" (1.1.44). Sebastian resignedly repeats this fear, "Let's all sink wi' th' King" (1.1.62). Also, the Master's warning, "we run ourselves

aground" (1.1.4) may also have evoked the rocky coast conventionally linked to Fortune (Patch 104). The Boatswain, too, asserts that the ship needs "room enough" (1.1.6) away from the shore. Fortune's flux, as apparently figured in the opening scene's storm imagery, also seems to emerge in both Miranda's reaction to the storm (1.2.1-13) and Prospero's account of his sea-exile (1.2.144-171).

Regarding Miranda's depiction of the opening "roar" (1.2.1), storm-imagery suggests Fortune's influence. Miranda worries, for instance, that the "wild waters in this roar" (1.2.2) will dash the "brave vessel" (1.2.6) "all to pieces" (1.2.8), and "the good ship so have swallow'd" (1.2.12). These storm images evoking Fortune's instability seem emphasized in Miranda's portrayal of the storm's contrary motion:

> The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch,
> But that the sea, mounting to th' welkin's cheek,
> Dashes the fire out
>
> (1.2.3-5);

and, again,

> Had I been any god of power, I would
> Have sunk the sea within the earth
>
> (1.2.10-11).

In these passages, the opposing directions of sea and sky, along with Miranda's wish to sink "the sea within the earth" (1.2.11), may suggest, in this speech, the extent of Fortune's sublunar fluctuations. That is, according to Miranda, Fortune's realm seems to extend from the "welkin"--the curved vault of the sky--to the sea, then, from the sea

to the sea's floor. Not only Fortune's variability but also her range of influence seems inherent in Miranda's depiction of the opening scene. The Fortune motif recurs in Act Five when Prospero portrays his magical powers in terms recalling Miranda's: Prospero has "call'd forth the mutinous winds, / And twixt the green sea and the azur'd vault set roaring war" (5.1.42-44). Spanning the outward bounds from sky to sea bottom and from the play's opening storm to Prospero's final abjuration of his magic, The Tempest seems to include a motif of Fortune's variability.

In other Shakespearian late plays (1608-11), Fortune's influence seems similarly indicated in shipwreck scenes. Although a sea-storm perils would call for imagery of "rough seas, that spare not any man" (Pericles 2.1.141), these dangerous seas also evoke a Fortune motif, especially in Shakespeare's late plays. The Shakespearian Pericles (1608-09), for instance, seems to anticipate the Boatswain's sea "room" (1.1.7) and Miranda's "welkin" (1.2.6). Like the Boatswain in The Tempest, one sailor in Pericles challenges the sea-storm: "But sea-room, and the brine and cloudy billow kiss the moon, I care not" (3.1.45-46). Just as the waves reach the "welkin's cheek" in The Tempest, so too in Pericles the waves "kiss the moon" (3.1.46). The use of shipwreck imagery seems to emphasize the variability of Fortune.

In Cymbeline (1609-10) also the fluctuations of a sea-storm suggest the influence of "O giglot fortune!" (3.1.31) in "Neptune's park" (3.1.19):

> ribbed and paled in
> With oaks unscaleable and roaring waters,
> With sands, that will not bear you enemies' boats,
> But suck them up to the topmast
> (3.1.20-22).

As in The Tempest, Miranda would "sink the sea within the earth" (1.2.11), so in Cymbeline the waves appear to "suck up" the boats.

Similarly, in The Winter's Tale (1610-11), the Clown's depiction of sea-storm seems a humorous anticipation of Miranda's "welkin" speech:

> But I am not to say it is the sea, for it
> is now the sky; betwixt the firmament and
> it, you cannot thrust a bodkin's point
> (3.3.83-85);

and

> Sometimes to see 'em, and not to see 'em;
> now the ship boring the moon with her mainmast,
> and anon swallowed with yeast and froth
> (3.3.89-92).

These instances of sea-storms in Shakespeare's late plays may suggest the wide range of Fortune's influence upon characters within these plays.

Fortune's influence also seems apparent in the "sea-sorrow" of Prospero and Miranda's exile. "Fated to th' purpose" (1.2.129), Antonio, Prospero's usurping brother, "hurried us aboard a bark" and "Bore us some leagues to sea" (1.2.144-45). Fortune's vicissitudes seem reflected in

Prospero and Miranda's "piteous" voyage:

> there they hoist us,
> To cry to th' sea that roar'd to us
> (1.2.148-49),

as opposed to

> When I have deck'd the sea with drops full salt,
> Under my burden groan'd; which rais'd in me
> An undergoing stomach, to bear up
> Against what should ensue
> (1.2.155-58).

Like the waves' contrary motion commonly associated with Fortune--"these ups and downs of fortune" (Boethius 1:6)--Prospero's condition is "hoist" (1.2.148), then "Under" (1.2.156), "rais'd" (1.2.156), "undergoing" (1.2.157), and, finally, "up" (1.2.158). Prospero's up/down movement in the waves, possibly suggesting a variable Fortune, seems anticipated by Gower's chorus in Pericles:

> Their vessel shakes
> On Neptune's billow; half the flood
> Hath their keel cut: but Fortune's mood
> Varies again; the grisled north
> Disgorges such a tempest forth,
> That, as a duck for life that dives,
> So up and down the poor ship drives
> (3 ch.:44-49).

This image of a "bark" afloat on the sea of a contrary Fortune seems to echo Renaissance emblems regarding Fate and Destiny. One such emblem depicts a "Boat, (Which on the raging Waves doth seeme to float)" (Wither XIII--Quo Fata

Trahunt--[What Fate pulls]). [Appendix A, Fig. 2] Just as Prospero's "bark" is a "rotten carcass of a butt, not rigg'd, / Nor tackle, sail, nor mast" (1.2.146-47); so the emblem's boat is "Without the help of Anchor, Oare or Guide" (4). The motto that accompanies this device recommends that "When thou art Shipwracke in Estate, / Submit with patience, unto Fate." Much like Pisanio's view of "Fortune," in Cymbeline, that "brings in some boats that are not steer'd" (4.4.46), so Prospero and Miranda's "bark" "Here on this island we arriv'd" (1.2.171). Both the dramatic display of the foundering ship in a sea-storm and Prospero's account of sea-exile "aboard a bark" (1.2.144), then, seem to recall Fortune's vicissitudes.

Fortune's variability, heretofore figured in sea imagery, may also evoke political security, in Prospero's narration of Antonio's coup d'etat. Indeed, the changeable "sea-sorrows" seem to reinforce the instability suggested in Prospero's "extirpation" account (1.2.60-143). Juxtaposing the storm and the coup suggests a correlation between sea's waves of Fortune and Antonio's "heave" of "foul play" (1.2.62). That is, the storm's fluctuation--"wild waters" (1.2.2)--seems echoed in Antonio's usurpation--"new created / The creatures that were mine, I say, or changed 'em, / Or else new-formed 'em" (1.2.81-82). Just as the seas "pour down" (1.2.3) and "mount" (1.2.4); so Antonio "grants" and "denies" suits (1.2.79-80) and "advances" and "trashes" (1.2.81-82) status seekers. These oscillations contained in the sea-storm and the usurpation narratives recall the changeability conventionally associated with Fortune and

suggest political vulnerability.

The instability of the storm and coup elicit similar responses from those adversely affected by them. Just as the sinking ship's passengers bewail their Fortune--according to Miranda, "O, the cry did knock / Against my very heart" (1.2.8-9)--so Miranda "crying self" (1.2.132), "hurried thence" (1.2.131) by the usurpers, "cried out then, / Will cry it o'er again" (1.2.133-34). Similarly, during the their sea-exile, Prospero and Miranda's "cry to th' sea that roared to us" (1.2.149), also seems to reflect Prospero's "any creature in the vessel / Which thou heard'st cry" (1.2.32) during their sea-storm. These "cries," then, link the storm, the coup, and the exile--all suggesting Fortune's adversity and political misfortune.

Fortune's "theme of woe" (2.1.6) also seems to emerge, significantly, in the speeches of the old coucillor Gonzalo, King Alonzo, and the drunken butlers, Stephano and Trinculo. Gonzalo, attempting to "weigh our sorrow with our comfort" (2.1.9) at being shipwrecked, consoles the royal entourage: "Our hint of woe / Is common" (2.1.3-4). In his consolation, Gonzalo uses the word "loss"--"for our escape / Is much beyond our loss" (2.1.2-3). The word "loss" was often used to indicate the ruin caused by adverse Fortune. One emblem [Appendix A, Fig.3], for example, in a consoling verse accompaning the illustration of Fortune turning her wheel, mentions the word "loss" (Wither I.VI). "Unhappy men are they," the verse begins, "whose Ignorance / So slaves them to the Fortunes of the Time" (1-2). Against this "Ignorance," the verse advises the unhappy person to "seeke a more assur'd

estate" where "His Losse is Gaine" (13, 9). The word "loss" appears in a similar context in Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale, when Antigonous exposes the baby Perdita to the elements, he laments, "if Fortune please . . .

> The storm begins; poor wretch,
> That for thy mother's fault art thus exposed
> To loss, and what may follow
> (3.3.46-50).

The word "loss," then, may have evoked characters' adverse political fortunes.

In The Tempest, "My son is lost" (2.1.105) bemoans grief-stricken Alonzo at the apparent drowning of his son Ferdinand. Unable to bear Gonzalo's attempt at consoling him, Alonzo complains, "You cram these words into mine ears against / The stomach of my sense" (2.1.102-03). Francisco's attempt to convince Alonzo that Ferdinand is alive contains many of the up/down imagery associated with fortune: "the surges under him" (2.1.110) and "ride upon their backs" (2.1.111); "'Bove the contentious waves he kept" (2.1.114), "o'er his wave-worn basis bowed, / As stooping to relieve him" (2.1.116-17). Alonzo, however, remains unconvinced: "No, no he's gone" (2.1.118). But as the audience is well aware, Ferdinand is not drowned; rather, he is "lost": "He hath lost his fellows / And strays about to find 'em" (1.2.417-18). Anticipating Alonzo's mention of the word "loss," Ferdinand, striken with love for "this maid" (1.2.492) also mentions "My father's loss" (1.2.488).

This same use of the word "loss" suggesting Fortune again emerges in Act Five, after Prospero reveals his true

identity, Duke of Milan. Alonzo, recalling, in terms Fortune's influence, being "wracked upon this shore" (5.1.137), recounts how he "lost" (5.1.137) his son Ferdinand. Prospero emphasizes the connection with Fortune: "I am woe for't, sir" (5.1.139). In the next thirty-seven lines (5.1.140-177), the word "loss" is used seven time. Alonzo considers Ferdinand's drowning an "Irreparable is the loss" (5.1.140). Prospero coyly responds to Alonzo, averring that he too has experienced a "like loss" (5.1.143). Prospero here refers to his betrothing Miranda and Ferdinand. Alonzo echoes Prospero's use of the word: "You the like loss?" (5.1.144). And Prospero answers with "a dear loss" (5.1.146), "for I / Have lost my daughter" (5.1.147-48). Alonzo again echoes Prospero, "When did you lose your daughter?" (5.1.152). And after Prospero reveals Ferdinand and Miranda playing at chess, Alonzo proclaims,

> If this prove
> A vision of the island, one dear son
> Shall I twice lose
> (5.1.177).

This recurrence of the word "loss," then, brings to mind the notion of an adverse Fortune.

Again Fortune is suggested by the emergence of the word "loss" in connection with Caliban. In a comical echo of Prospero's frustration with Caliban--"Nurture can never stick: on whom my pains, / Humanely taken, all, all lost, quite lost!" (4.1.189-90)--Trinculo asserts, "Thou wert but a lost monster" (4.1.202). Here, the "lost" Caliban may suggest different negative Foruntes: fallen man, a lost

cause, or losing one's way. While Alonzo worries about losing his son, Trinculo and Stephano are disturbed about having lost their bottle: Trinculo: "Ay, but to lose our bottles in the pool--"(4.1.207) and Stephano: There is not only disgrace and dishonor in that [having lost the bottle], monster, but an infinite loss" (4.1.209). It is possible that drunkeness, especially in its swaying back and forth and lack of control it induces, may suggest the variability of Fortune--to the fools, ironically, Good Fortune; to the aristocrats, Bad Fortune. Indeed, by the end of the scene, all three, appropriately, "lose their time" (4.1.246).

In contrast to this use of the word "loss" and its suggestion of misfortune, The Tempest also displays Fortune's opposite aspect, bounty. Unlike Shakespeare's tragedies, The Tempest, as in the other late plays, seems to modulate from Fortune's adversity to prosperity. At the end of the tragedy Hamlet, for example, there seems only the woeful aspect of Fortune. Although Fortinbras re-establishes order, he does so tentatively, "with sorrow I embrace my fortune" (5.2.374).[4] In addition, although Horatio agrees with Fortinbras's decision "to claim my vantage" (5.2.376),

> But let this same be presently perform'd,
> Even while men's minds are wild, lest more mischance
> On plots and errors happen
>
> (5.2.379-81).

Here, the words "mischance" and "happen" bring to mind Fortune's adversity, still a force--"but here shows much amiss" (5.2.388)--even at the play's end. In The Tempest,

however, Fortune's "loss" transforms into her prosperity. Fortune's link with success seems commonplace during the Renaissance. Indeed, the Latin word prospero connotes success and favorable issue.[5] In addition, one emblem [Fig. 4] suggests a connection between a "prosp'rous Voyage" and a good fortune (Wither I.XIII). The illustration figures a small boat sailing in "prosp'rous Gales" (motto). In the verse, "Gales which are so fortunate" (14) are later termed "prosp'rous Windes" (30).

In Shakespeare's late plays too the word "prosperity" and its cognates frequently seem contrasted to Fortune's "loss." In the Winter's Tale (1610-11), for example, prosperity contrasts with "loss," suggesting Fortune's variability. Leontes commands Antigonus to "carry / This female bastard [Perdita] hence" (2.3.172-73) since "by strange fortune / It came to us" (2.3.177-78). After Antigonus agrees--"I swear to do this" (2.3.182)--he takes his leave of Leonatus with an ambivalent farewell:

> Sir, be prosperous
> In more than this deed does require! And blessing
> Against this cruelty fight on thy side,
> Poor thing, condemned to loss
> (2.3.187-190).

Here, Perdita's "strange fortune" (2.3.178) seems figured in Antigonus's speech, opposing the words "prosperous" and "loss." Leonatus's "loss," rectified at the play's end in his reunion with Hermione and Perdita, is foreshadowed in Florizel's depiction of his voyage:

> A prosperous south wind friendly, we have crossed,
> To execute the charge my father gave me,
> For visiting your Highness
>
> (5.1.161-63).

In The Tempest the pattern of "loss" outlined above--e.g., Prospero's loss of Milan and Alonzo's loss of Ferdinand--contrasts to an opposing pattern involving the word "find." In Act Five, the "loss" motif seems to change into a pattern of gain. Alonzo's resignation to Ferdinand's "loss"--"he is drowned / Whom thus we stray to find" (3.2.8-9) is reversed in Act Five. That is, as Gonzalo notes, each of the "losses" is reversed:

> in one voyage
> Did Claribel her husband find at Tunis,
> And Ferdinand her brother found a wife
> Where he himself was lost: Prospero his dukedom
> In a poor isle; and all of us ourselves
> When no man was his own
>
> (5:1:208-14).

Gonzalo's catalog of "finds" suggests the prosperity of Good Fortune. Even the Boatswain, whose mariners in the opening storm scene cry, "All lost! To prayers, to prayers! All lost!" (1.1.47), adds to Gonzalo's list of fortunate occurences: "The best news is that we have safely found / Our king and company" (5.1.221-22). In addition, the Boatswain echoes Gonzalo's attempt to console Alonzo on the apparent "loss" of Ferdinand. Just as Gonzalo notes that

> our garments, being, as they were,
> drenched in the sea, hold, notwithstanding, their
> freshness and gloss, being rather new-dyed than
> stained with salt water
>
> (2.1.60-63);

so the Boatswain also reports that

> our ship,
> Which, but three glasses since, we gave out split,
> Is tight and yare and bravely rigged as when
> We first put out to sea
>
> (5.1.222-25).

In both speeches, the sea images recall the misfortune of the storm. According to Gonzalo, his clothes were "drenched in the sea" and "stained with salt water" (2.1.60, 63). Similarly, the Boatswain reminds the assembled courtiers of "our ship, / Which, three glasses since, "we gave out split," (5.1.223). In both speeches, however, sea-images suggesting "loss" now suggest prosperity. Gonzalo uses words such as "freshness," "gloss," and "new-dyed" (2.1.62); the Boatswain depicts the ship as "tight and yare and bravely rigged" (5.1.224). Ferdinand epitomizes this modulation from "loss" to "find" in terms of sea-imagery, suggestive of good Fortune: "Though the seas threaten, they are merciful" (5.1.178). Finally, reminisent of the "prosp'rous Gales" figured in the emblem of Fortune cited above, [Appendix A, Fig. 4] Prospero concludes the play with the "promise" of "auspicious gales":

I'll deliver all;
And promice you calm seas, auspicious gales,
And sail so expeditious that shall catch
Your royal fleet far off
(5.1.313-16).

Fortune's prosperity ("find") also seems foreshadowed in the harvest masque Prospero conjurs for Ferdinand and Miranda's betrothal. Along with "calm seas," Fortune also suggests the cornucopia's plenitude. In classical times, Fortune was often represented by a figure holding a cornucopia in the left and a rudder in the right hand (Patch 121; Matzke 327).[6] This connection between Fortune and Plenty is also available in an emblem regarding "Good-fortune," the verse of which mentions Fortune's "Cornucopias," "Plenties," and "wealth":

The Cornucopias, well-knowne Emblems, are,
By which, great wealth, and plenties, figur'd were
(Wither II.VI.9-10).

Fortune was associated with Ceres, another goddess often pictured with a cornucopia. In Virgil's familiar Georgics, for example, farmers are warned to pray to Ceres, the goddess of plenty and abundance. As the only protection against Fortune's adversity, figured as

blasts and massive rains redouble;
Huge gusts set forest groaning, beaches howling
(1.333-34).

"In fear of this," continues the poet,

> Above all, worship the gods, and to great Ceres
> Pay yearly ritual after sacrifice
> On the pleasant grass, when winter is vanishing
> At last and spring's set fair
>
> (1:335, 338-340).

Thomas Heywood's The Silver Age (1611) also depicts Ceres banishing "Tempests" suggestive of variable Fortune:

> Tempests hence, hence winds and hailes,
> Tares, cockle, rotten showers, showers, showers,
> Our song shall keep time with our sailes,
> When Ceres sings, none lowers, lowers, lowers
>
> (134).

The connection between Ceres and Fortune, then, seems twofold: first, both Fortune and Ceres share the image of plentitude, the cornucopia; second, Ceres seems the only remedy to the "tempests" of adverse Fortune.

In the Tempest Ceres is also portrayed in the harvest masque as a "most bounteous lady" (4.1.60), "rich Ceres" (4.1.75), and "bounteous sister" (4.1.103). Although Ceres is not here explicitly linked with Fortune, her "Earth's increase, foison plenty" (4.1.110) may recall Fortune's bounty. That is, in the masque, Iris calls Ceres a "most bounteous lady" (4:1:60) and Juno addresses Ceres, "How does my bounteous sister?" (4.1.103). Ceres recurring link with the word "bounteous" echoes Prospero's "bountiful Fortune" (1.2.178). This connection between Ceres and Fortune seems reinforced in Juno's request that Ceres "bless this twain, that they may prosperous be" (4.1.104). The word "prosperous," as outlined above, was frequently used in

conjunction with good Fortune. The masque, then, with its harvest and reaping images, echoes Prospero's "bountiful Fortune" (1.2.178) and foreshadows, in a sense, Prospero's "auspicious gales" (5.1.314)--images suggesting good Fortune.[7]

Prospero's "bountiful Fortune" and Antonio's "good fortune": Astrological Determinism and Free Will

> Though dustie wits dare scorne Astrologie,
> And fooles can thinke those Lampes of purest light
> Whose numbers, wayes, greatnesse, eternitie,
> Promising wonders, wonder to invite
>
> Sir Philip Sidney, Astrophel and Stella: 25

While many contributions to the treatment of Fortune in the Renaissance have been put forward, few attempts have been made to grapple with this concept as it emerges in The Tempest. As has been suggested in the previous section, Fortune's variable influence seems to affect characters' political affairs. If, for example, the perils of the sea-storm may suggest the bad fortune of the usurpers aboard the ship, the riches of Ceres may indicate the good fortune of Ferdinand and Miranda. This section will explore characters' reactions to Fortune's variable influence, especially in its related references to astrology.

In Prospero's own words, the influence of "bountiful Fortune" is linked to an astrological "auspicious star":

> By accident most strange, bountiful Fortune
> (Now my dear lady) hath mine enemies
> Brought to this shore; and by my prescience

> I find my zenith doth depend upon
> A most auspicious star, whose influence
> If now I court not, but omit, my fortunes
> Will ever after droop
>
> (1.2.178-84).

Like "bounteous" Ceres's "foison plenty" (4.1.110), this "bountiful Fortune" "Brought" Prospero's enemies to the island. This notion of Fortune's "bounty" also seems echoed by the speeches positive astrological references. The word "accident" (2.1.178), for example, in its astrological sense, denotes notable events in a person's life (Thomas 286). Since Prospero's "accident" occurs at his "zenith" (1.2.181)--the highest point, in astrological terms, of a person's fortunes--his star is "auspicious" (1.2.182). The "influence" (1.2.182) of Prospero's "auspicious star" refers to the astrological assumption that stars had special influences, varying in effect, which were transmitted downwards to earth (Thomas 285). If Prospero does not "court" (1.2.183) this "influence," his "fortunes / Will ever after droop" (1.2.184). Here, Prospero appears to rely on a combination of astral determinism and human action.

Such acknowledgement of astrology's influence upon human affairs, as opposed to twentieth-century scepticism, represents one among a range of responses to astrology from different levels of a Jacobean audience. Prospero's combined belief seems echoed in Renaissance emblems. One emblem, for example, depicts a crowned man, his two feet balanced upon a globe, in his right hand is a book and in his left a sceptre (Wither I:XXXI). [Appendix A, Fig. 5] The crown possibly

indicates kingship; the ball traditionally suggested Fortune's variability; the stars recall astrological influence. The emblem's accompanying verse reviews different attitudes towards astrological influence. First, heavenly bodies contain "more purpose" than "to please our sight." Second, the planets exert an "Influence" upon us. Third, the mind, however, is not "constrained to obey this influence." Finally, the "soule of man is nobler then the Spheres, which for "just cause" Sun and Moon are ready to "stand and wait on thee." Just as the emblem's verse indicates a coerrelation between astrological determinism and human free will; so Prospero's speech suggests the influence of an "auspicious star" and his choice to "court" or "omit."

This combination of the planets' influence and human self-dependence seems echoed in Raleigh's The History of the World (1614). Like the verse in the above-mentioned emblem, Raleigh's chapter notes how judicial astrology involves the particular details of individual lives. First, according to Raleigh, "the stars are instruments of far greater use, than to give obscure light" (I.xi.28). Second, while the stars are "not causes," they are "instruments and organs of divine providence" (28). Third, the stars have no "power over the minds of men immediately" (30). Finally, "'a wise man assisteth the work of the stars'" (31). Astral determinism, for Raleigh, seems correlated to an individual's free will. Raleigh's combination, then, echoes Prospero's choice to act when the time is right.

Indeed, Prospero's political fortunes seem, astrologically speaking, in the ascendancy: "Now I arise"

(1.2.169). Prospero's capacity to await the right moment to act, as explored in Chapter One, here takes on astrological significance. [7] By his "prescience" (1.2.180), Prospero asserts, "I am ready now" (1.2.187). With this sense of urgency about the moment of his "zenith," Prospero notes that Ariel's "charge" to keep the ship's passengers safe "Exactly is performed" (1.2.238). Further emphasizing time's urgency, Prospero says, "The time 'twixt six and now / Must by us both be spent most preciously" (1.2.241).[8] This concern for the time of the day is repeated at the end of the play. Immediately preceding the denoument, Prospero reviews his ascendant fortune:

> Now does my project gather to a head.
> My charms crack not, my spirits obey, and time
> Goes upright with his carriage
> (5.1.1-3).

Such propitious events seem to require timely action. Prospero question, "How's the day?" (5.1.3), and Ariel's precise response, "on the sixth hour" (5.1.4), recall the exact calculations of astral determination in Prospero and Ariel's initial exchange (1.2.238-41). Hence, Prospero's concern for his "zenith" frames the play, apparently indicated, for example, by Ariel's "exact" performance of his bidding and "precious" use of time.

Elsewhere in Shakespearean drama, as in The Tempest, speeches regarding astral destiny and individual will come early and frame the play (Elton 160). The Cassius-Brutus debate, for instance, occurs at I.ii.139-147 of Julius

Caesar; Helena espouses the individual will in All's Well at I.i.231-234; Iago upholds it in Othello, especially at I.iii.322-337; and Gloucester and Edmund present contrary views at I.ii.107-120; 124-140. Such controversial collocations anticipate Prospero's view, which correlates the influence of the stars and human will.

Unlike Prospero's cognizance of the heavens' influence, Antonio attempts to influence the heavens, advising Sebastian to "Tender your own good fortune" (2.1.264).[9] Whereas Prospero's Fortune seems connected to a star, Antonio and Senastian's Fortune seems related to the moon. Renaissance emblems connect Fortune and the moon (Patch 50). In one emblem, Lady Fortune holds "in her Hand a Wayned-moone" to show her "changing" (Wither III.XL.22). The motto for this emblem reads:

> Uncertaine, Fortunes Favours, bee,
> And, as the Moone, so changeth Shee.

Throughout the conspiracy speeches (2.1), tidal images are used by Antonio and Sebastian to figure their "good fortune." [9] Sebastian begins the exchange asserting, "I am standing water" (2.1.215). With the reference to "standing water"--water that is neither ebbing nor flowing--Sebastian places himself within the moon's influence. Unlike the stars, which, in the Renaissance, were thought to occupy a fixed place in the heavens, the moon commonly symbolized change. Antonio, in his reply, continues this reference to lunar influence. "I'll teach you," says Antonio, "how to flow" (2.1.216). Here, it seems "flow" denotes the rising

tide.

In his turn, Sebastian continues the tidal imagery, telling Antonio to "Do so. To ebb / Hereditary sloth instructs me" (2.1.216-17). Imploring Sebastian to "the purpose cherish" (2.1.218), Antonio ends these importunities with references to the moon's power:

> Ebbing men indeed
> (Most often) do so near the bottom run
> By their own fear or sloth
> (2.1.220-222).

Since Sebastian's apparent propensity is to "ebb," Antonio will teach him "how to flow." Just as the moon's influence pulls and releases the tides, so Antonio, usurping the moon's power, instructs Sebastian how to seize his fortune. Gonzalo anticipates this unseating of the moon:

> You are gentlemen of brave mettle; you would lift the moon out of her sphere if she would continue in it five weeks without changing
> (2.1.176-178).

