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*Second Series

THE ARDEN SHAKESPEARE

THE TEMPEST

Edited by
VIRGINIA MASON VAUGHAN
and ALDEN T. VAUGHAN

Essential to any scholarly endeavour is the tedious business of production and publication. We owe a special thanks to the 'Ariel' of this edition, the stage manager who co-ordinated all the actors and timed the production: Jessica Hodge of Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. Our copy-editor, Judith Ravenscroft, paid meticulous attention to detail, saving us many embarrassments. We are also grateful to the policy-makers at Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd for maintaining the high standards that have been associated with the Arden Shakespeare for the past one hundred years; we feel privileged to be part of such a professional enterprise.

On the home front in Worcester, Massachusetts, we owe thanks to Felice Bochman for a transcription of F1, our basic text, and to Jacquelyn Bessell for valuable assistance and good cheer. Discussions with Virginia Vaughan's students and colleagues at Clark University frequently stimulated fresh insights. We also thank our own canine 'Ariel' (better known as Becca) and her playmate Caliban for love and support through the entire project. Though their wistful eyes often wondered 'Is there more toil?' – especially on fine days we spent at the library instead of walking in the countryside – they always greeted us joyfully when we returned. And last, but not least, we thank each other, for patience, good humour, and love that 'frees all faults'. In that spirit, we remind our readers of Prospero's final request: although we accept responsibility for any shortcomings they find in this edition, 'As you from crimes would pardoned be, / Let your indulgence set [us] free'.

Virginia Mason Vaughan
and Alden T. Vaughan
Worcester, Massachusetts

INTRODUCTION

First performed in 1611 and first printed as the opening play in Shakespeare's collected works of 1623, *The Tempest* has long dazzled readers and audiences with its intricate blend of magic, music, humour, intrigue and tenderness. It charmed Jacobean audiences, played (in substantially altered form) to packed houses from the Restoration through the eighteenth century, emerged (in its original form) as a focal point in nineteenth-century European debates about the nature of humanity, and served disparate symbolic roles in twentieth-century writings on western imperialism and its demise. *The Tempest* has been a play for all eras, all continents and many ideologies.

What several centuries of readers, watchers and critics have found so fascinating in Shakespeare's last solo play is perhaps less the story of the shipwreck, island refuge, murderous cabals and happy ending than it is *The Tempest*'s vibrant but ambiguous central characters: the admirable or detestable Prospero (who, some critics contend, reflects the author himself), the bestial or noble Caliban, the loyal or resentful Ariel, the demure or resilient Miranda. Such antithetical extremes and their many intermediate positions exemplify *The Tempest*'s endlessly arguable nature. Even the play's narrative context is disputable. Some critics, for example, champion *The Tempest*'s likely New World sources, claim Bermuda or some other colonial setting as its island and find in Caliban the personification of American Indians. Other critics, with equal urgency, insist that the play's most meaningful analogues, its geographical context and its major characters are emphatically European.

Controversy has marked *The Tempest* almost from the outset.

Beginning with Ben Jonson's quip in 1614 about a '*Servant-monster*' (clearly Caliban), through centuries of changing interpretations by legions of scholars – whether from a Romantic, Christian, Darwinian, Freudian, allegorical, autobiographical, cultural materialist or post-colonial perspective – *The Tempest* has resonated with unusual power and variety. It has also appealed diversely to a wide range of visual artists, including William Hogarth, Henry Fuseli, Walter Crane and Arthur Rackham; to musicians Henry Purcell, Michael Tippett, and (too late in life) Verdi and Mozart; and to such disparate poets and novelists as Robert Browning, Herman Melville, T.S. Eliot, W.H. Auden, George Lamming and Edward Kamau Brathwaite. Sociopolitical writers like Ernest Renan, José Enrique Rodó, Octave Mannoni and Roberto Fernández Retamar have employed *The Tempest* metaphorically to epitomize their sometimes antithetical cultural perceptions. And although other Shakespearean plays enjoy worldwide recognition in the aftermath of the British Empire, *The Tempest* has been uniquely adopted by formerly colonized nations in refashioning their post-colonial identities.

This Introduction reviews the necessary backgrounds from which a reader or viewer of *The Tempest* may assess its multiplicity of interpretive perspectives and appreciate its appeal to diverse eras and cultures. The first section discusses the play itself, addressing formal elements such as structure, plot, language and characterization. The second section examines the various historical, literary and dramatic contexts that may have shaped the play's plot and characters. The third section surveys the play's afterlife – four centuries of critical interpretations, theatrical and literary adaptations, and metaphoric appropriations in Britain and North America especially, but also throughout the world in response to the rise and fall of colonialism. The Introduction's final section summarizes current knowledge about the printing of the Folio text, its typographical peculiarities and most problematic textual cruxes, and this edition's editorial practices.

THE PLAY

In Act 5 of the Folio *Tempest*, a stage direction instructs: '*Here Prospero discouers Ferdinand and Miranda playing at chess*' (5.1.171.1), whereupon the actor playing Prospero pulls aside the arras from the 'discovery space' – the alcove at the back of the stage – so that Ferdinand and Miranda can suddenly be seen. That action, *The Tempest*'s final spectacle of discovery, provokes open-mouthed wonder in the onstage spectators, most of whom thought Ferdinand had drowned. Gonzalo attributes this joyous discovery to deities who have 'chalked forth the way / Which brought us hither', and marvels that

> 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.
>
> (5.1.203–4, 208–13)

Gonzalo's wonder at discovering what had been unknown or, if known, what was assumed to be irretrievably lost, epitomizes *The Tempest*'s enduring power, for to audiences and readers alike the play prompts us to 'rejoice / Beyond a common joy' (5.1.206–7) at unexpected discoveries of people, places and events. The play is a theatrical wonder cabinet, a collection of exotic sights and sounds that parallels in many respects the gatherings of natural and man-made rarities from around the world that fascinated Shakespeare's contemporaries.

Wonder and discovery are, of course, no strangers to Shakespeare's late plays. *Pericles* offers two scenes in which the hero first finds his long-lost daughter and then his wife; both reappear almost miraculously after being lost for about fifteen years. In *The Winter's Tale* Perdita's discovery evokes 'a notable passion of wonder' (5.2.15–16), and Hermione's sudden

resurrection after sixteen years stupefies the audience as well as the onstage characters. But as wonderful as these moments are, they pale beside the manifold surprises of *The Tempest*, where shipwrecked Stephano and Trinculo encounter a monstrous islander, strange shapes produce a banquet and then make it disappear, a terrible figure of a harpy maddens the shipwrecked Neapolitans, and the beauteous masque of celestial deities performed for his betrothal amazes young Ferdinand.

Despite the play's unique panoply of visual wonders, very little happens on Prospero's enchanted island. *The Tempest*'s spectacular opening storm ostensibly splits a ship and all its passengers drown, but we soon learn that the storm was only an illusion crafted by Prospero and that the castaways are all safe. For the remainder of the play, the shipwrecked Europeans and the savage Caliban wander in clusters around the island, while Ariel flits from one group to another; Prospero and Miranda barely budge. The last scene brings everyone to Prospero's cell for a final revelation, but they were always nearby.

A sense of newness, of wonder, of exciting discovery nonetheless pervades the play, transcending its restricted geography and paucity of action. Those limitations notwithstanding, the island to some degree epitomizes Europe's age of discovery. Gonzalo's amazement at Ferdinand and Miranda's sudden appearance, as well as Miranda's joyous surprise at a 'brave new world' with 'such people in't' (5.1.183–4), echo the response of European explorers to exotic peoples, fauna and flora in a remote new world. While *The Tempest* is not primarily about America (despite many attempts to Americanize it reductively (see pp. 98–108)), the play's wondrous discoveries link the drama thematically to the travellers' tales that so delighted readers of Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1589, 1598–1600) and, a bit later, of Samuel Purchas's *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1613) and, later still, *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625). Caliban's / Prospero's island lies literally in the Mediterranean between Tunis and Naples, but its geographical location is less important

than the fact that it is nameless, uncharted and largely unexplored. This enchanted island harbours two Milanese castaways (Prospero and Miranda), two remarkable natives (Caliban and Ariel) and assorted spirits unlike anything the Europeans (and we, the audience) have ever seen. Our sojourn on this enchanted island is akin to a trip to a distant planet, where we find a world dramatically unlike our own.

Gonzalo's assertion that all the Neapolitans have 'found' themselves during their afternoon on this enchanted island is overly optimistic, but he correctly judges that most of them were radically changed by the experience. Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Naples, has undergone a sea-change by falling in love with Miranda and finding a father-in-law in Prospero, the deposed Duke of Milan. His father Alonso has also been transformed; shipwreck, despair at the presumed loss of his son and pangs of guilt have brought repentance for his part in the conspiracy against Prospero twelve years earlier. Whether Alonso's brother Sebastian and Prospero's brother Antonio have also changed is uncertain, but at least their lust for kingly office has been contained by Prospero's surveillance. And the play's final scene previews further transformations. Ariel will be free as the wind; Caliban will be wise, seek for grace and (probably) reinherit the island; Miranda will become a wife and the mother of future kings; and Prospero will be restored to his dukedom in Milan.

Whether Prospero has indeed found himself during the play's course is a matter of intense critical debate. At the beginning of Act 5, Ariel instructs him to forgive his enemies, which he professes to do. His willingness to relinquish magical powers so great that he could raise the dead signals, perhaps, an acceptance of his limited humanity, but this determination might also stem from a recognition that magic distracts from the political power he must wield as Duke.

Despite *The Tempest*'s exploitation of the conventional comic ending in the betrothal of a young couple and the reconciliation of their fathers, its conclusion is remarkably open-ended. From

the opening storm to the closing epilogue, the play challenges the boundaries between illusion and reality. Actors and audiences alike are 'such stuff / As dreams are made on' (4.1.156–7), their lives transient, their aspirations ephemeral. In his final words Prospero erases the distinction between actor and audience, island world and our world:

> As you from crimes would pardoned be,
> Let your indulgence set me free.
> (Epilogue, 19–20)

Prospero, the wronged Duke of Milan who forgives his enemies, however reluctantly, is now the one seeking forgiveness from the audience. And all of us, on the stage and off it, need the 'Mercy itself' that 'frees all faults' (Epilogue, 18).

Genesis and early performances

In the summer of 1609 an English ship smashed against the uninhabited Bermuda islands; several narratives of that accident and its fortunate aftermath reached London in the later months of 1610. Shakespeare probably wrote *The Tempest* between the arrival of those accounts and the play's first recorded performance about a year later. According to a rare surviving record of performances on 1 November 1611 ('Hallomas nyght'), Shakespeare's acting company 'presented att Whithall before the kinges Majestie a play Called the Tempest'.[1] During the winter of 1612–13, *The Tempest* had a second royal performance as part of the festivities celebrating Princess Elizabeth's betrothal to the Elector Palatine (Chambers, 1.490–4).

Like the other thirteen plays selected for the wedding ceremonies, including *Othello*, *The Winter's Tale* and *Much Ado About Nothing*, *The Tempest* was almost surely written originally for performance at one of the King's Company's

1 The sparse surviving evidence of early performances is reproduced in the appendices to E. K. Chambers's biography of Shakespeare. See especially Chambers, 2.342–3.

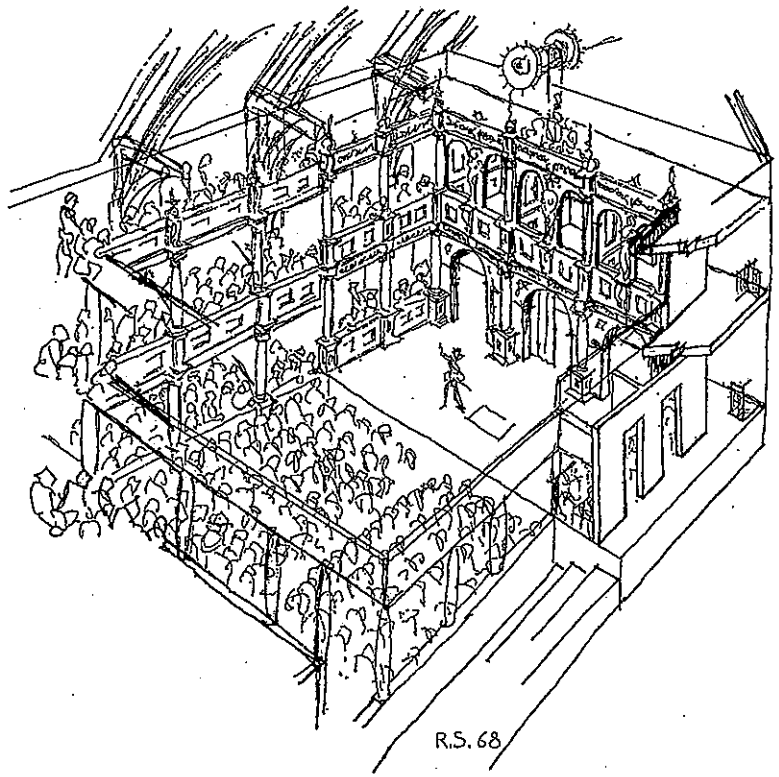
playhouses[1] – probably the indoor Blackfriars Theatre, though it could easily have been mounted at the open-air Globe (Sturgess).[2] And while there is no evidence of textual changes during its early years, *The Tempest* may, like other plays, have been modified by the author between its initial, probably pre-Whitehall, performance in 1611 and Shakespeare's death in 1616 or by other hands from then until the printing of the Folio in 1623.[3]

The Tempest appeared at an exciting and prosperous time for the King's Company. They played in the summer months at the Globe Theatre, a public playhouse that could accommodate up to 3,000 spectators and, from October to May, at the Blackfriars, an intimate indoor theatre for a smaller, more aristocratic and relatively homogeneous audience (Fig. 1). Among the King's Company's many productions in the years following 1610–11, *The Tempest* appears to have been popular. John Dryden claimed in the Preface to the fanciful adaptation that he and William Davenant produced in 1667 that its precurser '*had formerly been acted with success in the* Black-fryers' (Dryden & Davenant, sig. A2^{v}). Ben Jonson, though no fan of the play, judging from his (perhaps tongue-in-cheek) Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), implied that Shakespeare's play was well known, bragging of his own play: 'If there bee never a *Servant-monster* i'the *Fayre*; who can helpe it? he sayes; nor a nest of *Antiques*? Hee is loth to make Nature afraid in his *Playes*, like those that beget

1 In 1603, Shakespeare's acting company came under the patronage of King James; thereafter it was known as the King's Company or the King's Men.

2 In an intriguing case against the accepted wisdom that *The Tempest* was intended for performance at the Blackfriars Theatre and was produced only incidentally at court, Demaray contends that Shakespeare had a court performance in mind while writing, responding 'to a fascination at court with staged spectacles that embraced all of the theatrical arts – song, speech, scenery, dance and costume iconography – and that featured strange or unusual character-types in exotic locales' (16). But *The Winter's Tale* was also performed at court on 5 November 1611; since Simon Forman recorded seeing this play at the Globe on 11 May of the same year, it seems more likely that the court performances at Whitehall were special productions of plays already in the public repertoire (Chambers, 1.489).

3 For a discussion of several arguments in favour of a much earlier date of composition that have been almost wholly rejected by modern scholarship, and for suggestions about possible early alterations to the play, see Ard^{2}, xv–xxiv.



1 A conjectural drawing by Richard Southern of Blackfriars Theatre as it appeared after 1596

Tales, *Tempests*, and such like *Drolleries*' (Jonson, *Works*, 6.16). Unfortunately, Jonson's contemporaneous reference provides no information about *The Tempest*'s early staging.

If early performances of *The Tempest* conformed closely to the Folio text, they required thirteen men and four boys; because all the adult actors assemble at the finale, there is little opportunity for doubling. The stage directions also call for spirits, nymphs, reapers and hunting dogs, functions that could have been filled by extras, or perhaps by child singers attached to the royal household. The staging itself – most notably the tempest, the disappearing banquet and the masque – could easily have been

created on the non-scenic, platform stage of the Blackfriars (Sturgess). Because Ariel obeys Prospero's direction to 'make thyself like a nymph o'th' sea' (1.2.302, 317.1), there is no need for the actor to fly, though in modern productions he[1] often appears to, either by the use of wires or, more often, by graceful movements aloft or up and down ladders.

The play also calls for an assortment of sound effects: thunder, confused noises, soft music, solemn music, a noise of hunters, dogs barking. Drums or rolling cannonballs probably evoked the thunder, squibs (an early variety of fireworks) may have created the effect of lightning, and a small orchestra most likely supplied the music. At the Blackfriars, an organ could have added the island's eerie music. Except for the opening storm scene, which could be recreated with appropriate sounds on a platform stage, Shakespeare limits the scene of his action to one fictional island, where characters can readily come and go without changes of scenery. The resulting simple staging could easily have been transferred to the Banqueting House at Whitehall for performances before King James.

Genre

The editors of the First Folio grouped *The Tempest*, along with *The Winter's Tale*, with Shakespeare's earlier comedies, which must have satisfied most seventeenth-century readers. Comedies typically traced the trials of young lovers at the hands of a blocking agent (usually her father) and ended with the celebration of their engagement and a parental blessing. The main plot was often paralleled in the comic subplot, for example the antics of Launce and Speed in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Dogberry and Verges in *Much Ado About Nothing*, Sir Toby and Maria in *Twelfth Night*. *The Tempest* at first glance follows this pattern: Prospero pretends to block Ferdinand's courtship of Miranda

1 We employ male pronouns when referring to Ariel, although the character is essentially without sexual identity. The Folio's sole relevant pronoun is 'his' (1.2.193); and, of course, the role was originally played by a boy or young man.

but finally blesses their marriage; the lovers' wooing is juxtaposed with scenes of clowning by the drunken servants Stephano, Trinculo and Caliban. But in other respects, *The Tempest* is quite different from Shakespeare's earlier comedies. The audience's attention is consistently focused on the father, not the young lovers, and their betrothal is planned before they even meet. The comic clowning threatens the very life of the play's protagonist, and the peril of assassination permeates the plot. The darker themes of Shakespeare's tragedies – regicide, usurpation and vengeance – are always near this comedy's surface. To most twentieth-century critics, *The Tempest* (along with *Pericles*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*) has seemed qualitatively different from Shakespeare's earlier comic works, and many have sought to explain the change.

The Winter's Tale, Cymbeline, The Tempest and the collaborative Two Noble Kinsmen were written in a changing theatrical climate; the more affluent audiences of the Blackfriars called for a different kind of drama than had long been customary at the Globe and other playhouses. By 1610–11, Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher had begun a productive literary collaboration, specializing in mixed-mode plays that were often labelled 'tragicomedies'. Fletcher, influenced by Giovanni Battista Guarini's defence of tragicomedy in *Il compendio della poesia tragicomica* (1601), adapted the Italian's experimental drama, *Il Pastor Fido*, to the English stage as *The Faithful Shepherdess* (1609–10). In a preface 'To the Reader', Fletcher defined the new genre:

> A tragie-comedie is not so called in respect of mirth and killing, but in respect it wants deaths, which is inough to make it no tragedie, yet brings some neere it, which is inough to make it no comedie.
>
> (Beaumont & Fletcher, 3.497)

Shakespeare's last plays generally adhere to this definition: several major characters suffer grievously yet eventually enjoy

familial reunions and reconciliations. Still, the deaths of Cloten (*Cymbeline*), Mamillius and Antigonus (*The Winter's Tale*) contradict the Guarini / Fletcher notion that such a play 'wants deaths'; and, as a recent critic contends, *ex post facto* readings of Fletcher's preface (in a play that attracted meagre audiences) can distort our understanding of a popular dramatic form which appeared in many variations (McMullan & Hope, 4).