The opponents to legitimate rule, Sebastian and Antonio, would go so far as to unseat the moon, a traditional image for change. To teach Sebastian "how to flow," Antonio usurps the moon's function. His ambition, moreover, is of such "brave mettle" that he would even lift "the moon out of her sphere" (2.1.177). While the "auspicious star" influences Prospero; Antonio, cynically, uses the conventional image for change in his quest for a final usurpation. Gonzalo's "lifting the moon out of her sphere" anticipates Prospero's

depiction of Caliban's mother, the witch Sycorax:

> This misshapen knave,
> His mother was a witch, and one so strong
> That could control the moon, make flows and ebbs,
> And deal in her command without her power
> (5.1.268-271).

If Sycorax's power over the moon recalls Antonio's use of ebb/flow imagery, then Sycorax's black magic may be analogously linked to Antonio's subversion.

Antonio's sole reliance upon human action seems ethically opposed in Ariel's "harpy" speech (3.3.53-82). Ariel's speech seems to contain Prospero's balance between the influence of astral determinism and Fortune. That is, Ariel's reference to "destiny" (3.3.53) seems to contain astral suggestions. The heavens, for example, in the name of "destiny" "instrument this lower world / And what is in't" (3.3.53-55). Further, these "ministers of Fate" (3.3.61), like Prosero in his ascendency, await the right moment, "delaying, not forgetting" (3.3.73). Like images suggesting Fortune's influence, the "pow'rs" (3.3.73) influence the "elements" (3.3.61), raising "loud winds" (3.3.63) and "still-closing waters" (3.3.64). "Exposed unto the sea" (3.3.71), Antonio, Sebastian, and Alonzo--"three men of sin" (3.3.53)--with "be-mocked-at stabs" (3.3.63) are powerless against images suggesting Fortune's power, which "Incensed the seas and shores" (3.3.74).

In contrast Antonio's cynical manipulation of the heaven's influence stands Caliban's susperstitous view of the moon. Caliban's infantile indentification of Stephano as the

"Man i' th' Moon" (2.2.135-137) seems an excess of helpless credulity or veneration before those powers. Like Antonio and Sycorax, Caliban is linked with the moon, the Renaissance symbol for variability. Also, Stephano and Trinculo dub Caliban "mooncalf" (2.2.105; 109;131; and 3.2.21). When Stephano tells him, "I was the Man i' th' Moon when time was" (2.2.134), Caliban's response is nothing but credulous:

> I have seen thee in her . . . My mistress
> showed me thee, and thy dog, and thy bush
> (2.2.135-37).

Trinculo's response to Caliban's speech points to Caliban's credulity: "The Man i' th' Moon? A most poor credulous monster!" (2.2.141-142).

Indeed, Caliban seems awed by what he believes are the celestial effects of the liquor. After two drinks from Stephano's "wine" bottle, Caliban, drunk, exclaims:

> These be fine things, and if they be not sprites.
> That's a brave god and bears celestial liquor.
> I will kneel to him
> (2.2.114-116),

and

> Hast thou not dropped from heaven?
> (2.2.133).

Finally, Caliban "adores" (2.2.136) Stephano and offers, "I will kiss thy foot. I prithee be my god" (2.2.145). Here, Caliban seems to hold an apparently unreasoned committment to the special effects of celestial events upon his life and deeds:

> I'll swear upon that bottle to be thy true subject, for the liquor is not earthly (2.2.122-23).

Comically, the vocabularies of liquor and Fortune emerge when Trinculo's initially meets with Caliban. That is, Trinculo provides three examples, among others, that seem particularly noteworthy. First, "another storm" is "brewing" (2.2.19). Second, "Yond same black cloud, yond huge one, looks like a foul bombard that will shed its liquor" (2.2.20-21). Third, "I will here shroud till the dregs of the storm be past" (2.2.39-40). This comic coupling of storm and drinking idioms suggests Fortune's vicissitudes. Indeed, for the butler (possible heard as "bottler"), the jester, and the monster "all is but fortune" (5.1.257).

* * *

In summary, perhaps, as recent critics of the play argue, the opening storm may recall the storms encountered by Renaissance explorers. But, as outlined in this chapter, Shakespeare also seems to link the opening storm (1.1) to Fortune's influence. Prospero's storm with its foundering ship may evoke numerous Classical, Medieval, and Renaissance storms. Such conventional references of a ship foundering in a raging sea-storm often symbolized Fortune's variability. Similarly, The Tempest's pattern of "loss" and "bounty" suggests Fortune's traditional theme of "weal and woe" (e.g.. Chaucer's Monk's Tale). In particular, among other instances of Fortune's "loss" are Antonio's coup d'etat (1.2) and Ferdinand's apparent drowning. Examples of Fortune's

"Bounty" seem to arise in Prospero's harvest masque (4.1) and Gonzalo's ennumeration of "finds" (5:1). This motif of loss and gain seems reflected in the play's opening perils of "wild waters" (1.2.2) and closing comforts of "auspicious gales" (5.1.314).

Besides these sea-images, Fortune's influence may be suggested in references to astrology in the play. That is, appearances of the word Fortune seem linked to mentions of astrological references, in particular, Prospero's "auspicious star" (1.2.182) and Antonio's tidal "flow" (2.1.216). In response to this notion of astral determinism, a range of Renaissance attitudes seems dialectically presented in Acts One and Two. In Act One, Prospero rationally balances the influence of his "auspicious star" (1.2.184) and his own action. Mindful of the heavens' aspect, Prospero "courts" (1.2.185) their influence to assist him in regaining his dukedom and marrying Ferdinand and Miranda. In Act Two, against Prospero's rational action stands Antonio's cynical use of lunar/tidal imagery. Antonio manipulates the tidal images to persuade Sebastian to regecide: he "teaches" Sebastian "how to flow" (2.1.216). Also in Act Two, antithetical to Antonio's cynical use of lunar imagery seems Caliban's superstitious belief in the "Man i' th' Moon" (2.2.135). Caliban's irrational credulity prompts the butler/"bottler" Stephano and the jester Trinculo, to dub him "credulous monster" (2.2.142) and "mooncalf" (2.2.105).

Such contrasting attitudes and respones to Fortune/Astrology--as those of Prospero, Antonio, and

Caliban--have the advantage at once of revealing aspects of character, forshadowing events, and engaging the attention of divergent factions of the audience. Thus through the play three Renaissance views of astral determinism and individualism seem explored: Prospero's rational balance, Antonio's cynicism, and Caliban's credulity. That, with dramatic craft, Shakespeare chooses to let us see each position against the other should not finally obscure the final influence of Fortune--according to Prospero, "Every third thought shall be of my grave" (5.1.311). The final connotation of Fortune is mutability and its own suggestions of death: Gentle breath of yours my sails / must fill" (Ep. 11-12). The iconography celebrating James's triumphal entry into London in March 1604 seems appropriate to cite here. Upon the "New World Arch," Fortune stood above the globe, "as if treading on the moving world" (Parry 15).

Notes

1. As one of the most read books of Western history (Pocock 36), Boethius's Consolation was widely translated; such translations include Queen Elizabeth's. For this study I use the English translation of "I.T." (1609).

2. In the Renaissance, the word "fortune" was often substituted for by words such as "chance," "fate," "destiny," and "hap," although distinctions between such terms as "fortune" and "fate," for example, were made (Keifer 3-9).

3. According to DuCange's Glossarium:Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, sense "3" of Fortuna is "Maris tempestas" (575).

4. All references to Hamlet are from The Riverside Shakespeare, ed., G. Blakemore Evans, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974.

5. The Oxford Latin Dictionary, ed., P.G.W. Glare, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976, lists prospero as "To cause (a policy, aim, etc.) to succeed, help forward, further; prosperous, deriv. from advl. *pro spere.

6. Wind 272.

7. Prospero's "bountiful Fortune," according to one critic, seems to recall the classical figure, Occasion. Indeed, Lady Occasion, scholars have shown, was often substituted by Fortune in the Renaissance (Patch 116). If Prospero's "dear lady" Fortune suggests Lady Occasion, the suggestion seem rather a shorthand depiction. Unlike standard emblematic portrayals of the figure Fortune/Occasion (Keifer 193-231), Prospero mentions neither the long forelock nor the bald back of her head.

While Prospero's Fortune, like Occasion, provides "the opportunity" (Keifer 223), his depiction of Fortune seems also linked to astrological references. Prospero's "auspicious star" may recall, as one commentator suggests, Machiavelli's "star" of Fortune (Keifer 223): Machiavelli advises in his "Capitolo di Fortuna" that man take Fortune "for his star" (l. 124). If Prospero's "star" recalls the stellae erraticae or stellae errantes (wandering stars or planets) (Hankins 25), then the connection between variable Fortune/Occasion and the "star" may be appropriate. In addition, if Prospero's "bountiful Fortune," in its connection to Occasion, were changeable, then Prospero's urgency to "court . . . my fortunes" (1.2.183) also seems appropriate.

8. It is interesting to note the the astrological term "election" denoted the the propitious moment or the selection of the proper hour and day for the transaction of some business--the propitious hour.

9. Also opposed to Prospero's "auspicious star," Antonio seems to rely on his own "strong imagination" in order to persuade Sebastian to kill his father Alonzo, so "a crown" will drop "upon his [Sebastian's] head" (2.1.202-03). Throughout the exchange, Antonio and Sebastian's coy banter regarding "sleeping" and "waking"--e.g.,"I find not / Myself dispos'd to sleep" (2.1.196-7); "What art thou waking?" (2.1.204); "This is a strange repose, to be asleep / With eyes wide open" (2.1.208-09)--seems to emphasize the thrust of Antonio's argument: "Noble Sebastian, / Thou let'st thy fortune sleep--die, rather; wink'st / Whiles thou art waking" (2.1.210-12). Here, opposed to Sebastian's "Hereditary sloth" (2.1.218), Antonio asserts that he is "more serious than my custom," (2.1.214), urgently requiring that Sebastian "heed me" (2.1.215): "how you the purpose cherish . . .how, in stripping it, / You more invest it" (2.1.219-20). For Antonio, then, this individual human intervention contrasts sharply with the "Ebbing men, indeed, / Most often do so near the bottom run / By their own fear and sloth" (2.1.221-23).

If "ebbing" is the result of the moon's pull (Garin 80),

Antonio's "ebbing" seems to imply a contempt for the power of the heavens that Prospero seems to value so much. Furthermore, while Prospero recongnizes "bountiful Fortune" (2.1.178) for the usurper's proximity, ironically, Antonio claims the aide of "destiny" for being "cast again" (2.1.246-47) on the island. Antonio's "destiny" seems undercut by his insistence on Sebastian's action: "to perform an act / Whereof what's past is prologue; what to come, / In yours and my discharge" (2.1.247-49). Antonio's final mention of "fortune"--"And how does your content / Tender your own good fortune?" (2.1.264-65)--comes on the heels of Sebastian's consent, "Do you understand me? / Methinks I do" (2.1.263-64). At this point in the speech, Sebastian replaces the "wake/sleep" and the "ebb/flow" foolery with seriousness: "I remember / You did supplant your brother Prospero" (2.1.265-66). Against the capricious power of "fortune"--"There be that can rule Naples / As well as he that sleeps" (2.1.257-58)--stands man's capacity for action: as Antonio convinces Sebastian, "when I rear my hand, do you the like" (2.1.290-291). That Ariel, Prospero's "minister," interrupts this attempt at regecide may have been seen by divergent factions in the audience as the ascendency of the opposing view, Prospero's reliance not only on action but also on his "star."

Chapter Four: Prospero's "nobler reason" (5.1.26): Virtue, Nobility, and Prudence

As noted in the previous chapter, among the ways characters react to Time's swift passage and Fortune's fickleness includes Prospero's rational action, Antonio's cynical opportunism, and Caliban's superstitious credulity. In addition to such reactions, the play's treatment of Time and Fortune tests characters' worth or their "virtue." Frequently recurring in the play as a remedy for Time's and Fortune, "virtue" emerges as central to at least one meaning-level of the play.[1]

As a mode of entry into that level, I have chosen to examine references to "virtue" and related concepts--goodness, bravery, valor, nobility, gentleness. See, for example, Prospero's, the "rarer action is / In virtue than in vengeance" (5.1.20-32). This speech, according to recent commentators, suggests a positive morality. In addition to its apparent generosity of spirit, the speech's language suggests other possible meanings. If Prospero's words qualify this notion of simple goodness, in this chapter I should like to suggest other possible meanings for this statement of kindness. Among such possible meanings, Prospero's "princely virtue" and "prudent clemency" may raise questions about the adequacy of two recent critical notions: Shakespeare's supposedly "ambivalent" depiction of Prospero (Orgel xix) and his allegedly "sympathetic" portrayal of Caliban (Drakakis 29).

Instances of Virtue as a quality of goodness are linked

to Miranda, her mother, and Ferdinand. Prospero first praises Miranda's "very virtue of compassion" (1.2.27): "O, I have suffered / With those I saw suffer!" (1.2.5-6). Her "piteous heart" (1.2.4) sympathizes with those aboard the foundering ship--"O, the cry did knock / Against my very heart" (1.2.8-9). Against the fury of storm-time stands Miranda's "very virtue of compassion."

Just as Miranda's "piteous" Virtue would "allay" the "wild waters" (1.2.2) of Fortune, so her mother's "virtue" may also contain moral overtones. That is, according to Prospero, Miranda's mother is "a piece of virtue" (1.2.56). Prospero uses the word "virtue" here to emphasize his role as Miranda's father--"She said thou wast my daughter" (1.2.57). With this use of "virtue," Prospero assures Miranda of her mother's positive morality.

Miranda's link with Virtue's goodness is again emphasized during Ferdinand and Miranda's second meeting. Here, Ferdinand contrasts the "several virtues" of several women (3.1.42) with Miranda's "so full soul" (3.1.44). If "many a lady" (3.1.39) have "but some defect" (3.1.44), Miranda is morally "perfect . . . Of every creature's best" (3.1.47-48).

Also in a context suggesting goodness is Virtue's final recurrence in the play. That is, Prospero declares that it is better to act in "virtue" than in "vengeance":

> Yet with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury
> Do I take part: the rarer action is
> In virtue than in vengeance
> (5.1.26-28).

That this is "virtue" in a moral, even Christian, sense is widely asserted by the play's commentators (e.g., Kermode liii). For the purpose of qualifying the critical reception of the word "virtue," while "virtue" recurs positively throught the play, a purpose of this section is to suggest that related words point to other levels of meaning.

Among related words linked to "virtue" is "nobility." If, in Prospero's speech, "nobles" (5.1.26) includes nobility, it may recall a Renaissance commonplace: the nobility are virtuous.[2] This commonplace is asserted, for example, by Elyot in Book II of The Governor (1631): "nobility" is "the commendation and as it were the surname of virtue" (106). Appropriate may also be Owen Felltham's remark (1623?) on the gloriousness of nobility. "Earth hath not anything more glorious than . . . nobility, when it is found with virtue" (Resolves, cxcii, 305). If the nobility are virtuous, we are led to questions of the play: How is Antonio's vicious behavior compatible with his noble birth? What has become of Antonio's nobility, his supposed predisposition to virtue? A glance at the play's other references to "virtue" and noble/nobility may shed light on the paradoxical "nobility" of the ignoble Antonio. The Tempest seems to include a critique of the supposedly superior aristocracy.[3]

In the play's treatment of "virtue," nobility itself seems a morally questionable term. When the nobility are in danger of drowning, for example, the audience hears them arguing with the foundering ship's crew. Their lack of

integrity seems evident when they insist on decorum in the midst of a raging storm. When Gonzalo reminds the Boatswain about the passengers' noble birth right--"remember whom thou has aboard" (1.1.19)--the Boatswain challenges the efficacy of people of title. The Boatswain's dare, "command these elements to silence" (1.2.21) and "use your authority" (1.2.23), questions the capacity of the noblemen. Furthermore, as the audience will learn, these "noblemen," ironically, are themselves ignoble subverters of Prospero's rule. Thus the spectators may be led to question the worth of the nobles during the crisis aboard the ship. Although Gonzalo insists that respect be shown to the nobility (1.1.19), the Boatswain seems almost to dismiss them: "Out of the way, I say" (1.1.26). In the play's opening scene, at least, to be of noble birth is not an absolute value; rather, it is put to the test by the fluctuating "mischance of the hour" (1.1.25). The Tempest's opening thus may include a critique of the nobles' superiority by birth.

This questioning of the nobility is carried forward as we turn from the opening storm scene to Scene Two. During Prospero's explanation regarding how he and Miranda had come to the island (1.2.1-186), Miranda informs us that her grandmother is "noble" despite giving birth to the "perfidious" (1.2.68) Antonio--

> I should sin
> To think but nobly of my grandmother:
> Good wombs have born bad sons
> (1.2.118-120).

Miranda's first mention of the word "noble" suggests that the

merits of inherited nobility are explored within competing perspectives. That is, although Prospero raised the storm to bring the usurping "nobles" to justice; Miranda's nobility is expressed in her "compassion" for "those that I saw suffer!" (1.2.5). Evoking her nobility, she thinks "no doubt, some noble creature in her" (1.2.7). Furthermore, while from the vantage of her rank, Miranda sees a "brave vessel" (1.2.6); from the perspective of the ship's deck, the "noble Gonzalo" depicts this same ship as

> stronger than a nutshell, and as leaky as an unstaunched wench
>
> (1.1.47-48).

Thus, while all the people with title aboard the foundering ship are of noble birth; the subverters'--Antonio, Sebastian, and Alonzo's-- "nobility" is questioned in the presentation.

While the second scene includes such a critique of the nobility, the audience is led into Prospero's exposition, now containing an explanatory dimension. During his exposition, Shakespeare interposes the deposed Duke Prospero, from whom the audience gains a mediated version of his fall from rank. Prospero tells the audience not only the details of the usurpation but also the treachery of his "noble" brother Antonio. First, Prospero establishes his own nobility in tentative terms. He anticipates Miranda's ignorance of her rank--Miranda: "'Tis far off . . . and rather like a dream . . . my remembrance" (1.2.44-45). Miranda also recalls the trappings of her lost, high position:

> Had I not
> Four or five women once that tended me?

(1.2.46-47).

Second, Prospero's exposition details his own loss of title and place in terms that reflect his tentative status:

> thee my daughter, who
> Art ignorant of what thou art, naught knowing
> Of whence I am; nor that I am more better
> Than Prospero, master of a full poor cell,
> And thy no greater father

(1.2.17-21).

The phrases "who thou art" and "whence I am" suggest his unsure political status as the deposed Duke of Milan. Although Prospero's unfolding of his "true nobility" becomes less tentative--

> Thy father was the Duke of Milan and
> A prince of power

(1.2.54-55)--

his more assured expression of his own nobility--"Duke of Milan" and "prince of power" (1.2.54, 55)-- seems undercut by his present role as merely "thy no greater father" (1.2.54). Ironically, Prospero's most assured expression of his former political status--

> And Prospero the prime duke, being so reputed
> In dignity, and for the liberal arts
> Without a parallel

(1.2.72-74)--

occurs within his depiction of Antonio's coup d'etat:

> that now he [Antonio] was
> The ivy which had hid my princely trunk
> And suck'd my verdure out on't

(85-87).

Prospero's own failure to maintain his noble degree is depicted in paradoxical terms. Duke Prospero is "master of a full poor cell" (1.2. 20), a "poor man" whose "library / was dukedom large enough" (1.2.109-110). This critique of the nobility continues when Prospero, "poor Milan" (1.2.116) is reduced to "most ignoble stooping" (1.2.116) by her "noble" brother Antonio. Antonio's rise in status, then, is presented as Milan's or Prospero's "ignoble stooping." With two such "noble" brothers--the "poor man" (1.2.115) Duke Prospero and the "ambitious" (1.2.105) "noble" Antonio--the concept "nobility" seems further questioned.

The play procedes with this valuation of "nobility" within Ferdinand and Miranda's courtship scenes (1.2 and 3.1). In contrast to Prospero's nobly-born but ignoble brother Antonio, Prospero tests Ferdinand and Miranda's "nobility." While among Miranda's initial impressions of Ferdinand, she refers to his nobility--

nothing natural
I ever saw so noble

(1.2.421-422),

Miranda's claims for Ferdinand's status are diminished by Prospero--

thou mightst call him
a goodly person

(1.2.418-419).

Again, when Ferdinand refers to his own royal status--"I am the best of them" (1.2.432), Prospero questions Ferdinand's "high claims":

How? the best?
What were thou, if the King of Naples heard thee?
(1.2.433-434).

Miranda, in her turn, replies to her father's criticism of Ferdinand, "He's gentle" (1.2.471). Prospero denigrates Ferdinand's rank, comparing him to Caliban, who is begotten of a "vild ["vile" or "wild"] race" (1.2.358):

To th' most of men this is a Caliban,
And they to him are angels
(1.2.483-484).

Since Prospero devalues Ferdinand, Miranda counters by lessening her own "affections" as "most humble" (1.2.484-485). Unlike the "ambitious" Antonio, Miranda has "no ambition / To see a goodlier man" (1.2.485-486) than Ferdinand, whom Prospero depicts as merely "goodly" (1.2.419).

While Prospero challenges Ferdinand's "nobility" in Scene Two, Miranda's "nobility" is, in contrast, affirmed in Act Three, when the couple meets for the second time. Once again, the interplay of superlative and comparative modes effects the evaluation. With his "best regard" (3.1.40), Ferdinand compares his "noble mistress" (3.1.33), Miranda, to "Full many a lady" (3.1.39). Unlike these ladies with "some defect" (3.1.44), Miranda is, according to Ferdinand, "with the noblest grace" (3.1.45):

So perfect and so peerless, are created
Of every creature's best!
(3.1.47-48).

Such superlatives as "best" and "peerless," which echo through the courtship scenes, emphasize Miranda's "true nobility." Furthermore, although both evaluate themselves in modest terms--Miranda as "unworthy" (3.1.77) and Ferdinand as "humble" (3.1.87)--even Prospero's critical eye portrays their meeting as a "Fair encounter / Of two most rare affections!" (3.1.74-75), in terms attesting to their nobility.

Scene Two thus continues the play's questioning of the quality of nobility. While Scene One contains an indirection in valuing the nobles aboard the foundering ship; Scene Two presents a contrast among Duke Prospero's tentative political status, Antonio's "ambitious" nobility, and Ferdinand and Miranda's "peerless" nobility.

Act Two, Scene One, continues the questioning method of I.ii, having Sebastian and Antonio's "nobility" disputed by Gonzalo, whose own "nobility" is in the process thus affirmed. Recalling Act One, Scene One, Gonzalo's call for the recognition of rank in the storm--"remember whom thou hast aboard" (1.1.19)--is ridiculed by the Boatswain:

> You are a counsellor; if you can command these elements to silence, and work the peace of the presence, we will not hand a rope more; use your authority
>
> (1.1.20-23).

Thus witnessing the Boatswain's challenge to Gonzalo's "command" and "authority," in Scene Two the audience is provided an alternate valuation. While Duke Prospero extols Gonzalo's nobility--the "noble Neopolitan" (1.2.161)--in

Scene Two Antonio and Sebastian ridicule his speeches--the "old cock" (2.1.29). Thus we can more readily measure Gonzalo's nobility in the disparity between Prospero's praise and Antonio and Sebastian's mockery. Whereas in Scene One it could be demanded what objective standard existed for any of the passengers' "nobility," after Prospero's exposition, Gonzalo's "true nobility" should be apparent to the spectators.

Also apparent to the audience is Antonio and Sebastian's "lack" of "gentleness" (2.1.33). Sebastian and Antonio's, "nimble lungs" or sarcastic remarks (2.1.169) prompt Gonzalo "to minister occasion" (2.1.167-68) to these gentlemen. In addition, when Gonzalo confuses Tunis for Carthage (2.1.80, 81), his is a mistake at once pointed out by Antonio and Sebastian: "What impossible matter will he make easy next?" (2.1.85). The high-born subverters, moreover, mock Gonzalo's inconsistency in the Golden Age speech. While at the beginning of the speech, Gonzalo's imaginary commonwealth has "No sovereignty" (2.1.152); at the end of the speech, Gonzalo maintains that he "would with such perfection govern" (2.1.163). Railing at this inconsistency, Antonio and Sebastian mock Gonzalo's imaginary political status: "'Save his Majesty!" and "Long live Gonzalo" (2.1.164, 165). Antonio and Sebastian's lack of "gentleness" belies their noble birth. But their "ignoble" actions, when given a chance, speak for themselves.

That the play shows Antonio and Sebastian nobly born but lacking "gentleness" may have reminded the audience of the Renaissance debate about <u>vera nobilitas</u> or "true nobility."

That is, whether "true nobility" was founded upon lineage and wealth (Antonio and Sebastian) or upon the possession of virtue (Gonzalo) constituted a controversy during Shakespeare's time.[4] On one side of the controversy, the noble families were thought to display "virtue" most fully. "Where Virtue is in gentlemen," comments Elyot at the start of The Governor (1531), "it is commonly mixed with more sufferance, more affability and mildness than for the most part it is in a person of rural or of very base lineage" (14). Similarly, in his treatise on The Nobles or of Nobility (trans. 1563), Lawrence Humphery claims that virtues "shine and glitter in a nobleman more brightly than anyone else" (sig. K, 4b). While Humphrey's claim may be true for Gonzalo, it is not true for Antonio and Sebastian.

This questioning of the hereditary aristocracy--that the nobly born are virtuous--also emerges in other Shakespearian late plays. In Pericles, for example, thinking that Marina, the shipwrecked daughter of Prince Pericles, is a prostitute, the governor of Mitylene, Lysimachus, is persuaded of her hidden nobility by her speech:

> I did not think
> Thou couldst have spoke so well
> (5.1.112-113).

Charmed by Marina's eloquent and moral refusal to succumb to his lascivious importunities, Governor Lysimachus guesses that Marina is of noble stock:

> Thou art a piece of virtue, and
> I doubt not but thy training hath been noble
> (5.1.122-123).

Just as Miranda's noble mother's chaste reputation is a "piece of virtue" (1.2.56), so Marina's chaste refusal of Lysimachus's ignoble advances is also "piece of virtue" (5.1.123). These parallel uses of "virtue" valuate the characters' "true nobility." The lecherous Governor Lysimachus contrasts to the chaste princess Marina.

Thus The Tempest, on one level, may be seen as a critique of the aristocracy--Miranda's "compassion" makes her noble heritage shine more brightly; Antonio and Sebastian's "ambition" belies their high birth. When Prospero asks, "tell me / If this might be a brother" (1.2.117-118), Miranda's reply, "I should sin / To think but nobly of my grandmother" (1.2.117-118), evokes her gentleness. That Miranda's grandmother is "noble" and Antonio is ignoble epitomizes the play's examination of the aristocracy.

Elsewhere in Shakespeare "bad" offspring are paired with "good." In Lear, for example, Cordelia had Regan for a sister and Edmund was Gloucester's "natural" son and Edgar's brother. Miranda's explanation for a "nobly" born but wicked son--Good wombs have born bad sons" (1.2.119)--seems also to have been a troublesome issue for other Renaissance writers. Raleigh, for example, offers a strained solution to this problem of the aristocracy, blaming astral influence. To account for a "bad" son, Raleigh posits, "the sons of virtuous men, by an ill constellation, become inclinable to

vice" (History 31).

Just as the play questions the supposed superiority of the nobility, so too "brave" characters are not necessarily presented as "noble." Although the words "brave" and "valor" normally lend themselves to positive qualities, such as manly excellence, courage and valor; within the dramatic context of The Tempest, however, these terms are, in general, to be perceived ironically. In addition to its positive connotations, the word "brave" denoted, in particular Jacobean contexts, a bravo or a bully, even a hired assassin. Used in this sense in 1611, "Braves," states Coryat in Crudities, are "desperate and resolute villains in Venice."[5] Identified with this dubious sense of the words "brave" assassins, Antonio and Sebastian, and the "valorous" drunkards, Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo.

From the play's opening, the word "brave" has not entirely favorable connotations. As has been noted above, Miranda calls the foundering ship "a brave vessel" (1.2.6), when, in the previous scene, Gonzalo described the ship as "no stronger than a nutshell" (1.1.47). In addition, whereas the vessel does carry the "brave form" (1.2.412) Ferdinand, "some noble creature in her" (1.2.7); it also carries the usurping Antonio and Sebastian, whom the "noble Neopolitan, Gonzalo" (1.2.161) later ironically refers to as "gentlemen of brave mettle" (1.2.182). These manly qualities are deflated by Ariel's "noble master" (1.2.299): the subverters are "so full of valor that they smote the air" (4.1.172). The term "brave," in its use in the play is dubious,

especially when used in regards to the two subverters.

The drunken characters, Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo, may also have been perceived as "valiant" and "brave" from this ironical perspective. Caliban, for instance, exclaims that Stephano, the "drunken butler," also his "valiant master" (3.2.46), is "a brave god and bears celestial liquor" (2.2.117). Similarly, Stephano, in a telling oxynmoron, "commands" Caliban, "brave monster," to "lead the way" (2.2.188). Trinculo too characterizes Caliban as a "brave monster indeed" (3.2.11), whereas Caliban, unwittingly justified, returns the "compliment" with "I'll not serve him, he is not valiant" (3.2.24).

With the dubious connotations of "brave" in mind, how, at the end of the play, the audience may view Caliban's summary of the noblemen as "brave spirits indeed" (5.1.261) is open to question. If the word "brave" may be not entirely positive, we may compare the possible ambiguity, on the one hand, of Stephano's, "this will prove a brave kingdom to me" (3.2.144) to, on the other hand, Miranda's famous, "O brave new world" (5.1.183). Just as the audience may doubt Stephano's drunken evaluation, so too they may question the inexperience of Miranda, especially since she is immediately answered by her father, "'Tis new to thee" (5.1.184). In so far as <u>The Tempest</u> may advance by a process of multipying perspectives, the audience seems prepared to observe a world where, it becomes increasingly evident, "nobility" is questionable as an absolute moral concept. If the internal evidence reveals that the word "noble" has been applied to questionable contexts, how is the leader, such as Duke

Prospero to supply a standard political morality, or at least stem the potential anarchy of a self-seeking "nobility"?

Prospero's Princely "Virtue" (5.1.28) and Prudent Clemency

This section proposes that Prospero's princely "virtue" and "nobility" stand in contrast to those of the play's other aristocrats. In addition, his treatment of his subjects may have suggested to a Jacobean audience two related qualities, moral clemency and political prudence. As shown above, in Acts One and Two, the play seems to question the absolute virtue of the nobility, raising questions about accepted social standards. Among questionable actions by the political elite are Duke Antonio and the would-be-king Sebastian's attempt to assassinate King Alonzo. If Antonio and Sebastian's lack of "gentleness" affects our view of their nobility, how would the spectators evaluate Duke Prospero's ungentle treatment of Caliban? And, while Prospero treats some characters harshly, Prospero's apparent repudiation of "fury" (5.1.26) when he declares that

> the rarer action is
> In virtue than in vengeance
> (5.1.27-28),

reflects negatively on this previously harsh treatment of Caliban? Here, Prospero's repudiation of vengeance is often interpreted by critics as an indication of Christian forgiveness. Even those critics who alledge a "tension between statecraft and Christian principles" in Act Five depict Prospero as a "Christian prince" (Rupp 316, 304). Indeed, Prospero's declares that

> they being penitent,

> The sole drift of my purpose doth extend
> Not a frown further
>
> (5.1.28-30).

Prospero's repudiation of "vengeance" may also have suggested the so-called princely virtue, clemency.[6] When in Act Five Prospero, once again Duke of Milan, twice offers his pardon to the usurpers--"I do forgive thee" (5.1.78, 131)--he appears to display what Seneca terms, "Gloriosa virtus est in principe citra punire quam liceat" ["It is a shining virtue for a prince to punish less than he might"] (De Clementia 449).

Furthermore, Prospero's conciliatory speeches to the "nobility" in Act Five seem to contain the qualities of gentlemanly affability.[7] For example, Prospero embraces Alonzo--"I embrace thy body" (5.1.109)-- and says, "to thee and thy company I bid / A hearty welcome" (5.1.110-111). Next, Prospero embraces his "noble friend" (5.1.120) Gonzalo:

> Let me embrace thine age, whose honour cannot
> Be measur'd or confin'd
>
> (5.1.121-122).

Then Prospero turns to the entire group and proclaims, "Welcome, my friends all!" (5.1.125). Even after Sebastian's ungrateful response, "The devil speaks in him" (5.1.129), Prospero forgives him:

> I do forgive
> Thy rankest fault--all of them
>
> (5.1.130-132).

Thus Prospero's display of mercy--"with my nobler reason

'gainst my fury / Do I take part" (5.1.26-27)--may anticipate his gentlemanly "virtue" at the end of the play:

> I'll deliver all;
> And promise you calm seas, auspicious gales,
> And sail so expeditious
> (5.1.313-315).

Prospero's "forgiveness," however, does not resolve the emnity between him and Antonio.[8] On the one hand, Prospero threatens Antonio and Sebastian:

> But you, my brave lords, were I so minded,
> I here could pluck his Highness' frown upon you,
> And justify you traitors.
> (5.1.126-128).

On the other hand, Sebastian offers an "unrepentent" retort, "The devil speaks in him (5.1.129). And Antonio, in his turn, remains silent, like the villain Iago's,

> Demand me nothing. What you know, you know.
> From this time forth I never will speak word
> (5.2.303-304).

Antonio's silence, Sebastian's curse, and Prospero's threat, then, suggest no Christian reconciliation. While Prospero "forgives" Antonio, and Sebastian--"I do forgive thee" (5.1.78)--enmity persists between him and Antonio. In light of this unresolved conflict between Prospero and Antonio, the critical notion that Prospero's "virtue" signifies Christian reconciliation seems inadequate.

Even if Prospero's "virtue" (5.1.26) procedes from a Christian ethos, his "nobler reason" (5.1.26) prompts him to

threaten some of his subjects. That is, Prospero warns the subverters, Sebastian and Antonio, "at this time / I will tell no tales" (5.1.29-30). In the same way, he cautions the drunken conspirator Caliban, "as you look / to have my pardon, trim it [Prospero's cave] handsomely" (5.1.292-293).

Recent commentators have villified Prospero for his supposed "cruel" treatment of Caliban (e.g., Brown, Barker, and Hulme). With Prospero's harshness towards Caliban:

> For this, be sure, to-night thou shalt have cramps,
> Side-stitches that shall pen thy breath up; urchins
> Shall, for that vast of night that they may work,
> All exercise on thee; thou shalt be pinch'd
> As thick as honeycomb, each pinch more stinging
> Than bees that made 'em
>
> (1.2.327-332).

and

> Fury, Fury! there, Tyrant, there! hark, hark!
> Go charge my goblins that they grind their joints
> With dry convulsions; shorten up their sinews
> With aged cramps; and more pinch-spotted make them
> Than pard or cat o' mountain
>
> (4.1.257-61)--

he apparently violates humanist injunctions against a prince's cruelty towards his subjects. Seneca, for example, writes to the Emperor Nero in De Clementia: "Non decet regem saeva nec inexorabilis ira [Cruel and inexorable anger is not seemly for a king] (373).

With Prospero's threats to Antonio and Caliban, however, another sense of "virtue"--that is, prudence--may be

applicable to the context. If Prospero links "virtue" with "nobler reason" (5.1.26), this connection may have evoked the idea that all rulers have a duty to follow the dictates not merely of the so-called princely virtues like clemency but also of prudence.[9]

Prudence, as a Renaissance princely virtue, was considered a "political" virtue rather than a moral virtue. The famous proponent of "ends," Machiavelli, attacks the humanist proponents of the moral princely virtues:

> how men live is so different from how they should live that a ruler who does not do what is generally done, but persists in doing what ought to be done, will undermine his power rather than maintain it
>
> (The Prince 54).

Echoing Machiavelli's criticism of the princely-virtue writers, Bacon states, in De Augmentis (date):

> we are much beholden to Machiavelli . . . who openly and unfeignedly declare or describe what men do, and not what they ought to do
>
> (VII.ii. Works vol.5,p.17).

With this guiding principle in mind, Machiavelli advises, "if a ruler can keep his subjects united and loyal, he should not worry about incurring a reputation for cruelty" (The Prince 58). Similarly, according to another influential Renaissance adviser of princes, Guicciardini (1530), "virtu" allowed men to exercise leadership and control, reconciling the brute with moral relations. King James himself, in his 1609 Speech

before Parliament, offers a similar position regarding "mercy":

> None ought to be spared from being brought under the danger of Law, and then it is my part to use mercie, as I think convenient.
>
> (McIlwain 322).

Like James's "Law" and "mercie," Prospero's harsh treatment of Caliban, then, may reflect a combination of "political" prudence and princely clemency demonstrated in Act Five.

Prospero's prudence seems recognized by Caliban in Act Five. After, for instance, Caliban and his cohorts are "driven in" (s.d.), he seems not only awed by Prospero's ducal regalia, "How fine my master is!" (5.1.262), but also afraid of his power, "I am afraid / He will chastise me" (5.1.262-263). Similarly, Caliban's awe and fear emerge in when they witness Prospero's regal presence: "I shall be pinch'd to death" (5.1.276), and, "I'll be wise hearafter, / And seek for grace" (5.1.294-295).

This combination of moral and political virtue emerges in regard to another princely virtue, fidelity to one's word. When Prospero, in his last speech, keeps his promise to free Ariel--

> then to the elements
> Be free, and fare thou well!
>
> (5.1.317-18)--

he displays "one of the main virtues which," according to the adviser-to-princes Josse Clichtove, "a prince must diligently exercise" (fo, 43a). During the play, however, the audience views Ariel and Caliban questioning Prospero's princely

fidelity.

Ariel, for instance, accuses Prospero of breaking faith with them. Ariel complains "thou did promise / To bate be a full year" (1.2.249-250):

> Remember I have done thee worthy service;
> Told thee no lies, made no mistakings, serv'd
> Without grudge or grumblings: thou did promise
> To bate me a full year
>
> (1.2.247-250).

In response to Ariel's accusation, Prospero reminds him of his imprisonment (1.2.278) by the "foul witch Sycorax" (1.2.258); he threatens to return him to his former incarceration,

> If thou more murmur'st, I will rend an oak
> And peg thee in his knotty entrails, till
> Thou hast howl'd away twelve winters"
>
> (1.2.294-296);

and he promises, "after two days / I will discharge thee" (1.2.299). Here, Prospero both threatens and promises to keep his word. Through this combination of political and moral virtue, Prospero keeps Ariel loyal. Ariel acknowledges Prospero's nobility--"That's my noble master" (1.2.299),"Ay, sir" (1.2.268), "I thank thee, master" (1.2.293), and

> I will be correspondent to command,
> And do my spiriting gently
>
> (1.2.297-98).

Prospero's clemency and his fidelity to his word are coupled with a political prudence, in such a world, where virtue is at a discount.

In sum, above I have proposed two points. First, in so far as The Tempest may advance by a process of multiplying perspectives, the audience seems prepared to observe a world where it becomes increasingly evident, nobility is questionable as an absolute moral concept. Second, to stem the potential anarchy of a self-seeking nobility--Antonio and Sebastian--and the drunken power seekers--Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo--Prospero combines clemency and prudence, two princely virtues, in meting out justice to the usurpers. In so doing, he seems to supply a standard of morality, possible recognizable to the Jacobean audience. Prospero's "prudent clemency," then, may raise questions about the adequacy of two recent critical notions: Shakespeare's supposedly "ambivalent" depiction of Prospero and his allegedly "sympathetic" portrayal of Caliban.

Notes

1. Although the inter-relation of Time, Fortune, and Virtue seems to vary in the Renaissance (Pitkin 140), their linkage appears commonplace (Wittkower 316). Since classical times, virtus was regularly regarded as a response to Fortune's unpredictability. Dealing effectively and nobly with whatever Fortune might send, Roman virtus comprised a quality of personality that commanded good fortune (Pocock 37). The narrator of Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy, for instance, complains that virtus of active public service had become fortuna's prey in political power struggles:

> Nam cur tantas lubrica uersat
> Fortuna uices?
> [Why should slippery chance
> Rule all things with such doubtful governance?]
> (I:V).

Lady Philosophy, however, recommends a contemplative virtue to combat the vicissitudes of fortune in the political arena (III). This recommendation of virtue as a remedy against the caprices of Fortune was transmitted by Petrarch's De remediis utriusque fortune to the Renaissance humanists (Wittkhower 316).[trans. Thomas Twyne (1579) Phisicke against Fortune, as well prosperous, as adverse] As a central motif of Renaissance humanism, virtu vince fortuna proposes that virtu overcomes the power of Fortune to influence human affairs

(Garin Italian Humanism 61). For Machiavelli, virtu took on a double meaning that at once exposed one to fortune and at the same time controlled fortune. That is, virtu denoted the instruments of power, such as arms, and the personal qualities needed to weild those instruments (Pocock 162).

If Virtue was regarded as a response to Fortune, this opposition between Fortune and Virtue, as expressed in Renaissance emblems, seems uniformly won by Virtue. One emblem illustrating Lady Fortune turning her wheel bears the motto, Though Fortune prove true Virtues Foe, It cannot worke her Overthrowe (Wither I:VI). The accompanying verse suggests Virtue's superiority:

> For, he that's Vertuous, whether high or low
> His Fortune seemes (or whether foule or faire
> His Path he findes) or whether friend, or foe,
> The World doth prove; regards it not a haire
> (17-20).

In another emblem referring to the winds of variable Fortune begins with the motto, "The more contrary Windes doe blow, / The greater Vertues praise will grow" (Wither II:XXXV). "Good Fortune," declares the motto of another device, "will with him abide,/That hath true Virtue, for his guide" (Wither III:V). Surrounding this emblem's illustration is the Latin proverb, VIRTUTE DUCE COMITE FORTUNA [Virtue leads; Fortune follows]. In these emblems, Virtue seems a formidable response to Fortune's variability.

2. This section concerning Virtue's link to Nobility is heavily indebted to Skinner I.236-241.

3. A comprehensive treatment of this issue appears in Stone's The Crisis of the Aristocracy, especially 9.

4. See Skinner I, 59-60, 237-240.

5. See OED, sb., B.b.1.

6. According to Skinner, these princely ideals were often advocated in the mirror-for-princes literature (230). Bude especially concentrates on these "virtues" in the three main sections of his Education of the Christian Prince. Wimpfeling, too, in his The Epitome of a Good Prince, lays special emphasis on clemency and keeping one's word (Skinner 231).

7. In addition to Prospero's princely virtues, Prospero exhibits traits possibly evoking Renaissance notions of gentlemanly conduct. A number of nothern humanists, according to Skinner (230), focised on a range of qualities which they expected all "governors" and leading citizens to cultivate. Elyot, for instance, in the second book of The Governor, writes that when we investigate the concept of gentlemanly conduct in governors, we find "three special

qualities": affability, placability, and mercy (106-115).

8. Kott and Orgel emphasize this point.

9. Although this notion is identified principally with Machiavelli, Aquinas, following Aristotle, posited the concept virtus intellectus or prudence. According to Aquinas, prudence denotes the practical ratio which procedes towards ends (Summa, vol. 23, 1a-2ae, quest, 57, 4).

Chapter Five: The "roaring"(1.2.2) and "abjuring"(5.1.51)--Jacobean attitudes to Statecraft.

Recent commentators have tended, in various ways, to equate Prospero's "Art" with King James's supposed attitudes toward royal power and magic. These commentaries divide into two opposing camps: (1) those that identify Prospero's "Art" with the monarch's supposed "absolutism"; and, in contrast, those that assume Prospero's "Art" would be politically unacceptable to James, especially in view of James's opposition to political meddling with magic (Demonologie). That both sides are partly right, but that they are too exclusive, in view of the complex nature of the play, may be indicated by the following discussion of Renaissance political notions about a monarch's "Art."

In this chapter, references to Prospero's "Art" suggest a Renaissance notion of royal power: If "art" is a form of magical "will," the monarch's "will," in times of emergency, stands for law. This notion of royal power, shared by King James, may be suggested in references to Prospero's "Art": (1) Prospero's "so potent art" (5.1.50) and royal "will"; (2) Prospero's "roar" (1.2.2 and 2.2.310) and royal wrath; (3) Prospero's "Some vanity of mine Art" (4.1.41) and royal potence; and (4) Prospero's "rough magic" (5.1.50) and the king's mercy.

Prospero's "so potent art" (5.1.50) and the royal "will"

Some spectators, as they watched Duke Prospero's use his "Art" against the subverters in the dramatic action, may have been reminded of Jacobean notions about royal power. Although there is no necessary identification with King

James, the dramatization of Prospero's "art" may have evoked, for instance, the monarch's own "Speech to Parliament 1609" (McIlwain Works 306-325). In this speech, King James presents Parliament with his view of the royal will's precedence to law. He asserts that "the first originall of Kings . . . their wills at that time serued for Law" (McIlwain Works 309). James's view seems to address two political questions about royal power that seem relevent to our understanding of Prospero's "Art." First, regarding function, the monarch's "will" "served for Law"; and, second, regarding time, the king's "will," according to James, preceded the law.

Concerning the first point, that the monarch's "will" could serve for the "Law" has been traced by modern historians back to the medieval conception gubernaculum, denoting a royal power not limited by law (see McIlwain 309 and Pocock 28). This special royal power, also known as the gubernaculum, according to these historians, was considered by the time of the Renaissance to be an "art," a professional "mystery," an expertise in statecraft (Pocock 28).

Many of James's distinguished subjects, moreover, seem to extend the purview of the monarch's "will" in terms of this political sense of "art" as statecraft or gubernaculum. Speaking of the king's arcana imperii, Donne, for instance, asserts that "it is impossible, that any Prince should proceede in all causes & occurences, by a downright Execution of his Lawes" (Pseudo-Matyr 47). Similarly, regarding King James, Sir Robert Phelips, at his examination by a committee of James's Privy Council, maintained that he "well knew that

neither out nor in parliament was it fitt to jostle and contend with his Majesty's undoubted & royal prerogative" (Sharpe 16). This same notion is mentioned by Bacon when he obliquely attributes to King James the imperial "Arts or Policy" of Augustus (Sim. Ess. [Arb] 506). The Venetian ambassador to England in 1607 went even further in this regard: "The sovereign has now reached such a pitch of formidable power that he can do what he likes, and there is no one who would dare, either in Parliament or out of it, except at the risk of ruin, I do not say to oppose him, but even to make the smallest signs of running counter to his will" (Sharpe 12-13). In terms of this first point, Prospero "so potent art" may have evoked, in some respects, James's notion of the royal "will."

Concerning the second point, just as Prospero seems to employ his "so potent art" only at particular times during the action, so too, according to King James, a monarch would use the power of his "will" only "at that time" (McIlwain Works 309). Regarding Prospero's circumspect use of his "Art," many commentators have ascribed an "uneasy cohabitation and sequence of Prospero's magical and ducal powers" (e.g., Rosador 2). The sequence of Prospero's magical "art," however--from Prospero's opening storm to his final abjuration--may have reminded the audience of James's notion of the appropriate time for a monarch's display of "will." Appropo the timely display of the monarch's "will," in this same Speech of 1609, King James's repudiates Common Law encroachments upon his prerogative, especially taking issue with the validity of their immemorial claims: "but for

the use of the time (from breach whereof no man can be free) which do not now agree with the condition of this our time" (McIlwain Works 312). By this James may have meant that his "will" is more responsive than the Common Law to the the contingencies of a particular time. The sequence of Prospero's displays of power, then, may have recalled for the Jacobean audience the monarch's notion of the appropriate time to exercise his "art."

To summarize, in The Tempest, that Prospero is the Duke of Milan and the possessor of a magical "Art" may have reminded the audience of James's views regarding the monarch's will, in times of emergency, served for law. The play, moreover, relates Prospero's "Art" and his "magic," e.g., "pluck my magic garment from me--So: / Lie there, my Art" (1.2.23-24); see also 5.1.50 and Ep 14). In addition, dramatic uses of Prospero's "Art" occur at critical moments throughout the play. And, as successive theatrical displays of royal power--the storm (1.1), the "lion's roar" (2.2), the harpy's banquet (3.3), the betrothal masque (4.1), the trumpery scene (4.1), and the abjuration (5.1)--move the play's action toward one aim of his "project"--to regain his dukedom.

Significantly, the first two of Prospero's crucial power displays--the storm (1.1) and the lion's roar (2.2)--arise not only from immediate dramatic requirements but also, in employing his "Art" against his enemy, from his persistent function as "potent master" (4.1.34). Particularly when good and bad characters react to Prospero's "roar" in the play, some of the Jacobean audience may have been reminded of

James's notion of the royal "will" during an emergency time, possibly recalling his famous use of Proverbs 20 as advice to his son Prince Henry: "And so, where ye finde a notable iniurie, spare not to giue course to the torrents of your wrath. The wrath of a King, is like to the roaring of a Lyon" (McIlwain 41).

Prospero's Roar

During the "storm time" of the opening scene the characters' exchanges suggest political issues. Among such political meanings is Prospero's "art" that raises the storm to bring his political enemies "to this shore" (1.2.180). Prospero's statecraft so places his enemies to regain his dukedom. By the end of Act Four, Prospero will say, "At this hour / Lies at my mercy all mine enemies" (4.1.262-63). The opening scene thus displays the "potent" power of Prospero's "art" to manipulate enemies of state in an emergency time.

In response to the storm's confusion, the crew acts in a relatively efficient manner. That is, the Master calls, "Boatswain!" (1.1.1); the Boatswain responds immediately, "Here, master. What cheer?" (1.1.2); and the Master commands Boatswain to "speak to the mariners!" (1.1.3). The Master requires this dutiful response from his inferior in the face of potential disaster for the whole ship, "or we run ourselves aground" (1.1.4). The Master's word "ourselves" here seems to emphasize a spirit of working together for the good of all.

This camaraderie continues when the mariners enter the scene. The Boatswain, in turn, reiterates the Master's urgency, "Yare, yare!" (1.1.6) and his direction to command,

"Take in the topsail!" (1.1.6). These opening exchanges aptly end first with the Boatswain's resonating affirmation of the hierarchy: "Tend to th' Master's [which suggests a range of possiblities--the Shipmaster, Prospero, Stagemaster, King James] whistle!" (1.1.6-7); and, finally, with a challenge to the storm itself--"Blow till thou burst thy wind, if room enough!" (1.1.8). The play opens, then, with the dramatic obedience of inferior to superior to overcome the chaos of "storm time."

In contrast the crew's handling of the chaos within the tempest, the usurpers' entrance brings the complication of a political crisis. In particular, the Boatswain's and Master's commands contrast with Alonzo's demanding question ("Where's the master?" [1.1.9-10]) and Antonio's insistent question ("Where is the master, bos'n? [1.1.12]). In the contrast between the usurpers and the crew, the crew's obedience of inferior to superior gives way to the usurpers' insubodinate defiance. Unlike the Master, the usurpers cannot find their subordinate, ironically, the "[Ship]master." The usurpers' inversion of order includes the boatswain's commanding a king--to Alonzo: "I pray now, keep below" (1.1.11)--and answering the usurping Duke's question with another question--To Antonio: "Do you not hear him? (1.1.13). The usurpers' entrance reflects the chaos of the storm which evokes the power of Prospero's "art."

The ship's disarray seems to worsen with each exchange between the boatswain and the usurpers, until, at the scene's end, the storm forces them to abandon ship: "We split, we split! . . . We split, we split, we split!" (1.1.61, 62).

Battling the ferocity of the storm, the Boatswain repeatedly tells the usurpers to "Keep your cabins" (1.1.11, 14, 17, 26) and "Out of our way" (1.1.28).

Not only do the usurpers "assist the storm," but counsel, in the person of Gonzalo ("an honest old councillor"), seems ineffective and, in the end, useless. First, Gonzalo inappropriately cousels the Boatswain to "be patient" (1.2.15), while the Boatswain reasonably rejoins, "When the sea is" (1.2.16). Second, Gonzalo admonishes the Boatswain to "remember whom thou hast aboard" (1.1.20), which seems especially ironic considering the traitors are aboard. Third, Gonzalo takes comfort in proverbial lore--Tilley: "He that is born to be hanged will never drown" (1.1.28-33, 46-48, and 56-58)--rather than the Boatswain's "labor." Gonzalo's incongruous and ironic speeches suggest that even counsel is ineffective in the face of choas.

After counsel proves useless, the Boatswain's next complaint--"Hence! What cares these roarers for the name of king? To cabin! Silence! Trouble us not!" (1.2.16-18)--strikes at the very apex of the hierarchy: the king. That these "roarers" do not "care" for "the name of king, may suggest overtones, among others, of the masterless men, servants to nobody (Hill 39-55; Kermode 1.1.16,n.) and the royal passengers who are identified as "howling" a few lines later (1.1.36). Here also the Boatswain, like many other characters to follow, miscontrues the situation; the roarers, in fact, were commanded by Prospero. In any case, the concept of kingship is questioned, especially considering the most contentious phrase "the name of king." The possibility

of a nominalist critique may be inherent in these words. That is, to the boatswain the "name of king" may suggest a mere fiction to the audience. Namely, is a man a king only in name?

This question looks foward to similar issues raised in the play's action: Who is the king, Prospero or Antonio (1.2.107-08), Alonzo or Ferdinand (1.2.437), Alonzo or Sebastian (2.1.285-86), Caliban or Prospero (1.2.333-34) or Prospero or Stephano (3.2.142-43)? Even further, the boatswain's, "None that I more love than myself" (1.1.20) serves as a counterpoise to the Master's "ourselves" in the opening movement of the scene. Hence, from lowest to highest, the Boatswain upturns all hierarchical modes of command during this "mischance / of the hour" (1.1.25-26): "command the elements to silence" (1.1.21), "work the peace of the present" (1.1.22), and "use your authority" (1.1.23).

The scene's final movement contains a polyphony of dissention, culminating in the characters' resignation to the ship of state's wreck. Three times, Sebastian, Antonio, and Gonzalo respond to the Boatswain. In particular, twice Sebastian curses the boatswain--"A pox o' your throat" (1.1.40) and "I'm out of patience" (1.1.54); twice Antonio denigrates the boatswain for his cowardice--"We are less afraid to be drowned than thou art" (1.1.45) and "We are merely cheated of our lives by drunkards" (1.1.55); and Gonzalo reiterates his faith in proverbial wisdom--"I'll warrant him for drowning" (1.1.46). The boatswain each time bemoans the ship's proximity to disaster: "Lay her ahold!" (1.1.50) and "What, must our mouths be cold?" (1.1.52). The

final exchange among the three characters signals the scene's denoument: Antonio and Sebastian are resigned to shipwreck, decorously taking their leave of the king (1.1.62 and 63), while Gonzalo resigns himself to "the wills above" (1.1.66). Prospero's "art," the "will above" (a possible stage direction), has driven the usurpers to abandon ship.