That Shakespeare was experimenting with a mixed mode of drama before Fletcher came on the scene seems apparent from *Pericles* (1608), which includes all the plot elements Shakespeare exploited later:

> a royal child is lost and rediscovered; sea journeys change men's lives; scenes occur in different countries, most of them remote; the main characters struggle against adversity and are rewarded in the end; characters thought dead are miraculously resurrected; and the final reconciliation is achieved through the agency of young people.
>
> (Hartwig, 4)

These narrative components are the stuff of romance, so it is unsurprising that although the dramatic category was unknown in Shakespeare's era, for most of the twentieth century *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* have been regrouped as 'Shakespeare's romances'.

A standard definition of 'romance' is 'a fictitious narrative in prose of which the scene and incidents are very remote from those of ordinary life, *esp.* one of the class prevalent in the 16th and 17th centuries, in which the story is often overlaid with long disquisitions and digressions' (*OED* 3). Drawing on third-century AD Greek narratives about the extraordinary adventures of lost and wandering lovers, interlaced with strange monsters, savage beasts and supernatural apparitions, Elizabethan writers – John Lyly, Thomas Lodge, Robert Greene and, in the posthumously published *Arcadia*, Philip Sidney – brought such stories

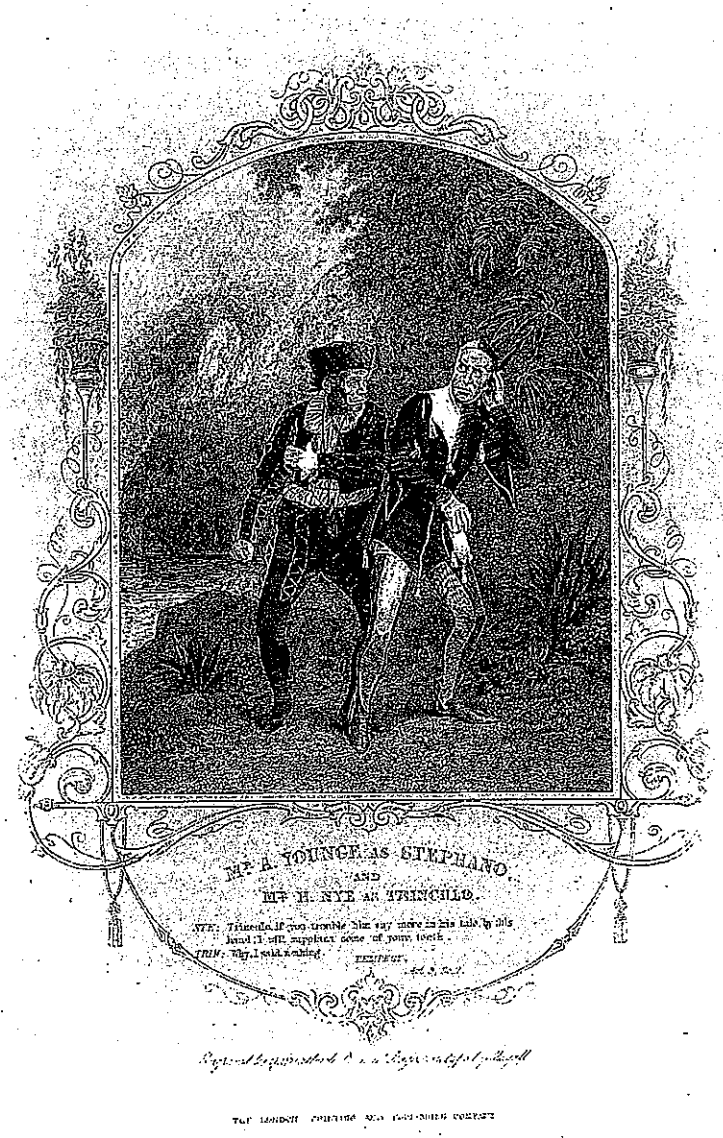
to the reading public. Dramatists combed the narratives for new plots. Shakespeare, for one, used Sidney's story of the Paphlagonian king for the Gloucester subplot in *King Lear* and in the process, according to Hallett Smith, began a period of experimentation with dramatizations of romances that culminated in *The Tempest* (H. Smith, 55).

The *commedia dell'arte* of continental Europe was well known in England and may also have influenced Shakespeare's plot and characters. In 1934 Kathleen M. Lea made a case for his use of a scenario from the *commedia dell'arte*, arguing that

> the favourite setting is either the coast of Arcadia or a lost island; the dramatis personae consists of a magician who has a somewhat malicious interest in the love-affairs of a group of nymphs and shepherds among whom one may be his daughter and another the lost son of the Magnifico or the Doctor who are shipwrecked onto the coast with the Zanni. The magician's attendants are satyrs, demons, or rustics of the cruder sort . . . At the denouement the magician discovers the relationship between himself, the lovers, and the strangers, ends the play by renouncing his magic and sometimes agrees to leave the island and return to civic life.
>
> (Lea, 2.444–5)

The similarity to Prospero (the magician), Miranda (his daughter), Ferdinand (the son of a duke instead of a magnifico), Ariel (a benign satyr) and Caliban (a demonic and rustic attendant) is clear. Though Stephano and Trinculo obviously share the comic qualities of the *zanni* – Trinculo is a court jester, Stephano a comic drunk – the extent of Shakespeare's indebtedness to this continental scenario is necessarily hypothetical (see Fig. 2).

Categories of dramatic works are useful but not essential. Whether *The Tempest* is labelled a tragicomedy (Hartwig) or a romance (Edwards, H. Smith, Felperin), neither typology tells us whether Shakespeare initiated a change in theatrical offer-



2 A. Younge as Stephano and H. Nye as Trinculo, with the latter wearing the customary jester's costume, uniform of the *zanni*

ings or seized upon contemporary fashions, or effectively did both. In any case, the play's content and structure are characteristic of the last years of the dramatist's career and of a highly popular Jacobean dramatic form.

Structure

Except for *The Comedy of Errors*, *The Tempest* is Shakespeare's shortest play; and like *The Comedy of Errors*, it roughly conforms to the unities of time, place and action. As Prospero's instructions to Ariel make clear (1.2.240–1; 5.1.4–5), the plot consumes the hours between 2 p.m. and 6 p.m.[1] (the events of twelve years ago and earlier are recounted rather than enacted in 1.2), and, aside from the initial storm scene, the events occur on one mysterious island. The plot's various strands are Prospero's interventions in the other characters' lives and psyches.

The Tempest may indeed be Shakespeare's most tightly structured play, an appropriate characteristic for a story in which the central character is so concerned with disciplining his minions. Composed of nine separate scenes, the play begins with a shipwreck and ends with the restoration of the ship that had seemed earlier to split. The rest of the play is comparably symmetrical. Scenes 2 (1.2) and 8 (4.1) involve Prospero, Miranda and Ferdinand; in scene 2 Ferdinand thinks he has lost his father forever; in scene 8 he assumes a new father in Prospero through marriage to Miranda. Scenes 3 (2.1) and 7 (3.3) develop Antonio and Sebastian's plan to kill Alonso and usurp his throne; in both scenes their conspiracy is postponed, in scene 3 by Ariel's intervention and in scene 7 by the mysterious arrival of a banquet. Scenes 4 (2.2) and 6 (3.2) display the drunken antics of Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo, and their plot to kill Prospero and take

1 With musical interludes between the acts (see Taylor, 30), *The Tempest* would have lasted approximately four hours – the same amount of time that Prospero suggests the action takes. But cf. Alonso's 'three hours since / Were wrecked upon this shore' (5.1.136–7), and the Boatswain's 'but three glasses since we gave out split' (5.1.223); perhaps Prospero allows an hour for the storm.

over the island (foiled in the last lines of 4.1). The central scene 5 (3.1) showcases Ferdinand and Miranda's betrothal.[1]

Within this tight pattern, several roles and events are parallel; *The Tempest*'s 'symmetric structure of correspondences gives it the multiplicity of a hall of mirrors, in which everything reflects and re-reflects everything else' (Brooks, 37). Prospero's overthrow in Milan twelve years earlier is nearly repeated, first in Antonio and Sebastian's plot to murder Alonso, and second in Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo's plan to assassinate Prospero. Each of these plot strands leads to a seemingly miraculous spectacle. Prospero's ultimate goals, the restoration of his rightful place and a proper marriage for his daughter, are celebrated in the masque he stages for Ferdinand and Miranda in 4.1. Alonso, Sebastian and Antonio are stunned by a disappearing banquet and Ariel's sudden appearance as a harpy in 3.3. Trinculo and Stephano are diverted from their murderous intent at the sight of Prospero's 'trumpery' hanging on a line; their appearance near the end of the play in stolen finery provides an antimasque which parodies Ceres and Juno's formal personations in 4.1. And, as the Epilogue reminds us, the play is itself a spectacle that will soon disappear.

Shakespeare's adherence to the unity of time is particularly problematic. Instead of evolving his plot across the vasts of time and space so common in Greek romance, the dramatist insists that his characters merely *remember* the events of the twelve years preceding. Although Miranda cannot recall enough to challenge Prospero's account, Caliban and Ariel do remember early events on the island; Caliban's recollections, in some particulars, challenge his master's, leaving the audience to speculate as to what really happened.[2]

1 See Mark Rose, *Shakespearean Design* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), p. 173, for a scenic diagram that demonstrates the play's symmetry.

2 For further discussion of memory in *The Tempest*, see especially Günter Walch, 'Metatheatrical memory and transculturation in *The Tempest*', in Maquerlot and Willems, 223–38.

The compression of events to one afternoon also leaves many loose ends. Anne Barton observes that 'a surprising amount of *The Tempest* depends upon the suppressed and the unspoken' (Penguin, 16). The introduction of Antonio's son in 1.2.439, a figure who is not mentioned elsewhere in the play, is a case in point. Audiences may also wonder about the absence of Prospero's wife, the fate of Claribel in Tunis, Sycorax's life before she was banished to the island, Antonio's silence in the final scene and other gaps in the narrative. Antonio's son may be a loose end, an omission in the heat of composition; but these other conundrums appear to be deliberate silences on Shakespeare's part. *The Tempest* provokes dozens of questions for which the text provides no certain answers.

It also provokes questions about place. *The Tempest*, like *The Winter's Tale*, is a pastoral romance, but its opposition of court and country is affected by Shakespeare's adherence to the unity of place. We never see the courts of Milan and Naples (as we do Leontes' Sicily); rather they come to the island in the persons of Alonso, Antonio, Sebastian and others. These courtiers do not find themselves in a stylized world of sonnet-citing shepherds and shepherdesses, but discover instead an island replete with brine pits, hissing adders and stinging urchins. Alonso is mortified by his encounter with Ariel the harpy, but Antonio, and perhaps Sebastian, seem psychologically unchanged by their sojourn in the natural world. Shakespeare uses the pattern of pastoral, but as with other patterns in the play, unanticipated events disrupt expectations.

More than a simple setting, the island takes on a life of its own. Caliban creates its mythic resonances with his evocations of exotic flora and fauna: 'berries', 'clustr'ing filberts', 'pignuts', 'the nimble marmoset' and the ambiguous 'scamels' (2.2.157–69). His perspective is shaped by physical responses to night and day, moon and stars, emptiness and fullness, silence and music. The Neapolitans see the island differently. To Gonzalo it has possibilities as a golden-age plantation. To Sebastian and Antonio it

evokes travellers' tales of unicorns and the phoenix. To Prospero it is a temporary if unwanted haven from the cares of office. To the audience it is the stuff that dreams are made on, an imaginative world of words and music.

The action on this island, as we suggested earlier, is mainly geographic movement writ small. The first four acts conclude with an invitation to move on: 'Come, follow' (1.2.502); 'Lead the way' (2.2.183); 'Follow, I pray you' (3.3.110); 'Follow and do me service' (4.1.266) (see Aercke, 148). The characters perambulate in small groups from one part of the island to another; only at Prospero's final invitation, 'Please you, draw near' (5.1.319), do they join in one place. Although their physical and psychological journeys through the island's maze have ended, the play concludes with plans for a sea journey back to Milan that roughly parallels the journeys that brought all the Europeans to the island.

This sense of continual movement contributes to *The Tempest*'s elusiveness. Within its tightly organized scenes it switches from one view of human nature to another; each can be said to be 'true'. Stanley Wells observes that '*The Tempest* is a romance containing built-in criticism of romance; not a rejection of it, but an appreciation of both its glories and its limitations' (Wells, 76). This tension is most apparent in the counterpoint among Gonzalo, Antonio and Sebastian in 2.1.52–106. Gonzalo sees grass that is green and lusty; the cynical courtiers find only docks and nettles. Prospero's wry response to Miranda's discovery of a 'brave new world' – ''Tis new to thee' (5.1.183–4) – frames a similar opposition. Such contradictory visions are characteristic of Shakespeare's late plays. By yoking tragic themes and comic resolutions, realistic characterizations and exotic tales, the romances highlight the paradoxes of human experience.

Music

The atmosphere of *The Tempest*'s enchanted island is created largely through sound. The stage directions call for a variety of auditory effects, including Ariel playing on a tabor and pipe

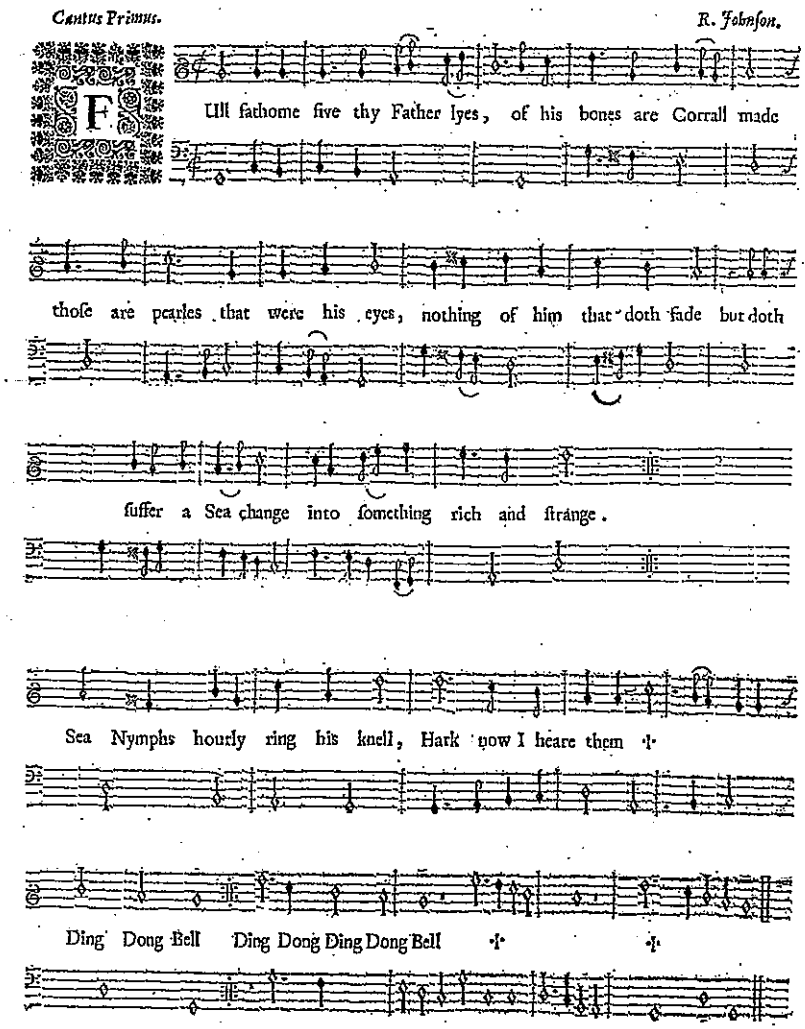
(3.2.124SD), '*Solemn and strange music*' (3.3.17.1), '*soft music*' (3.3.82.1 and 4.1.58SD), '*a strange hollow and confused noise*' (4.1.138.3–4) and '*Solemn music*' (5.1.57SD). Moreover, Prospero manifests his power in music throughout *The Tempest*; akin in many ways to Orpheus, Prospero employs music to civilize his island's discordant elements (Simonds, 'Music').

Ariel must have originally been performed by an adept musician, for in addition to playing on his tabor and pipe, he sings four songs. Throughout the play, his songs are a vehicle for Prospero's magic: they guide Ferdinand to his meeting with Miranda in 1.2, waken Gonzalo in time to prevent regicide in 2.1 and lead the drunken conspirators into the horse pond in 4.1. Ariel's final tune, 'Where the bee sucks', accompanies Prospero's donning of ducal robes while the airy spirit exults in the merry life he will lead in liberty.

The two settings of Ariel's songs that survive, 'Full fathom five' and 'Where the Bee sucks' (reproduced in Figs 3 and 4), were composed by Robert Johnson, a lutenist attached to James I's court and in the service of Prince Henry.[1] Compared to Ariel's songs, the rest of the music in *The Tempest* is entertaining but of scant importance to the plot. Stephano enters singing a scurvy tune, Caliban chants a freedom catch, and the three drunks join in a round, 'Flout 'em and scout 'em'. In a more sober vein, music accompanies the masque, parts of it are sung, and it is followed by a dance of Reapers and Nymphs.