Another instance of the "roar" of Prospero's "Art" during an emergency time occurs with Antonio's, "sure, it was the roar / Of a whole herd of lions" (2.2.310-11). On Prospero's orders, Ariel wakes Alonzo and Gonzalo before Antonio and Sebastian can murder them. The speech serves as part of Antonio's ready answer to Alonzo and Gonzalo's alarm at not only the noise that woke them but also the ominous figure of Antonio and Sebastian, swords drawn, ready to strike. That "the roar / Of a whole herd of lions" signals danger is vividly evident to Alonzo and Gonzalo, to Antonio and Sebastian, and to the audience.

Two possible echoes of this particular "roar" at once identifies the villains with the devil and indicates the great power of the monarch. First, the Psalms' "as it were a ramping and a roaring lion" (xxii:12-13) taken with its Geneva gloss--"He meaneth, that his enemies were so fat, proude and cruel, that they were rather beasts than men"--associate Antonio and Sebastian with "beasts." Another biblical "roar" indicates a more sinister allusion than that of being a beast: "the devil, as a roaring lione" (1 Peter 5:8 [Geneva]). On one level, then, the "roar" Antonio hears suggests that Antonio and Sebastian are like beasts or devils.

Another sense of "roar" (mentioned above) emerges as relevant to the context. That is, the "roar" of Prospero's "art" (statecraft) alters the villains' stance from offensive to defensive. Here Prospero's "roar" may be from Proverbs: "The feare of the King is like the roaring of a lyon" (20:2) and The King's wrath is like the roaring of a lyon" (19:12). As in the opening storm scene, the "roar" of Prospero's "art" manipulates the usurpers.

Elsewhere Shakespeare employs the image of the lion to represent royal power: Warwick and Montague / That in their chains fetter'd the kingly lion" (3 Henry VI, 5.7.10-11); "What, is my Richard both in shape and mind / Transform'd, and weaken'd . . . and wilt thou, pupil-like / Take thy correction mildly . . . Which art a lion, and a king of beasts? (Richard II, 5.1.25-34); and "The King himself is to be feared as the lion" 1 Henry IV, 3.3.142). In all the above cases, the "lion symbolizes the monarch. Also in emblem inscriptions, the correlation between king and lion appears, as in Sese Terrore Tutetur:

> C'est mon regard tout plein de terreur redoutable
> Qui fait mon ememil se retirer de moy,
> Mais quand se rapprochant il nee, met en esmoy
> L'ordrecuidance alos par mon ire i'accable
> (Emblemata col. 372);

and Lowe und Fuchs au der Hand eines Fursten:

> Le Lyon est de cueur et de stature,
> Fort et puissant, noble, uaillant et preux
> (Emblemata col. 392).

The "roar" in this context may also have evoked for some

levels of the audience King James's advice to Prince Henry: "when ye finde a notable iniuries, spare not to give course to the torrents of your wrath. The wrath of the King, is like to the roaring of a Lyon" (McIlwain 41). Later in the play, this "roar" echoed in the drunken characters' reaction to punishment: Prospero's, "I will plague them with roaring" (4.1.193), and Ariel's "Hark, they roar!" (4.1.261).

Even recollections of the opening tempest are described in extreme terms. First, Ariel's reprise recounts the havoc he effected in scene one in terms of Jove's (king of the gods) power:

> The fire and cracks
> Of sulfurous roaring the most mighty Neptune
> Seem to beseige, and make his bold waves tremble
> (1.2.204-06).

Second, just before the abjuration of his "Art," Prospero recalls his power to effect the storm in the opening scene:

> called forth the mutinous winds,
> And 'twixt the green seas and the azured vault
> Set roaring war to the (Jove).
> (5.1.42-44).

At the end of the play, the Boatswain echoes the opening with his description of his "awaking" to what seemed to him an emergency:

> strange and several noises
> Of roaring, shrieking, howling, jingling chains,
> And moe diversity of sounds, all horrible
> (5.1.233-35).

Each of these instances of the word "roar" affirms the power

of Prospero's "Art" to control the seas, to respond to an emergency, and to create an emergency for the antagonists. In sum, Prospero's "Art" manipulates major characters during the emergency time.

Prospero's "Some vanity of mine art" (4:1:41)

"o dieux de terre et de poussiere"
(Bousset, Oeuvres oratoires)

"These Things are but Toyes"
(Bacon, "Of Masques and Triumphs")

The dramatic "roar" of Prospero's "so potent art" (5.1.68) in storm-time may suggest, among other things, Jacobean notions of the monarch's emergency powers. Subsequently, Prospero's masque sequence (3.3.14-4.1.266) also appears to display his princely power and, at times, emphasize its evanescence. If the storm-time seems to dramatize Jacobean ideas about royal power, each movement of this masque sequence--the Banquet (3.3.19-52), the Harpy (3.3.53-83), the Betrothal (4.1.1-162), and the Trumpery (4.1.164)--may also have evoked Jacobean notions of princely power.

As the masque sequence opens, Prospero, "on top (invisible)" (s.d.), presents the subverters Antonio and Sebastian, their collaborator King Alonzo, and the councillor Gonzalo with a show of "several strange Shapes, bringing in a banquet" (3.3.18, s.d.). If Prospero's superior stage position could bring to mind a royal position at a masque performances, then it may be that the audience would think of Prospero's "masque" as a display of royal power similar to

those sponsored by the Jacobean Court. That Prospero's "banquet" evokes the actual royal masques may be suggested by the "Solemn and strange music" and the "dance" of the "shapes"; indeed, music and dance were widely employed throughout the performance of a royal masque (Nicoll, Gordon, Orgel, Fletcher).

The usurper's and Gonzalo's reactions to this "strange music" and "dance" of the "strange Shapes," may also indicate that Prospero's masque dramatizes a display of royal power. In response to the "music," King Alonzo incredulously asks, "What harmony is this?" (3.3.18) and Gonzalo echoes Alonzo's admiring sentiment, "Marvellous sweet music!" (3.3.19). In contrast to Alonzo and Gonzalo's awe at the spectacle, the villains' credulously respond to what Sebastian terms "A living drollery" (3.3.21): Sebastian, "I will believe" (3.3.21); and Antonio,

> I'll believe both
> And what does else want credit, come to me
> And I'll be sworn 'tis true
>
> (3.3.24-26).

This "excellent dumb discourse" (3.3.39) seemingly has the power to elicit wonder and belief, even in the villains.

This dual response suggests that Prospero's "banquet" includes the moral power to "unmask" the diverse moral characters of the respondents. If, for example, in the Renaissance the phoenix commemorated the legal fiction of the monarchy's continuity (Kantorowicz 409), then Sebastian's mention of "the phoenix' throne" (3.3.23), seems ironic. That is, like the phoenix, "from his father's <u>lit funebre</u> he

[the prince] soars to his own lit de justice" (Kantorowicz 414). Ironically, Sebastian's reference to the phoenix may recall the previous scene where he conspires with Antonio to kill Alonzo for the throne. To underline this unmasking of the villains, Gonzalo contrasts "our human generation" with the "more gentle" "monstrous" Shapes' (3.3.31). Corroborating Gonzalo's assessment, Prospero, in an aside, seems to direct this indictment at the villains:

> Honest lord,
> Thou hast said well; for some of you there present
> Are worse than devils
>
> (3.3.34-36).

Whereas the Shapes have the power to "vanish strangely" (3.3.40), the usurpers' fraud seems all too apparent.

This "Solemn and strange music" contrasts sharply with the "Thunder and lightning" (s.d.) that announce the ominous appearance of Ariel, "like a harpy" (s.d.). With this ability of the magus prince "to instrument this lower world / And what is in't" (3.3.33-35), Prospero responds to the regicidal attempts of the "three men of sin" (3.3.53). Recalling the chaos of the opening "tempest," Ariel also summons the "loud winds" and the "still-closing waters" (3.3.63, 64), much like Machiavelli's conoscitori delle cause naturali (Disc. I.11-12). This awful power contrasts with the subverters' "bemocked-at stabs" (3.3.63), revealing them as "'mongst men / Being most unfit to live" (3.3.57-58), "with suchlike valor" (3.3.59), fit for the fate of traitors to "hang and drown" (3.3.59) (Tilley).

This contrast between Prospero's "high charms" (3.3.88)

and the usurpers' "lingering perdition" (3.3.77), moreover, seems to carry a moral force. Ariel's denunciation of the usurpers, "that you three / From Milan did supplant good Prospero" (3.3.69-70), recalls his speech's opening, "You are three me of sin" (3.3.53). Their "sin" has disturbed their "peace" during the choas of the opening storm, has "bereft" (3.3.76) Alonzo of his son, and, "shall step by step attend / You and your ways," "Ling'ring" (3.3.77) like the harpy Ariel enacts (3.3.78-79). Only through "heart's sorrow" (3.3.81) may the villains escape the "wraths" (3.3.79) to arrive at "a clear life ensuing" (3.3.82). The moral force of Prospero's power seems not only to identify and punish "men of sin" but also to offer them the opportunity to regain their "peace." Just as Ariel opened the sequence summoning "the Thunder and lightning," so the "wrath" of "destiny" "vanishes in thunder" (s.d.), recalling the thunder of the king's roar during storm-time. Indeed, as Propero concludes the sequence:

> They now are in my pow'r;
> And in these fits I leave them
> (3.3.90-91).

In contrast to this awesome display of Prospero's "invulnerability," the "vanishing" in the Betrothal scene also appears to emphasize the transience of Prospero's power. Although Prospero again gives Ariel "pow'r" (4.1.38) to raise yet another spectacle, the following points in the play, among others, seem to question the force of this "pow'r." First, in a departure from the previous staging, when Prospero seems invulnerable "on the top (invisible)" (s.d.), at the start of the betrothal masque, he views the spectacle

in person, vulnerable alongside Ferdinand and Miranda. Second, in contrast to the "invulnerability" of Ariel's "fellow ministers" (3.3.65-66) in the previous movement, here Prospero instructs Ariel to "Go bring the rabble" to "perform" "such another trick" (4.1.36-37). Third, Prospero's mention of "eyes,"--"Bestow upon the eyes of this young couple" (4.1.40) and "All eyes" (4.1.59)--and disappearence suggest Renaissance ideas about the transience of sight (Fletcher 10): "Some vanity of mine art" (4.1.41) and "the baseless fabric of this vision" (4.1.151). Finally, even in Ferdinand's apparent excitement over the betrothal masque--"a most majestic vision, and / Harmoniously charmingly" (4.1.118-19)--the courtly connotations of "charmingly" contrast with the regal suggestion of "high charms" (3.3.88).

In the same way that hints of Prospero's transient power seem to emerge throughout the masque, the masque scene is introduced with an exchange between Prospero and Ferdinand that suggests the transcience of Prospero's power. If Ceres's "richness" (4.1.8) correlates with Prospero's "so potent art" (5.1.68); "austerity" may suggest transience. On the one hand, Prospero's "my rich gift [Miranda]" (4.1.8), "she will outstrip all praise" (4:1:10), "bring a corollary" (4.1.57) Ferdinand's "fair issue" (4.1.24), Ariel's "potent master" (4.1.34) contrasts with Miranda's "virgin knot" (4.1.15), Prospero's "no sweet aspersion" (4.1.18), "barren hate" (4.1.19), "too much rein" (4.1.52), Prospero's "be more abstemious" (4.1.53), and "want of spirit" (4.1.58). The density of oppositions in this opening exchange (4.1.1-59)

between sexual abundance and austerity may correlate with the the motif of Prospero's transient "pow'r" introduced in the Banquet and Harpy scenes.

Additionally, the depiction of the gods in the Betrothal masque contains an oppositional motif. Iris's greeting does portray the power of Ceres as "most bounteous" (4.1.60) and Juno as "Queen o' th' sky" (4.1.10) and "sovereign grace" (4.1.72); nevertheless, her "rich leas" (4.1.61) seem set against images of pastoral restraint--the "pioned and twilled brims" (4.1.64), "the cold nymphs chaste crowns" (4.1.66), "the dismissed bachelor loves / Being lasslorn" (4.1.67-8), "thy pole-clipt vineyards" (4.1.68), and "the sea-marge, sterile and rocky-hard" (4.1.69). By the end of her speech, Ceres's epitath echos the bounty of the opening: "Approach, rich Ceres, her to entertain" (4.1.75).

This oppositional motif seems further emphasized in the ensuing exchange between Iris and Ceres. This additional diacotomy between the Ceres's "bounty" and her "clip't" landscape seems to modulate into an opposition between Juno's "rich scarf" (4.1.82) and the "scandaled company" (4.1.90) of Venus and Cupid. Unlike the "the cold nymphs chaste crowns" (4.1.66) of Ceres' pastoral landscape, Venus and Cupid are associated with "Mar's hot minion" (4.1.97) and, ironically, "some wanton charm" (4.1.95) recalls Prospero's "high charms" (3.3.88).

In contrast to the above-mentioned dualities--the transience of Prospero's "pow'r"; Ceres's "bounty" and her "clipt" landscape; Juno's "rich scarf" and Venus and Cupid's "wanton charms"--the exchange between Ceres and Juno,

especially their duet, seems a celebration of the harvest revel's "bounty." Juno opens the celebration by saluting "my bounteous sister" (4.1.103) so that Ferdinand and Miranda "may prosperous be / And honored in their issue" (4.1.104-05). Here, the word "prosperous" seems to pun on "Prospero," possibly suggesting the identification between Prospero's "so potent Art" and Ceres's "bounty." Appropriately, the duet seems to celebrate the betrothal with images of abundance:

> Juno: Honor, riches, marriage blessing,
> Long continuance, and increasing,
> Hourly joys be still upon you!
> (4.1.106-08);
>
> [Ceres]: Earth's increase, foison plenty,
> Barns and garners never empty,
> Vines and clust'ring bunches growing,
> Plants with goodly burden bowing
> (4.1.110-13).

This catalog of abundance ends, however, with the contrary mention of season's change. Although "Spring come to you at the farthest" (4.1.115), still "harvest" has an "end" (4.1.116) and, though "shunned," there exists the possibility of "scarcity and want" (4.1.116). Even this sustained paen to nuptial abundance, then, seems to hint at the impermanence of "bounty," recalling suggestions of Prospero's transient power.

The Betrothal masque concludes with this same tension between abundance and "scarcity" with which it opened. Iris's first summons of the "Naiades" (4.1.128)--from

richness of the "winding brooks" (4.1.128), the "sedged crowns" (4.1.129), and the "green land" (4.1.130)--contrasts with her more sober, second summons "Come, temperate nymphs . . . be not too late" (4.1.132, 133). Similarly, Iris's third summons, "You sunburned sicklemen" (4.1.134), seems reluctant--"of August weary" (4.1.134). Eventhough Iris requests the nymphs to "be merry. / Make holiday" (4.1.135-36), "encounter everyone / In country footing" (4.1.137-38) and "certain Reapers . . . join with the Nymphs in a graceful dance" (s.d.); the masque is finally interrupted when Prospero "starts suddenly" (s.d.) to a "confused noise" (s.d.). Unlike the "vanishings" of the banquet and the Harpy scenes, at the end of the Betrothal scene, the nymphs and Reapers "heavily vanish" (s.d.).

Commentators have noted that this interruption of the masque seems "abrupt," especially since "the motivation is apparently inadequate" (Kermode lxxv). Indeed, the stage directions have Prospero "start suddenly"; in addition, he orders the spirits, in a string of commands, to "Avoid! No more! (4.1.143). If, however, the oppositional motif of "bounty" and ""scarcity" that runs through the Betrothal masque suggests the transience of Prospero's "pow'r"; the "abrupt" end of the masque may indicate the transience of Prospero's power. In addition, that the spirits "heavily vanish" may relate to the images of transience contained in the famous Revels speech.

Although commentaries have usefully cited Renaissance parallels to the Revels speech, it may be helpful to indicate more specifically the function of this speech in the play.

The imminent approach of the "beast Caliban" (4.1.140) seems to contrast with the "heavily" vanishing Betrothal masque. This ephemeral masque-vision thus dissolves in face of Caliban's brutal threat.

Accordingly, Prospero characterizes the "revels" (4.1.148) in emphemeral terms: a) for the Betrothal masque, the actors are "all spirits, and / Melted into air, into thin air" (4.1.149-150) and the masque's scenery is "like a baseless fabric of this vision" (4.1.151); b) for "all which it inherit" (4.1.154), succeeding generations, "like this insubstantial pageant faded, / Leave not a rack behind" (4.1.154-56); and c) for the humankind in general, "We are such stuff / As dreams are made on, and our little life / Is rounded with a sleep" (4.1.156-58). On the one hand, despite this apparent emphasis on the transience of the masque, Prospero seems to shield Ferdinand and Miranda from the brute reality of Caliban. He requests that they "be not disturb'd" (4.1.160) and "retire into my cell, / And there to repose" (4.1.161-62).

On the other hand, although he explains away his anger as my weakness, my old brain is troubled . . .with my infirmity" (4.1.159-60) and although Ferdinand and Miranda, in unison, wish him "peace" (4.1.163); upon their "exeunt" (s.d.), Prospero immediately summons Ariel--"Come with a thought" (4.1.164)--to turn Caliban away. Here it seems that Prospero is attentive to the dangers of disillusion and peril simultaneously (Maravall 202). Bacon's depiction of the masque--"These things [masques] are but toys to come amongst such serious observations" ("Of Masques and Triumphs")--seems

particularly appropriate here. That is, along with Prospero's power, his "bounty," seems to exist the suggestion of such power's transience.

If the Betrothal masque, along with the Banquet and the Harpy scene, may be viewed as dramatized displays of royal power and transience, in contrast, the Trumpery scene displays the fraudulent power of the monster Caliban and the fools, Trinculo and Stephano, in the presence of Prospero's "so potent Art." Comparisons between the Trumpery scene and the two scenes that precede it may usefully depict the difference between Prospero's rule and Caliban's misrule.

Comparing the Banquet and Harpy scenes to the Trumpery scene suggests that, regarding power, the difference between a villain and a knave may be merely one of degree. Both seem to plan uses of power: immediately prior to the Banquet scene, Antonio agrees to make another attempt at killing Alonzo at the "next advantage" (3.3.12); in the same way, Caliban's "foul conspiracy" to kill Prospero, according to Ariel, is "always bending / Towards their project" (4.1.174-75). Just as the villains' "bemock'd at stabs" (3.3.63), however, seem futile against Prospero's "high charms" (3.3.88); so the monster and the two knaves impotently "smote the air" and "beat the ground" (4.1.172, 173), "red-hot with drinking" (4.1.171).

Not only are the villains and the fools impotent in the face of Prospero's power, ironically, they also seem to share a similar prediliction for <u>concupiscentia carnis</u> (see Cullen xxix). During the Banquet scene, the apparent emphasis upon the villains' grosser, bodily senses--"viands," "stomachs,"

"taste, and "feed" (3.3.41, 42, 49)--seems to be mirrored in the Trumpery scene by the seven body parts mentioned by Ariel (two of them twice) in the space of nine lines: faces, feet, ears, eyelids, noses, ears again, shins, chins, and feet again (4.1.173-184). Ariel also associates the "beast" Caliban with animals: "unbacked colts" (4.1.176), "calflike" (4.1.179), and "apes / With foreheads villainous low" (4.1.248-49).

These suggestions of beastiality may have moral overtones. While the villains are "worse than devils" (3.3.36), Caliban is "A devil, a born devil" (4.1.188). Thus knavery and wickedness seem exposed by and powerless against the displays of Prospero's power, the Banquet and Harpy scenes.

In a similar manner, if, in the Betrothal masque, Prospero's power seems abundant and transient; in the Trumpery scene the fools' false claims to power seem transparent. Whereas royal appellations seem stately in the Betrothal masque (4:.)--"queen of the sky" (4.1.70), "sovereign grace" (4.1.71), "n'er did disobey" (4.1.77), and "Highest queen of state" (4.1.101)--those in the Trumpery scene seem ludicrous. That is, for one, Trinculo's nose is in "great indignation" (4.1.200) at the "smell of horse piss" (4.3.199). Similarly, Stephano admonishes Caliban about the "disgrace and dishonour" (4.1.209) of losing "our bottles in the pool" (4.1.208). In another instance, Trinculo's regal appellations--"O King Stephano! O peer! O worthy Stephano" (4.1.221-22) seem deflated not only by their comical allusion to the song "King Stephen" (see Langbaum n. 222) but also by

their joy at finding, as Prospero terms it, the "trumpery" (4.1.186). In short, if the Betrothal masque appears a "vanity," the Trumpery scene suggests a fraud.

What seems the most telling indicator of the conspirator's fraud may be their gross underestimation of Prospero's "so potent Art": "your fairy, which you say is a harmless fairy, has done little better than played the Jack with us" (4.1.196-98); and "Yet this is your harmless fairy, monster" (4.1.211-12). Trinculo's low estimation of Prospero's power seems to complement Caliban's mistaken notion that they would be able to "hoodwink this mischance" (4.1.206): "speak softly" (4.1.206), "be quiet" (4.1.215), and "no noise" (4.1.216). Caliban's covert conspiracy contrasts sharply with the their "roar" of pain let loose as they are being hunted. Just as Prospero promised that he would "plague them all / Even to roaring" (4.1.192-93), so Ariel affirms that Prospero kept his promise: "Hark, they roar!" (4.1.261). This "roaring" appears to echo the previous "roar" of the storm and lions--both possible images for Prospero's power and the usurpers' wickedness.

Each of the scenes is a display of power with an underlying motif of transience of that power, but in the end they are all in Prospero's power.

Prospero's double "mercy" (4.1.263; 5.1.)

Other political interpretations, especially in the last decade, have tended to identify Prospero's abjuration of his "Art" with the dimunition of his political power. These views maintain that Prospero's renunciation reflects (1) Christian attitudes towards statecraft; (2) the opposing

arguments about the disputed bounds of James's prerogative (1610); and (3) James's notion about the incompatibility of magic and monarchy.[1] These political interpretations, however, do not consider other relevances that may further clarify why Prospero abjures his "Art." That is, like the Storm (1.1), the Banquet (3.3), the Masque (4.1), and the Trumpery scene (4.1), the Abjuration scene (5.1), the play's final dramatized display of power, seems to recall Jacobean notions about the king's discretionary powers.

At this juncture in the play (5.1), Shakespeare dramatizes the final efficacy of kingly power. This grand display opens appropriately with what seems a catalog of Prospero's successes thus far: "my project gathers to a head" (5.1.1), "my charms crack not" (5.1.2), and "my spirits obey" (5.1.2). Ariel echoes Prospero: the conspirators "cannot budge till your release " (5.1.11) since this "charm so strongly works 'em" (5.1.17). Thus these speeches appear to rehearse the capacity of Prospero's "so potent art."

Similarly, Prospero's power is further emphasized in his valedictory speech to the spirits (5.1.33-50):

> I have bedimmed
> The noontide sun, called forth the mutinous winds,
> And 'twixt the green sea and azured vault
> Set roaring war
>
> 5.1.41-44).

This "roar" (5:1:44) recalls other instances of Prospero's "so potent Art" (5.1.50)--the "roar" of the opening storm (1.1), the lion's roar (2.1.311.), and the "roaring"

(4.1.261) of Caliban and his fellow conspirators. In all of these instances, Prospero's "art" leaves the conspirators at his "mercy":

> At this hour
> Lies at my mercy all mine enemies
> (4.1.262-63).

The sense of "at my mercy"--to be wholly in his power (OED, sb. 5.c.)--includes the possibility not only of clemency but also punishment. Within this context of a ruler's discretion, Prospero's enemies, now "at my mercy" (4.1.263), are liable for their treachery. This sense of "mercy" recalls other displays of Prospero's discretion--from the violence of the opening storm (1.1), the punishment of Ferdinand (2.1), the distraction of the villains (3.3), to the torturing of Caliban and his fellow conspirators (4.1). Especially in Act Five, though, Prospero's punitive "mercy" seems to respond to Alonzo's admitted "most cruel" (5.1.71) usage of Prospero and Miranda. In addition, since Sebastian is a "furtherer in the act" (5.1.73), Prospero retaliates--"Thou art pinched for't now" (5.1.74). Thus Prospero's "mercy" in its sense of the monarch's discretionary powers, included liability to danger or harm to him.

Prospero's discretion contains the power not only to punish but also to pardon.[2] While, as Tyndale asserts, the king "is ordained to take vengeaunce and hath a sword in his hand" (McIlwain, Constitutionalism 160); "Reprehensible subjects," Seneca asserts, "must be spared precisely like ineffective limbs, and if ever blood is to be let the hand

must be prevented from cutting deeper than necessary" ("On Clemency" 143). At this turning point in the play, the royal "rough magic," a punitive corrective, seems to have termini e confini (Ammirato [1594]).

When Prospero abjures his magic (5.1) and "pardons" (5.1.249) the subverters, the audience may have been reminded of the bounds of royal discretion. In contrast to the absolute royal will, Bracton's jurisdictio and Fortescue's politicum bound the king's discretion (McIlwain, Constitutionalism 106). Renaissance political thinkers feared the "gretyst destructyon on to thys reame" to be "that al thingys perteynyng to the state of our reame to hange only upon theyr [Kings'] wyl and fantasye" (McIlwain 106). Hence, a balance was sought between this royal discretion and the law. As the Venetian ambassador expressed in 1603, "The King of England exercises two powers . . .the one royal and absolute, the other ordinary and legal" (McIlwain 123). The ordinary power, in particular, served "for the profit of particular subjects, for the execution of civil justice, and the determining of meum" (McIlwain 124). In his Speech to the Star Chamber (1616), King James himself assured his subjects that "in his 'private prerogative' he was always willing to submit to the judgment of the courts" (McIlwain 125).

This notion of "mercy" or royal restraint may be illuminated by Miranda's and Ariel's empathetic responses to the suffering caused by Prospero. Just as Miranda's empathy for those in the foundering ship--"I have suffered / With those that I saw suffer" (1.2.5-6)--apparently prompts

Prospero to "pluck my magic garment from me" (1.2.24); so too Ariel's humane depiction of the conspirators--"were I human" (5.1.20)--seems to move Prospero to "my charms I'll break" (5.1.31). Ariel's "feeling" (5.1.21), as Prospero puts it, thus appears to remind Prospero that he is "One of their kind" (5.1.23) and should be "kindlier moved than" (5.1.24) Ariel.

If Prospero responds "humanely," his response seems limited to the good Gonzalo and the repentant Alonzo. Although Prospero bids all, the good and villanous characters alike, "a hearty welcome" (5.1.111), nonetheless he embraces only Gonzalo and Alonzo (5:1:109 and 121). Only for Gonzalo and Alonzo does he dramatize clementia: "none of the other virtues is more becoming to a human, none being more humane" (Seneca 141).

* * *

To summarize briefly, while I understand that the play is not a political treatise, within the play words like "Art" seem to carry a special sense that may have added a political dimension for the Renaissance viewer. In light of Jacobean notions about the political sense of the word "Art," Prospero's "Art" may elicit from politcally sensitive segment of the audience the spectrum of statecraft--from the "roar" of the extraordinary course of ad hoc decision making confined to a single emergency (gubernaculum) to the "abjuration" of such emergency powers during more normal political times (jurisdictio). Furthermore, this pattern of political meaning emerging in the speeches and action may modify the recent critical notion that the "abjuration"

speech diminishes Prospero's "so potent Art."

Notes

1. According to the first view, Prospero's abjuration of his "Art" "entails not an unequivocal heightening of authority but a partial diminution" (Greenblatt 154). Such political readings of the repudiation speech find reasons for this so-called "dimunition" of Prospero's "Art" in traditional political notions regarding the "tension between [Machiavellian] statecraft and Christian principles" (Rupp 316). That is, according to one critic, the "coercive" power of Prospero's "Art" opposes the Christian attributes of the good king, such as Mercy, so it must be abjured (Rupp 309).

The second view maintains that the abjuration evokes possible topical allusions to Jacobean political controversies. In particular, one critic asserts that Prospero's decision to "surrender his magic, an action that curbs his power," may reflect the controversy between King James and Parliament concerning the king's prerogative (Hamilton 54). Hence, according to this critic, "the play legitimizes the king's position while at the same time exerting pressure on it by legitimizing the position of the opposition" (54). In this case, a particular Jacobean political controversy--e.g., the dispute between James and Parliament over impositions (Stuart Tracts)--may be reflected in Prospero's abjuration of his "so potent art." Like James's opposition, these commentators, among others (e.g., Patterson 161), are inclined to diminish the possible scope of Prospero's "Art."

The third interpretation indicates that Prospero's renunciation reflects James's ambivalence toward magic. One such interpretation posits that James's interest in and rejection of the occult arts, especially in his Demonologie, illuminates Prospero's abjuration of magic--"magic and monarchy do not go together" (Rosador 12). In more sweeping terms, this critic maintains that, "theoretically, there is no way for a sixteenth or seventeenth-century ruler to achieve what Prospero attempts to do, namely to appropriate both charismas" (12), that of magus and monarch.

In summary, these three views maintain that Prospero's "so potent art" seems [diminished by the fact] of his abjuration, which, in turn, may reflect Christian notions of kingship, contemporary debates about James's prerogative, or the supposed incompatability of magic and monarchy.

2. Although torture was illegal in England at the time of the play, it had been allowed "by custom as inflicted by prerogative, but not by law" (McIlwain, Constitutionalism 119).

Chapter Six: By Providence divine" (I.ii.159): Prospero's "Art" and Providence.

> Yet since election did resigne to birth,
> True worth to Chance, brave industry to blood
> Nature to art, and force command the earth
> (Greville, Treatise, 1.35.1-3)

In Chapter Five, I have attempted to show that Prospero's magical "Art" may comprise a political sense. If, as noted in the previous chapter, Prospero's "Art" suggests the monarch's ad hoc emergency powers, such Art's capacity also produced "wonder" (e.g.1.2.430) and "amazement" (e.g.1.2.14). If so, Prospero's "Art" may have reminded a Jacobean audience of King James's claim to a mysterious and quasi-divine authority.[1] This potential link between Duke Prospero and magical or divine powers emerges through the play (e.g., 1.1.62; 1.2.390; 3.2.139). Prospero's abjuration of his "Art" (5.1.50-51) seems, in a sense, to emphasize, ultimately, his human limitations. This chapter proposes that The Tempest evokes, among other things, an affirmation of James's conception of monarchy--kings are "mortall Goddes."[2]

That The Tempest (1611) evokes a link between the monarch and the divine powers would have interested some members of the Jacobean audience. In, for example, Greville's "A Treatise of Monarchy" (begun circa 1599) kings are termed "mortall Goddes" (1.1.3). The king, in Chapman's Memorable Masque (1613), is "from Heaven an earthly deity."[3] King James himself, in Basilicon Doron, advises his son Prince Henry that kings are divine, "little gods." In a

speech to Parliament (1609), delivered at the time of The Tempest, James reiterates his earlier statement:

> Kings are not onely Gods Lieutenants vpon earth, and sit vpon Gods throne, but euen by God himselfe they are called Gods (McIlwain 307).

These examples, among others, suggest that the play's audience may have been familiar with James's notion that the prince was linked to the divine.

Tied up with James's own attitudes and concerns, in The Tempest we find images connecting Duke Prospero to heavenly powers. While I do not mean to suggest that Prospero represents King James, the two share certain attitudes toward divine kingship. Among such attitudes, the Jacobean audience may have recognized in Prospero's display of transcendent "Art" James's notion of his quasi-divine powers. Like the workings of a mysteriously hidden divine power[4], King James spoke of his "mystery of state" or his arcanum imperii[5]. To the Jacobean audience--the aristocratic Blackfriars audience and the audience of the 1613 wedding of Princess Elizabeth and Elector Palatine--Prospero's magical "Art," then, may have shared some aspects of James's potestas extraordinaria.[6]

One example of Prospero's connection with the supernatural powers appears in the opening stage "tempest," a display of Prospero's "Art." Unaware of Prospero's part in raising the storm, some people on the ship seek help from the powers above. "All lost, to prayers," the mariners cry out, "to prayers! all lost!" (1.2.51). Gonzalo, too, recommends

they pray: "The King and Prince are at prayers, let's assist them" (1.1.53). While the subverter Antonio scoffs, "We are merely cheated of our lives by drunkards" (1.1.55), the scene closes with Gonzalo's cry, "the wills above be done" (1.1.66). Even though neither the passengers nor the audience at this point know of Prospero's part in raising the storm, Gonzalo's "wills above" seems a possible link between Prospero and the supernatural powers.[7]

Prospero's veiled "Art," like the king's arcane powers, enables him, with the assistance of his "brave spirit" Ariel (1.2.206), to amaze and perturb other characters. When Prospero, for example, asks Ariel,

> Hast thou, spirit,
> Perform'd to point the tempest that I bade thee?
>
> (1.2.193-94),

Ariel's response details how, disguised as a flame during the storm, he "amazed" the passengers:

> I boarded the king's ship; now on the beak,
> Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin,
> I flam'd <u>amazement</u>: sometime I'd divide,
> And burn in many places; on the topmast,
> The yards and boresprit, would I flame distinctly,
> Then meet and join.
>
> (1.2.195-201).

Emphasizing Prospero's godlike power, Ariel compares his own omnipresent "flame"--"I flame distinctly" (1.2.200)--to Roman deities Jove and Neptune:

> Jove's lightnings, the precursors
> O' th' dreadful thunder-claps, more momentary
> And sight-outrunning were not: the fire and cracks
> Of sulphurous roaring the most mighty Neptune
> Seem to beseige, and make his bold wave tremble,
> Yea, his dread trident shake
>
> (1.2.201-206).

Ariel's awesome display of supernatural power causes the passengers to react in amazement:

> Not a soul
> But felt a fever of the mad, and play'd
> Some tricks of deperation. All but mariners
> Plung'd in the foaming brine, and quit the vessel,
> Then all afire with me: the King's son, Ferdinand,
> With hair up-standing,--then like reeds, not hair--
> Was the first man that leap'd; cried,"Hell is empty,
> And all the devils are here
>
> (1.2.208-214).

Fever, madness, and desperation comprise the passengers' terrified reaction to Ariel's dreadful exhibition of Prospero's arcanum. This godlike capacity to cause wonder in other characters recurs through the play.

This pattern--the invisible Prospero's supernatural power "amazes" other characters--again emerges after Prospero's second spectacle, the Banquet/Harpy scene (3.3). As is the case for the storm scene, Prospero and Ariel are "(invisible)" (3.1.18, s.d.) conjure a spectacle to amaze Alonzo, Gonzalo, Antonio, and Sebastian. Further, Ariel

accomplishes a virtuoso triple vanishing. First, the "strange Shapes" "vanish'd stangely" (3.3.39); second, "the banquet vanishes" (3.3.52, s.d.); third, the Harpy "vanishes in thunder" (3.3.82, s.d.). Just as the ship's passengers react "deperately" (1.1.27) to the opening storm, so Alonzo, Antonio, and Sebastian, according to Gonzalo, "All three of them are deperate" (3.3.104). In a speech that recalls how Ariel "flam'd amazement" (1.2.197) aboard the foundering ship, Prospero asserts:

> My high charms work,
> And these mine enemies are all knit up
> In their distractions: they are now in my power;
> And in these fits I leave them
> (3.3.88-91).

As in the opening storm scene, Gonzalo and Sebastian portray Prospero's display of his "Art" in terms of supernatural powers. Gonzalo asks Alonzo,

> I' th' name of something <u>holy</u>, sir, why stand you
> In this strange stare?
> (3.3.93-94).

Similarly, Sebastian, evoking his own villainy, declares,

> But one <u>fiend</u> at a time,
> I'll fight their legions o'er
> (3.3.103).

Finally, Prospero's "powers" (3.3.73) take on connotations of divine retribution: the usurpers are "three men of sin" (3.3.53) guilty of "Ling'ring perdition" (3.3.77).

This pattern emerges again when Prospero, through his extraordinary "Art," "amazes" the drunk, potential assassins,

Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo. Again "invisible" (4.1.185), Ariel reports to Prospero about the powerlessness of his enemies. Ariel's report that the drunkards, Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo are "So full of valour" (4.1.172)

> that they smote the air
> For breathing in their faces; beat the ground
> For kissing of their feet
>
> (4.1.172-174)

recalls his previous depiction of the subverters Alonzo, Antonio, and Sebastian, men of such-like valour" (3.3.59), who

> may as well
> Wound the loud winds, or with bemock'd-at stabs
> Kill the still-closing waters, as diminish
> One dowle that's in my plume
>
> (3.3.62-65).

While Prospero distracts the aristocratic usurpers with an elaborate series of appearences and vanishings, he instructs Ariel to decoy the drunken conspirators with worthless clothing,

> The trumpery in my house, go bring it hither,
> For stale to catch these thieves
>
> (4.1.186-187).

Prospero's tactic works. As emphasized by their repeated exclamations, the drunkards are distracted by the "frippery":

> Trin. O King Stephano! O peer! O worthy Stephano!
> look what a wardrobe here is for thee!
>
> (4.1.221-222)

and

Trin. O, ho, monster! we know what belongs to a
frippery. O King Stephano!
(4.1.225-226).

Like the overtones of divine retribution in Ariel's "three men of sin" speech (3.3.), Prospero's "Spirits" (4.1.254, s.d.) punish the drunkards:

Go charge my goblins that they grind their joints
With dry convulsions; shorten up their sinews
With aged crampls; and more pinch-spotted make them
Than pard or cat o' mountain
(4.1.258-261).

With Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano punished--"hunted soundly" (4.1.262)--now does Prospero's
project gather to a head:

My charms crack not; my spirits obey
(5.1.1-2).

Prospero's supernatural power, then, "distracts" his enemies:

The King,
His brother, and yours, abide all three distracted
. . .
Your charm so strongly
works 'em
(5.1.11-12;17-18),

and amazes his friend Gonzalo:

All torment, trouble, wonder and amazement
Inhabits here: some heavenly power guide us
Out of this fearful country!
(5.1.104-106).

Through the play, then, Prospero's link with the divine is

emphasized by his invisibile "Art." That Prospero's "Art" produces "wonder" and "amazement" may have reminded the Jacobean audience of King James's claim to a quasi-divine authority.

Prospero and Providence

> He is a god, o're kings; yet stoupes he then
> Neerest a man, when he doth gouerne men
> (Jonson, Oberon [1611] 344-45)

If Prospero's capacity to cause "wonder" makes him more closely resemble a godlike ruler, his "Art" also seems to provide him with a privileged perspective. That is, while characters are amazed at the wonders produced by Prospero's "Art," their wonderment is repeatedly viewed from Prospero's providential perspective. Conversely, from the their limited earthly perspective, characters view Prospero's guidance as "wondrous." When Gonzalo, "an honest old Councillor," for example, describes his "meanders" about the isle as "here's a maze trod, indeed" (3.3.2), he is obviously ignorant of Prospero's "high charms" (3.3.88).

Two examples of such opposing perspectives recur between Prospero and Miranda. At the beginning of the play, a function of Prospero's exposition (1.2.15-185) is to allay Miranda's concern for the fate of the "poor souls" who were shiprecked: "Be collected: / No more amazement" (1.2.13). Similarly, at the end of the play, Prospero undercuts Miranda's awe. When, upon seeing the aristocrats for the first time, Miranda exclaims, "O brave new world, / That has such people in't," Prospero adjusts her view with, "T'is new to thee" (5.1.183-84). Here, Miranda's wonder is,

ironically, demystified by Prospero's transcendent perspective. Sharing Prospero's vantage point, the audience also questions Miranda's seemingly naive evaluation of the "noble" entourage--"O brave new world"--which includes potential assassins. In the two examples cited, then, Miranda's "wonder" is demystified (according to Prospero, Miranda "Art ignorant" [1.2.18]) by Prospero's privileged perspective. Thus, it seems appropriate that Miranda's own name may suggest "wonder."

Miranda's limited perspective, noted by Prospero (and the audience), seems to recur in speeches of other characters, suggesting their similarly limited perspectives. To cite a few examples, when Ferdinand, love-struck, sees Miranda, he exclaims, "O you wonder" (1.2.430). To this, Miranda, whose very name implies admiration, ironically,asserts that she is "No wonder, sir / But certainly a maid" (1.2.430-1). Similarly, as Gonzalo awakens from Prospero's spell, he confusedly exclaims, "All torment, trouble, wonder and amazement / Inhabits here" (5.1.104-5), emphasizing for the audience his limited perspective. That Caliban, after drinking "liquor," dubs the drunken Stephano, "Thou wondrous man" (2.2.164), suggests a parody of the above opposing perspectives. That is, Sebastian's liquor, like Prospero's "Art," limits Caliban's earth-bound ("thou earth, thou" [1.2.314]) perspective. From their limited perspective, then, these characters show "amazement" and "wonder" at displays of Prospero's "Art."

From their limited perspectives, the "amazed" characters repeatedly refer their "strange" experiences on the island

(as determined by Prospero). Miranda, for example, attributes her "Heaviness" (her sleepiness) to "The strangeness of your [Prospero's] story" (1.2.308-309). Similarly, observing Gonzalo and Alonzo falling asleep, Sebastian remarks, "What a strange drowsiness possesses them!" (2.1.194). Further, Gonzalo is awakened by a "humming, / And that a strange one too, which did awake me" (2.1.312-13). The somnambulant effects of Prospero's "Art," then, is accounted "strange" by Miranda, Gonzalo and Alonzo.

Elsewhere the effects of Prospero's "project" are perceived as "strange." Francisco observes that the Banquet "vanish'd strangely" (3.3.40); Gonzalo asks Alonzo, "why stand you / In this strange stare?" (3.3.94-95); Ferdinand comments about Prospero's "vexation," "This is strange" (4.1.143). Alonzo also describes the effects of Prospero's "Art" as "strange." According to Alonzo, Prospero has told a "strange story" (5.1.117); the revelations of Act Five, for Alonzo, move from "strange to stranger" (5.1.229-230); again, Alonzo describes his movements about the island "as strange a maze as ever men trod" (5.1.242); Caliban is "a strange thing as e'er I look'd on" (5.1.289)--elsewhere Caliban is a "strange fish!" (2.2.27), a "strange beast" (2.2.31), and a "strange bedfellow" (2.2.31)--finally, in the play's penultimate speech, Alonzo says to Prospero,

> I long
> To hear the story of your life, which must
> Take the ear strangely
>
> (5.1.311-313).

While these recurrances of the word "strange" may indicate

the characters' wonder and astonishment ("all three distracted" [5.1.12]) at the effects of Prospero's "Art," their use of the word "strange" may also suggest their limited perspective. Even Prospero's perspective seems limited when he describes how he himself is directed by the divine powers. Prospero, in Act One, declares that he arrived upon the island "by accident most strange" (1.2.178); similarly, in Act Five, he repeats this sentiment,

> know for certain
> That I am Prospero, and that very duke
> Which was thrust forth of Milan; who most strangely
> Upon this shore, where you were wrack'd, was landed,
> To be the lord on 't
>
> (5.1.158-162).

When, however, Prospero knows and directs the sequence of events on the island, his perspective seems privileged. This perferred perspective, moreover, may have reminded one level of the contemporary audience of a particular Renaissance notion of Providence, nunc semper stans (Augustine, Confessions xi; Boethius, Consol., III.vii, IV.vi, V.iii-iv; Dante, Paradiso, XVII 18). As a way of conceptualizing foreknowledge, the nunc semper stans [now ever standing still] imagined a standpoint in eternity from which God saw every moment in time as simultaneously created and present (Pocock 39). While I do not mean to allegorize Prospero as Providence, it is possible that parallels between Prospero's perspective and the perspective of the nunc semper stans are not speciously drawn. On the island, for example, Prospero, from his providential perspective, sees to all

circumstantial things. In some respects, moreover, the world of the island is directed by Prospero's "Art" just as the historical world "is visible in simplicity, unity, and perfection and is directed by God's will and intelligence (which are one)" (Pocock 39).

Applied to The Tempest, the perspective of the nunc semper stans also seems to underlay Gonzalo's expressions of "amazement." As Calvin asserts, "order, reason, end, and necessity lie hidden in God's purpose and are not apprehended in human opinion" (Inst. I, xvi, 8-10; Bouwsma 168). That is, reacting to the course of events on the island, Gonzalo implores "some heavenly power guide us / Out of this fearful country!" (5.1.105). Significantly, Prospero immediately announces himself: "Behold, sir King, / The wronged Duke of Milan, Prospero" (5.1.106-7). This one exchange emphasizes a possible connection between Prospero's perspective and the perspective of Providence.

Elsewhere in the play, Prospero also evokes aspects of Providence. When Ferdinand, for instance, assures his father that Miranda is, in fact, "mortal," we recall Miranda's similar claim (1.2.430) and Prospero's similar remark (5.1.184). Here, Ferdinand attributes his betrothal to Miranda as the work of "immortal providence," a possible reference to God or Prospero, considering Prospero has manipulated events.

It seems likely, then, that Prospero's "Art," which creates "wonder" and 'amazement" in other characters, affords him a privileged perspective that some members of the audience might have connected with the providential

perspective of the nunc semper stans. King James himself was fond of reminding his subjects that kings "exercise a manner or resemblence of Divine power upon earth" (McIlwain 39). Similarly, Prospero possesses not only "arts" unknown to them but also knowledge about them they do not know themselves. This arcane "Art" seems dramatically represented in the difference between his and other characters' perspectives. Like Montaigne's God of "incomprehensible power" (2.216), Prospero perturbs his enemies and awes his friends. Just as Providence may be defined as that unseen perfection of the divine vision in which God sees to all circumstantial things[8]; so Prospero's "invisible" presence provides him with a privileged perspective from which he directs the succession of the play's events. Indeed, Ariel's "Solemn music," an audible representation of Prospero's "so potent Art" (5.1.?), acts on characters' wills, psychologically channeling their force in a desired direction.[9] If Prospero's privileged perspective directs the characters upon the island, Ariel's music, another aspect of Prospero's providential "Art," guides and protects Prospero's friends. When, at the play's end, Gonzalo calls for "some heavenly power" to "guide us" (5.1.106), he unwittingly articulates a function of Prospero's "Art." That is, just as Prospero guides and cares for Miranda, so "providence," as Raleigh states in his History of the World, forseeth and careth" (Sect.XlV). Prospero's "care" for Miranda, Ferdinand, and Gonzalo, moreover, may have reminded the Jacobean audience of James's notions about the role of divine Providence in his

kingship.[10] King James himself, in Trew Law of Free Monarchies (pub. anon.1603), maintained that

> the proper office of a King towards his Subjects, agrees very wel with the office of the head towards the body, and all members thereof: For from the head, being the seate of Iudgement, proceedeth the care and foresight of guiding, and preuenting all euill that may come to the body or any part thereof
>
> (McIlwain 64).

Furthermore, upon James's triumphal entry into London (1604), a speech was read to him at the Arch of the Dutch community reminding him that he enjoyed his throne by Divine Providence:

> God therefore . . . holds the Raynes of thy Kingdome in his owne hand: It is hee, whose beames, lend a light to thine
>
> (Parry 10).

In the above references, then, a monarch seems executor divinae Providentiae [executor of divine Providence].[11] In The Tempest, too, Prospero, through the agency of Ariel's music, guides and protects characters. Instances of the guiding power of Ariel's music seem to emerge through the play. In Act One, Ariel, "invisible," leads Ferdinand toward Prospero by "playing and singing" (1.2.376, s.d.). In Act Two, "[invisible] Ariel puts Gonzalo and Alonzo to sleep, "playing solemn music" (2.1.179, s.d.). Again in Act Two, to

prevent Sebastian and Antonio from assassinating Alonzo, Ariel enters "[invisible], with music and song" (2.1.291, s.d.). In Act Three, Ariel, again invisible, prompts Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban to follow him by playing a "tune upon a tabor and pipe" (3.2.122, s.d.). Also in Act Three, Prospero himself "on the top (invisible)" watches Ariel and "several strange Shapes" perform the Banquet scene to "Solemn and strange music" (3.3.17, s.d.). In Act Four, after Prospero instructs Ariel, "Thy shape invisible retain thou still . . .to catch these thieves [Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban]" (4.1.185, 187), Prospero and Ariel, invisible (4.1.193, s.d.), view the drunkards beguiled by the trumpery and then produce a "noise of hunters" (4.1.253, s.d.). Finally, in Act Five, with "Solemn music" Prospero observes the "charm'd" (5.1.57, s.d.) courtiers being led into a circle by Ariel. As the above references show, Ariel's "solemn" music, like divine Providence, guides the anguished mortals.[12]

Further evidence of Ariel's music as an audible expression of Prospero's providential "Art" emerges through the play. Indeed, Ariel's "solemn" music seems to exercise an Orphic control over the passions and the mind of the courtiers on the island. Ferdinand, in particular, notes the persuasive power of Ariel's providential music. Following Ariel, who is "playing and singing" (1.2.376, s.d.), Ferdinand wonders:

> Where should this music be? i' th'air or the 'arth?
> It sounds no more: and, sure, it waits upon

> Some god o' th' island
>
> . . .
>
> This music crept by me upon the waters,
> Allaying both their fury and my passion
> With its sweet air: thence I have follow'd it,
> Or it hath drawn me rather
>
> (1.2.390-392, 395-398).

Linking Ariel's music to "Some god o' th' island" (1.2.392), the effect of Ariel's music upon Ferdinand seems providential. That is, Ferdinand states that he had been guided by the "sounds": "I have follow'd it" (1.2.397) or "it hath drawn me" (1.2.398). In addition, Ferdinand remarks that Ariel's "sweet air" allayed the storm's "fury" and his "passion." Through the guidance of Ariel's music, then, Prospero honored Miranda's earlier request that Prospero save those aboard the foundering ship:

> If by your Art, my dearest father, you have
> Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them
>
> (1.2.1-2).

Ariel's "sound," then, which Ferdinand hears "now above me" (1.2.410), may have providential overtones.

Just as Ariel's "sweet air" guides and protects Ferdinand, so it saves Gonzalo and King Alonzo from Antonio and Sebastian's assassination attempt. Like Hamlet's "special providence in the fall of a sparrow" (5.2.205-206), Ariel's

> . . . master through his Art forsees the danger
> That you, his friend, are in; and sends me forth
>
> (2.1.292-293).

So Ariel "Sings in Gonzalo's ear" (2.1.294, s.d.):

> If of life you keep a care,
> Shake off slumber, and beware
> (2.1.298-299).

To the end of this scene, characters' speeches contain numerous references to safety. The subverters, on the one hand, ironically claim they "stood here securing your repose" (2.1.305) as they had promised before the royal entourage fell asleep:

> We two, my lord,
> Will guard your person while you take your rest,
> And watch your safety
> (2.1.191-193).

In fact, not long after this promice is made, they attempt to assassinate Gonzalo and Alonzo. Gonzalo, on the other hand, advises Alonzo, "'Tis best we stand upon our guard" (2.1.316), and prays that the "Heavens keep him [the lost Ferdinand] from these beasts!" (2.1.319). Similarly, Ariel ends the scene with a reference to safety: "So, King, go safely on to seek thy son" (2.1.322). Ariel's concern for the safety of Alonzo and Gonzalo recalls Prospero's care for Miranda:

> I have done nothing but in care of thee,
> Of thee, my dear one; thee, my daughter
> (1.2.16-17).

Ariel's music, then, analogous to a providential influence, guides and cares for Ferdinand, Gonzalo, and Miranda. This "Comparaison de l'art de musique, avec la providence de

Dieu"[13], then, emerges through the play.

"I embrace thy body" (5.1.110): Prospero's "Art" and the "Meum et tuum"

> Transcendency of either side unknowne
> Princes with men usinge noe other artes
> But by good dealing, to obtaine good hearts
> (Greville, Treatise, 1.2.4-6)

A royal demigod, Prospero in the first scene thunders against the usurpers. "Thys hath byn thought . . . to perteyne to the maiesty of a prince," complains Reginald Pole (1535?) about Henry VIII, "to moderate and rule al thyng accordiyng to hys wyl and plesure; wych ys . . . the greatyst destructyon to thys reame."[14] Invisible, ruling the waves from afar like the force of divine retribution, Prospero, with his "so potent Art," checks the aristocratic usurpers and punishes the drunken conspirators. Neglecting "the king-becoming graces" (Macbeth 4.3.91), Prospero leaves "these mine enemies all knit up, / In their distractions" (3.3.89-90). Being not among those "that have the power to hurt and will do none" (Sonnet 94), Prospero sets the hounds on his ememies: "Fury, Fury! there, Tyrant, there! hark! hark!" (4.1.257). Even Ariel "fears" warning Prospero against Caliban's conspiracy:

> I thought to have told thee of it; but I fear'd
> Lest I might anger thee
> (4.1.168-169).

Like Lear, who allows no room "betwixt" his "sentence and" his "power" (1.1.170), the invisible Prospero checks and punishes without consultation.

Through the first four acts, then, the godlike Prospero "roars" against his enemies, like "the roaring" of royal Jacobean lion with a terrible and quasi-divine authority (McIlwain 39). Even to his kin, Prospero maintains the distance of a providential perspective, sharing his intelligence prudentially. For example, to allay Miranda's compassion for those aboard the foundering ship, Prospero states that "'Tis time / I should inform thee farther" (1.2.23-24). At this point in the play, Prospero temporarily relaxes his emergency power--

> Lend thy hand,
> And pluck my magic garment from me.--So:
> Lie there, my Art
>
> (1.2.22-24).

Echoing this temporary relinquishing of his magic, in Act Five a pivotal moment occurs on stage. Prompted by Ariel's compassionate plea for the "prisoners"--"if you now beheld them, your affections / Would become tender" (5.1.17-18)--Prospero, "kindlier mov'd" (5.1.24), instructs Ariel:

> Go release them, Ariel:
> My charms I'll break, their senses I'll restore,
> And they shall be themsleves
>
> (5.1.30-32).

From this moment on, Prospero "forgives" his enemies and discloses his knowledge of events. In addition, just as he puts down his magical mantle to allay her fears (1.2.24, s.d.), so, now, Prospero abjures his "Art"--"this rough magic / I here abjure" (5.1.50).

Indeed Act Five seems to present a pattern of embraces

and disclosures. Prospero first embraces King Alonzo:

> I embrace thy body;
> And to thee and thy company I bid
> A hearty welcome
>
> (5.1.109-111).

Next, Prospero embraces his "noble friend" Gonzalo,

> Let me embrace thine age, whose honour cannot
> Be measur'd or confin'd
>
> (5.1.120-122).