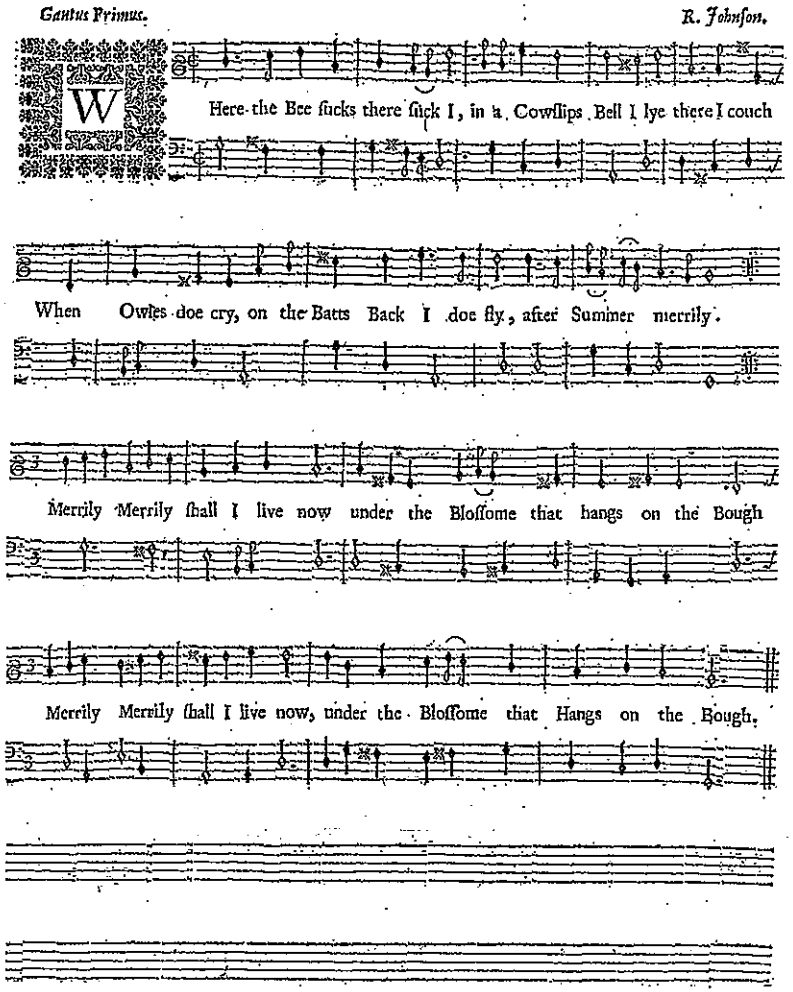
Of greater import than the individual songs announced by the stage directions is the pervasiveness of music conveyed in the text. Caliban assures his companions that the island is full of 'Sounds and sweet airs' (3.2.136). When he hears Ariel's song, Ferdinand wonders, 'Where should this music be? I'th' air, or th'earth?' (1.2.388). Few of Shakespeare's plays require so much music, 'and none of them puts so much emphasis on "dis-

1 For a musicological analysis of Johnson's songs, see Howell Chickering, 'Hearing Ariel's songs', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 24 (1994), 131–72.



3 Robert Johnson's musical setting for 'Full fathom five', from *Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads*, 1660

persed" music, performed as if it came from all over the stage' (Seng, 252). At the Blackfriars, Shakespeare had access to instrumentalists and boy singers who could create a magical island out of sheer sound.



4 Robert Johnson's musical setting for 'Where the Bee sucks', from *Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads*, 1660

Language

The Tempest's language is no less elusive than the island and its music. Its poetry 'seduces the audience into a state of stylistic suspension, an intuitive zone between sleep and wake, . . . a marginal condition between expectation and understanding,

affirmation and skepticism, comedy and tragedy' (McDonald, 27). The language itself creates the island's dreamlike effect, contributing to the audience's sense of suspension from time and space.

Like the play's action, the verse is often elliptical.[1] Apostrophes are used to omit syllables from words, not simply to suit the iambic pentameter line but in all likelihood to compress the language and reveal the emotions boiling beneath. Prospero's speeches to Miranda in 1.2, as he recounts his past, repeatedly use elisions, such as 'hearts *i*'th' state' (84), 'out o'th' substitution' (103) and 'in lieu o'th' premises' (123). Words are also conspicuously omitted, leaving the observer to make the line coherent by supplying an all-important noun, pronoun, verb or adverb. Consider, for example, 'there is no soul –' (1.2.29), short for 'there is no soul *perished*'; 'and his only heir' (1.2.58), short for 'and *you* his only heir'; 'urchins / Shall forth' (1.2.327–8), short for 'urchins shall *go* forth'. Sometimes key words are delayed, the flow of thought interrupted by a complex dependent clause, as in Prospero's description of Sycorax:

> This damned witch Sycorax,
> For mischiefs manifold and sorceries terrible
> To enter human hearing, from Algiers,
> Thou knowst, was banished.
>
> (1.2.263–6)

Audiences and readers automatically supply 'sorceries *too* terrible' and then wait for the final verb. This compression gives the poetry a 'stripped-down quality, more extreme than anything in Shakespeare's previous work. . . . [T]he verse achieves an uncanny eloquence by way of what it omits or pares away' (Penguin, 13).

1 The following analysis of Shakespeare's verse draws heavily on an unpublished paper by Russ McDonald, 'Shakespeare's late line', which was delivered at the March 1997 meeting of the Shakespeare Association of America, and on Anne Barton's introduction to The New Penguin *Tempest*.

Editors of *The Tempest* frequently note its unusual reliance on compound words such as 'sight-outrunning', 'sea-change', 'bemocked-at stabs', 'sea-marge', 'pole-clipped', 'cloud-capped', 'weather-fends', 'spell-stopped', to name just several. The words are joined without syntactical relationships, as if they have been 'left to work out their complex and unstable union within the reader's mind' (Penguin, 14). They add to our sense of the play's compression, collapsing several sentences of meaning into two or three words.

Other passages rely on repetition for effect. Miranda's 'I have suffered / With those that I saw suffer' (1.2.5–6) underscores her compassion, much as Prospero's 'Twelve year since, Miranda, twelve year since' (1.2.53) bespeaks his growing agitation. Like a musical theme with variations, the verse replicates the play's structural repetitions and variations – usurpation, killing the king, spectacle.

Despite the text's suggestions of movement, most of *The Tempest*'s scenes are static expositions of the past or plans for the future, a quality that makes Shakespeare's use of shared and run-on lines all the more important. The play's longest scene (1.2), consisting almost entirely of recollections, would be tedious indeed were it not for the frequent give and take between the central narrator, Prospero, and his listeners. One-fifth of *The Tempest*'s verse lines are short or shared, an effect that promotes tension and highlights interpersonal conflicts (G. Wright, 119, Appendix C).

The Tempest's high proportion of irregular lines and the frequent use of an extra unaccented syllable at the end of lines repeat at the linguistic level the plot's underlying tension between harmony and disruption, between utopian longings and the chaos caused by human nature. That chaos is perhaps best typified by Caliban, and discussions of the play's language often focus on his speeches. Miranda (with Prospero's assistance, surely) taught him their language, so it is not surprising that his major speeches – even in scenes with Trinculo and Stephano,

who use the characteristic prose of clowns and jesters – are in blank verse. Caliban's diction differs, however, from Miranda's and Prospero's; his words express unique apprehension of the natural world, gleaned from his physical experience of island life in the sound of storms, the sting of porcupines, the hiss of adders and the music of the wind. The other characters have little, if anything, to say about Caliban's world; the function of much of their 'civilization' (clothing, utensils, cells) is to protect them from its rigours. Caliban's rhetoric invests the island with reality.

Characters

Like the location of the enchanted island, the origins of the play's characters are elusive. There are, to be sure, links to Shakespeare's earlier endeavours: Prospero has often been compared to *Measure for Measure*'s Vincentio, Miranda to the late romances' Marina, Imogen and Perdita. Despite the echoes of past creations, the characters in *The Tempest* are as much *sui generis* as the play's structure and language.

Ben Jonson included a Prospero and a Stephano in the first version of *Every Man in his Humour* (1598), which makes it tempting to imagine that Shakespeare, who appears in *Every Man*'s cast list, once performed Jonson's Prospero. But the resemblance between the two characters is in name only. Prospero, ironically enough, means 'fortunate' or 'prosperous' but, like Shakespeare's magician, the name has often belied reality. For example, William Thomas's *Historie of Italie* (1549), sometimes suggested as a direct source for *The Tempest* (Bullough, 8.249–50), describes the fate of Prospero Adorno, who was established by Ferdinando, Duke of Milan, as the Governor of Genoa. According to Thomas, Prospero was deposed; the citizens '(remembryng how thei were best in quiet, whan they were subjectes to the Duke of Millaine) returned of newe to be under the Milanese dominion: and than was Antony Adorno made governour of the citee for the Duke' (Thomas,

182). Whether or not Shakespeare took the names of Ferdinand and the brothers Prospero and Antonio from Thomas, the latter's account of a brother's treachery provides an intriguing analogue.

Prospero is 'fortunate' in that after twelve years of suffering on a lonely island he sees his daughter happily betrothed and is at long last restored to his dukedom. He is clearly the play's central character; he has far more lines than anyone else[1] and manipulates the other characters throughout. One's reaction to Prospero almost inevitably determines one's response to the entire play. In the eighteenth century, when the magus was perceived as an enlightened and benign *philosophe*, the play seemed a magical comedy; by the late twentieth century, when Prospero had come to be viewed as a tetchy, if not tyrannical, imperialist, the play itself seemed more problematic (see pp. 103–8).

Congruent with these changing interpretations were different physical images of the magus. From the eighteenth century into the twentieth, he was customarily depicted on stage and in visual representations as an old, grey-bearded sage; in many late twentieth-century commentaries, he is presented as middle-aged, which reflects partly a better knowledge of Renaissance royal culture and partly the influence of Freudian theories. Renaissance princes usually married early. Since Miranda is apparently his only offspring (whose mother presumably died giving birth) and is now approximately 15, Prospero could be as young as 35. The range of his emotions attests to a nature still in development, and his comment at the play's finale that 'Every third thought shall be my grave' is most likely the mature reflection of middle age that time is not limitless. When Richard Burbage (1567–1619) performed Prospero's role in 1611, he was 44 (Shakespeare was 47), which reinforces our impression of Prospero as between 40 and 45, but no older. If this is indeed the

1 Prospero has nearly 30 per cent of the lines; the next highest figure is Caliban's at less than 9 per cent. See Marvin Spevack, *A Complete and Systematic Concordance to the Works of Shakespeare*, 9 vols (Hildesheim, Germany, 1968–80), 1.36–62.

case, an underlying motive for his urgency for the match with Ferdinand may be incestuous feelings for his own daughter. As some recent critics and performances have emphasized, he needs to get her off the island and married, for his own sake as well as hers (see pp. 118, 123).

Throughout the play Prospero displays 'a superb combination of power and control' in his relations to others (Kahn, 239). His stance throughout is authoritarian, which may explain the changing reaction to his role over the centuries. As Duke, he was reponsible for the health of his duchy; his inattention to politics invited Antonio's *coup d'état* twelve years before the play begins; when Prospero resumes his ducal robes at the play's conclusion, there is some question as to what kind of ruler he will be now. His willingness to relinquish his books, the source of his earlier distraction, suggests that he will take a more 'hands-on' approach, perhaps replacing the information gathered by Ariel by using his own surveillance techniques to monitor Antonio and Sebastian.

Prospero is also, as briefly discussed above, a magician. He wears magic robes, uses a magic staff and refers to his books on magic. Magic is his technology, a means to the end of getting what he wants. But a central ambiguity in the play is *what* he wants. Does he plan a spectacular revenge against his enemies? His disjointed language and palpable anguish in 1.2.66–132 suggest the rage that has festered for twelve years, but his plan for Miranda's marriage to Ferdinand makes it less likely that he intends real harm to her future father-in-law. Prospero's angry outburst in the midst of the masquers' festive dance in 4.1 reveals a mind distempered by crimes he cannot forgive, yet he claims to have forgiven the courtiers at the play's conclusion, partly in response to Ariel's remonstrance and partly because he must if Miranda's union with Ferdinand is to succeed. Prospero's darker side, moreover, is emphasized by his being the mirror image to Sycorax. Like Prospero, she arrived with a child, though hers (Caliban) was still in the womb; like him, she

used her magic (witchcraft) to control the elements. But Sycorax's powers are presented as demonic, and until he echoes the sorceress Medea's invocation in 5.1.33–50, Prospero construes his own magic as benign: 'There's no harm done' (1.2.15). Still, the parallel underlies the play and casts an ambiguous shadow on the magician.

Perhaps Prospero's most controversial role is that of master. In his service are Ariel, who serves under oral contract for an unstated period (1.2.245–50), and Caliban, enslaved by Prospero a year or two earlier, the text implies, for his sexual assault on a recently pubescent Miranda. Although Prospero handles both subordinates with threats of confinement and bodily pain, and although he is, in many modern interpretations, unduly strict and often petulant towards them, at the end he sets Ariel free ahead of schedule and, perhaps, leaves Caliban to fend for himself when the Europeans return to Italy. Prospero is equally impatient with Ferdinand, whom he temporarily forces to do manual labour. Ferdinand's service is short-lived, however, and he is rewarded with Miranda as a bride.[1]

In the effort to control his fellows, Prospero also seeks to monopolize the narrative. He burdens Miranda in 1.2 with one of the lengthiest expositions in all Shakespearean drama, and at his concluding invitation to the courtiers to pass the night in his cave, he promises to recount the events of his twelve-year exile. His anger at the plot devised by Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo may result in part from their threat to set up a competing narrative; Caliban wants to get his island back (even if Stephano is king), just as Prospero wants to get his dukedom back, and Caliban's plot to kill Prospero would, if successful, destroy the magus's plans. Caliban's and Prospero's conflicting perspectives produce contrary accounts of key events.

If Prospero can be said to 'prosper', Miranda is also aptly named with the feminine form of the gerundive of the Latin verb

1 *The Tempest*'s master–servant relations are explored in Andrew Gurr, 'Industrious Ariel and idle Caliban', in Maquerlot and Willems, 193–208.

miror, 'wonder'. Ferdinand exclaims, 'O, you wonder!' when he first meets her, and her response to her newly discovered relatives in the famous line, 'O wonder! . . . O brave new world!' (5.1.181–3), bespeaks her own amazement at a world now opening before her.

Miranda's role within *The Tempest*'s authoritarian framework is first as a daughter and then as a future wife. But even though she conveniently (or magically) falls in love with the man of her father's choice, Miranda is not as meek and submissive as she is often portrayed. She clandestinely (she thinks) meets Ferdinand without permission and then disobeys her father's command not to reveal her name. Earlier, her stinging rebuke of Caliban (1.2.352–63) reveals an assertive young woman.[1] Still, despite occasional disobedience and outspokenness, Miranda remains the chaste ideal of early modern womanhood. Central to Prospero's 'obsession with themes of chastity and fertility' (Thompson, 47), Miranda is his *raison d'être*, her marriage and future children his promise of immortality.

Although Miranda is central to *The Tempest*'s story line, Prospero's two servants play more vocal and dynamic roles; both have problematic names. 'Ariel' must have had rich resonances for a Jacobean audience: 'Uriel', the name of an angel in the Jewish cabala, was John Dee's spirit-communicant during his ill-fated experiments with magic (French, 111–17). Even richer are the biblical nuances. Although the Bishops' Bible equates Ariel with the city of Jerusalem, marginalia to Isaiah, 29, of the Geneva Bible observe that 'The Ebrewe worde Ariel signifieth the lyon of God, & signifieth the altar, because the altar semed to devoure the sacrifice that was offred to God'. Ariel is thus an appropriate appellation for the powerful magus's agent who contrives a storm and a disappearing banquet. In the Bishops' Bible, the prophet declares that the altar of Jerusalem 'shall be visited of the Lord of hostes with thundre, and shaking, and a great

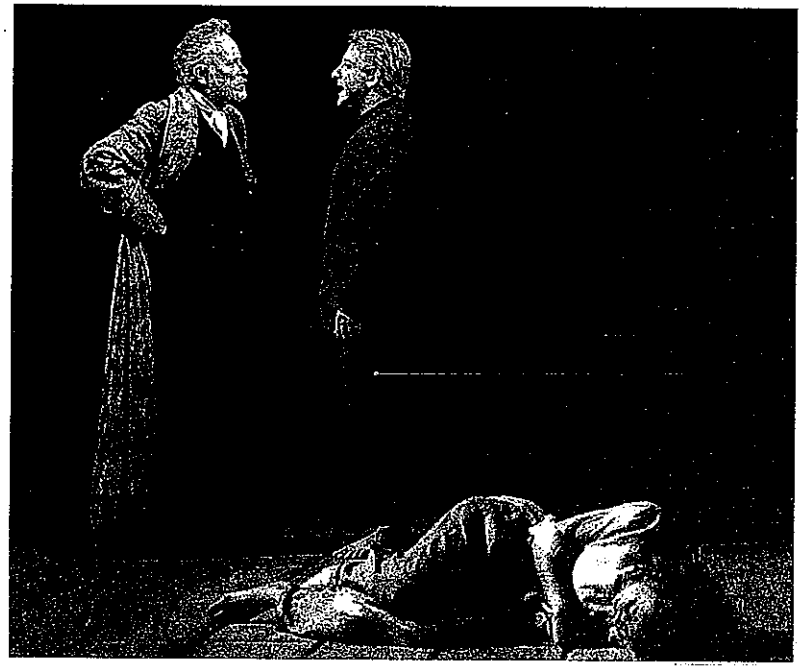
1 For the debate over the assignment of this speech, see pp. 135–6.

noyse, a whirlwinde, and a tempest, and a flame of devouring fyre'. Ariel describes his activity in the storm:

> Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin
> I flamed amazement. Sometime I'd divide
> And burn in many places – on the topmast,
> The yards and bowsprit would I flame distinctly,
> Then meet and join.
>
> (1.2.197–201)

The prophet Isaiah continues, 'And it shalbe like as an hungrie man dreameth, and beholde, he eateth: and when he awaketh, his soule is emptie . . . For the Lord hath covered you with a spirit of slomber and hath shut up your eyes' – metaphors that are reified in 2.1 when a 'strange drowsiness' possesses the Neapolitans and in 3.3 when '*the banquet vanishes*'. By 1610 Shakespeare probably had heard Isaiah, 29, expounded in church and perhaps had read it at home; whether he turned directly to the Bible or drew on subconscious recollections while he wrote, the image of Ariel as the 'lyon of God' speaking through flood and fire reverberates in *The Tempest*.

Prospero describes Ariel as 'quaint', 'delicate', 'dainty', and 'tricksy' (1.2.318; 4.1.49; 5.1.95, 226). Although Prospero is angered by the sprite's momentary rebellion in 1.2, usually master and servant seem fond of each other, and for most of the play Ariel gladly and expeditiously complies with his master's requests. (In some recent performances, however, such as Simon Russell Beale's in the 1993–4 production by the Royal Shakespeare Company, Ariel is palpably resentful of Prospero (see Fig. 5).) As an airy spirit, Ariel can be seen as one pole in a neo-Platonic dualism: Air as opposed to Caliban's Earth. Thus Ariel is usually portrayed in illustrations as airborne, sometimes with wings (see Fig. 6), and is often attached to ropes or wires in stage performances. Caliban, in stark contrast, is usually hunched and close to the earth, often, in illustrations and stage productions, emerging from a rocky or subterranean cave. Ariel



5 Simon Russell Beale as Ariel confronts Alec McCowen as Prospero in the 1993 Royal Shakespeare Company production of *The Tempest*

is also associated with water: the spirit implements the tempest and is disguised as a 'nymph o'th' sea' (1.2.302). Air and water connote lightness, fluidity and grace of movement. Accordingly, Ariel is often enacted by performers trained to be dancers; Caliban is contrastingly awkward, often impeded by fins, or a hunched back, or even, as in the Trinity Repertory production of 1982, in Providence, Rhode Island, with his feet strapped to the tops of stools three feet high.

Although *The Tempest*'s cast of characters and the text itself identify Ariel as a non-human, though rational, spirit, he has independent thoughts and feelings. He refused, says Prospero, to enact Sycorax's 'earthy and abhorred commands' (1.2.272–4), and he urges Prospero to choose forgiveness over vengeance (5.1.16–19). Still, Ariel once served the sorceress and is the main

6 Priscilla Reed Horton, a popular nineteenth-century Ariel, sporting wings for the role

instrument of Prospero's illusionistic power. The magician even calls Ariel a 'malignant thing' (1.2.257), though admittedly in a moment of pique. In sum, he should not be seen simply as the 'Virtue' to Caliban's 'Vice', but as a complex character who asks for Prospero's affection: 'Do you love me, master? No?' (4.1.48)

Caliban's nature and history are more controversial than his fellow servant's, as is the source of his name. A rough consensus has long prevailed that because Caliban is an anagram for 'cannibal', Shakespeare thereby identified the 'savage' in some way with anthropophagism. Cannibals were topical in Shakespeare's day (though probably less than in the previous century), partly because reports from the New World insisted that some natives consumed human flesh and partly because simultaneous reports from sub-Saharan Africa, often drawing on ancient myths, made similar claims. In America, the association of anthropophagism with the Carib Indians provided the etymological source for 'cannibal', a term that in the sixteenth century gradually replaced the classical 'anthropophagi'. Simultaneously, 'Caribana' soon became a common geographical label, widely used by cartographers for the northern region of South America, while other forms of 'Carib' were associated with various New World peoples and locations.[1] Shakespeare might have borrowed 'cannibal' or one of its many variants from narratives of New World travel, or from contemporary maps, or, as has often been proposed, from the title and text of Montaigne's 'Of the Caniballes', to fashion an imprecise but readily recognizable anagram. The necessity of dropping a superfluous 'n' or 'e' and of substituting 'l' for 'r' – the latter was frequent in transliterations of native languages – would not, perhaps, have interfered with an audience's awareness of the anagram.

If Shakespeare intended an anagrammatic name for his deformed savage, it was too obvious or too cryptic for printed comment until 1778, when the second edition of Samuel Johnson and George Steeven's *Tempest* attributed to Richard Farmer, a prominent Cambridge University scholar, the notion that Caliban was 'cannibal' in verbal disguise. Although adherents to Farmer's exegesis have increased markedly in the succeeding two centuries, sceptics continue to challenge the anagram's theatrical feasibility. As Horace Howard Furness asked in the 1892 Variorum edition:

1 The best discussion of cannibalism and *The Tempest* is in the first two chapters of P. Hulme.

> [W]hen *The Tempest* was acted before the motley audience of the Globe Theatre, [was] there a single auditor who, on hearing Prospero speak of Caliban, bethought him of the Caribbean Sea, and instantly surmised that the name was a metathesis of Cannibal? Under this impression, the appearance of the monster without a trace of his bloodthirsty characteristic must have been disappointing.
> (Var, 5)

The usual retort is that Shakespeare meant not a literal cannibal but a morally and socially deficient savage. Nonetheless, the evidence of authorial intentionality is at best inferential.

Several alternative etymologies have been offered. Among them is the African placename 'Calibia', which appeared near the Mediterranean coast on some sixteenth-century maps and is mentioned in Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turks* (1603), a book that Shakespeare unquestionably plumbed for *Othello* only a few years before he wrote *The Tempest*. A classical possibility is the 'Chalybes', a people mentioned by Virgil (*Aeneid*, Bk 10, 174). Still other proposed sources for Caliban's name are an Arabic word for 'vile dog', *Kalebon*; the Hindi word for a satyr of Kalee, *Kalee-ban*; and, more plausibly, the Romany (Gypsy) word for black or dark things, *caulibon*. Gypsies were a major social concern throughout sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, as numerous laws, plays, tracts and sermons attest; '*caulibon*' may have been an effective theatrical signifier of unruliness, darkness and licentiousness (Vaughan, *Caliban*, 33–6). But the Gypsy word, like the other proposed etymologies – including cannibal, Carib and Caribana – has no contemporary corroboration.[1]

The Folio's '*Names of the Actors*' describes Caliban as a '*saluage and deformed slaue*', words that may not be Shakespeare's but which do set rough parameters for his characterization though not for his poetic language. Surely in Prospero's and Miranda's eyes, Caliban is a savage, as she specifically calls him (1.2.356); to Prospero he is a creature 'Whom stripes may move, not kindness' (1.2.346). Prospero accuses Caliban of being the son of a witch (Sycorax)[1] and 'the devil' (1.2.263, 320–1; 5.1.269), but the magus's angry words, especially about Caliban's paternity, are not necessarily true; Caliban was conceived before Sycorax's exile from Algiers. Her 'freckled whelp' (1.2.283), an islander by birth, grew for his first twelve or so years without the benefits of European culture, religion and language; to Prospero he resembles the bestial wild man of medieval lore – unkempt, uneducated and thoroughly uncivilized. His 'savagery' is thus opposed to the 'civility' brought to the island by Europeans (see Vaughan, *Caliban*, 7–8).

The extent of Caliban's 'deformity' is woefully imprecise. Prospero describes him as 'Filth', 'Hag-seed', 'beast' and 'misshapen knave' (1.2.347, 366; 4.1.140; 5.1.268) and claims that 'with age his body uglier grows' (4.1.191), but these vituperative terms are doubtless coloured by the magician's anger at Caliban's attempted rape of Miranda and his subsequent rebelliousness. Trinculo initially mistakes Caliban for a fish and later labels him a 'deboshed fish' and 'half a fish and half a monster' (3.2.25, 28), epithets that may reflect Caliban's smell instead of his shape, which may also be the case when Antonio calls him a 'plain fish' (5.1.266). Stephano and Trinculo persistently demean Caliban as 'monster', combining the term with various qualifiers: 'shallow', 'weak', 'scurvy', 'most perfidious and drunken', 'howling', 'puppy-headed', 'abominable', 'ridiculous' and, in a more positive (but surely sarcastic) vein, 'brave'. More suggestive of grotesqueness is Alonso's quip that Caliban is 'a strange thing as e'er I looked on' (5.1.290). But Caliban is nonetheless of human form and, in most respects, of human qualities. Prospero reports that *except for* Caliban, the island was 'not honoured with / A

1 Another etymological possibility is *Kalyb*, a female character in Richard Johnson's *Most Famous History of the Seven Champions of Christendom* (1596–7), a widely disseminated book and a likely influence on *Coriolanus*.

1 Prospero's insistence that Sycorax is a witch (1.2.258, 263, 275–9, 289–91) is confirmed by Caliban (1.2.322–4, 340–1).

human shape' (1.2.283–4) when he and Miranda arrived; and she includes Caliban in her list of three human males when she calls Ferdinand 'the third man that e'er I saw' (1.2.446), although she implicitly modifies that comparison when she later attests that she 'may call men' only Ferdinand and her father (3.1.50–2). Once again *The Tempest* is indeterminate, yet the bulk of the evidence points to a Caliban who is, despite his possibly demonic parentage and unspecified deformity, essentially human.

Throughout *The Tempest*'s long history, Caliban has nonetheless been burdened with a wide variety of physical aberrations, sometimes in eclectic combination, including fins, fish scales, tortoise shells, fur, skin diseases, floppy puppy ears and apelike brows, to name just a few. The common thread here is, of course, difference. The simple fact of aboriginal nakedness in Africa and America, and to some extent in Ireland, contrasted with early modern Europe's obsession with ornate clothing and reinforced English notions of the natives' inherent otherness. In Prospero's and Miranda's eyes, Caliban was unalterably 'other', probably from the beginning but surely after the attempted rape, and the numerous pejorative epithets hurled at him by all the Europeans throughout the play reflect their assessment of his form and character as fundamentally opposite to their own.[1]

That Caliban is a slave for the play's duration is indisputable, by Caliban's testimony as well as Prospero's. The slave's resentment of his master is also indisputable, as evidenced by Caliban's curses, by his reluctant service (according to Prospero and Miranda), and by his plot with Stephano and Trinculo to kill Prospero and take over the island. Yet this slave seems more determined to gain liberation from his current master than from

1 We calculate Caliban's age to have been 24 at the time of the play's action, based on the following clues: Sycorax was pregnant with Caliban when she arrived at the island; sometime after, she pinioned Ariel in a tree, where he was confined for twelve years before Prospero arrived and set him free, which in turn was twelve years before the play's action begins (1.2.263–93). Only if there was a lengthy gap, not implied in the text, between Caliban's birth and his mother's imprisonment of Ariel can he be appreciably older than 24.

servitude in general. He shows no reluctance until the denouement in 5.1 to serve 'King' Stephano, and even Caliban's 'Freedom high-day' song is deeply ambivalent:

> Ban' ban' Ca-caliban,
> Has a new master, get a new man.
> (2.2.179–80)

Such clues to Caliban's ingrained dependency have encouraged some actors and artists to portray him as a wistful re-inheritor of the island[1] and have reinforced theories of a native dependency syndrome, most notably in Octave Mannoni's emblematic Caliban (see pp.103–5, and Appendix 2.3).

The Tempest offers only shorthand sketches of the remaining *dramatis personae*. Ferdinand, the handsome prince who deserves the heroine not just by birth but by merit, is descended from a long line of heroes from Orlando through to Florizel. The court party comprises similarly recognizable types, representative of early modern political discourse. Gonzalo, like Polonius, is a garrulous counsellor whose moral platitudes are often ignored, but there the similarity ends. Gonzalo never resorts to Polonius's Machiavellian intrigues but speaks his mind openly and honestly to whoever will listen. Antonio,[2] the ambitious Machiavel, tries to corrupt Sebastian into murder in a scene remarkably akin to Lady Macbeth's temptation of her husband; Sebastian is Antonio's less imaginative partner in crime. Both are reminiscent of Cleon and Dionyza in *Pericles*. Alonso, like Leontes, is a ruler of mixed qualities – guilty of conspiracy against Prospero but capable of repenting and wishing he had acted differently.

The court party is parodied by its servants: Stephano, the drunken butler, and Trinculo, the court jester. Trinculo's name

1 The text is silent about Caliban's fate, suggesting neither that he is left behind nor that he accompanies Prospero to Milan. Both scenarios have figured prominently in imaginative extensions of *The Tempest*.

2 *The Tempest*'s Antonio was Shakespeare's fourth. They are fully discussed in Cynthia Lewis, *Particular Saints: Shakespeare's Four Antonios, Their Contexts, and Their Plays* (Newark, Del., 1997).

aptly comes from the Italian verb, *trincare*, to drink greedily, while Stephano is a more generic Italian name that may, in this instance, derive from a slang word (*stefano*) for stomach or belly. His 'celestial liquor' roughly parallels Prospero's magic – it mysteriously transforms people and provides visions of delight. When the two clowns join Caliban in a conspiracy to kill Prospero and take over the island, they parody Antonio's actions of twelve years earlier, not to mention his current plot to kill Alonso. More important, their stupidity in dawdling over Prospero's fancy robes instead of murdering him contrasts with Caliban's superior knowledge that the clothes are 'but trash'.

The two pairs of disreputable Europeans – Antonio and Sebastian, Stephano and Trinculo – differ in many respects from Caliban to illustrate the issues Montaigne contemplated in his famous essay on Brazilian Indians (see Appendix 1.2): which is more barbarous, the educated European who makes a sham of his Christian upbringing, or the 'savage' who responds honestly to his natural instincts? Does civilization uplift or corrupt? In contrast to Antonio, Caliban finally learns from his experience to 'seek for grace'; in contrast to Stephano and Trinculo, he seems to have an innate understanding of nature, of music and of how to achieve his goals.

THE CONTEXT

The Tempest's historical debut (1610–23) – the time of its composition, initial performances and first publication – is, like most aspects of the play, open to conflicting assessments, especially as scholarly understanding of the period expands. In this section we place *The Tempest* within its historical context, as best we can reconstruct it – a reconstruction that must include more than the obvious imperial and political discourses. Aesthetic, scientific, social and philosophical texts (to the extent that such documents can be meaningfully categorized) formed essential parts of Shakespeare's world and often resonate in the play.

While issues of state surely influenced those other concerns, they are not one and the same; *The Tempest* 'is structured around . . . oppositions between courtly discourse and wider linguistic contexts' (Norbrook, 21). To set *The Tempest* in its comprehensive context is to work spatially from Shakespeare's personal milieu (the King's Company at the Globe and Blackfriars theatres) outward to Jacobean London, to the rest of the British islands, to continental Europe and on to the outer perimeter – the global framework of North Africa, Bermuda, Jamestown and the Virginia Company's explorations. The Jacobean milieu of *The Tempest* also includes literary influences far removed in time from Shakespeare's immediate era: a vast intellectual tradition – classical and medieval, and more often of continental than English origin – that shaped the work of playwrights and poets, as did past and present scientific and philosophical treatises, iconographic traditions and religious controversies.

No one knows why and how the dramatist drew, consciously or unconsciously, from such rich resources. Scholars can, however, indicate likely connections between *The Tempest*'s language and characters and the political, social and intellectual climates in which Shakespeare lived and worked. Such connections mitigate our human tendency to see only the present era's concerns mirrored in Shakespeare's text. When *The Tempest* is situated within its early seventeenth-century historical framework, cultural and literary resonances that were transparent to Shakespeare's original audiences but opaque to subsequent generations are often clarified.

Domestic politics

Court performances were routine. As we mentioned earlier, *The Tempest*'s inclusion in the celebration of Princess Elizabeth's wedding did not necessarily carry any political significance, but there are nevertheless suggestive parallels between the play and events at court. While Shakespeare was crafting *The Tempest*, negotiations were under way for the marriages of both Prince

Henry and Princess Elizabeth; the political problems of royal marriages and dynastic arrangements were on the public's mind. James hoped to establish his reputation as a peacekeeper by balancing a Catholic marriage for Henry with a Protestant alliance for Elizabeth. Negotiations for the Princess's marriage were well along by the autumn of 1611 and reached their final stage the following summer. In late October 1612, Prince Henry suddenly took ill; his death on 6 November sent England into profound mourning for the popular royal heir. In the wake of Henry's funeral, Elizabeth's wedding to the Elector Palatine was postponed until Valentine's Day (14 February) the following year. As David Scott Kastan observes, 'Alonso's sadness at having apparently lost his son and married his daughter to a foreign prince might well have seemed a virtual mirror of the [royal] situation' (Kastan, 96–7).

The poignant history of Elizabeth, 'the winter Queen', could not have been foreseen by Shakespeare or his audience, but it has affected responses from later critics (New Cambridge Shakespeare, xlvi–xlvii). Instead of flourishing and building a new dynasty – as Miranda promises at *The Tempest*'s conclusion – Elizabeth's fate was to be like Claribel's, far from her father's protection and lost to England. As she prepared to leave for Bohemia, Elizabeth lamented: 'I shall perhaps never see again the flower of princes, the king of fathers, the best and most amicable father, that the sun will ever see' (quoted in Bergeron, 117). Events proved her right. Elizabeth spent the rest of her life embroiled in the politics of the Habsburg empire. But other aspects of Bohemian history may have influenced Shakespeare. The plight of Rudolph II, Holy Roman Emperor and King of Bohemia, parallels Prospero's story. In 1608 Rudolph's brother usurped from him the crowns of Austria, Hungary and Moravia; and in April 1611 Rudolph also lost the throne of Bohemia. His interest in the occult was widely known; in the 1580s the English magus John Dee had briefly enlisted his support in a quest for the philosopher's stone. Beset by political troubles, Rudolph,

much like Prospero, retreated to his palace library and consoled himself with books (Kastan, 98).

In addition to these contemporary European analogues, *The Tempest* has often been viewed as a mirror image of the Jacobean court, with Prospero partly reflecting James. In the *Basilikon Doron* (published in Latin in 1599, in English in 1603), James had warned his son:

> it is necessarie yee delight in reading, and seeking the knowledge of all lawfull things; but with these two restrictions: first, that ye choose idle houres for it, not interrupting therewith the discharge of your office: and next, that yee studie not for knowledge nakedly, but that your principall ende be, to make you able thereby to use your office.
>
> (James I, *Political*, 38)

Yet James seems not to have practised much of what he preached, often neglecting his kingly duties for hunting. Like Prospero, he was concerned with the marriage of his children, the future of his dynasty and the management of his people.[1]

Brave new world

Although continental and domestic politics provide important historical contexts for *The Tempest*, there may be more relevance in Tudor and Stuart England's incipient empire. The extensive and varied discourses of colonialism, many critics argue, are deeply embedded in the drama's language and events. Prospero commandeers a distant island and imposes his superior technology (books, magic) and his language as tools of conquest and domination. Ariel wants his 'liberty' from the servitude Prospero imposes as his price for liberating the sprite from an earlier thraldom, but the best Ariel can expect is that his master

1 An alternative model for Prospero is Sir Robert Dudley, whose case is vigorously argued in Richard Wilson, 'Voyages to Tunis: new history and the Old World of *The Tempest*', *English Literary History*, 64 (1997), 333–57.

will 'bate [him] a full year' (1.2.249–50). Caliban, 'Which first was mine own king' (1.2.343), is initially well treated by the newcomers but is later enslaved and his island appropriated for his attempted rape of Miranda (1.2.332–63). Thereafter, Europeans control the land, its resources, its inhabitants: a theatrical microcosm of the imperial paradigm.[1]

Shakespeare's and his audiences' familiarity with American colonization was not restricted to England's toeholds on the North American coast. For more than a century, reports of discoveries and settlements to the west by Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch and eventually English chroniclers produced a growing flood of fact and myth – some of it in print, much of it oral – that formed a huge 'linguistic and narrative force-field', to borrow Charles Frey's apt expression (Frey, 'New World', 33). One early account on which Shakespeare perhaps drew for incidental items in *The Tempest* was Antonio Pigafetta's short account of the Magellan expedition's circumnavigation in 1519–22, originally published on the Continent but subsequently translated into English in Richard Eden's travel anthologies of 1555 and 1577.[2] The Patagonians of lower South America, Pigafetta reported, worshipped a 'greate devyll *Setebos*' (mentioned several times) – the first known precursor of Sycorax's deity. Pigafetta also described St Elmo's fire, great tempests and (perhaps partial prototypes of Caliban and his name) assorted giants and 'Canibales' (Eden, 216^{v}–21^{r}). Commentators since the late eighteenth century have generally agreed that *The Tempest* reveals Shakespeare's incidental indebtedness to this highly accessible source. But as Walter Alexander Raleigh observed in 1904, and Frey argued more recently and extensively, much of that detail could have

1 For disparately focused interpretations of *The Tempest*'s colonial themes, see especially Greenblatt; P. Hulme; Gillies; Halpern; Cheyfitz; Brown; Knapp; and Leo Salingar, 'The New World in "The Tempest"', in Maquerlot and Willems, 209–22. Several of these works are critically analysed in Skura's essay.