Then, in response to Alonzo's, "Give us particulars of thy preservation" (5.1.135), Prospero discloses, discretely, the circumstances that led to their meeting: to Alonzo,

> know for certain
> That I am Prospero, and that very duke
> Which was thrust forth of Milan; who most strangely
> Upon this shore, where you were wrack'd, was landed,
> To be the lord on 't. No more yet of this;
> For 'tis a chronicle of day by day,
> Not a relation for a breakfast, nor
> Befitting this first meeting
>
> (5.1.158-165),

again to Alonzo,

> at pick'd leisure
> Which shall be shortly single, I'll resolve you,
> Which to you shall seem probable, of every
> These happen'd accidents
>
> (5.1.247-250),

and finally to Alonzo,

> For this one night; which part of it, I'll waste

> With such discourse as, I not doubt, shall make it
> Go quick away: the story of my life,
> And the particular accidents gone by
> Since I came to this isle
>
> (5.1.302-306).

The play moves, then, from Prospero's exercise of a god-like power in the first four acts to his abjuration of his "Art" in the final act.

If his "Art" represents his ducal emergency powers, Prospero's exercise and abjuration of his "Art" may have reminded the Jacobean audience of one of James's notions about kingship. This double power of the king--Greville's "mortall god"--was widely discussed near the time of the play's compostion. "The King's power is double," concludes Baron Fleming giving judgment for King James in the Bates case (1606), "ordinary and absolute."[15] King James himself asserts his double power just two years before The Tempest's performance. In his Speech before Parliament, 1609, King James distinguishes between a "King in divinity" and a king in a "settled and established state of this Crowne, and Kingdome" (McIlwain, Works, 308). In the same speech James again distinguishes between, on the one hand, "Kings in their originall power might doe in Indiuiduo vago"; on ther other hand, kings "gouerning in a settled State" (McIlwain, Works 309). Finally, in this speech, although James argued that it is "sedition to dispute with what he may do in the height of his power," he will "make the reason appeare of all my doings, and rule according to my Lawes" (McIlwain, Works,

310). Duke Prospero's "Art" and King James's "height of my power," then, may share similar aspects of monarchical power.

Finally, the contrast between Prospero at the height of his powers and Prospero's meditation upon his own mortality--"when every third thought shall be of my grave" (5.1.311)--may have evoked James's ultimate depiction of his double monarchy. Again in his 1609 speech before Parliament, James declares, "Vos Dij estis, . . .But ye shall die like men" (McIlwain, Works, 309). This sentiment Ben Jonson also states in A Panegyrie on the Happie Entrance of James . . .1603:

> She [Themis] tells him first, that Kings
> Are here on earth the most conpspicuous things:
> That they, by Heaven, are placed upon his throne
> To rule like Heaven; and have no more, their owne.
> As they are men, then men.[16]

Aptly, we may recall now Seneca compared the ruler to the pilot of a ship:

> Duas personas habet gubernator--Two persons are combined in the pilot: one he shares with all his fellow passengers, for he also is a passenger; the other is peculiar to him, for he is the pilot. A storm harms him as a passenger, but it harms him not as a pilot
>
> (Epistolae, LXXXV, 35).

This twin conception of kingship, then, seems to be shared by both James and Prospero. Especially, in the "Epilogue," Shakespeare seems to emphasize this distinction between man

and his profession when Prospero says:

> Now my charms are all o'erthrown,
> And what strength I have's my own,
> Which is most faint
>
> ("Epi" 1-3).

To summarize, this pattern--the exercise and abjuration of Prospero's "Art"--seems to reflect one of the Jacobean audience's recognizable attitudes toward the monarch's quasi-divine power. While this paper does not argue that Prospero represents James, the two share certain attitudes toward divine kingship. Among these shared attitudes is the notion that Duke Prospero, to quell insurrection, exercises certain temporary emergency powers. At this time, Prospero's magical "Art"--like James's "mystery of state"--most closely resembles the inscrutible power of God. After the emergency subsides, however, the Duke now, in a sense, has completed the action of his emergency power. Appropriately, Duke Prospero abjures his "Art," comes face ot face with his subjects. Finally, as a dramatization of the prince's tabooed power, Prospero's "Art" brings his enemies into "the circle" he has made (5.1.57, s.d.), despite their real individual differences.

Notes

1. See Pocock 39.

2. Precedents for the divine right of kings may be traced in the topos that the King is God. Medieval rulers, for instance, claimed to be viceregents of the Deity (Kantorovicz 115-116). Frederick II, for example, in the Prologue of his Liber augustalis asserts that after the Fall princes were created by necessity as well as by divine Providence. These rulers were given the task,

> being arbiters of life and death for their peoples, to establish what each man's fortune, lot, and state

> shall be, as though they acted in a certain way as the executors of the divine Providence (Cervone 4).

The king as executor divinae Providentiae [executor of the divine Providence], according to Kantorowicz, seems borrowed from Seneca's De clementia. According to Seneca, the Emperor Nero could have said:

> Have I not been chosen to act on earth as vicar of the gods? I am the arbiter of life and death for the peoples. What each man's lot and state shall be is laid into my hands. And what Fortune would bestow on any mortal, she makes known through my mouth (1.1.2).

While, as Kantorowicz maintains, Nero was not considered in medieval lore a model ruler, the link between the king and the divine seems conventional.

3. Chapman's Memorable Masque was written for the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn as their contribution to the festivities that celebrated the wedding of King James's daughter Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine in February 1613 (Gordon 194). The Tempest too was performed during these festivities.

4. An insightful discussion of the "hidden god" motif in Lear may be found in Elton, especially, 59-62.

5. Speech in the Star Chamber, 1616 (McIlwain 333).

6. Alberici Gentilis J.C. Professoris Regii, Regales Disputationes Tres: id est, De potestate Regis absoluta, Londini, 1605, 10-11.

7. Gonzalo's stoic acceptance of the "wills above" may suggest an embedded stage direction for Prospero. I have seen productions where the audience views Prospero watching the storm scene, from above. Indeed, Prospero through the play is invisible and on top.

8. This section regarding the providential perspective is heavily indebted to Pocock 39 and Zagzebski 36-65. The knowledge of the eternal being is explained by Boethius as follows:

> Since, then, all judgment comprehends those things presented to it according to its own nature, and since the state of God is ever that of eternal presence, His knowledge transcends all temporal change and abides in the immediacy of his presence. It embraces the infinite sweep of past and future, and views all things in the immediacy of its knowing as though they are happening in the present. If you wish to consider, then, the foreknowledge of the future, but as the

> knowledge of a never changing present. For this reason divine knowledge is better called providence or "looking forth" than prevision or "seeing beforehand," for it is far removed from matters below and looks forth at all things as though froma lofty peak above them (V, vi).

In the Summa Theologiae Aquinas expresses the way in which God knows using a well-known metaphor already suggested by Boethius:

> Things reduced to act in time are known by us successively in time, but by God are known in eternity, which is above time. Whence to us they cannot be certain, since we knowfuture contingent things only as contingent futures; but they are certain to God alone, whose understanding is in eternity above time; just as he who goes along the road does not see those who come after him, although he who see the whole road from such a height sees at once all travelling by the way (Ia, Q. 14, A. 13, reply obj. 3).

9. Maravel's index, "wonder."

10. As Calvin asserts in Institutes, princes are "viceregents of God [and] in themselves exhibit a kind of image of the Divine Providence" (II:655).

11. See Kantorovicz's index, "ruler."

12. See Sternfeld, "Shakespeare and Music, 166 in Muir, A New Companion.

13. Pierre Viret's Familiere . . .instruction en la doctrine chrestienne (]Geneva?], 1559): 424.

14. England in the Reign of Henry the Eighth (Early English Text Society) 100-101.

15. Howell's State Trials, II, 389.

16. In Poems, ed. B.H. Newdigate (Oxford, 1936), 275ff, esp. 277.

Chapter Seven: Jacobean Context and Shakespearean Text.

> "Caliban has all the discontents, and malice of a witch, and of a devil, besides a convenient proportions of the deadly sins; gluttony, sloth, and lust, are manifest; the dejectedness of a slave is likewise given him, and the ignorance of one bred up in a desert island. His person is monstrous, and he is the product of unnatural lust; and his language is as hobgoblin as his person; in all things he is distinguished from other mortals"
> (John Dryden 1679).

> . . .there mayst thou brain him,
>
> Having first seiz'd his books
>
> (3.2.86-87)

In order to answer the question with which this study started-- "What is the validity of recent colonialist-imperialist criticism of The Tempest?"--I have had to consider the play in relation to its Renaissance political context. As a way of providing a contemporary context, I have emphasized for examination certain terms in the play--among others, tempest, fortune, virtue, art, and providence. A brief recapitulation may serve to bring to mind the relevance of the parts to the aim of the whole study. First, I shall present a critique of recently influential colonial-imperialist interpretations of the play.[1] Against this background, I shall summarize Jacobean political contexts presented in this study possibly relevant to the play.

Recent interpretations of The Tempest tend to identify it as a play dealing with exploitation by imperialist powers

of colonialist subjects.[2] These critical readings not only question Prospero's moral dominance in the play, they also elevate Caliban, a previous resident of the island, to a status competing politically with Prospero. Such recent critical attitudes leaning towards Caliban instead of Prospero tend to be anachronistic, sentimental, and politically motivated. Examples of such readings include the following:

Pro-Caliban

* "Caliban, not Prospero, is the rightful spirit of the play's center" (Patterson 155).

* "Caliban's curses are the most powerful condemnation of Prospero's way of life" (Hirst 19).

* "Caliban's ugliness is in the eye of the beholder" (Hirst 19).

* "Caliban loves music, has learned good English, speaks good poetry, and knows something about the laws of inheritance" (Patterson 159).

* "Shakespeare "lives amid Caliban's international struggle for what Hegel called a universal mutual 'recognition,' and for what Marx anticipated would be the opening--at last--of an authentic, collective, and

emancipated human existence. To this 'the past is prologue'" (Erlich 65).

* "And yet out of the midst of this attitude [that Caliban is the darkest European fantasy of the Wild Man] Caliban wins a momentary victory that is, quite simply, an assertion of inconsolable human pain and bitterness" (Greenblatt 26).

From such quotations as the above, recent critics have attempted to install Caliban as the hero of the play. Examples of interpretations questioning Prospero's moral dominance include:

Anti-Prospero

* "Prospero's chief magical device is to harrow other characters with anxiety" (Taylor 350).

* "Prospero, and Shakespeare himself, are not masters of all they command" (Patterson 159).

* "Prospero is the colonizer whose refused offer of civilization forces him to strict discipline" (Brown 59).

* "Prospero is self-installed as a ruler and acquires, through Caliban's enslavement, the means of supplying the food and labour on which he and Miranda are completely dependent" (Barker 200).

* "Though he treats Caliban as less than human, Prospero finally expresses, in a famously enigmatic phrase--"This thing of darkness / I acknowledge mine"--a sense of connection with his servant monster" (Greenblatt Negotiations 167).

* "We see Prospero as the usurper of the island . . . in terms that recall the attitude of the patronizing colonizers exploiting the natural resources of his new-found conquest" (Hirst 18).

A result of such extreme attitudes does invert a critically apparent position of Prospero and Caliban in The Tempest. Interpreting the play's text, however, a scholarly view does not support such critical notions. Indeed, such controversial innovations as making Caliban the play's hero rest on, among others, two questionable assumptions: (1) Caliban's supposedly legitimate claim to the island is usurped by an allegedly imperialist Prospero; and (2) this purportedly irascible Prospero treats Caliban, a thwarted rapist, with undue harshness. In the following discussion of these points, I hope to show that they are supported by little evidence in the play, they suggest anachronistic twentieth-century notions unfamiliar to a Jacobean audience, and they would have baffled James and his courtiers.

Caliban's So-Called Counterclaim

> "Caliban's claim to the legitimate possession of the island (1.2.331) is never really answered by Prospero"
> (Greenblatt Negotiations 157).

> Caliban: This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother,
> Which thou tak'st from me. . .
> (1.2.332-333).

The context is that of Prospero's summoning of Caliban to "Fetch us in fuel" (1.2.368). Caliban's speech is in reply to Prospero's threat ("thou shalt have cramps" [1.2.327]) if Caliban had refused to appear before him. The threat therefore recalls Prospero's warning to his other servant, Ariel, ("If thou more murmur'st . . ." [1.2.294]) in the previous scene. The relation between Prospero's threatening command ("Come, thou tortoise! when? [1.2.317]) and Caliban's defiant response ("I must eat my dinner" [1.2.333]) is thus vividly present to Prospero, Caliban, and the audience.

Recent interpretations of this exchange have tended to support Caliban's dubious claim to the island--"This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother, / Which thou tak'st from me" (1.2.333-334). Examples of this view include the following:

* "Caliban knows something about the laws of inheritance" (Patterson 155);
* "When Caliban states [his claim] . . . we see Prospero as usurper of the island" (Hirst 18);

* "The "island is rightly his . . . and Prospero is an invader and a usurper" (Orgel Cannibals 54).

Also in favor of Caliban's supposedly legitimate claim is the editor of the recent Oxford Tempest (1987). Siding with Caliban, this commentator maintains that "Caliban, in fact, has a double claim to the island, both through inheritance from his mother, Sycorax, the first settler, and through prior possession" (Orgel 54). To validate Caliban's supposed two-fold claim to the island, he goes even further: "Caliban's claim to the island is, on either ground, a good one even if the charge of bastardy is held to be valid: there were by Shakespeare's time numerous royal precedents, including the two previous queens of England, Elizabeth and her half sister Mary Tudor, both of whom were technically illegitimate" (Orgel Cannibals 54-55). From this extreme perspective, then, Caliban's claim to the island is legitimized by recent commentators: his mother's (a witch's) inheritance and his prior habitation.

Against these two critical claims supporting Caliban stands evidence from the play's text. First, in light of the previous scene, questions emerge about Caliban's claim to the island. In this scene, responding to Ariel's resistence to his command, Prospero reminds Ariel of the torments inflicted upon him by Caliban's mother, the witch Sycorax:

> This damn'd witch Sycorax
> For mischiefs manifold, and sorceries terrible
> To enter human hearing, from Argier,

> Thou know'st, was banish'd . . .
> Refusing her grand hests, she did confine thee . .
> Into a cloven pine
>
> (1.2.263-266; 274; 277).

Viewing this scene, the audience may be asked to compare Sycorax's "earthy and abhorr'd" command of Ariel (1.2.273) to Prospero's attempt to "use" Caliban "with human care" (1.2.348). From this perspective, what Prospero had done to Caliban seems merely a repetition, in a milder form, of what the earlier exile Sycorax did to Ariel.[3] Caliban's claim, moreover, sounds less like the cry of the oppressed native than the frustration of a second-generation inhabitant of the island displaced by later arrivals. If, by right of prior possession, the island belongs to anybody, it would seem to be to Ariel. As an apparently indigenous spirit, Ariel cherishes his freedom but, unlike Caliban, never claims the island as a possession. If, then, Caliban neither inherited the island nor first possessed it, his critically-supported claim to it seems dubious.

Additional textual evidence also casts doubt upon Caliban's claim. Although Caliban twice asserts he is the legitimate possessor of the island--"This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother" (1.2.333) and "I am subject to a tyrant, a sorcerer, that by his cunning hath cheated me of the island" (3.2.40-42)--his aim through the play seems rather to persuade Stephano to "make this island / Thine [Stephano's] for ever" (4.1.217-218). In place of Prospero, who is, according to Caliban, the "tyrant I serve" (2.2.162; 3.2.40),

Caliban would install Stephano as "my god" (2.2.149), "my lord" (3.2.29), "my valiant master" (3.2.45), and "my King" (4.1.215). While Caliban seems bent upon killing Prospero--cutting his "wezand" (3.2.89) and knocking "a nail into his head" (3.2.60)--he seems equally willing to serve Stephano--"I will kiss thy foot" (2.2.149), "Let me lick thy shoe" (3.2.22), and "For aye thy foot-licker" (4.1.219). Instead of possessing the island himself, as Caliban and recent critics claim, Caliban seeks to replace the Duke of Milan, Prospero, with Alonzo's drunken butler, Stephano, as ruler. The audience would probably agree with Caliban, when, in Act V, he (possibly sober by now) realizes his foolishness:

> What a thrice-double ass
> Was I, to take this drunkard for a god,
> And worship this dull fool!
>
> (5.1.295-297).

Caliban the Thwarted Rapist and Assassain

> "The issue is not whether Caliban is actually a rapist or not, since Caliban accepts the charge"
>
> (Brown 62).

If recent critical views favorable to Caliban's claim to the island seem open to question, so too does their argument that Prospero ignores that claim. Such critics hostile to Prospero assert that his "sole--somewhat hysterical--response consists of an indirect denial ('Thou most lying slave' [1.2.346]) and a counter accusation of attempted rape ('thou did'st seek to violate / The honour of my child' [1.2.349-50]), which together foreclose the exchange and serve in

practice as Prospero's only justification for the arbitrarty rule he exercises over the island and its inhabitants" (Drakakis 199). That Caliban attempted to rape Miranda is, according to these critics, no reason for Prospero to restrict him--Caliban complains: "you sty me / In this hard rock" (1.2.344-345). Indeed, Caliban's "assault on Miranda," adds one of his recent supporters, "may be seen not as destructive and uncivilized but as an act of political economy, dictated by the same impulse that prompted Romulus to promote the rape of the Sabine women" (Orgel Cannibals 54). Aside from the questionable (at best parodic) comparison of the slave Caliban to Romulus, these critics further recommend Caliban's attempted rape as a "fundamental aspect of raw nature and a part of humanity" (Hirst 19). Hence, attempted rape is, according to these commentators, insufficient reason for Prospero to restrict Caliban.

This critical sympathy for Caliban's urge to rape Miranda could hardly have been kindly received by fathers in the audience.[4] Listening to Caliban speak contemptuously of Prospero's paternal care for his daughter--

> O ho, O ho! would't had been done!
> Thou didst prevent me; I had peopled else
> This isle with Calibans
>
> (1.2.351-353)--

would seem to meet with audience disapproval, especially among the fathers. Reinforcing this disapprobation is Caliban's persistent attempt to rape Miranda. First, in order to encourage Stephano, a "drunken butler," to

assassinate Prospero, Caliban extols the "beauty of his [Prospero's] daughter" (3.2.97). Second, recalling his first attempted sexual assault upon Miranda, Caliban promices the drunken Trinculo both that Miranda "will become thy bed" (3.2.102) and that she will "bring thee forth brave brood" (3.2.103). Rather than suggesting a sympathetic personage, Caliban's speeches calling for rape (and assasination) would, at best, seem to evoke, in at least the fathers in the audience, sympathy for Prospero's restricting Caliban--"therefore wast thou / Deservedly confin'd into this rock" (1.2.362-363).[5]

A Jacobean audience may have been repulsed not only by Caliban's attempted rape of Miranda but also by his ungrateful response to Prospero's "kindness" (1.2.347). As Prospero relates, he "us'd" Caliban "with human care" (1.2.348) and "log'd thee / in mine own cell" (1.2.348-349). In answer to Prospero's generosity, Caliban, as mentioned above, first attempts "to violate / The honour of my child" (1.2.349-350). Similarly, for Miranda's "pains to make thee speak" (1.2.354), Caliban curses her: "The red plague rid you / For learning me your language" (1.2.366-367). These two instances of Caliban's ingratitude prompt Prospero to restrict Caliban in order to protect himself and his daughter from a hostile threat to their honor and their lives. Caliban's confinement, then, may have been positively viewed by a Renaissance audience.

If Caliban's ingratitude may have been negatively perceived by an audience of king and courtiers, such an

audience may have regarded it as a serious offense against a ruler.[6] While Prospero's "kind" treatment of Caliban may seem patronizing to recent critics, Prospero's punishment of Caliban's ingratitude may have recalled similar contemporary instances of a ruler punishing ungrateful subjects. The Irish, for example, were reported to show ingratitude towards King James's rule. Such ingratitude, asserts Barnabe Rich in his "Of the Ingratitude of the Irish" (1610), "is in no way to be excused or colored" (Myers 136). Rich goes even further: "Theft, robbery, murther, yea, treason itself, may be a little flourished over with some blind excuse; but ingratitude can neither be covered nor shadowed by any means, but remaining naked must manifest itself everywhere with shame and dishonor" (Myers 136). While I am not suggesting that Caliban is an Irishman,[7] Rich's depiction of Irish ingratitude towards James, in some ways, recalls Prospero and Miranda's similar portrayal of Caliban's. Rich, for example, asserts that "to render or requite evil for good is most pernicious, and this malignity hath evermore proceeded from detestable creatures, denounced and abhorred by God and all good men" (Myers 136).

Similarly, Prospero and Miranda denounce the ungrateful Caliban as "Abhorred" (1.2.353), "malice" (1.2.369), and "capable of all ill" (1.2.355). A Jacobean audience would probably agree with Prospero and Miranda, if Rich's account is any indication of how they would view ingratitude in a subject. Such indications suggest, then, that Caliban's claim for possession of the island, his attempted rape of

Miranda, his cursing, and his ingratitude would have been negatively perceived, if not by recent commentators, at least by Jacobean audiences.

Prospero's Supposed Cruelty

> "Caliban is answered by Prospero only with hatred, torture, and enslavement"
> (Greenblatt Negotiations 157).

Recent "colonialist" critics not only excuse Caliban's lust and ingratitude, they also find fault with Prospero's treatment of him. To these commentators, confining Caliban "into this rock" (1.2.363) seems an undeserved punishment. To emphasize Prospero's alleged harshness towards Caliban, such critics cite the following passages:

> For this, be sure, to-night thou shalt have cramps,
> Side-stitches that shall pen thy breath up; urchins
> Shall, for that vast of night that they may work,
> All exercise on thee; thou shalt be pinch'd
> As thick as honeycomb, each pine more stinging
> Than bees that made 'em
>
> (1.2.327-332)

and

> Fury, Fury! there, Tyrant, there! hark, hark!
> Go charge my goblins that they grind their joints
> With dry convulsions; shorten up their sinews
> With aged cramps; and more pinch-spotted make them
> Than pard or cat o' mountain
>
> (4.1.257-261).

From these passages, the "colonialist" critics conclude that

Prospero "has become the savage tyrant who has resorted to the barbarities attributed to the contemporary Spaniards in their hunting of native slaves" (Hirst 17).

Such recent vilification of Prospero ignores not only Caliban's above-mentioned rapacious and ungrateful inclinations, but also his continued attempts to murder Duke Prospero. Repeatedly, Caliban seeks to persuade Stephano and Trinculo to kill Prospero, e.g.:

> 'tis a custom with him
> I' th'afternoon to sleep: there thou mayst brain him
> Having first seiz'd his books; or with a log
> Batter his skull, or paunch him with a stake,
> Or cut his wezand with thy knife
> (3.2.85-89).

When Court spectators regarded Caliban's "foul conspiracy" (4.1.139) against Duke Prospero, they may have recalled contemporary conspiracies against King James. Jacobean attitudes towards conspiracy against a ruler may provide an indication of how Prospero's supposedly "cruel" response to Caliban's conspiracy may possibly have been viewed by a contemporary audience. "And so, where ye finde a notable inurie," King James advises Prince Henry, "spare not to give course to the torrents of your wrath" (Basilikon Doron [rpt. 1603], McIlwain 41). Regarding a particular conspiracy against King James, the Gunpowder Plot was publically discussed at the time of the play. Reacting to the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot (1604), King James required Parliament to bring "Seueritie of punishment vpon those that shall bee found guilty of so detestable and vnheard of villanie"

(McIlwain 286). Additionally, in a letter to the Privy Council (6 November 1605), James instructs Council members how to extract a confession from Guy Fawkes, a Gunpowder Plot conspirator: If he will not otherwise confess, the gentler tortures are to be first used unto him, et sic per gradus as ima tenditur [and so by degrees until the ultimate is reached]" (Letters 275). If compared to King James's punishment of rebels, Prospero's "pinches" and "cramps" may have seemed mild to a court audience.

Elsewhere in Shakespeare, rebels are treated even more harshly than Caliban. In Henry V, for example, Henry responds to Cambridge, Grey, and Scroop's plea for mercy without a "mercy that was quick in us but late":

> You must not dare (for shame) to talk of mercy,
> For your own reasons turn into your bosoms,
> As dogs upon their masters, worrying you.
> See you, my princes and my noble peers,
> These English monsters!
>
> (2.2.79-85).

One wonders how recent commentators would judge Henry, who hangs conspirators, if they condemn Prospero, who by the power of his "Art," temporarily confines Caliban to a rock.

Caliban, moreover, is not the only conspirator restricted by Prospero's "Art." Indeed, through his "Art" (1.2.1), Prospero brings the usurping aristocrats to shore. In addition, Prospero's "Art is of such pow'r" (1.2.374) that Caliban "must obey" (1.2.374). Furthermore, Prospero's "Art," according to Ariel, "foresees the danger" (2.1.292) of Antonio and Sebastian's attempt to assassinate King Alonzo.

While viewing Prospero--the Duke of Milan, who possesses a magical "Art" and defends against rebellion--some of the audience may have recalled James's exercise of the monarch's will during times of emergency.[See Chapter Five above.] Although there is no necessary identification with King James, the dramatization of Prospero's "Art" may have evoked, for instance, the monarch's own "Speech to Parliament 1609" (McIlwain Works 306-325). In this speech, King James presents Parliament with his view of the royal will. Regarding his exercise of royal will, he asserts that in the emergency times of "the first originall of Kings . . . their wills at that time served for law" (McIlwain Works 309). A correlation may be made, as suggested in Chapter Five of this study, between James's notion of a monarch's discretionary powers and Prospero's supposedly harsh treatment of Caliban. If Caliban poses a unique threat to Prospero, as recent commentators argue, rather than condemn Prospero for his use of force, a contemporary audience may expect him to punish Caliban. Such anachronistic twentieth-century condemnations of Prospero, then, may well have baffled Jacobean audiences, as well as James and his courtiers.

Summary of "Shakespeare's "The Tempest" and Jacobean Political Contexts"

This study has tried to show that recent "colonialist" views seem to lack support afforded by a close historical reading of the play. Current critical claims for the play's supposed "colonial-imperialist" tendency raise such questions as the following: Is there evidence in the text that Caliban is an anti-colonialist hero of the play? Is

Prospero a colonialist exploiter of a native? In considering such critical claims, this study examined The Tempest in regard to the context of seventeenth-century political ideas and in relation to its Jacobean audiences. Following is a brief summary of each chapter.

Chapter One: The Problem.

As indicated through this study, many recent interpretations of The Tempest (circa 1610-11) have tended, in various ways, to identify it as a play dealing with colonial exploitation. The aim of this study, however, is not to deny possible Jacobean interests in such a concept; rather, it is, among other things, to examine the validity of the current critical claim that The Tempest favors a colonialist-imperialist attitude. This widespread notion holds (1) that Caliban is treated sympathetically as the hero of the play, he suffers at the hands of Prospero, and he is "oppressed," "disenfranchised," and "expoited" (Hirst 22); (2) while Caliban's subordination is said to be the work's focus, the play in addition is said to reflect "colonialist practices" (Brown 48). This somehow gives a "colonialist dimension" (Griffiths 159) to important actions and speeches in this Shakespeare's late comedy.