2 A few English narratives appear in Eden's first anthology (1555) and far more in his second (1577). Similarly, but on a far grander scale, Hakluyt's collection of 1589 is greatly expanded in his three-volume edition of 1598–1600, although the latter omits a few important documents that appeared in its predecessor.

come instead from a later English source: Francis Fletcher's journal of Sir Francis Drake's circumnavigation of 1577–80. In a manuscript that must have circulated widely, Fletcher described (perhaps derivatively from Eden), 'a most deadly tempest', a deity called 'Settaboth' or 'Settaboh', a native suddenly addicted to European wine, and other events and phrases that may be reflected in *The Tempest*.[1] In any case, the voluminous literature of European exploration was rife with tempests, wrecks, miracles, monsters, devils and wondrous natives. Although many of Shakespeare's contemporary playwrights drew on that literature more overtly than he did, *The Tempest* may nonetheless be his oblique dramatization of Europe's age of discovery.

Shakespeare's borrowings from several sixteenth-century travel narratives are overshadowed by his almost certain familiarity with William Strachey's 'True Reportory of the Wracke, and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates' on Bermuda in July 1609. Strachey had been aboard Admiral George Somers's *Sea Venture*, flagship of a relief expedition en route to the English outpost in Virginia, when a hurricane scattered the fleet, sank one ship and drove *Sea Venture* on to Bermuda's rocky coast. All passengers and crew reached shore safely. Despite a disgruntled faction's abortive revolt, the survivors flourished for nine months in Bermuda's salubrious climate and on its abundant provisions before sailing to Virginia in two newly constructed vessels. In early September 1610, Sir Thomas Gates arrived back in England with Strachey's epistolary 'True Reportory', written during and immediately after the events. Although it was not published until 1625 in Samuel Purchas's *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas his Pilgrimes*, the manuscript was probably read by many of London's cultural and political leaders.[2] If, as

1 For the texts and their contexts, see Raleigh, 112; Frey, 'New World', 35–7; and Fletcher, 41, 48–9.

2 S.G. Culliford, *William Strachey, 1572–1621* (Charlottesville, Va., 1965), 151–4. For doubts about the influence of Strachey's letter, and support for James Rosier's *True Relation* (1605), see Arthur F. Kinney, 'Revisiting *The Tempest*', *Modern Philology* 93 (1995), 161–77.

modern scholars generally believe, Shakespeare was acquainted with several prominent members of the Virginia Company of London (most notably the Earl of Southampton) and other dignitaries, perhaps with Strachey as well, the 'True Reportory' very likely came to the playwright's hands in the autumn of 1610 or soon thereafter.[1]

Among the Strachey letter's linguistic echoes are '*A most dreadfull Tempest*' ('tempest', of course, was a common term in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for a violent storm, and Shakespeare had used it in several earlier plays), a long and vivid description of St Elmo's fire, names that suggest Gonzalo and Ferdinand, and some specific words or phrases evocative of *The Tempest*. More thematically significant are the seemingly miraculous survival of the mariners and passengers, their almost magical rejuvenation on the enchanted island's bounteous flora and fauna, and their governance by a dominant and resourceful leader who overcame 'divers mutinies' (see Appendix 1.1).

About the time Shakespeare was probably reading Strachey's 'True Reportory', Sylvester Jourdain's *A Discovery of the Barmudas, otherwise Called the Ile of Divels* and Richard Rich's *Newes from Virginia: The Lost Flock Triumphant* were published in London. The former, a thin narrative, adds a few details to Strachey's account – most relevant perhaps, its report that some on board sought solace in alcohol during the storm (cf. 1.1.55–6: 'We are merely cheated of our lives by drunkards', and, of course, Stephano's 'celestial liquor' in 2.2 and elsewhere) – but is otherwise undistinguished, although Malone gave it a privileged position among the Virginia tracts. Rich's text, a brief

1 The late publication date of Strachey's manuscript misled scholars before the twentieth century into overlooking its probable influence on *The Tempest*. Early in the nineteenth century, Edmond Malone recognized the contextual affinity between the play and several pamphlets on the English settlement in Virginia and the shipwreck on Bermuda, but even he missed 'True Reportory's' probable importance. Twentieth-century editors and critics beginning with Ard[1] are almost unanimous in assigning Strachey's letter a major role in inspiring *The Tempest*.

tetrameter poem about the shipwreck, spells the island 'Bermoothawes', which approximates the Folio spelling, but has few other affinities with *The Tempest*. Both texts, however, reinforce the timeliness of a dramatic performance in 1611 that included shipwreck, miraculous survival and an enchanted island refuge.

Still other London publications of 1608–10 heightened *The Tempest*'s topicality and could have provided additional dramatic details. *A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Noate as Hath Hapned in Virginia* (1608), an eyewitness account by Captain John Smith, describes the struggling Jamestown settlement's first year, emphasizing disruptive colonists, inept aristocratic leaders and resentful natives. The next year (1609), a Virginia Company of London pamphlet lamented *Sea Venture*'s loss in 'The Tempest' (the survival of its passengers and crew was not yet known) and gave further particulars of the Jamestown colony's troubles. In late 1610 another Company pamphlet hailed the remarkable deliverance of Admiral Somers's party and, attempting to put a happy face on Jamestown's continuing misfortunes, called the episode 'this tragicall Comaedie' – a phrase that might have jogged the dramatist's imagination (*True Declaration*, 11).

From these assorted New World texts may have come the play's title, its storm scene, its exotic island setting, its unruly factions, its beleaguered natives, and a multitude of details of plot, character and dialogue. Yet the bulk of information in the Bermuda and early Virginia tracts is not directly relevant to *The Tempest*, and there is little scholarly consensus on Shakespeare's indebtedness to any specific text or passage. Nor is there agreement about Caliban's affinity to portrayals of American natives in the extensive writings about the New World. Indians abound in English and continental publications, and Shakespeare, like any literate Londoner of his day, must have been familiar with many of those texts and, very likely, had seen – perhaps even conversed with – one or more of the approximately 25 American

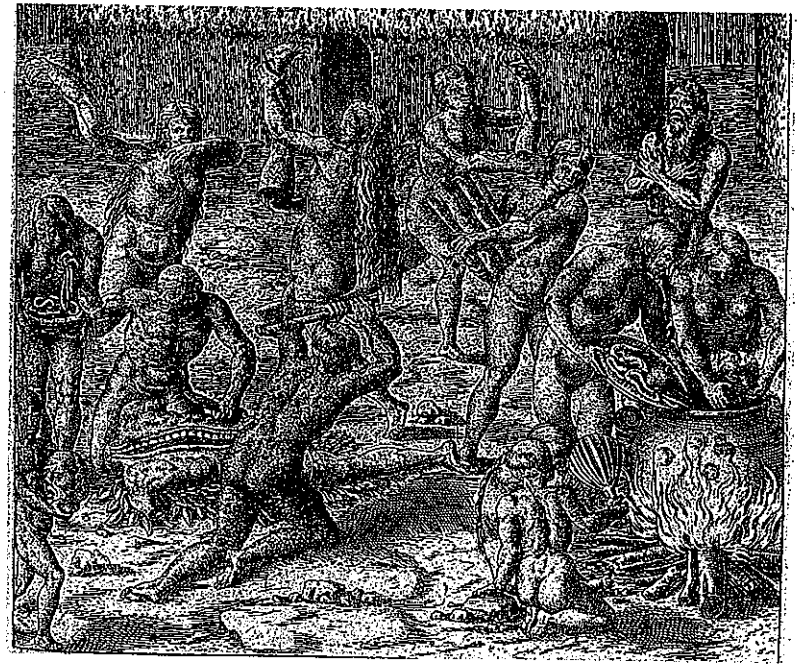
natives who lived for a time in early seventeenth-century England.[1]

The temptation to see Caliban as an American Indian stems partly from *The Tempest*'s ambiguous geography: if the play is set in America or is metaphorically about New World colonization, Caliban must be to some degree an American native. Separate from this assumption, but sometimes offered to reinforce it, is a reading of 2.2 in which Trinculo (often) and Stephano (occasionally) are said initially to have identified Caliban as an Indian. But in fact, Trinculo guesses first that the creature under the gaberdine is 'A strange fish!' – either a true fish of the monstrous kind or, figuratively, an odd, odoriferous creature. 'Were I in England . . . and had but this fish painted', Trinculo surmises, he could earn a small fortune, for while its people 'will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian' (2.2.24–33) – a comment on tightfisted English folk and their attraction to exotic exhibits rather than a description of the gaberdine-covered creature. Two lines later, after inspecting the creature's limbs and touching its skin, Trinculo concludes that 'this is no fish, but an islander that hath lately suffered by a thunderbolt'. When Stephano stumbles upon the gaberdine a moment later, Trinculo is under it too. The drunken butler wonders if the creature is a devil or perhaps a trick put on by 'savages and men of Ind'; but that too is more a speculation about Trinculo (probably on top) than about Caliban, and is primarily about a hazily perceived 'monster of the isle, with four legs' (2.2.56–65).

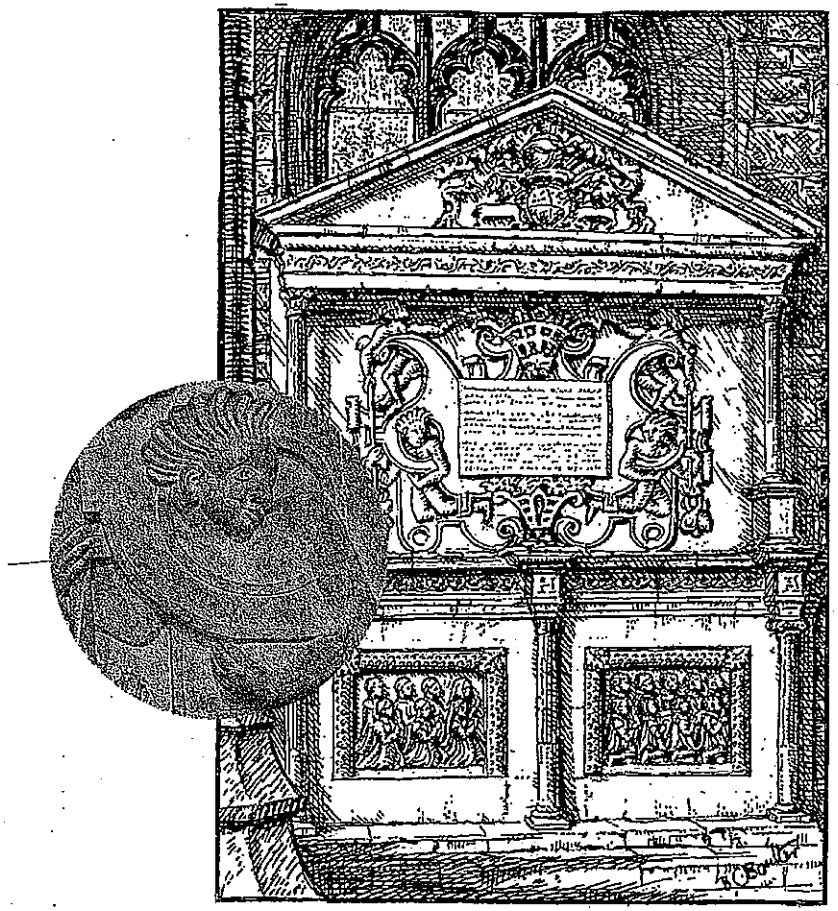
If Shakespeare nonetheless had American Indians in mind when he fashioned Caliban, the range of contemporaneous verbal and visual representations was immense, from near-beasts, ugly and immoral, at one extreme, to golden-age innocents, handsome and virtuous, at the other. To the extent that Caliban is barbarous, lustful and prone to intoxication, Shakespeare may

1 Lee, 'Indian'; Alden T. Vaughan, 'Trinculo's Indian: American natives in Shakespeare's England', in Peter Hulme and William Sherman, eds, *The Tempest and Its Travels* (forthcoming).

have mined sixteenth-century images, both continental and English, such as André Thevet's description of American natives of the far north as 'wild and brutish people, without Fayth, without Lawe, without Religion, and without any civilitie: but living like brute beasts' (Thevet, 43) (see Fig. 7). To the extent that Caliban is in tune with nature and lord of the island until overthrown by Prospero and later corrupted by Stephano and Trinculo, Shakespeare may have borrowed from Montaigne's description of Brazilians, in John Florio's translation of 1603, who 'are yet neere their originall naturalitie. The lawes of nature do yet commaund them, which are but little bastardized by ours' (Montaigne, 102) (see Fig. 8). Several English reports preceded and reinforced Montaigne's relatively benign assessment of New World natives. Captain Arthur



7 A bearded European (upper right) watches American cannibals carve and cook their victims; engraving from Theodor de Bry's *America*, Volume I, 1590



8 The tomb (1569) in Burford, Oxfordshire (25 miles from Stratford) of Edward Harman, a former barber to Henry VIII and local official, featuring four Brazilian Indians. Harman's connection to the New World is unclear, but the Indians may suggest his participation in overseas mercantile adventures

Barlow's narrative of 1584, for example, describes the natives of Roanoke Island and vicinity as 'most gentle, loving, and faithful, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the Golden age' (Hakluyt, 1598–1600, 8.305); a few years later, Thomas Hariot's account of Roanoke Island and its

accompanying vivid illustrations by John White conveyed a similar message.[1]

Neither the deeply pejorative nor the completely laudable descriptions of American natives could have been the sole model for Caliban's complex form and character. More likely – if Shakespeare indeed had American 'savages' in mind – was what Sidney Lee, the prolific English biographer and ambivalent admirer of American Indians, would describe three centuries later as an imaginative composite of various geographical and cultural types that formed 'a full length portrait of the aboriginal inhabitant of the New World' (Lee, 'Caliban', 341). But like Caliban's name, his physical and social prototype remains unproven and endlessly arguable. And Caliban aside, *The Tempest* unquestionably has American overtones. It may not be Shakespeare's American play, as some have proposed, but it nevertheless reflects to an indefinable extent the issues and events that had captured European imaginations since the late fifteenth century and had recently acquired new significance for England.

Africa and Ireland

Two other geopolitical contexts and their abundant literary reflections may also have influenced Shakespeare's writing of *The Tempest*. Encroachments in Africa by various European nations, including England, in the second half of the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth, and, simultaneously, a resurgence of English efforts to subdue and govern Ireland, made the history of both places highly topical and wholly compatible with themes of colonization, appropriation and resistance. Africa appears explicitly several times in the play; Ireland is never mentioned but may have been implied in

1 White's paintings, now in the British Museum, may have circulated as early as the late 1580s; engraved versions by Theodor de Bry appeared in the second edition of Hariot's book *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (Frankfurt, 1590), which was Part 1 of de Bry's *America*, published that year in English, French, German and Latin editions.

some of *The Tempest*'s themes and perhaps in one or more of its characters and specific references.

The play's most obvious African connection is the island's location: if plotted literally, it must have been within a hundred or so miles from a line between Naples and Tunis. Although its precise location is unspecified – 'an vn-inhabited Island' says the Folio – several nineteenth-century literary critics debated the most likely Mediterranean isle, based on the imaginary intersection point of a drifting 'rotten carcass of a butt' (1.2.146) from the coast near Milan and, twelve years later, of a tempest-tossed ship en route from Tunis to Naples.[1] To further identify the location, critics culled *The Tempest* for topographical clues: 'fresh springs, brine pits, barren place and fertile' (1.2.339); 'clust'ring filberts' (2.2.168) and the like (see Elze; Hunter; Var, 1–4). Whatever such sleuthing uncovers – Corfu, perhaps, or Pantalaria, or Lampedusa – it is (if one reads the play literally) not very far from the African coast. Helping to underscore the notion of Africa's proximity are the courtiers' banter in 2.1 about the recent marriage of Alonso's daughter Claribel to an African king, and their extended repartee about widow Dido, all prompted by the court party's recent departure from Tunis.

More significant is Caliban's African genesis. Sycorax, Prospero reports, was an Algerian witch, who conceived the 'freckled whelp' before her banishment to the island. (Her voyage from Algiers to the island is, of course, another suggestion of proximity to the African continent.) The play never describes Caliban's complexion, but 'this thing of darkness' (5.1.275) may refer to a dusky skin; his enslavement by the European intruder reinforces Caliban's thematic tie to Africa; his name, if derived from the town of Calibia, is emphatically African, and if 'Caliban' is instead a purposeful anagram of cannibal, it is as symptomatic of English perceptions of Africans as of Native

1 Jerry Brotton contends that colonialist readings of *The Tempest* have under-emphasized the text's Mediterranean setting.

Americans. Some critics have accordingly seen Caliban as wholly or partly African. Morton Luce, for example, in the first Arden edition of *The Tempest* (1901) saw him as, among other things, 'an African of some kind', probably 'a (negro) slave' (Ard[1], xxxv).

The topicality of a south Mediterranean setting and characters of African origin would not have been lost on *The Tempest*'s early audiences. Information was abundant about western Europe's ongoing exploration of Africa and its brazen enslavement of African people, some to labour in European nations, most in overseas colonies. And for more than half a century before 1611, Englishmen had travelled intermittently to the Barbary coast and increasingly to sub-Saharan regions, where they seized and carried to England small numbers of natives as early as 1555 and where they joined in the transatlantic slave trade as early as 1562.

English commentators in Shakespeare's day were almost wholly indifferent to the plight of captured Africans but not to the fate of captured English sailors. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, several North African nations became notorious for their enslavement of Europeans, including hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Englishmen; viewers of a play that was ostensibly set near the African coast would have recognized some topicality in an exiled Sycorax and an embryonic Caliban from Algiers, as well as a widow Dido (anciently) and a Claribel (recently) from Tunis. Some in the audience – perhaps the author himself – might have read John Evesham's brief account of a voyage to North Africa in 1586, published in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* twelve years before *The Tempest*, which mentioned within a few lines 'the great Citie of Carthage where Hannibel and Queen Dido dwelt', and the 'Towne of Argier . . . inhabited with Turkes, Moores, and Jewes' and 'a great number of Christian captives, wherof there are of Englishmen [now] onely fifteene' (Hakluyt, 1598–1600, 6.38). In order to have ignited a spark of interest in an English audience, the association

of *The Tempest* need not, in sum, have been with Africa's sub-Saharan regions nor with dark-hued natives.

Yet many of the travel narratives available to English readers as individual tracts, or in the compendia by Richard Eden and later by Hakluyt, did describe sub-Saharan areas such as Guinea, Nubia and the Congo. (Perhaps the best-known text, Leo Africanus' *Geographical Historie of Africa*, translated into English in 1600 and culled by Shakespeare for *Othello*, addressed nearly the whole continent.) Some of the literature was indifferent towards sub-Saharan Africans and some of it was ambivalent, but many English assessments, especially of Africans with dark skin, were decidedly pejorative and some were vituperative – 'fiends more fierce then those in hell', one Englishman insisted after a voyage to Guinea (Hakluyt, 1589, 134). More ambiguous but largely derogatory representations of Africans appeared on the Elizabethan stage in George Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*, the anonymous *Lust's Dominion* and Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*. Nor was the evidence of England's widespread contempt for Africans confined to books and the stage. Britain harboured only a small fraction of the black Africans who were enslaved elsewhere in Europe, on the islands to the west of Africa, and in the Iberian nations' American colonies; nevertheless, the presence in England, especially in London, of scores, perhaps hundreds, of sub-Saharan Africans was well known and sometimes deplored. By the end of the sixteenth century, an economic slump spurred complaints about the 'great number of negars and Blackamoores'; they had become a 'great annoyance', said the Privy Council, to the English people. Royal proclamations at the turn of the century called for the Africans' owners to relinquish them to a crown-appointed agent for expulsion from the realm.[1] Most owners apparently evaded the decree.

1 See *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ed. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, 3 vols (New Haven, 1964–9), 3.221–2; and Vaughan, 'Africans', 42.

In light of government policy and the portrayal of Africa and its people in many literary and dramatic works, an English audience would have understood Sebastian's disapproval of Claribel's marriage to an African and Prospero's contempt for 'The foul witch Sycorax' from Algiers (1.2.258), and would have readily seen in Caliban's ethnic origin, his physical and social monstrosity, and possibly in his name, the source of his moral shortcomings. Africans, an English author had sneered during Elizabeth's reign, were 'blacke, Savage, Monstrous, & rude' (Cuningham, fol. 185).

But one need not leave the British isles to find pejorative prototypes for Caliban, or an example of English imperialism, or an array of *Tempest* themes and tropes. In the same year that Shakespeare's play opened, the historian–cartographer John Speed's comprehensive study of the 'British Empire' described profusely the regions 'now in actuall possession', including England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland and even the Isle of Man, but barely mentioned the fledgling colony in Virginia.[1] For it was in Ireland, of course, not Virginia, that England's major efforts at 'plantation' had long been invested. Not for several decades would England's New World outposts command the financial and literary attention that by 1611 had been lavished on the island across the Irish Sea.

English descriptions of the Irish were almost always defamatory. In the absence of any clear-cut prototypes for Sycorax and especially for Caliban, those characters may partly reflect the invective that Edmund Spenser, Barnabe Rich and many of their literary contemporaries heaped on the inhabitants of the island that England sought vigorously but unsuccessfully to subdue, culturally as well as militarily. English writers in the late six-

1 Speed, 1.1; 2.157. On the emerging concept of the British Empire, see David Armitage, 'Literature and Empire', in Canny, 99–123. Speed seems to foreshadow a later usage of 'empire' by including the American colonies, however briefly, in his editions of 1611 and 1627.

teenth and early seventeenth centuries castigated 'the wilde Irish' as thoroughly as they did the Africans and (less consistently) the American natives. *A New Description of Ireland* by Barnabe Rich (who earlier had influenced *Twelfth Night*), published the same year that Shakespeare probably concluded *The Tempest*, is symptomatic. Rich complained that the Irish were 'rude, uncleanlie, and uncivill, . . . cruell, bloudie minded, apt and ready to commit any kind of mischiefe', even 'to rebel against their [English] princes; . . . [N]either may age nor honour so protect any [person], that Rape be not mingled with murder, nor murder with Rape' (B. Rich, 15–16, 19). And while the Irish people epitomized English notions of incivility, unruliness and political disorder, the Irish island provided a real-life stage for Elizabethans and Jacobeans of various social strata to vent their imperial ambitions and to suppress indigenous plots and rebellions. Ireland may well have served Shakespeare as a topical example of the complex issues of overseas settlement, political legitimacy, revenge and repentance. Caliban's suitability for English perceptions of Irish men as uncouth, unlettered, rebellious and intoxicated is readily apparent (see Fig. 9).

Although Ireland as an analogue for Caliban's / Prospero's island may have been readily apparent in 1611, the case was not articulated until the late twentieth century. The most comprehensive account is offered by Dympna Callaghan, who posits several specific and significant affinities between the play and English accounts of Ireland, besides the general circumstances – an overseas island, dispossession, exploitation of the natives, and their profound resentment and resistance. Some specifics, according to Callaghan, reflect the imperialists' vision of Caliban: their fear of his attempted miscegenation; their contempt for his language ('gabble', a word of Irish provenance, first appears in a sixteenth-century Anglo-Irish description of Irish speech); their efforts to displace his culture; their curtailments of his freedom and territory. Some English descriptive literature even accused the Irish of cannibalism. More significant are sev-

9 A 'wilde Irish man' as depicted in a border illustration to the map of Ireland in John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, 1611

eral persistent parallels between Ireland and *The Tempest*: the importance of music in Irish folk life and in Shakespeare's most musical play; the English imperialists' efforts to control memory and to reshape the narrative to reflect their (in *The Tempest*, Prospero's) perceptions; and the patriarchal quality of the imposed colonial rule on Ireland and on Shakespeare's imaginary island.[1] Ireland, in sum, 'might be understood as the

1 On an even more specific level, a possible source for the elusive 'Young scamels' (2.2.169) may be the Irish *scallachan* ('an unfledged bird'), and a possible analogue for Sycorax may be County Mayo's Granuaile (Grace O'Malley) – a notorious troubler of English colonial authorities encountered by Sir Henry Sidney and Sir Philip Sidney (Callaghan).

sublimated context for colonial relations in *The Tempest*' (Callaghan).[1] More likely, we believe, Ireland meshed eclectically in the playwright's mind with colonial and other contextual concerns about Africa, America and Europe.

Literary forerunners

While the Virginia pamphlets, Montaigne's essays and travel narratives by Pigafetta or Fletcher are probable if not certain New World sources for *The Tempest* (Bullough, 8.275–99), Shakespeare's indebtedness to sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Old World sources is less clear. Here again, what may have been obvious to Shakespeare's contemporaries is generally obscure to later eras. Accordingly, when source-hunting was fashionable, especially during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, frustrated scholars scoured English and continental literature for the play's prototype or, at the very least, for a text that might have inspired its basic structure. Two of their findings display sufficient resemblances to *The Tempest* to merit contemporary attention, but neither has been classified by twentieth-century editors as a direct source.

Shakespeare almost certainly knew the popular *Mirror of Knighthood*, an English translation of the lengthy Spanish romance *El Espejo de Principes y Caballeros* (Bullough, 8.247). The first part, translated by Margaret Tyler in 1580, was soon followed by seven more parts, some translated by Robert Parry and some by Thomas Purfoot. Part I's interwoven narrative includes the story of Palisteo, second son to the King of Phrygia. Because he was not born to inherit, Palisteo decides not 'to trouble himselfe with the care of governing' but to study the 'Arte Magicke' (*Mirror*[1], 148[r]). After his wife dies, Palisteo escapes with his infant son and daughter (Lindaraza) to a magic island. When Lindaraza falls in love with the picture of the

1 In addition to Callaghan's recent study, see the slightly older essays by Baker; Brown; and Andrew Hatfield, '"The natural and the dead"; Elizabethan perceptions of Ireland', in Maquerlot and Willems, 32–54.

Emperor Trebacio, her father's magic brings him to her. For a time Lindaraza and Trebacio live blissfully on an enchanted island, a 'paradise' populated with deer, rabbits, squirrels, birds 'and the faire Unicorne' (*Mirror*[1], 137[v]), but after twenty years the Knight of the Sun arrives to rescue Trebacio and restore him to his lawful wife, Princess Briana. The third part of Book I, published in 1586, continues the Knight of the Sun's adventures. After a storm so terrible 'that the cunning of the marriners did not serve for the government of the ship' (*Mirror*[2], 58[v]), he lands on the Island of the Devil, inhabited by the witch Artimaga and Fauno, a monster 'that the divell was within', and their offspring, 'the divellish or possessed Fauno'. But the second-generation devilish monster is no Caliban. Without any semblance of human form, he is as big as an elephant and (like his father, but 'much more horrible') has the shape of a lion, the face of a man but with a huge horn in his forehead, and carries 'a whole legion of divels within his bodie' (*Mirror*[2], 60[v]–61[v]).

The Mirror of Knighthood is characteristic of the prose romances that circulated in early modern Europe; its heroes are precursors of Sidney's Arcadian knights and Spenser's allegorical champions. It provides an intriguing intertextual framework for Shakespeare's *Tempest*, but the resemblances are too fleeting for it to be considered more than a tangential source.

Similar problems burden the case for Jacob Ayrer's *Die Schöne Sidea*, published in Nuremburg in 1618, which may be an adaptation of an English play performed in Germany by English actors (Bullough, 8.248). Ayrer died in 1605, so the text of *Die Schöne Sidea* was unquestionably extant before Shakespeare composed *The Tempest*, although it is highly unlikely that Shakespeare used it. When H.H. Furness translated the entire play, he found nothing but chance resemblances (Var, 324–43). *Die Schöne Sidea* begins with a pitched battle between two German princes, Leudegast and Ludolff; Ludolff is defeated and escapes with his daughter Sidea to a distant island, where he dabbles in magic and conjures the devil to do his bidding. When

Leudegast's son Engelbrecht goes hunting, the vengeful Ludolff captures him, immobilizes his sword by means of a magic staff and sentences him to carry logs. Unlike Miranda, Sidea initially scorns the young man, but his pitiful plight eventually softens her heart and she agrees to marry him. The couple become separated in episodes that have no counterpart in *The Tempest*, but eventually they reunite and their love inspires a reconciliation between their feuding fathers. We concur with Bullough that '*Die Schöne Sidea* throws little light upon Shakespeare's play', despite its intriguing parallels, and more generally with Frank Kermode's conclusion that 'Ultimately the source of *The Tempest* is an ancient *motif*, of almost universal occurrence, in saga, ballad, fairy tale and folk tale' (Bullough, 8.249; Ard^2, lxiii). *The Mirror of Knighthood* and *Die Schöne Sidea* do demonstrate, however, Renaissance Europe's fascination with exotic tales of magicians, wizards, strange beasts, enchanted islands and romantic love – a broad intertextual framework that underlies Shakespeare's play.[1]

Classical models

English Renaissance humanism was founded in the early sixteenth century on the principle of teaching great classical authors to every schoolboy; the educated Blackfriars audience and many in the Globe audience would have recognized allusions to the prominent Latin texts of the sixteenth century, especially Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Both Roman poets are plausibly identified as sources for *The Tempest* because echoes of their major works are easily detected in the play's themes and patterns as well as in some specific words and phrases.

Like many other elements of *The Tempest*'s context, recognition of its classical sources that may have been obvious to early readers and audiences did not receive extensive critical attention

1 See Chambers, 1.493–4, and Ard^2, lxiv–ix, for other analogous texts that, in those authorities' opinions and ours, had slight influence, if any, on *The Tempest*.

until the twentieth century. Only in 1948 did J.M. Nosworthy identify the *Aeneid* as an unquestionable narrative source and 'pervasive influence' on *The Tempest* (Nosworthy, 288–93). The most direct allusion is, of course, Gonzalo's reference to 'widow Dido'; *Aeneid*, 1.343–52, describes Dido's marriage to Sychaeus, his murder by her brother Pygmalion, and Dido's escape to northern Africa, where she supervised the founding of Carthage. Despite Antonio's scepticism ('Widow? A pox o'that' (2.1.78)), she was indeed a widow, and in accounts other than Virgil's she lived in devotion to her dead husband and committed suicide lest a second marriage be forced upon her.

While many specific passages from the *Aeneid* have clear parallels in Shakespeare's language, several thematic similarities are more important (Nosworthy, 288–93). One critic terms the Virgilian presence '"spectral" – a half-seen image of death, or damnation, or despair at the back of an episode, a line, or even a single word' (Pitcher, 197). The Dido passage evokes the tragic story of lovers ruined by passion; Ferdinand and Miranda are imaginative reworkings of the ancient lovers, but their destiny is not tragic because their love is chaste and sanctioned by marriage. Another scholar deepens the case for Virgil's influence, arguing that Shakespeare's play is an imitation of the main patterns of Virgil's epic in its beginning, middle and end. Both stories commence with a tempest in which ships are lost and heroes wrecked, yet the narratives later reveal supernatural agency at work – Venus in the *Aeneid*, Prospero's magic in *The Tempest*. In the storm's aftermath the heroes are hopelessly lost, confused and subject to strange visions. Aeneas suffers the pain of the underworld; Ferdinand is initially lost and until the end of the play is tormented by his father's presumed death, though Ferdinand has the joy of finding and wooing Miranda. In the final section of each text a new society is founded, new bonds are established. Presiding over both works is the idea of a metaphorical tempest – humanity buffeted by forces it does not understand and cannot control (Wiltenburg).

Shakespeare's imitation of Virgil may be reflected in the issues of power and colonial domination highlighted in the historical contexts outlined above. Donna B. Hamilton describes *The Tempest* as a 'formal and rigorous rhetorical imitation of the major narrative kernels of *Aeneid*, 1–6' (Hamilton, x). In addition to the analogy between Aeneas the private man and Ferdinand the lover, Hamilton finds a parallel between Aeneas the nation-builder and Prospero, Duke of Milan (though Prospero's nation-building consists merely of finding the right husband – the future King of Naples – for his daughter). Both protagonists are analogous to James I, whose struggles to manage Parliament were as difficult as Prospero's efforts to dominate Caliban and reform Antonio. That there are Virgilian resonances in *The Tempest* should come as no surprise, nor should such echoes be over-schematized.

Shakespeare and a large portion of his audience also knew Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, many in the original Latin, still more in Arthur Golding's English translation. Shakespeare drew frequently on Ovid throughout his career, and *The Tempest* is no exception. Prospero's farewell to his magic (5.1.33–57) is a fairly direct translation of Medea's invocation to Hecate in Ovid, through Golding's mediation:

> Ye airs and winds; ye elves of hills, of brooks, of woods alone,
> Of standing lakes, and of the night, approach ye every one,
> Through help of whom (the crooked banks much wondr'ing at the thing)
> I have compelled streams to run clean backward in their spring.
>
> (Ovid, 7.265–8)

Shakespeare repeats the 'elves of hills' and 'standing lakes' from Golding but, as Jonathan Bate notes, his 'rifted Jove's stout oak' comes directly from Ovid's 'convulsaque robora' (Bate, *Ovid*, 8). This familiar Ovidian passage recurs in Thomas Heywood's reworking of Roman myth in *The Brazen Age*, a play performed by Queen Anne's Company in the same period as *The Tempest* was performed.

Heywood's Medea exclaims:

> The night growes on, and now to my black Arts,
> Goddess of witchcraft and darke ceremony
> To whom the elves of Hils, of Brookes, of Groves,
> Of standing lakes, and cavernes vaulted deepe
> Are ministers.
>
> (Heywood, sig. G1^{v})

Medea's invocation to Hecate was associated with witchcraft in the popular imagination. In the scene described by Ovid (and Heywood), the sorceress uses her magic to invert the forces of nature and destroy her enemies. Prospero appropriates her language but ultimately renounces magic altogether, choosing virtue over vengeance.

Aside from these famous lines, *The Tempest* has no direct borrowings from Ovid, yet Bate's contention that metamorphosis is a recurring theme in the drama is surely correct. During their stay on the island, nearly all of the characters undergo some sort of 'sea-change'. The play's episodic construction, focusing first on one set of characters, then another, is akin to Ovid's storytelling technique. Depictions of the penalties for greed and passion are Ovidian indeed.

The 'salvage man'

The Tempest's exploration of what makes us civilized and free is characteristic not only of the greatest texts of the ancient world but also of medieval folklore and legend.

The contrast between 'civility' and 'barbarism' had been reified in tapestry, wood-carvings, paintings, poetry and pageants from the middle ages into the Renaissance, throughout Europe, in the (usually) ominous figure of the wild man. In Germany he was the *Wildeman*, in France *l'homme sauvage*, in Italy *huomo selveggio* and in England the wodewose or green man, but wherever he appeared this man–beast, clad in animal skins or vines and bearing a huge club, represented forces of raw

nature that threatened civilized society. The wild man lived in the borderlands – the forests or mountains; his brutish behaviour contrasted sharply with prescribed standards of human morality and decorum. As Hayden White observes, 'in whatever way he is envisaged, the Wild Man almost always represents the image of the man released from social control, the man in whom the libidinal impulses have gained full ascendancy' (White, 21). He could, however, be tamed by a beautiful maiden or taught 'civilized' language.

The wild man (Spenser's 'Salvage Man') appeared frequently in English Renaissance pageantry and drama. As late as 1610 he was staged as Bremo in *Mucedorus*, an anonymous play printed many times, beginning in 1598, and revived at court by the King's Company (Vaughan, *Caliban*, 69). Bremo carries a club, lives in the forest and savagely attacks all who come within his reach. He is a cannibal, but when smitten by the fair Amadine he refuses to devour her. Eventually the forces of civility reassert themselves; a valiant knight, Mucedorus, slays Bremo and rescues the maiden.

Although Caliban differs in many ways from this figure, they share some qualities. On the admirable side, Caliban knows the 'qualities of the isle' and is attuned to its music; he has also learned from Prospero and Miranda a European language and some rudimentary science. But he cannot subdue his ferocity, for he is (according to Prospero's hostile account) the son of a witch and a devil 'on whose nature / Nurture can never stick' (4.1.188–9). The lustful savage tries to ravish Miranda and regrets only the failure. After Prospero enslaves him, Caliban lives in a cave, isolated from Prospero's and Miranda's domesticated space. Yet, like the wild man, he is essentially human, even while representing humankind's most bestial qualities.

Caliban's complex role was likely influenced by Montaigne's 'Of the Caniballes', which challenges the prevailing binary opposition between 'savages' of the New World and 'civilized' peoples of Europe: 'I thinke there is more barbarisme in [figuratively] eating men alive', he muses, 'than to feede upon them being dead' (Montaigne, 104), and regrets that Europeans see the mote in the eye of Indian culture, ignoring the beam of greed and corruption in their own. In words that Shakespeare borrows almost verbatim for Gonzalo's explanation of how he would organize a colony on Prospero's island (2.1.148–65), Montaigne idealizes the indigenous culture of Brazil:

> It is a nation . . . that hath no kinde of traffike, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superioritie; no use of service, of riches, or of poverty; no contracts, no successions, no dividences, no occupation but idle; no respect of kinred, but common, no apparrell but naturall, no manuring of lands, no use of wine, corne, or mettle. The very words that import lying, falshood, treason, dissimulation, covetousnes, envie, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of amongst them.
>
> (Montaigne, 102)

Later in the essay, Montaigne contends that the Indians never fight to gain more lands because they have no need for extra territory; nature has supplied all their needs (see Appendix 1.2).