Such proposals that The Tempest reflects "colonialist practices" has indeed hardened into an assumption. Considering the play's "colonial" sources (e.g., Strachey's letter), Kermode asserts, Shakespeare had these documents in mind" (Ed., xxviii). Confidently, Patterson holds it "inarguable that . . . Shakespeare intended a contribution to

a philosophical debate on colonialism and race relations" (156).

Whatever the scholarly merits of their case, proponents of the play's "colonialist discourse" evince easy slippage from hypothesis into fact. To illustrate further, Stephen Greenblatt's influential essay (1988) echoing, among others, Kermode (Ed., xxvi-xxxiv), assumes it likely that "Strachey's account . . . is likely, along with other New World materials, to have helped shape The Tempest" (147). Although Greenblatt does concede that "the play was performed long before Strachey's narrative was printed," he concurs with the presumption of scholars that Shakespeare may have "read a manuscript version of the work [Strachey's letter]" (147). Later in the essay, however, his earlier, more tentative assertion about this "conjunction of Stachey's unpublished letter and Shakespeare's play" (149) slips into an absolute indebtedness on Shakespeare's part: "Such then," he now proclaims positively, "were the narrative materials that passed from Strachey to Shakespeare, from the Virginia Company to the King's Men" (154). Thus Greenblatt's limited hypothesis becomes definite, absolute fact.

Although the above citations represent the prevailing tendency of much recent commentary, critics are not lacking who question the hypothesis that The Tempest is a "pro-imperialist" play. Against such prevailing "colonialist" interpretations, some critics have directly entered the lists. Against supposed sympathetic depictions of Caliban, for example, Anne Skura asserts, Caliban, in fact, is more like the devils Strachey expected to find on the Bermuda

island (but didn't) than like the Indians whom adventurers did find in Virginia" (49). Such interpetations revise the notion of Caliban' centrality to the play.

In view of the numerous assertions that The Tempest concerns "colonial imperialism," this study proposes to examine the relevance to The Tempest of the popular modern theory. Against the anachronistic twentieth-century interpretations, this study proposes to examine the Tempest within Jacobean political contexts.

Chapter Two: Prospero's Stage "Tempest": "Tempest," Time, and Three Renaissance Political Notions.

Whatever political overtones the word "tempest" may possess, is seems apparent, first, that the word is motivated by dramatic exigiencies. The second chapter offers evidence, however, that the opening storm could have presented for Jacobean spectators more than a foundering ship. From a Jacobean perspective, the storm-tossed ship could also have suggested an emblem of monarchic crisis. In addition to a potential display of political crisis, the play's title may recall elements of crisis reflected in King James's notion of a monarch. For example, King James uses the word "tempest" within a political context in his Speech to Parliament (1605). In this speech, James depicts the perils of the notorious Gunpowder Plot (1604) as an instance of "the dayly tempest of innumerable dangers" (McIlwain 282). Also suggested in this speech is a possible correlation between the Boatswain's "What cares these roarers for the name of King" (1.1.14-15) and King James's "roaring, nay thundering" of "the threatenings of Gods judgement" against such would-be

usurpers (McIlwain 281-282).

Such a spectacle of monarchic threat seems intensified by the recurrent mention of Time's urgency (1.2.242). [Appendix A, Figs. 7-8] Such urgency is reflected, for instance, in Prospero's command to Ariel, "the time 'twixt six and now / must by us both be spent most preciously" (1.2.241-242). Attitudes towards such "precious" time in the play include Prospero's circumspect action (4.1.262); Antonio's "sudden" subversity (2.1.301); and Caliban's "always bending / Towards their project" (4.1.174-175). In view of the above, attempts to isolate the word "tempest," as an evocation of Renaissance colonialist ventures, apart from its dramatic and contextual considerations, should be received with caution.

Chapter Three: "All is but fortune" (5.1.258): Three Renaissance Attitudes towards Fortune in The Tempest.

While the opening storm may have evoked, as pointed out in Chapter One, danger to the monarchy and the swift passage of Time, it may also have suggested to one level of the audience another Renaissance topos: Fortune as a dimension of political insecurity (Pocock 36). The third chapter indicated that the opening storm, recalling Fortune's variable influence, may have emphasized for some of the Jacobean audience both the vicissitudes of the monarchy and the unrestricted power of the ruler. [Appendix A, Figs. 1, 2, 6, 9] On the one hand, the vicissitudes of the monarchy seems referred to in James's 1609 Speech to Parliament: "the tempest beats sorest upon the highest mountains" (McIlwain 309). On the other hand, in this same speech James refers to

the scope of his power:

> "they [kings] make and unmake their subjects: they have power to exalt low things, and abase high things, and make of their subjects like men at Chesse; A pawne to take a Bishop or a Knight, and to cry up, or downe any of their subjects, as they do their money"
>
> (McIlwain 309).

If, as indicated in the above references, a king's power, for James, may correlate with the fluctuations of a variable Fortune; instances of Fortune's variable influence in the play may indicate the scope of Duke Prospero's power.

Among other indications of Fortune's influence in the play is a recurrence of astrological terminology. Within this astral dimension of Fortune's insecure realm, Duke Prospero's rationality contrasts with the rebellious Caliban's credulity. On the one hand, the ruler, Prospero, has the capacity to display his magical powers at astrologically appropriate moments; [Appendix A, Fig. 10] on the other hand, the subverter, Caliban, superstitiously mistakes Stephano for the "man 'i th' Moon." [Appendix A, Fig. 11]

Regarding Duke Prospero's "prescience" (1.2.180), he asserts, for example, "I am ready now" (1.2.187). With this sense of urgency about the moment of his "zenith," Prospero notes that Ariel's "charge" to keep the ship's passengers safe "Exactly is performed" (1.2.238). Further emphasizing time's urgency, Prospero says,

> The time 'twixt six and now
> Must by us both be spent most preciously"
> (1.2.241).

This concern for the time of the day is also repeated at the end of the play. Immediately preceding the denoument Prospero reviews his ascendant fortune:

> Now does my project gather to a head.
> My charms crack not, my spirits obey, and time
> Goes upright with his carriage
> (5.1.1-3).

Such propitious events seem to require timely action. Prospero's question, "How's the day?" (5.1.3), and Ariel's precise response, "on the sixth hour" (5.1.4), recall the exact calculations of astral determination in Prospero and Ariel's initial exchange (1.2.238-241). Hence, Prospero's concern for his "zenith" frames the play, apparently indicated, for example, by Ariel's "exact" performance of his bidding and his "precious" use of time.

While Duke Prospero's coginzence of the heavens' influence frames the play, the conspirator Caliban's credultiy is manifest in his superstition. His infantile identification of Stephano with the "Man i' th' Moon" (2.2.135-137) seems an excess of helpless credulity or veneration before those powers. Caliban's link with the moon occurs, for instance, when Stephano and Trinculo dub Caliban "mooncalf" (2.2.105; 109; 131; and 3.2.21). When Stephano tells him, "I was the Man i' th' Moon when time was" (2.2.134), Caliban's response is nothing if not credulous:

> I have seen in her . . .My mistress
> showed me thee, and thy dog, and thy bush
> (2.2.135-137).

Trinculo's response to Caliban's speech emphasizes Caliban's credulity: "The Man i' th' Moon? A most poor credulous monster!" (2.2.141-142). Indeed, the rebel Caliban seems awed by what he believes are the celestial effects of the liquor. After two drinks from Stephano's "wine" bottle, Caliban, apparently drunk [See Appendix A, Fig.8] exclaims:

> These be fine things, and if they be not sprites.
> That's a brave god and bears celestial liquor.
> I will kneel to him
> (2.2.114-116),

and

> Hast thou not dropped from heaven?
> (2.2.133).

Caliban seems to hold an unreasoned committment to the special effects of celestial events upon his life and deeds:

> I'll swear upon that bottle to be thy true
> subject, for the liquor is not earthly
> (2.2.122-23).

Caliban's credulity, then, in its astrological context, maynot only contrast with Prospero's rationality but also recall Fortune's variability.

Furthermore, the vocabularies of Fortune and liquor emerge when Trinculo initially meets with Caliban. [Appendix A, Fig. 12-13] That is, Trinculo provides three examples, among others, that seem particularly noteworthy. First, "another storm" is "brewing" (2.2.19). Second, "Yond same

black cloud, yond huge one, looks like a foul bombard that will shed its liquor" (2.2.20-21). Third, "I will here shroud till the dregs of the storm be past" (2.2.39-40). This comic coupling of storm and drinking idioms may have parodically suggested the power of Fortune's vicissitudes. Indeed, for the butler, the jester, and the monster "all is but fortune" (5.1.257).

While recent critics of the play argue that the opening storm recalls storms encountered by Renaissance explorers, this study suggests a link between the storm and Fortune as a dimension of political insecurity, from which the rebel Caliban emerges as a credulous "thrice-double ass" (5.1.295). Chapter Four: Prospero's "nobler reason" (5.1.26): Virtue, Nobility, and Prudence.

The previous chapters show the play to correlate Time's swiftness and Fortune's variability with political opportunism and insecurity. Within this dimension of political flux, characters' worth or their "virtue" seems tested. [Appendix A, Figs. 14-20] While in references to "virtue," the audience may hear positive moral overtones, related words, such as "nobility" and "brave," raise questions about characters' positive morality. In so far as The Tempest may advance by a process of multiplying perspectives, the audience seems prepared to observe a world where it becomes increasingly evident, nobility is questionable as an absolute moral concept. To stem the potential anarchy of the self-seeking nobility and the drunken power-seekers, Prospero combines clemecy and prudence, two princely virtues. [Appendix A, Fig. 20] In

doing so, Prospero seems to supply a standard of morality evoking, for some of the Jacobean audience, King James's notions of kingship.

As opposed to Prospero's "prudent clemency" as a standard of morality, Caliban is perceived as "valiant" and "brave" from an ironical perspective. Even at the play's opening, the word "brave" has not entirely favorable connotations. As has been noted above, Miranda calls the foundering ship "a brave vessel" ((1.2.6), when, in the previous scene, Gonzalo described the ship as "no stronger than a nutshell" (1.1.47). When applied to Caliban, the use of the word "brave" seems dubious. Caliban, for instance, exclaims that Stephano, the drunken butler, also his "valiant master" (3.2.46), is a "brave god and bears celestial liquor" (2.2.117). Similarly, Stephano, in a telling oxymoron, "commands" Caliban, "brave monster," to "lead the way" (2.2.188). Trinculo too characterizes Caliban as a "brave monster indeed" (3.2.11), whereas Caliban, unwittingly justified, returns the "compliment" with "I'll not serve him, he is not valiant" (3.2.24).

Prospero's prudent clemency, then, may raise questions about the adequacy of two recent critical notions: Shakespeare's supposedly "ambivalent" depiction of Prospero and his allegedly "sympathetic" portrayal of Caliban.

Chapter Five: The "roaring" (1.2.2) and "abjuring" (5.1.51)--Jacobean Attitudes to Statecraft.

Further support for Prospero's superior position in the play seems to emerge when Prospero uses the word "Art." Among Jacobean notions of king's power, Prospero's use of the

term "Art" may have elicited from a politically sensitive segment of the audience the spectrum of statecraft--from the "roar" of the extraordinary course of ad hoc decision making confined to a single emergency (gubernaculum) to the "abjuration" of such emergency powers during more stable political times (jurisdictio). References to Prospero's "Art," then, may suggest a Renaissance notion of royal power. If "art" is a form of magical "will," the monarch's "will," in times of emergency, stands for law. This notion of royal power, shared by King James, may be supported in references to Prospero's "Art": (1) Prospero's "so potent art" (5.1.50) and royal "will"; (2) Prospero's "roar" (1.2.2; 2.2.310) and royal wrath; (3) Prospero's "Some vanity of mine Art" (4.1.41) and royal potence; and (4) Prospero's "rough magic" (5.1.50) and the king's mercy. In addition, this pattern of political meaning emerging in the speeches and action may modify the recent critical notion that the "abjuration" speech diminishes Prospero's "so potent Art" (5.1.50). [Appendix a, Fig. 19]

The play, moreover, relates Prospero's "Art" and his "magic"--e.g., "pluck my magic garment from me--So: / Lie there, my Art" (1.2.23-24).[8] In addition, dramatic uses of Prospero's "Art" recur at critical moments through the play. And, as successive theatrical displays of royal power--the storm (1.1.), the "lion's roar" (2.2), the harpy's banquet (3.3), the betrothal masque (4.1), the trumpery scene (4.1), and the abjuration (5.1)--move the play's action toward one aim, among others, of his "project"--to regain his dukedom.

Chapter Six: "By Providence divine" (1.2.159)--Prospero's "Art" and Providence.

If, as proposed in the previous section, Prospero's "Art" suggests a monarch's emergency powers; such "Art," as it recurs in the play, produces "wonder" and "amazement" in some characters. If so, Prospero's "Art" may have reminded a Jacobean audience of King James's claim to a mysterious and quasi-divine authority. This potential link between Duke Prospero and magical or divine powers emerges through the play, especially with regard to Prospero's privileged perspective.

If Prospero's capacity to cause "wonder" makes him resemble a godlike ruler, his "Art" also seems to provide him with a privileged perspective. That is, while characters are amazed at the wonders produced by Prospero's "Art," their wonderment is repeatedly viewed from Prospero's providential perspective. Conversely, from their limited earthly perspective, characters view Prospero's guidance as "wondrous." When Gonzalo, for example, describes his "meanders" about the isle as "here's a maze trod, indeed" (3.3.2), his ignorance of Prospero's "high charms" (3.3.88), underlining their disparate perspectives.

Prospero's abjuration of his "Art," however, also seems to emphasize, in a sense, his human limitations. A contrast between Prospero at the height of his powers and Propero meditating upon his iwn mortality--"when every third thought shall be of my grave" (5.1.311)--may have evoked James's ultimate depiction of the mortal side of his double monarchy. In his 1609 Speech before Parliament, James declares, "Vos

Dis estis . . . But ye shall die like men" (McIlwain 309).

This pattern of exercise and abjuration of Prospero's "Art" seems to reflect one of the Jacobean audience's recognizable attitudes towards the monarch's quasi-divine power. While this study does not argue that Prospero represents James, the two share certain attitudes towards the notion of divine kingship. Among these shared attitudes seems Duke Prospero's capacity to quell insurrection. During these emergency times, Prospero's magical "Art"--like James's "mystery of state"--resembles the inscrutible power of God. After the emergency subsides, however, Duke Prospero abjures his "Art" and comes face to face with his subjects. As a dramatization of the prince's tabooed power, Prospero's "Art" brings his enemies into "the circle" he has made (5.1.57, s.d.), despite their real individual differences.

* * *

An examination of the evidence in light of potential Jacobean audience responses suggests: (1) that The Tempest's political allusions are interpretable in the context of Jacobean political concerns; and (2) that the result of such examination would tend to support King James's view of a legitimate monarchy and rule. On the other hand, this study contests a modern critical view of the play as "colonialist" or of Caliban as a positive figure or hero. If the above conclusions are acceptable, this study supports the view of The Tempest as, to a significant extent, a political drama, sustaining of James's monarchic views.

Notes

1. Concurrent with a "colonialist" claims for the play, other recent commentators find parallels between the play's characters and personages in King James's royal family. Most recent critical claims for topicality attempt to improve upon Frances Yates's questionable notion that the "Romances" are centered "on James's children, Prince Henry and Princess Elizabeth" (79). Also arguing that a correlation exists between The Tempest and James's family, one commentator carried Yates's hypothesis to an extreme: "Miranda is Princess Elizabeth, Prospero is James, and Juno, in the masque, is Queen Anne" (Wickham 9).

I have omitted review of other critical commentaries upon the play--such as, Freudian, feminist, deconstructionist--since they do not contain a political perspective.

These topical assessments, among others, have recently been challenged. According to one skeptical critic, for example, the topicalists set out to find a link between the play's ideas and specific events at James's court and inevitably find such connections. Furthermore, this critic maintains that topicalists, in their search for such connections, ignore the commonplace nature of such ideas of government and conduct (Levin 176). Despite this formidable objection to their approach to the play, topical criticism nevertheless continues to exaggerate the play's relationship with the James's family. One such critic recently claims, for example, that "King James and his family constitute a 'text' that Shakespeare read in gathering materials for the Romances" (Bergeron 1). This strict topicality, and its recent revival, tends to exaggerate the play's link to the royal family.

2. These critics claim that the play is "heavily invested in colonialist discourse" (P. Brown 66). This view maintains, moreover, that the play, in serving this "colonialist project," is "an instrument" of absolutist "exploitation" (Brown 66, 68). The play's alleged "colonialist" tendencies, according to this perspective, reflect Jacobean absolutist interests. One such critic claims that "Prospero utilizes music to charm, punish, and restore his various subjects, employing it like James I in harmonies of power" (Brown 65). Similarly, another like-minded interpreter itemizes Shakespeare's supposed "weaknesses," among them, "his commitment to patriarchy and the Jacobean social and political hierarchy" (Gary Taylor 35).

3. This position has been recently affirmed by Anne Barton in her perceptive review "Perils of Historicism," in The New York Review of Books, March 28, 1991: 53-56.

4. In Reformation Augsburg, for instance, forcible rape/seduction was punished by a mandatory four weeks in prison . . .. The penalty was doubled at a second offense, and a third offense brought either exile or severe punishment in property, body, and/or life (Ozment 197 n. 161)

5. Indeed, through the play, while Caliban describes himself as a "man" (2.2.185), a variety of characters refer to him as a "beast." In addition to references to Caliban's "beastial" appearance, Ariel, for instance, describes the three "varlets"--Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo--as if they were animals:

> Then I beat my tabor;
> At which, like unback'd colts, they prick'd their ears,
> Advanc'd their eyelids, lifted up their noses
> As they smelt music: so I charm'd their ears
> That, calf-like, they my lowing follow'd, through
> Tooth'd briers, sharp furzes, pricking goss, and thorns,
> Which enter'd their frail shins
> (4.1.175-181).

Stephano and Trinculo repeatedly describe Caliban as a "monster" (e.g., 4.1.196, 199), King Alonzo terms him a "strange thing" (5.1.289), Sebastian also refers to him as a "thing" (5.1.264), Antonio uses "a plain fish" (5.1.266) for him, and Prospero calls him a "misshapen knave" (5.1.268), "demi-devil" (5.1.272), "bastard one" (5.1.274), and, finally, a "thing of darkness" (5.1.275). Even Caliban terms himself as a "thrice-double ass" (5.1.295).

6. The scholarly view posits that the play was performed before King James's court during 1610 and 1613.

7. Beside Rich's "A New Description of Ireland . . . " (1610), other tracts written by seventeenth-century supporters of the crown contain commentary about, among other issues, Irish ingratitude: e.g., Giraldus Cambrensis "The Conquest of Ireland" (trans. John Hooker, 1586), II.38; Edmund Spenser's "A View of the Present State of Ireland . . ." (1596); and Sir John Davies's "A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Never Was Entirely Subdued . . ." (1612). Excerpts of these tracts may be found in Myers's Elizabethan Ireland.

8. See also 5.1.50 and EP 14.

Appendix A

Res humanæ in summo declinant.

THE gallante Shipp, that cutts the azure surge,
And hathe both tide, and wisshed windes, at will:
Her tackle sure, with shotte her foes to vrge,
With Captaines bouide, and marriners of skill,
With streamers, flagges, topgallantes, pendantes braue,
When Seas do rage, is swallowed in the waue.

Periand. per Auson.
Si fortuna iuuat, caueto tolli.
Si fortuna tonat, caueto mergi.

The snowe, that falles vppon the mountaines greate,
Though on the Alpes, which seeme the clowdes to reache.
Can not indure the force of Phœbus heate,
But wastes awaie, Experience doth vs teache:
Which warneth all, on Fortunes wheele that clime
To beare in minde how they haue but a time.

Ouidius 4. Pont. 3.
Tu quoque fac timeas, & quæ tibi læta videntur,
Dum loqueris, fieri tristia posse puta.

Passibus ambiguis fortuna volubilis errat,
Et manet in nullo certa, tenaxq; loco.
Sed modo læta manet, vultus modo sumit acerbos
Et tantum constans in leuitate sua est.

Ouidius 1. Trist. 9.

Figure 1

When thou art ſhipwracke in Eſtate,
Submit with patience, unto Fate.

ILLVSTR. XIII. *Book.* 4

WHen I beheld this Picture of a *Boat*,
(Which on the raging *Waves* doth ſeeme to float)
Forc'd onward, by the current of the Tide,
Without the helpe of *Anchor*, *Oare* or *Guide*;
And, ſaw the *Motto* there, which doth imply,
That thee commits her ſelfe to *Deſtinie*;
Me thinkes, this *Emblem* lets out their eſtate,
Who have aſcribed ev'ry thing to *Fate*;
And dreame, that howſoe're the buſineſſe goe,
Their *Worke*, nor hinders, neither helpes thereto.
The leaking *Ship*, they value as the ſound:
Hee that's to hanging borne, ſhall ne're bee drown'd,
And, men to happineſſe ordain'd (ſay theſe)
May ſet their *Ship* to floate, as *Fate* ſhall pleaſe.
This *Fancie*, ſpringing from a miſ-beleeving
Of God's *Decrees*; and, many men deceiving,
With ſhewes of *Truth*, both cauſeth much offence
Againſt God's *Mercies*, and his *Prouidence*;
And brings to paſſe, that ſome to ruine runne,
By their neglect of what they might have done.
For, *Meanes* is to bee us'd, (if wee deſire,
The bleſſing of our ſafetie to acquire)
Whoſe naturall effects, if God denv,
Vpon his *Prouidence* wee muſt relye,
Still practiſing what naturall aydes may bee,
Vntill no likely ayd unſride wee ſee.
And, when this *Non plus* wee are forc'd unto,
Stand ſtill, wee may, and wayt what God will do.
Hee that ſhall thus to *Fate*, his fortunes leave,
Let mee bee ruin'd, if Shee him deceive.

The

Figure 2

Figure 3

He, that his Course *directly Steeres,*
Nor Stormes, *nor* Windy-Censures *feares.*

ILLVSTR. XXXVII. *Book.* I.

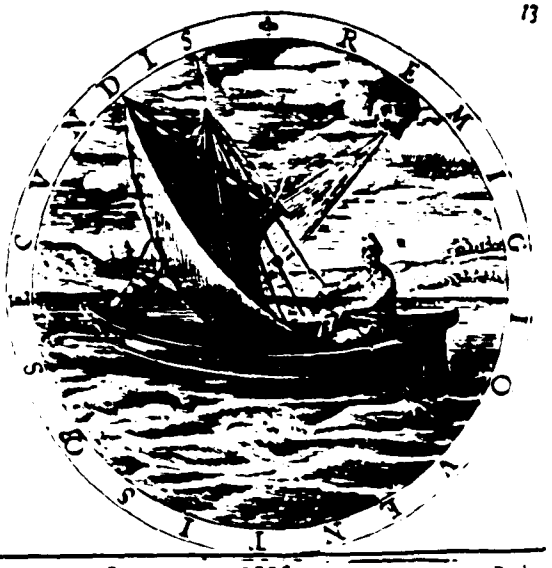
SEe to the *Sea*, this *World* may well compare;
For, ev'ry Man which liveth in the same,
Is as a *Pilot*, to some *Vessell* there,
Of little size, or else of larger frame.
Some, have the *Boats* of their owne *Life* to guide,
Some, of whole *Families* doe row the *Barge*,
Some, governe *petty Townships* too, beside,
(To those compar'd, which of small *Barkes* have charge)
Some others, rule great *Provinces*; and, they
Resemble *Captaines* of huge *Argoses*:
But, when of *Kingdomes*, any gayne the Sway,
To *Generalls of Fleets*, we liken there.
Each hath his proper *Course* to him assign'd,
His *Card*, his *Compasse*, his due *Tacklings*, too;
And, if their Businesse, as they ought, they mind,
They may accomplish all they have to doe.
But, most Men leave the Care of their owne *Course*,
To judge or follow others, in their wayes;
And, when their Follies make their Fortunes worse,
They curse the *Destinie*, which they should prayse.
For, *Waves*, and *Winds*, and that oft-changing *Weather*
Which many blame, as cause of all their *Losses*,
(Though they observe it not) helpes bring together
Those *Hopes*, which their own *Wisedomes*, often crosses.
Regard not, therefore much, what those things be,
Which come, without thy fault, to thwart thy *Way*;
Nor, how, *Rash-Lookers on* will censure thee;
But, faithfully, to doe thy part, allay:
For, if thou shalt not from this *Counsell* vary,
Let my *Hopes* faile me, if thy *Hopes* miscarry.

A sudden

Figure 4

Figure 5

To him a happy Lot befalls
That hath a Ship, *and* prosp'rous Gales.



ILLVSTR. XIII. *Book.* I.

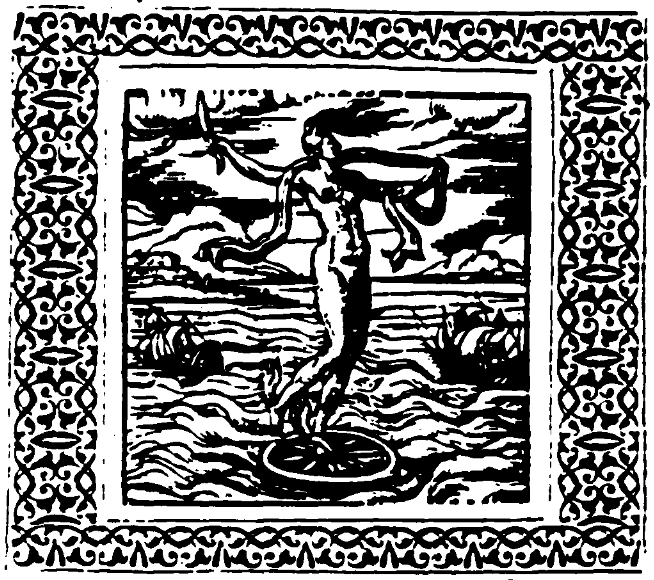
NO wonder he a prosp'rous *Voyage* findes
That hath both *Sailes* and *Oares* to serve his turne.
And, still, through meanes of some propitious *Winds*
Is to his wished *Harbour* swiftly borne.
Nor is it much admir'd, if they that lacke
Those aydes (on which the *Common-state* depends)
Are from their hoped aymes repelled backe,
Or made to labour for unfruitfull ends.
Yet neither in the *Ship*, *Wind*, *Oares*, or *Sailes*,
Nor in the want of *Outward meanes*, alone,
Consists it, that our *Hope* succeedes or failes;
But, most in that, which Men least thinke upon.
For, *some* endeavour, and their Paines are blest
With *Gales* which are so fortunate, that they
Fly safe, and swiftly on, among the best,
Whil'st others labour, and are cast away.
Some others, on this *Worlds* wide *Ocean* floate,
And neither *Wind*, nor *Tide* assistant have,
Nor *Sailes*, nor *Oares*, nor *Ancour*, nor sound *Boate*,
Nor take so much as needfull themselves to save;
And yet are safe: A third sort, then, there are
Who neither want fit *Meanes*, nor yet neglect
The painefull *Industrie*, or honest *Care*,
Which *Need* requires: yet find small good effect.
Therefore, let that which you propose, be *Just*;
Then, use the fairest *Meanes*, to compasse it:
And, though *Meanes* faile, yet foster no mistrust;
But fearefully, to *God*, your *Course* commit:
For, *He*, to *Faithfull-Hearts*, and *Honest-Minded*
Turnes *Losse* to *Gaine*; and *Stormes* to *prosp'rous Winds*.