Shakespeare may have been influenced by more than the phrasing of a few passages; his rhetorical strategy of exploring different, often opposite, perspectives, never settling on a definitive view, also echoes Montaigne's. In 2.1 Gonzalo's idealism is a counterpoint to Antonio and Sebastian's cynicism, yet neither attitude seems completely appropriate to the situation. Moreover, the principal thrust of Montaigne's essay – that barbarousness is determined by behaviour, not ethnicity – is crucial to Shakespeare's portrayal of the shipwrecked courtiers. Antonio and Sebastian's cynical interruptions of Gonzalo's reverie remind the audience of the European corruption Montaigne exposed. Antonio and Sebastian 'eat men alive' through usurpation and murder. Caliban may be a 'salvage

man', but as *The Tempest* unfolds, he proves to be more rational and sympathetic than the two Neapolitan conspirators or the two drunken servants who represent European culture's corrupt underside.[1]

Magic

The Folio capitalizes 'Art' when it denotes Prospero's magic. Although some scholars argue that the upper case A was a deliberate signal that the word was used in a technical sense to denote Prospero's magic (e.g. Berger), similar capitalizations were characteristic of manuscripts prepared for publication by scrivener Ralph Crane and therefore not necessarily significant (Howard-Hill, *Crane*, 109–10). Even without the capital A, Prospero's strange powers have provoked emphatic critical opinions about their nature – benign, or evil, or a precarious balance of both.[2]

The roots of Prospero's magic art may lie in the neo-Platonic authors translated by Marsilio Ficino: Plotinus, Porphyry and Iamblichus. Prospero is often described as a theurgist, a practiser of 'white magic', a rigorous system of philosophy that allows the magician 'to energize in the gods or to control other beneficent spiritual intelligences in the working of miraculous effects'. The antithesis of theurgy is 'goety' or 'black magic': 'its evil practitioner produces magic results by disordering the sympathetic relationships of nature or by employing to wicked ends the powers of irrational spirits' (Curry, 167). While practitioners such as Dr John Dee may have viewed themselves as theurgists, the Anglican Church and King James condemned magical studies as damnable (Pearson, 255). To James, witches and magicians

1 Evidence of Shakespeare's indebtedness to Montaigne has grown in recent years, and not only for 'Of the Caniballes' as an influence on *The Tempest*; several other essays also influenced it, and other plays too owe a great deal to Montaigne. See especially Arthur Kirsch, 'Virtue, vice, and compassion in Montaigne and *The Tempest*', *Studies in English Literature*, 37 (1997), 337–52.

2 There is an abundant literature on Prospero's magic. Curry, Traister and Mebane see the magician's role as essentially benign, while Pearson argues emphatically that Shakespeare's audience would have condemned it. Mowat, 'Hocus', relates Prospero to the street magicians who frequented marketplaces and fairs.

served 'both one Master, although in diverse fashions' and both should be punished by death (James I, *Daemonologie*, 32).

Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist*, performed by Shakespeare's company a year before *The Tempest*, dramatizes the negative view of magic expressed by James I. This satiric comedy depicts the predatory shenanigans of Subtle, a con man, and his familiar, Face, the trusty servant who manipulates the gulls. Subtle was probably performed by the King's Company's leading actor, Richard Burbage, who most likely appeared as Prospero in *The Tempest*. Both plays tap the popular interest in alchemy and magic but, while Jonson ruthlessly exposes their practice as flim-flam, Shakespeare allows his magician abundant success before he renounces his art (see H. Levin). But *The Alchemist* was not just a biting satire on alchemy; it was also an attack on any form of occult learning (Yates, 119). Although Jonson's protagonist is a charlatan rather than a consorter with diabolic spirits, the play strongly reveals the dramatist's contempt for the occult. But even if Jonson's view of magic was entirely negative, his fellow dramatist might have taken a different tack.

In creating *The Tempest*'s magical elements, Shakespeare might also have been influenced by the street wizard, a figure from legend and contemporary society. Street magicians, jugglers and conjurers were a frequent feature of Jacobean urban life and were often depicted on London stages. Shakespeare's audience would have recognized the ubiquitous type in Prospero and would have expected him to renounce his magic eventually. As a combination of serious magician and carnival illusionist, Prospero manipulates with characteristic legerdemain what the audiences – and the characters on the island – observe (Mowat, 'Hocus'). In that, of course, he is akin to the playwright.

The Tempest itself can be compared to one form of magic, the alchemical process. The title is the alchemical term for the boiling of the alembic to remove impurities and transform the base metal into purest gold (Mebane, 181); if we see Prospero's goal as the transformation of fallen human nature – Caliban,

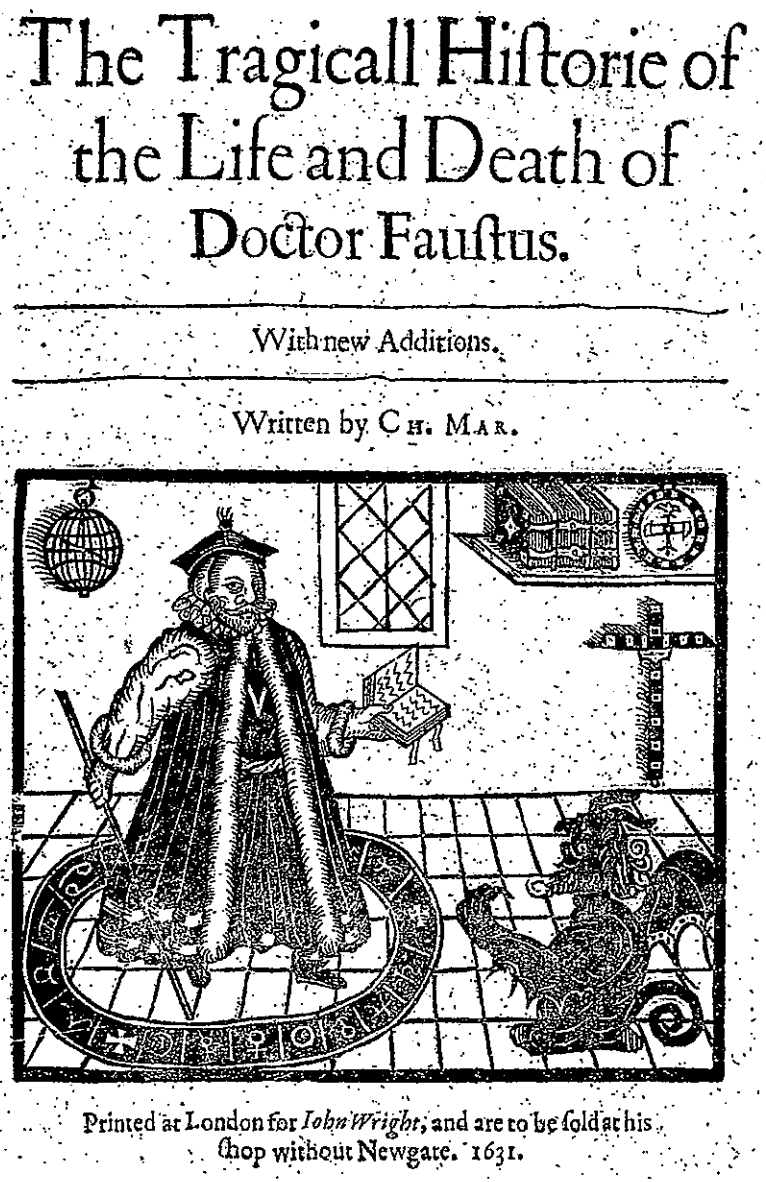
Antonio, Sebastian and Alonso – from a condition of sinfulness to a higher level of morality, the play's episodes mirror the alchemical process. Note particularly Prospero's alchemical language at the beginning of Act 5 ('My charms crack not') to describe his project; by 'boiling' his enemies' brains (5.1.60), he attempts to transform their characters (Simonds, 'Charms').

Prospero bears the physical signifiers a Jacobean audience would have associated with power: books, staff and robe (see Fig. 10). In his first appearance he plucks off his magic garment and assures Miranda that the tempest she has just witnessed is really an illusion. He then explains how he lost the duchy of Milan. Reputed for his knowledge of the liberal arts, and

> those being all my study,
> The government I cast upon my brother
> And to my state grew stranger, being transported
> And rapt in secret studies.
>
> (1.2.74–7)

The final line evokes Faustus's exclamation: ''Tis magic, magic that hath ravished me' (Marlowe, 110); more than simply being 'deeply engaged or buried in', 'rapt' also connoted rapture or ravishment, a state of being transported or carried away in spirit (*OED ppl.* 3, 4). In his treatise on demonology, James had warned how the love of 'secret studies' could lead to the diabolic:

> For divers men having attained to a great perfection in learning, & yet remaining overbare (alas) of the spirit of regeneration and frutes thereof: finding all naturall thinges common, aswell to the stupide pedants as unto them, they assaie to vendicate unto them a greater name, by not onlie knowing the course of things heavenlie, but likewise to clim to the knowledge of things to come thereby. Which, at the first face appearing lawfull unto them, in respect the ground thereof seemeth to proceed of naturall causes onelie; they are so allured



10 The title page to Christopher Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* (1631; reprinted from 1619) showing the magician in his customary robes, holding a book and using his staff to mark a circle, with a devilish figure as his familiar

> thereby, that finding their practize to proove true in sundry things, they studie to know the cause thereof: and so mounting from degree to degree, upon the slipperie and uncertaine scale of curiositie; they are at last entised, that where lawfull artes or sciences failes, to satisfie their restles mindes, even to seeke to that black and unlawfull science of *Magic*.
>
> (James I, *Daemonologie*, 10)

Here there is no distinction between theurgy and goety: from this point of view, Prospero's 'secret studies', like Adam's forbidden fruit, would eventually damn him.

Prospero nonetheless tries to make such a distinction by attributing the demonic power of magic to his enemy and alter ego, the witch Sycorax. Although she died before he arrived at the island, Prospero learned of Sycorax's powers through Ariel, left behind in a cloven pine. Sycorax's charms – 'wicked dew', 'toads, beetles, bats' (1.2.322, 341), according to Caliban – represent a more rudimentary form of magic than Prospero's art. Though she was sufficiently powerful to trap Ariel in the tree where he languished for twelve years, she 'Could not again undo' the spell. Prospero arrogantly asserts that 'It was mine art, / When I arrived and heard thee, that made gape / The pine and let thee out' (1.2.291–3). Prospero believes that just as his art is more potent than Sycorax's witchcraft, it is also morally superior.

The distinction between the two types of magic is erased, however, in Prospero's speech of renunciation. As Jonathan Bate has argued, having his protagonist openly speak words that some in his audience would recognize from Medea's speech in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was Shakespeare's signal that the magician's power is not really benign and must be rejected (Bate, *Ovid*, 254). Aside from the temptation to use his magic for vengeance, study of the occult had distracted Prospero from his princely duties twelve years earlier; if he is to return to Milan and resume his ducal powers, he must abandon it.

Masque

Prospero's magical art creates illusions (usually with Ariel as actor and producer) that repeatedly evoke awe and wonder. The magician's art, like the dramatist's, lies in the creation of illusions, particularly the audience's belief that they have seen something that was apart from everyday life. John Dee, astrologer to Queen Elizabeth and believed by some critics to be Shakespeare's model for Prospero, learned this analogy early in his career. When he produced Aristophanes' *Pax* at Trinity College, Cambridge, the stage effect of '*Scarabaeus* his flying up to Jupiter's pallace, with a man and his basket of victualls on his back' caused 'great wondring, and many vaine reportes spread abroad of the meanes how that was effected'.[1] For the rest of his life Dee attributed the reports that he was a conjurer and magician to his early career as a producer of stage spectacles.

Stage spectacle was the essence of the Jacobean court masque, a form embedded in *The Tempest* not just in the musical interlude of Iris, Ceres and Juno but in other scenes as well. Masques were the original multimedia event, requiring 'painting, architecture, design, mechanics, lighting, music of both composer and performer, acting, choreography, and dancing both acrobatic and formal' (Orgel, 'Poetics', 368). Staged at great expense for special court occasions – weddings, birthdays, investitures – masques treated the audience to a vision of court ladies and gentlemen dressed in lavish costumes within spectacular moving sets.

Because Ben Jonson, the leading librettist for court masques, was also writing for the King's Company in 1611, Shakespeare must have been familiar with the form and its cultural impact. And, as Andrew Gurr contends, masques within plays 'became a conspicuous feature of King's Men's plays after 1610' (*Philaster*, xxxix–xl). Plays from that period frequently include elaborate choreography, such as the 'dance of twelve satyrs' in the sheepshearing scene of *The Winter's Tale*. Jonson listed the

1 Quoted in French, 24, from Dee's *Compendious Rehearsal*.

King's Company as performers in the 1612 masque *Love Restored*, and actors from Shakespeare's company were probably also involved in Jonson's earlier efforts.

As the masque form developed, the idealized figures of the court were grotesquely mirrored in 'antimasques' performed by professional actors. *The Masque of Queens* (1609), for example, began with 'twelve women in the habit of hags or witches, sustaining the persons of Ignorance, Suspicion, Credulity, etc., the opposites to good Fame'; Queen Anne, portraying Lady Fame, then drove out the hags and witches, restoring good fame to the court. In *Oberon* (1611) satyrs played the opposing role, ending their dialogue with 'an antic dance full of gesture and swift motion'; these antimasque figures dispersed with the entry of the court ladies and gentlemen, whose allegorical roles signalled the triumph of virtue, reason and grace over the forces of disorder (Jonson, *Masques*, 81, 109).

Jonson's *Hymenaei*, performed at court in 1606 for the wedding of the Earl of Essex and Lady Francis Howard, contains many of the elements Shakespeare used later in *The Tempest*. Jonson's stage directions describe the appearance of Juno:

> sitting in a throne supported by two beautiful peacocks; her attire rich and like a queen, a white diadem on her head from whence descended a veil, and that bound with a fascia of several-colored silks, set with all sorts of jewels and raised in the top with lilies and roses; in her right hand she held a scepter, in the other a timbrel; at her golden feet the hide of a lion was placed; round about her sat the spirits of the air, in several colors, making music . . . [B]eneath her [was] the rainbow, Iris, and on the two sides, eight ladies, attired richly and alike in the most celestial colors, who represented her powers (as she is the governess of marriage).
>
> (Jonson, *Masques*, 54–5, italics removed)

11 Masque scene from the 1951 Royal Shakespeare Company production of *The Tempest* at Stratford-upon-Avon, showing Juno and her naiads

Prospero's masque, performed in celebration of Ferdinand and Miranda's betrothal, continues Jonson's hymeneal theme but with several important differences. Instead of Jonson's lengthy epithalamium exalting the joys of the marriage bed,

Shakespeare's masque is shaped by Prospero's insistence on continence: 'Do not give dalliance / Too much the rein . . . Be more abstemious' (4.1.51–3). His concern for his daughter's chastity is linked to his hopes for her fruitful marriage and the legitimacy of his dynasty. Ceres, in her insistence on the orderly processes of nature, echoes this theme.

Critics have sometimes dispraised the verse Shakespeare created for his masque, or even derided the entire episode as an interpolation by someone else (see Ard[1], xxii–iv; Oxf[1], 61–2). But the language of the court masque was highly stylized and artificial. Gods and goddesses, princes and queens, do not speak conversational blank verse; they are elevated high above the audience and speak an elite language (see Fig. 11). Prospero's masque serves *The Tempest* in the way that various cantos serve Spenser's books of *The Faerie Queene*, as an allegorical core that symbolizes ideas which pervade the play (see Lewis, 335). Ceres, Iris and Juno present a double image of the cosmic union of earth and air, fire and water, with a vision of the union of Ferdinand and Miranda as the return of universal harmony (Peyre, 54–5).

The threat to this harmony – lack of chastity or self-control – is represented mythologically by Ceres' inquiry about the whereabouts of Venus, goddess of sensual love, and her son Cupid, purveyor of passion:

> Since they did plot
> The means that dusky Dis[1] my daughter got,
> Her and her blind boy's scandaled company
> I have forsworn.
>
> (4.1.88–91)

1 Dis's rape of Proserpina mirrors the theme of miscegenation that runs through the play: Claribel had been 'loose[d] . . . to an African' (2.1.126) and, had Caliban's assault on Miranda not been thwarted, he'd have 'peopled else / This isle with Calibans' (1.2.351–2). Stephano's desire to bed Miranda transgresses class lines as well. Miscegenation was thus a threat to Prospero's dynastic project.

Venus and Cupid are banished from the world of Prospero's masque. Instead, the songs of Ceres and Juno celebrate chaste love, a temperate union that eschews extremes of passion (see Peyre, 57). If the earth is to bring forth 'foison plenty', it must be through cultivation and avoidance of extreme heat and cold. Ceres' wish for the lovers is an eternal spring that arrives just as harvest ends. As in Spenser's mythological Garden of Adonis, fertility flourishes without the killing blast of winter; the seasons of planting and reaping miraculously fuse. The dance of temperate nymphs and reapers signals this conflation, their graceful movement epitomizing concord and heavenly harmony. Through the union of Ferdinand and Miranda, Prospero hopes to see his dynasty continue in peace and prosperity, with his grandchildren as heirs to both Milan and Naples.

The mythological figures chosen for Prospero's masque resonated richly for an audience steeped in classical lore. Iris, signified by the rainbow, was messenger to the gods (particularly Juno) and sister to the harpies. Vincenzo Cartari, an Italian commentator on the ancient myths, whose work was translated into English in 1599 as *The Fountain of Ancient Fiction*, described Iris as 'the daughter of Thaumante, which signifieth admiration'. She is also responsible for 'the changes and alterations of the aire, making it sometimes faire, sometimes tempestuous, rainie, and cloudie, and some other times sending down haile, snow, thunder, and lightening' (Cartari, sigs Lii^{v}–Liii^{r}). Iris's airy qualities and relation to the harpies associate her with Ariel, while the wonder evoked by her rainbow colours is reminiscent of Miranda.

The Roman goddess Ceres represented the fecundity of the cultivated earth. Wheat and barley were sacred to her. She presided over the labours of ploughing, tilling, planting and harvesting, and was known as a maternal fertility goddess. Her daughter, Proserpina, had been abducted by Pluto (Dis) and taken to the underworld. As a result – in the words of Golding's translation of the *Metamorphoses* – 'The worlde did want . . . She

marrde the seede, and eke forbade, the fieldes to yeelde their frute' (Ovid, 5.578–97). The rest of the story was well known to the well-educated in Shakespeare's audience: Juno allowed Ceres to rescue her daughter on the condition that Proserpina had not eaten anything during her sojourn in the underworld; but alas, she had consumed seven pomegranate seeds. Juno negotiated Pluto's desire to keep his bride and Ceres' wish to have her returned:

> God *Jove* . . . parteth equally the yeare betweene them both;
> And now the Goddesse *Proserpine* indifferently doth reigne
> Above and underneath the Earth: and so doth she remaine
> One halfe yeare with hir mother and the resdue with hir Feere.
>
> (Ovid, 5.700–3)

Thus is the year divided between seasons of barrenness and fruitfulness.

Juno, Jove's sister and wife, was the goddess of light and childbirth. Cartari reports that 'shee is also oftentimes pictured with a scepter in her hand, to shew that shee hath the bestowing of governements, authorities, & kingdomes'; the peacock is sacred to her 'as the diverse-coloured fethers of this bird, enticeth the beholders eyes more and more to view & to gase upon them' (Cartari, sig. Lii^{v}). Most importantly, she represented the maternal side of marriage:

> Some have depictured the Statue of Juno in Matrones habite, holding in one hand the head of the flower Poppie, and at her feet lying a yoke as it were, or a paire of fetters: by these was meant the marriage knot and linke which coupleth the man and wife together; and by the Poppie the innumerable issue of children, which in the world are conceaved & brought forth, alluded to in the numberlesse plentie of seed contained in the head of that flower.
>
> (Cartari, sig. Mii^{r})

Juno represents fecundity, the iconographic theme of the magician's masque.