The-

Figure 6

In occasionem.

To my Kinsman M. Geffrey Whitney.



WHAT creature thou? *Occasion I doe showe.*
On whirling wheele declare why doste thou stande?
Bicause, I still am tossed too, and free.
Why doest thou houlde a rasor in thy hande?
That men maie knowe I cut on euerie side,
And when I come, I armies can deuide.

Horat. lib. 1 Ep. 11. ad Bullatium.
[illegible]

But wherefore hast thou winges vppon thy feete?
To showe, how lighte I flie with little winde.
What meanes longe lockes before? *that suche as meete,*
Maye houlde at firste, when they occasion finde.
Thy head behinde all balde, what telles it more?
That none shoulde houlde, that let me slippe before.

Why doest thou stande within an open place?
That I maye warne all people not to staye,
But at the firste, occasion to imbrace,
And when shee comes, to meete her by the waye.
Lysippus so did thinke it best to bee,
Who did deuise mine image, as you see.

Z 3 *Potentia*

Figure 7

Occasions-past *are sought in vaine;*
But, oft, they wheele-about *againe.*

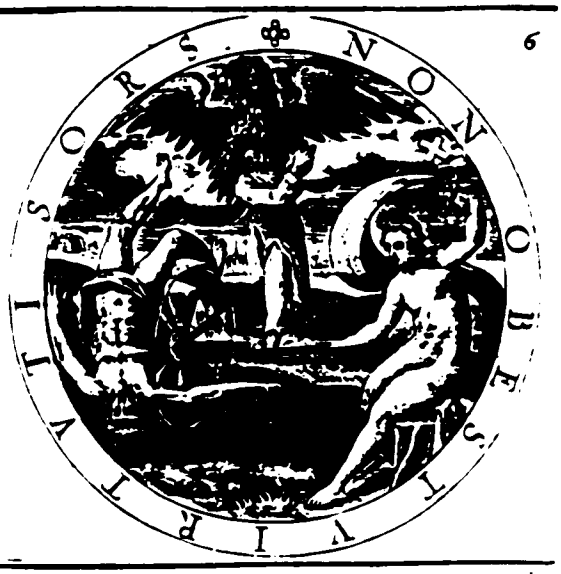
ILLVSTR. IV.

Vnwise are they that spend their youthfull *Prime*
In Vanities; as if they did suppose
That men, at pleasure, might redeeme the *Time*;
For, they a faire advantage fondly lose.
As ill-advis'd be those, who having lost
The first *Occasions*, to *Despairing* runne:
For, *Time* hath *Revolutions*; and, the most,
For their Affaires, have *Seasons* more, then one.
Nor is their Folly small, who much depend
On *Transitorie things*, as if their Powre
Could bring to passe what should not have an *End*;
Or compasse that, which *Time* will not devoure.
The first *Occasions*, therefore, see thou take
(Which offred are) to bring thy hopes about;
And, minde thou, still, what *Haste* away they make,
Before thy swift-pac't houres are quite runne out.
Yet, if an *Opportunity* be past,
Despaire not thou, as they that hopelesse be;
Since, *Time* may so revolve againe, at last,
That *New-Occasions* may be offred thee.
And see, thou trust not on those fading things,
Which by thine owne *Endeavours* thou acquir'st:
For, *Time* (which her owne *Births* to ruine brings)
Will spare, nor *thee*, nor ought which thou desir'st.
His *Properties*, and *Vses*, what they are,
In-vaine observ'd will be, when he is dead:
That, they in season, therefore, may appeare,
Our *Embleme*, thus, hath him deciphered:
Balde save before, and standing on a *Wheele*;
A *Razor* in his Hand, a *Winged Heele*.

By

Figure 8

Though Fortune *prove true* Vertues *Foe,*
It cannot worke her Overthrowe.



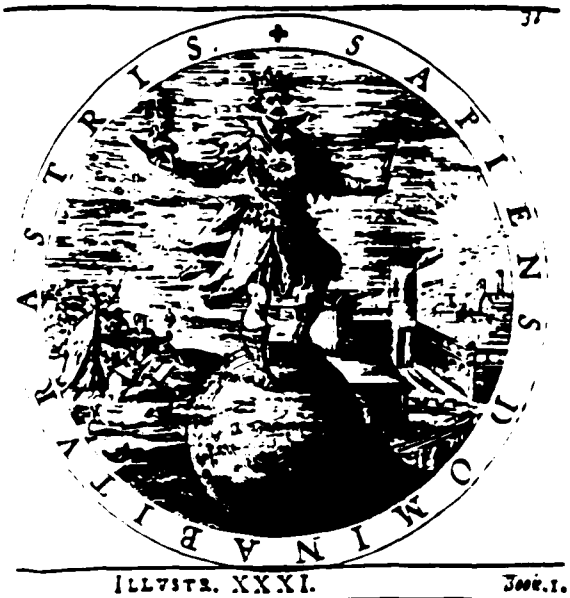
ILLVSTR. VI. Book. I.

UNhappy men are they, whose Ignorance
So slaves them to the *Fortunes* of the Time,
That they (attending on the Lot of *Chance*)
Neglect by *Vertue*, and *Deserts*, to clime.
Poore *recepts* they be which *Fortune* reares unto;
And, fickle is the *Favour* she bestowes:
To-day, she makes: to-morrow, doth undoe;
Builds up, and in an instant overthrowes.
On easie *Wheeles*, to Wealth, and Honours high,
She windes men on, before they be aware;
And, when they dreame of most *Prosperitie*,
Downe, headlong, throwes them lower then they were.
You, then, that seeke a more assur'd estate,
On good, and honest *Objects*, fixe your *Minds*,
And follow *Vertue*, that you may a *Fate*
Exempt from feare of Change, or Dangers, finde.
For, he that's *Vertuous*, whether high or low
His *Fortune* seemes (or whether foule or faire
His *Path* he findes) or whether friend, or foe,
The *World* doth prove: regards it not a haire.
His *Life* is *Game*: his *Povertie* is *Wealth*;
The Worlds *Contempt*, he makes his *Diadem*;
In *Sickenesse*, he rejoyceth, as in *Health*:
Yea, *Death* it selfe, becommeth *Life*, to him.
He feares no disrespect, no bitter scorne,
Nor subtile plottings, nor Oppressions force:
Nay, though the World should topsie-turvie turne,
It cannot fright him, nor divert his Course.
Above all Earthly powres his *Vertue* reares him:
And, up with *Egles* wings, to Heav'n it beares him.

A fickle

Figure 9

Hee, o'er all the Starres *doth raigne,*
That unto Wisdome *can attaine.*



ILLVSTR. XXXI. Iosh. 1.

I Am not of their Minde, who thinke the *Sun*,
The *Moone*, the *Planets*, and those glorious *Lights*
Which trim the *Spheares*, doe in their *Motions* run
To no more purpose, then to please our *Sights*,
Nor for distinguishment of *Nights*, and *Dayes*,
Or of the *Seasons*, and the *Times*, alone,
Can I suppose the Hand of *God* displayes
Those many *Starres*, we nightly gaze upon:
For, both by *Reason*, and by *Common-proofe*
We know (and often feele) that from above
The *Planets* have, on us, an *Influence*;
And, that our *Bodies* vary, as they move.
Moreover, *Holy Writ* interres, that there
Have some such pow'r: ev'n in those Places, where
It names *Orion*, and the *Pleiades*;
Which, *Starres* of much inferiour Nature are.
Yet, hence conclude not, therefore, that the *Minde*
Is by the *Starres* constrained to obey
Their *Influence*; or, so by them inclin'd,
That, by no meanes resist the time we may.
For, though they forme the *Bodies* temp'rature,
(And though the *Minde* inclineth after that)
By *Grace*, another *Power* we procure,
Which guides the *Motions* of *Supposed Fate*.
The *Soule* of *Man* is nobler then the *Spheares*;
And, if it gaine the Place which may be had,
Not here alone on Earth, the Rule it beares,
But, is the *Lord*, of all that *God* hath made.
Be *wise in time*: and, if just cause there bee,
The *Sunne* and *Moone*, shall stand and wayt on thee.

A Princes

Figure 10

Vncertaine, Fortune Fauours, bee,
And, as the Moone, ſo changeth Shee.

ILLVSTR. XL. *Book.* 3

VT *Author*, peradventure, giues vs
Dame *Fortune* (for theſe Reaſons) pictur'd, thus:
She hath a *Comely-body*, to declare,
How pleaſing ſhee doth uſually appeare
To them, that loue her Fauours. She is *blinde*,
(Or, hath ſtill cloſed eyes) to put in minde,
How blindly, and how needleſſly, ſhe throwes
Her *Largeſſe*, where her *Bounty*, ſhe beſtowes.
She *ſtands vpon a Ball*; that, wee may learne,
Of outward things, the *tottering*, to diſcerne:
Her *Ball* hath *wings*; that it may ſignifie
How apt her *Fauours* are, away to *flie*.
A skarfe diſplay'd in the wind, ſhe beares,
(And, on her *necke Boay*, nothing weares)
To ſhew, that what her *Fauorite* inioyes,
Is not ſo much for *Vſefulneſſe*, as *toyes*.
Her *Head is hairleſſe, all, except before*;
To teach thee, that thy care ſhould be the more
To hold her *foremoſt Ornament*, alwayes fait;
Leſt, ſhe doe ſhow thee ſlipp'ry tricks, at laſt.
And, laſtly, that her *changing* may be ſhowne;
She beareth in her Hand a *Wayning-moone*.
By this Deſcription, you may now deſcry
Her true conditions, full as well as I:
And, if you ſtill, ſuppoſe her, worth ſuch honour,
You haue my leaue to *woo*, and *woe* vpon her.
Moreouer (to her credit) I confeſſe,
This *Motto* falſly ſaith, her *Fickleneſſe*
Is like the *Moones*: For, ſhe hath frown'd on mee
Twelue *Moones*, at leaſt; and, yet, no *Change* I ſee.

Vntill

Figure 11

Prudentes vino abstinent.

LO here the vine dothe clasþe, to prudent Pallas tree,
The league is nought, for virgines wise, doe Bacchus frendship flee.

Max. lib.5
Mulier [illegible]

Alciat. ***Quid me vexatis rami? Sum Palladis arbor,***
Auferte hinc botros, virgo fugit Bromium.

Englished so.

Why vexe yee mee yee boughes? since I am Pallas tree:
Remoue awaie your clusters hence, the virgin wine doth flee.

R 5 *In co-*

Figure 12

By Labour, Vertue *may be gain'd*;
By Vertue, Glorie *is attain'd.*

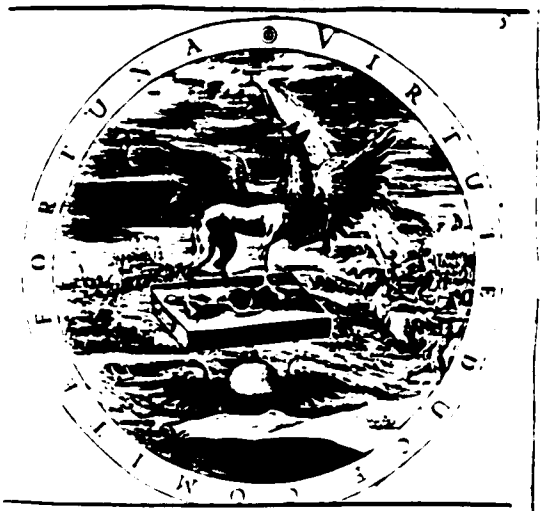
ILLVSTR. V. Book. I.

SVppoſe you *Sirs*, thoſe mimicke *Apes* you meet
In ſtrange fantaſticke habits? or the Rabble,
That in gay clothes emproyder out the ſtreet,
Are truely of *Worſhipfull* or *Honorable*?
Or can you thinke, that, To be borne the Sonne
Of ſome rich *Alderman*, or ancient *Peere*,
Or that the *Fame* our Predeceſſors wonne
May claime thoſe *Wreathes* which true *Deſerving* weare?
I *Honour* due to thoſe, who ſpend their dayes
In courting one another? or conſuming
Their Fortunes and themſelves, on Drabbs and Playes?
In ſleeping, drinking, and Tobacco-fuming?
Not ſo. For, though ſuch *Fooles*, like children, place
Gay *Titles* on each other; *Wiſe-men* know
What ſlaves they be; how miſerably-baſe;
And, where ſuch *Attributes* would better ſhow.
An idle *Suit* clothes a vitious *Minde*:
And, what (at beſt) is purchas'd by the ſame,
Is nothing elſe, but ſtinking *Smoke* and *Winde*;
Or frothie *Bubbles* of an emptie *Fame*.
True *Glory*, none did ever purchaſe, yet,
Till, to be *Vertuous* they could firſt attaine;
Nor ſhall thoſe men title *Vertues* favour get,
Who *labour* not, ſuch *Diſmiſſes* to gaine.
And, this *Impreſa* doth it terme no leſſe:
For, by the *Spade*, is *Labour* here implide;
The *Snake*, a vertuous *Prudence*, doth expreſſe;
And, *Glorie*, by the *Wreath* is Typified.
For, where a vertuous *Induſtry* is found,
She, ſhall with Wreaths of *Glory*, thus be crown'd.

Thereon

Figure 13

Good Fortune *will* with *him abide,*
That hath true Vertue, *for his guide.*



ILLVSTR. V. *Book.3*

THe *Gryphon*, is the figure of a creature,
Not found within the Catalogues of *Nature*:
But, by thoſe Wits created, who, to ſhew
Internall things, *externall Figures* drew:
The Shape, in which this *Fiction* they expreſt,
Was borrow'd from a *Foule*, and, from a *Beaſt*;
Importing (when their parts were thus comoin'd)
The *Vertues*, both of *Body*, and of *mind*:
And, Men are ſaid on *Gryphons* backes to ride,
When thoſe rare *Vertues*, them have dignify'd.
The *Stone* (this *Brute* ſupporting) may expreſſe
The firme abiding, and the ſolidneſſe
Of all true *Vertues*. That, long-winged *Ball*,
Which doth appeare rait-linked therewithall,
The gifts of changing *Fortune*, doe implye:
And, all thoſe things together, ſignifie,
That, when by ſuch-like *Vertues* Men are guided,
Good *Fortune* cannot be from them divided.
If this be true (as true I this believe)
Why ſhould wee murmure, why repine, or grieve,
As if our *Studies*, or our honeſt paines,
Deprived were of ſome deſerved gaines?
Why ſhould we thinke the world hath done us wrong,
Becauſe wee are not regiſter'd among
Thoſe thriving men, who purſe up ev'ry day,
For *twelve pences labours* more then *twelve months pay*?
If wee our *paines* rewarded cannot ſee,
Wee count our *Merits* greater then they be.
But if we bide content, our worth is more;
And rich we are, though others think us poore.

When

Figure 14

The more contrary Windes doe blow,
— The greater Vertues praise will grow.

ILLVSTR. XXXV. Book. 2

OBserve the nature of that *Fiery-flame*,
Which on the *Mountaines* top so brightly showes;
The *Windes* from every quarter, blow the same,
Out, and to blow it out, their *fury* blowes:
But, lo; the more they *storme*, the more it *shines*;
At every Blast, the *Flame* ascendeth higher;
And, till the *Fuell* want, that rage continueth,
It, will be, still, a great, and glorious *Fire*.
Thus fares the man, whom *Fortune*, Beacon-like,
Hath fixt upon the *Hills* of Eminence,
At him, the Tempests of mad *Envie* strike,
And, rage against his Piles of Innocence;
But, still, the more they wrong him, and the more
They seeke to keepe his worth from being knowne,
They, daily, make it greater, then before;
And, cause his *Fame*, the farther to be blowne.
When, therefore, no selfe-doting *Arrogance*,
But, *Vertues* cover'd with a modest vaile,
Breake through *obscurity*, and, thee advance
To place, where *Envie* shall thy worth assaile:
Discourage not thy selfe: but, stand the shockes
Of wrath, and fury. Let them snarle and bite;
Pursue thee, with *Detraction*, *Slanders*, *Mockes*,
And, all the venom'd Engines of *Despight*,
Thou art above their malice, and, the *blaze*
Of thy *Celestiall-fire*, shall shine so cleare,
That, their belotted soules, thou shalt amaze;
And, make thy *Volumnors*, to their shame, appeare.
If this be all, that *Envies* rage can doe,
Lord, give me Vertues, *though I suffer too.*

P 2 Even

Figure 15

Good-fortune, *will by thoſe abide,*
In whom, True-vertue *doth reſide.* 76

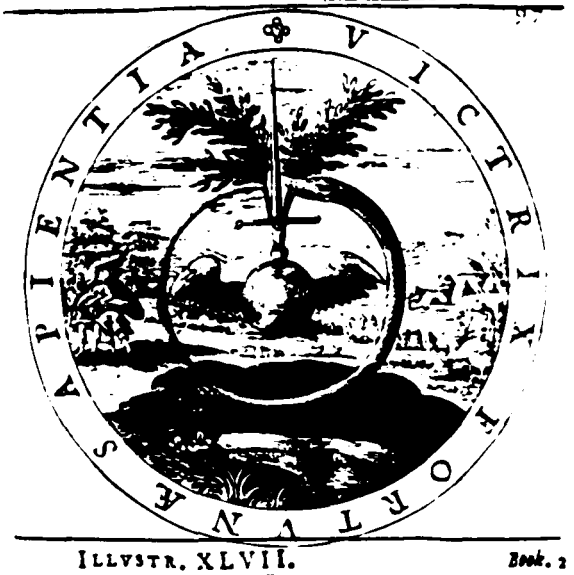
ILLVSTR. XXVI. *Boo.* 2

MArke, how the *Cornucopias*, here, apply
Their *Plenties*, to the *Rod* of *Mercury*;
And (if it ſeeme not needleſſe) learne, to know
This *Hieroglyphick's* meaning, ere you goe.
The *Sages* old, by this *Mercurian-wand*
(*Caduceus* nam'd) were wont to underſtand
Arts, Wiſedome, Vertue, and what elſe we finde,
Reputed for endowments of the *Minde*.
The *Cornucopias*, well-knowne *Emblems*, are,
By which, great *wealth*, and *plenties*, figur'd were;
And (if you joyne together, what they ſpell!)
It will, to ev'ry Vnderſtanding, tell,
That, where *Internall Graces* may be found,
Eternall-bleſſings, ever, will abound.
For, this is *truth*, and (though ſome thoughts in you
Suggeſt, that this is, often times, untrue)
This, ever is the *truth*; and, they have got
Few right-form'd *Vertues*, who believe it not.
I will confeſſe, true *Vertue* hath not ever
All *Common-sienties*, for which moſt indeavour;
Nor have the *Perfect'ſt-Vertues*, thoſe high places,
Which *Knowledge*, *Arts* (and, ſuch as have the faces
Of outward *beauty*) many times, attaine;
For, theſe are things, which (often) thoſe men gaine,
That are more *fleſh*, then *ſpirit*: and, have need
Of *carnall-helpes*, till higher they proceede.
But, they, of whom I ſpeake, are flowne ſo high,
As, not to want thoſe *Toves*, for which wee crye:
And, I had ſhown you ſomewhat of their ſtore,
But, that, this *Page*, had roome to write no more.

The

Figure 16

Though Fortune, *hath a powerfull* Name,
Yet, Vertue *overcomes the fame.*



ILLVSTR. XLVII. Book. 2

A *Snake*, (which was by wiſe *Antiquitie*
Much us'd, the type of *Prudence* to be)
Hemmes in a *Winged-ball*, which doth imply,
That *Fickle-fortune*, from which, none are free.
Above this *Ball*, the *Snake* advanceth too,
The *Laurell*, and the *Sword*; which, *Emblems* are,
Whereby our *Author* maketh much adoe,
A *Conqueſt* over *Fortune*, to declare.
And, well enough this purpoſe it befits,
If (*Reader*) any one of thoſe thou be,
Whoſe *Fortunes* muſt be mended by their *Wits*;
And, it affords inſtructions fit for thee:
For, hence, thou mayſt collect, that, no eſtate
Can, by *Misfortunes* meanes, become ſo bad,
But, *Prudence* (who is *Miſtreſſe* over *Fate*)
May rule it ſo, that, good it might be made.
Though *Fortunes* outlawes, on thy *Riches* prey,
By *Wiſed'me*, there is meanes, of getting more;
And, ev'ry rub that's placed in thy way,
Shall make thee walke more ſafely, then before.
Nor *Poverty*, nor *Paynes*, nor *Spightfulneſſe*,
Nor other *Miſchiefes*, that *Miſchance* can doe thee,
Shall bring thee any ſorrow or diſtreſſe,
Which will not be, at laſt, advantage to thee.
Lord, *give me ſuch a* Prudence: *for my* Fortune
Puts many tovies, and cruell throwes upon me:
Thy helpe, long ſince, it made me to importune;
And, thou alone grant it, or ſhe had unaone me.
Still, daigne me thy aſſiſtance, Lord, *and, than,*
Let all Misfortunes, *doe the worſt they can.*

A life,

Figure 17

A King, *that prudently Commands,*
Becomes the glory of his Lands.

66

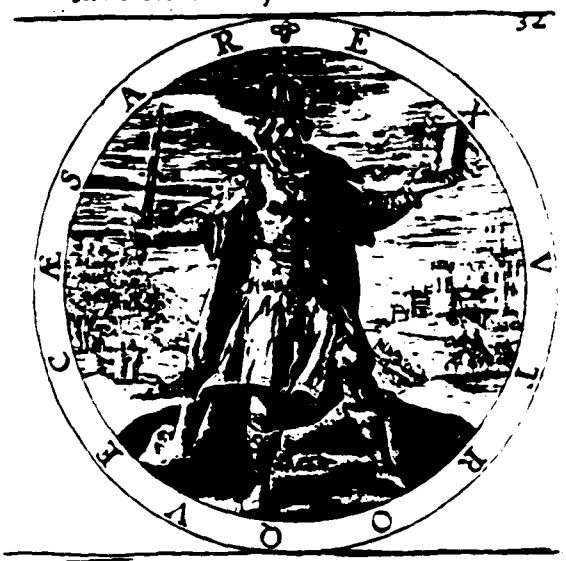
ILLVSTR. XVI. Book. 2

THe *Royal-Scepter*, Kingly power, implyes;
The *Crowne-Imperiall*, GLORIE, ſignifies:
And, by *theſe* joyn'd in one, we underſtand,
A *King*, that is an honour to his *Land*.
A *Kingdome*, is not alwaies eminent,
By having Confines of a large *extent*;
For, *Povertie*, and *Barbarouſneſſe*, are round
Ev'n in ſome large *Dominions*, to abound:
Nor, is it *Wealth*, which gets a *glorious-Name*;
For, then, thoſe *Lands* would ſpread the wideſt *Fame*,
From whence we fetch the *Gold* and *Silver-ore*;
And, where we gather *Pearles* upon the ſhore:
Nor, have thoſe *Countries* higheſt exaltations,
Which breed the ſtrongeſt, and the Warlikſt *Nations*;
For, proud of their owne powre, they ſometimes grow,
And quarrell, till *themſelves* they overthrow.
Nor, doe the chiefeſt *glories*, of a *Land*,
In many *Cities*, or much *People*, ſtand:
For, then, thoſe *Kingdomes*, moſt renowned were,
In which *Warlikſtan Kings*, and *Tyrants* are.
It is the *King* by whom a *Realme* is renowne,
Is either builded up, or overthrowne.
By *Solomon*, more fam'd was *Iudah* made,
Then, by the Multitude of men it had:
Great *Alexander*, glorified *Greece*,
Throughout the World, which, elſe had bene a piece
Perhaps obſcure; And, *Caſar* added more
To *Rome*, then all her greatneſſe did before.
Grant, Lord, *theſe* Iles, *for ever may be bleſſed*,
With what, *in this our* Emblem *is expreſſed*.

By

Figure 18

A Princes moſt ennobling Parts,
Are Skill in Armes, *and Love to* Arts.



ILLVSTR. XXXII. *Book. 1.*

RIght bleſt are they on whom *God* hath beſtowne
A *King*, whoſe *Vertues* have approved him
To be an Ornament unto his *Throne*,
And as a Luſtre to his *Diadem*.
Hee ſeekes not onely how to keepe in awe
His *People*, by thoſe meanes that rightfull are;
But, doth unto himſelfe, become a *Law*,
And, by *Example*, Pious *Workes* declare.
He, loveth *Peace*, and after it purſues;
Yet, if of *Warre* a juſt occaſion come,
Doth nor *Bellona's* Challenges refuſe,
Nor feare, to beat *Defyance* on his *Drum*;
He is as ready, alſo, to advance
The Lib'rall *Arts*, and from his Lands to drive
All falſe *Religion*, *Schiſme*, and *Ignorance*,
As other publike profits to contrive.
And, ſuch a *Prince* is not a *Caſuall-thing*,
The Glories of a *Throne*, by *Chance*, poſſeſſing;
Nor meerely from his *Parents*, doth he ſpring,
But, he is rather *Gods* immediate *Bleſſing*.
If thou deſireſt ſuch a *Prince* to be,
Or, to acquire that Worth which may allure
Such *Princes* to vouchſafe ſome *Grace* to thee;
Their Kingly *Vertues*, labour to procure.
In *Military* Practices delight,
Not for a wicked, or vaine-glorious end;
But, to maintaine the Cauſe that is upright,
Or thy diſtreſſed *Country* to defend.
And, ſtrive that thou, as excellent mayſt bee
In *Knowledge*, as, thou art in thy *Degree*.

True

Figure 19

True Vertue, *whatsoere betides,*
In all extreames, *unmoov'd abides.*

60

ILLVSTR. X. Book 2.

THen, in this *Emblem*, here, you have eſpide,
The ſhape of a triangled *Pyramide*,
And, have obſerved well, thoſe mightie *Rockes*,
Whoſe firme foundation bides the dreadfull ſhockes
Of angry *Neptune*; you may thereby ſee,
How firmly ſetled, *Vertues* reſt bee.
For, as the raging *Seas*, although they roare,
Can make no breach upon the Rockie ſhore;
And, as a true triangled *Pyramide*,
Stands faſt, and ſhewes alike, on ev'ry ſide:
So, howſoever *Fortune*, turnes or winds,
Thoſe men, which are indow'd with vertuous minds,
It is impoſſible, to drive them from
Thoſe *Formes*, or *Statures*, which thoſe minds become.
And, as the raging *Sea*, with foming threats,
Againſt the *Rockie-ſhore*, but vainely beats;
So, *Envie* ſhall in vaine, loud bluſtrings make,
When vertuous reſolutions they would ſhake.
For, *Vertue*, which receives an overthrow,
Was *Vertue*, not *mated*, but in the *ſhow*.
So farre am I, oh *Lord*! from laying claime
To have this *Vertue*, that, I doe but ayme
At ſuch *perfection*; and, can come no nigher
As yet, than to obtaine it in *deſire*.
But, fixe thou ſo, this weake deſire of mine,
Vpon the *Vertues* of thy *Rocke* divine,
That *I*, and that invaluable *Stone*,
May bee incorporated into *One*:
And, then, it will bee neither ſhame, nor pride,
To ſay, my *Vertues*, will unmov'd abide.

The

Figure 20

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