While the traditional court masque began with grotesque antimasque figures and ended with their dispersal by idealized images of virtue, Prospero's masque inverts this order, ending abruptly with his recollection of Caliban's conspiracy. In a parody of the formal masque in which actors assume the roles of goddesses, Stephano and Trinculo in Act 4 seize the magus's clothing, prance about in borrowed robes and adopt an identity not their own. This parodic vision instantly disappears when spirits in the guise of dogs chase the conspirators from the stage.

In the absence of any clear-cut source for *The Tempest* as a whole, the precise literary and experiential influences on the play's plot and characters must remain conjectural. That the dramatist studied Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* at school; that he heard the Bible in church; that he read other texts – Montaigne, Strachey, Pigafetta – seems virtually certain. Echoes within *The Tempest* of classical texts, contemporary concerns, as well as dramas and court masques (some performed by his own acting company) may be the result of deliberate borrowing or subconscious reference. The discourses that inform Shakespeare's play remain part of a complex cultural milieu that we can probe, in part, but never wholly recuperate.

THE AFTERLIFE

The Tempest's extensive afterlife across the centuries, around the globe, and in a wide variety of genres and media suggests that the play is uniquely adaptable. We have already touched on some of the reasons for its continuing vitality; here we expand that discussion before tracing the play's multifaceted interpretive and adaptive post-history.

The Tempest's indefinite setting in time and place lends it uncommon transportability. Although Milan and Naples are constructed as autocracies within the play, Shakespeare pro-

vides no specifics that tie the reigns of Prospero and Alonso to a particular era or location. The usurpation of Prospero's throne – unlike that of Richard II, for example – could occur in any culture that has a hereditary ruler. Prospero's enchanted island could be almost anywhere – and, indeed, in modern productions and appropriations has been set in several continents and even in outer space.

The play's imprecise location attracts writers and artists to *The Tempest* for what science-fiction writers call a 'second world' structure, in which faraway islands, imaginary and often 'enchanted', are ideal. Isolated geographically or psychologically from the first world, and usually distanced as well by climate (tropical breezes, lush foliage) and way of life (holiday ease rather than daily toil), the island setting provides artists and writers with an opportunity to comment on human relations without reality's constraints. Prospero's island is already such an outpost, which Shakespeare used to full advantage; it also implicitly invites future utopian or dystopian reimaginings and reimagings of the same or other islands.

The Tempest's characters, moreover, embody the most basic human relationships: father and daughter, king and subject, master and servant. In all three interactions, the play emphasizes the dynamics of freedom and restraint, obedience and rebellion, authority and tyranny. These fundamental relationships and interactions, like the play's imprecise location, encourage almost limitless artistic adaptation.

This is especially true of Ariel and Caliban. Although in most appropriations Prospero and the court party remain European white males whose roles resist broad reinscription, *The Tempest*'s two most original characters are endlessly malleable because Shakespeare described them so sparsely and ambiguously. Ariel is by definition a spirit but, unlike Puck, he is not tied to the woods or any specific mythological framework. Androgynous by nature, he (or she, or it) can fly from the Mediterranean to the Bermudas and back in a blink. When

invisible, he appears as a nymph of the sea – whatever that looks like. At other times, he might resemble anything or nothing at all. Earth-bound Caliban is almost as flexible. He can be portrayed as a reptile, an ape, an Indian (East or West), a black African, a European wild man or an eclectic combination. And both Ariel and Caliban have flexible histories, including their priority of occupancy of the island, their affinity for its environment and their resistance to Prospero's control, qualities that invite a wide range of symbolic identifications. In sum, *The Tempest*'s central characters and their relationships to each other are simultaneously specific enough to form an effective story and vague enough to allow new formulations that are at once drastic deviations from Shakespeare's play yet recognizably derivative.

And as we noted earlier, *The Tempest*'s action is elliptical, leaving readers and audiences to speculate about events that happened before the play begins and to wonder about what will happen after it ends. In implicit disagreement with the observation that Shakespeare begins *The Tempest* at nearly its end, in many adaptations the play is merely an interlude between the events of the previous twelve years and the time since Prospero sailed home. 'What's past is prologue' (2.1.253).

The text's loose ends also invite speculation. Antonio's lack of response in the play's final moments, for example, leaves the question of change – to his character at least – up in the air. And while all the Europeans will presumably leave the enchanted island and return to Italy after the play's conclusion, Prospero's epilogue asks the audience to use its imagination and applause to waft the Europeans homeward – almost an invitation to complete a story that seems naggingly unfinished. No wonder so many *Tempest* appropriations attempt to fill the narrative gaps by providing new information about Claribel or Sycorax, new adventures for the Europeans after their return to Italy, or future destinies for Ariel and Caliban, either on the island or as newcomers to Milan or elsewhere.

Finally, Shakespeare's emphasis on art, spectacle, magic and

poetic language in *The Tempest* encourages artists to recreate the drama in their own terms through non-dramatic media. Many other Shakespearean plays have stimulated verbal and visual imitations, of course, but rarely, if ever, has a single play inspired so many painters and poets, musicians and film makers, novelists and political writers, to produce such a variety of representations. The following pages sample *The Tempest*'s rich and continuing afterlife.

Restoration rewritings

Davenant and Dryden's radical revamping of *The Tempest* in 1667 (published in 1670) retained the play's title but added *or, The Enchanted Island.* Seven years later, Thomas Shadwell created an operatic version of the Dryden–Davenant text with the same title. For the next century and a half, these rewritings of Shakespeare's play were performed frequently and dominated stagings and popular conceptions. Although textual editors like Nicholas Rowe early in the eighteenth century and Samuel Johnson later in the century reprinted the Folio text with minor editorial embellishments for the literary elite's enjoyment and edification, most English readers and audiences apparently assumed that the Dryden–Davenant–Shadwell versions were identical to Shakespeare's drama. Samuel Pepys, who attended numerous performances in the late 1660s, knew it as '*The Tempest*, an old play of Shakespeares'.[1]

Dryden and Davenant courted upper-class Restoration audiences by rewriting *The Tempest* to emphasize the royalist political and social ideals underlying Shakespeare's original: monarchy was presented as the natural form of government, patriarchal authority prevailed in matters of education and marriage, and patrilineality ruled the ownership and inheritance of property. But in addition to its ideological reflections, the Dryden–Davenant–Shadwell *Enchanted Island* tells much about

1 For Pepys's usually enthusiastic response to the play, see Pepys, 8.521–2 (quotation), 527, 576; 9.12, 48, 133, 179, 195, 422.

the acting traditions that, once established, affected its later stage history as well as popular perceptions of Shakespeare's characters. Besides, audiences liked it. Pepys considered it 'full of so good variety, that I cannot be more pleased almost in a comedy', and several visits later, it 'still pleases me mightily'. He memorized the words to 'the Seamens dance'.[1]

In his Preface to the first printed version of *The Enchanted Island*, Dryden claimed that Davenant 'design'd the Counterpart to Shakespear's Plot, namely that of a Man who had never seen a Woman; that by this means those two Characters of Innocence and Love might the more illustrate and commend each other' (Dryden & Davenant, A2^{v}, italics removed). Miranda now has a sister, Dorinda, and Prospero a foster son, Hippolito, the rightful Duke of Mantua. Because of a prophetic vision that a woman would cause Hippolito's downfall, Prospero has hidden him on the island, away from Miranda and Dorinda. Hippolito is naive both sexually and culturally.

Dryden and Davenant's comic subplot satirizes Restoration concerns. In a parody of the sexual intrigue of the main plot, Trincalo (Shakespeare's Trinculo, but here the boatswain instead of the jester) and Stephano (the ship's master) seek to possess Sycorax (Caliban's twin sister) and argue about who shall be duke on the island and who the viceroy. Their aspersions on the Commonwealth are palpable. Stephano proclaims, for example, 'we will have no Civil war during our Reign; I do hereby appoint you both to be my Vice-Roys over the whole Island' (Dryden & Davenant 20). The sailors' plot 'becomes chief instrument of the revisers to prove that all republican experiments are inevitably bound to fail' (Auberlen, 77).[2] The mariners cannot govern because they were not born to it, and their drunken discourse exposes the futility of democratic impulses.

1 Pepys, 8.527; 9.48, 179.
2 Insightful discussions of *The Enchanted Island*, in addition to Auberlen, include Maus and Wikander.

Although the Restoration Ariel was generally true to Shakespeare's original, the operatic version more obviously needed an actor, usually female, who could capably sing and dance. Contrary to the modern custom of casting male actors in the role,[1] Ariel seems to have been performed often in the Restoration by Mary (Moll) Davis, who later became a mistress of King Charles II. Richard Flecknoe described her in 1669:

> Who wou'd not think to see thee dance so light,
> Thou wer't all air? or else all soul and spirit . . . all men must admire
> To see thee move like air, and mount like fire.
>
> (Highfill, 4.224, italics removed)[2]

The operatic version of *The Tempest* concluded with a singing Ariel suspended over the stage.

While Dryden and Davenant's Ariel is more important than the Folio's, Caliban's role is drastically reduced. Mainly because the issues surrounding the 'salvage' or natural man in Shakespeare's original are displaced on to Hippolito, Caliban is merely a buffoonish monster. Coupled with his sluttish sister, he is humanity's bestial side (see Vaughan, *Caliban*, 91–5).

Dryden and Davenant's Prospero is also a different character from Shakespeare's original. Eckhard Auberlen summarizes the changes:

> In Shakespeare, Prospero firmly controls the outer events, but has to see the limits of his power in bringing about a moral regeneration on others and himself; in the adaptation, Prospero loses control over the outer events and is reduced to the status of a Polonius-like overbusy

1 The appearance of Aunjanue Ellis in the New York Shakespeare Festival's 1995 production of *The Tempest* surprised many who were used to male Ariels. Ellis's overt female sexuality added an extra dimension to her relationship with Patrick Stewart's Prospero.

2 Orgel argues that Dryden and Davenant's Ariel must have been enacted by a male since at the finale Ariel is accompanied by Milcha, a female spirit (Oxf[1], 70). But given the entries in Pepys's *Diary* praising Moll Davis's dancing, many theatre historians believe she performed either a *travesti* Hippolyto or the fairy spirit's role.

> father, intent on protecting the chastity of his two sexually naive daughters while planning advantageous dynastic marriages for them.
>
> (Auberlen, 74)

The Restoration Prospero is a moralist, bent on controlling events and people. He undergoes no change of heart. As the play's final scenes make clear, if Ariel's salves had been ineffective and Hippolito had died from the wounds inflicted by Ferdinand, Prospero would have executed Miranda's fiancé. Only the fairy's intervention ensures a happy ending.

Thomas Shadwell's operatic version of the Dryden–Davenant adaptation of *The Tempest* added more songs and spectacular scenery and became an extremely popular entertainment (see Van Lennep; Guffey, ix). According to John Downes in 1708, the opera provided tremendous variety, including:

> Scenes, Machines; particularly, one Scene Painted with *Myriads* of *Ariel* Spirits; and another flying away, with a Table Furnisht out with Fruits, Sweetmeats, and all sorts of Viands; just when Duke *Trinculo* and his Companions were going to dinner; all was things perform'd in it so Admirably well, that not any succeeding Opera got more Money.
>
> (Downes, 34–5)

Downes uses 'Opera' in the late seventeenth-century sense of a dramatic extravaganza rather like a modern musical comedy, with dialogue interrupted by carefully choreographed songs and dances. The published version of the operatic text offers descriptive stage directions that reveal the Restoration *Tempest*'s un-Shakespearean quality. The opening storm, for example, was accompanied by music:

> The Front of the Stage is open'd, and the Band of 24 Violins, with the Harpsicals and Theorbo's which accompany the Voices, are plac'd between the Pit and

> the Stage . . . [T]he Scene . . . represents a thick Cloudy Sky, a very Rocky Coast, and a Tempestuous Sea in perpetual Agitation. This Tempest (suppos'd to be rais'd by Magick) has many dreadful Objects in it, as several Spirits in horrid shapes flying down amongst the Sailers, then rising and crossing in the Air. And when the Ship is sinking, the whole House is darken'd, and a shower of Fire falls upon 'em. This is accompanied with Lightning, and several Claps of Thunder, to the end of the Storm.
>
> (Shadwell, *Enchanted Island*, 1, in Guffey; italics removed) (see Fig. 12)

When the storm subsides and everyone is stranded on the island, the locale divides in two. The 'Beautiful part of the Island' where Prospero lives is 'compos'd of three Walks of Cypress-trees, each Side-walk leads to a Cave, in one of which Prospero keeps his Daughters, in the other Hippolito: the Middle-Walk is of great depth, and leads to an open part of the Island'. In contrast to this cultivated space, Caliban and his maritime visitors appear in a 'wilder part of the Island', which is 'compos'd of divers sorts of Trees, and barren places, with a prospect of the Sea at a great distance' (Shadwell, *Enchanted Island*, 5, 14, in Guffey; italics removed). This visual opposition emphasizes the play's careful distinctions between courtly and lower class, civilized and uncivil.

The Dryden–Davenant–Shadwell adaptation of *The Tempest* was so successful at the Duke's Theatre that the rival King's Company soon countered with a burlesque by Thomas Duffett. *The Mock Tempest* (1675) begins with what seems to be a storm but is actually a riot in a brothel. Prospero and Miranda appear at Bridewell, where he informs her that fifty years ago he was 'Duke of my Lord Majors Dogg-kenne'. Alonso and Gonzalo are frightened by a pageant of devils who sing a parody of the opera's 'Arise, ye Subterranean winds' – 'Arise, ye Subterranean

12 The frontispiece to Nicholas Rowe's 1709 edition of *The Tempest*, the first known illustration of the play, may suggest the visual impact of the Dryden and Davenant storm scene

fiends!' Prospero successfully pairs Dorinda with Hypolito and Miranda with Quakero (Ferdinand), and the play concludes with a Chorus of pimps and bawds. Interlaced with Shakespearean allusions, this scabrous satire did nothing to deter the popularity of the Dryden–Davenant–Shadwell operatic version of *The Tempest*; rather, it added another pseudo-Shakespearean version that further deflected attention from the Folio text.

Eighteenth-century ambivalence

Eighteenth-century adaptations of *The Tempest* continued the Restoration's spectacular tradition. On 6 January 1716, for example, the Drury Lane Theatre paid three shillings for 'The Shower of Fire', six pence for Lightning and three pence for 'white wands'. Stephano and Trincalo also required bottles of white wine and a pint of sack (Van Lennep, 2: Pt 1, cvi). Eighteenth-century playbills advertised a *Tempest* with songs and dances, 'Scenes, Machines, Habits, Flyings, Sinkings, and other Decorations proper to the play' (24 January 1733, Drury Lane).

The London Stage consistently lists young actresses in the role of Ariel, except for two instances when a young male dancer or singer played the part.[1] Like Miss Lindar, who moved over to Dorinda in 1723, the actresses sometimes outgrew it. Ariel needed to have a superb voice and light and graceful movements. Caliban, by contrast, was usually a comedian's part. Ben Johnson took the role in the early part of the century and was succeeded by Charles Macklin and Edward Berry, actors known for their awkward figures. The century ended with Charles Bannister, another huge man skilled at dramatic singing, as the savage monster. Prospero was performed by the lead actor of the moment; though his role was the most prominent, his lines were usually contracted to allow more music and spectacle.

1 Master Woodward played Ariel on 2 June 1731, and Master Arne, presumably a son of the composer, took the role on 22 October 1734.

During the first half of the century, playgoers usually saw the Dryden–Davenant–Shadwell version of *The Tempest*. In 1756 actor–manager David Garrick countered with his own operatic *Tempest* at the Drury Lane Theatre. This three-act extravaganza with music by John Christopher Smith included the drunken seamen Mustacho and Ventoso but omitted the other Dryden–Davenant characters – Hippolito, Dorinda, Sycorax and Milcha. The text was cut to make room for thirty-two songs. When the early performances were not successful, Garrick dropped his adaptation from the repertory (see Stone).

The next year (1757) Garrick presented a restored (though heavily cut) Shakespearean *Tempest*, a revival that was profitably performed from time to time for the rest of the century. In 1806, John Philip Kemble reintroduced Dorinda and Hippolito to his acting version of *The Tempest*, but this was to be their last gasp on the English stage.

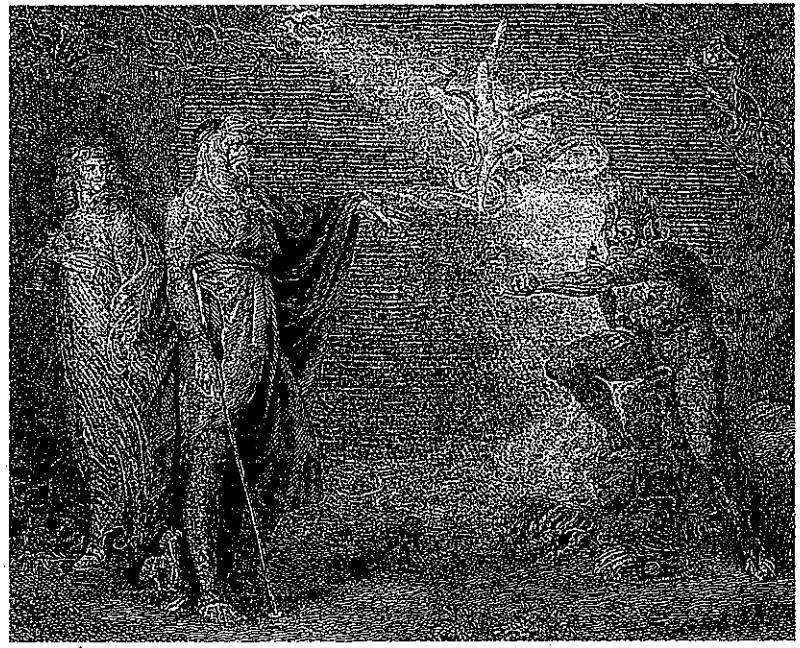
The eighteenth-century *Tempest* on stage and in artists' renderings underlined a neoclassical emphasis on human rationality and morality in Shakespeare's work. William Hogarth's painting of a composite scene dating from the mid-1730s (see Fig. 13) demonstrates these themes at work: posed like Joseph behind the Virgin Mary, Prospero protectively shelters Miranda from the bestial Caliban to her left, while a cherubic Ariel hovers overhead. Hogarth's Prospero is typical of eighteenth-century representations. Portrayed most commonly as a grey-bearded magus, Prospero controls the disorderly political forces in Antonio and Sebastian and the corrupt moral forces embodied in Caliban. Henry Fuseli's 1789 painting, commissioned for the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery in London (see Fig. 14), depicts similar relationships. Prospero, his extended hand pointing to the devilish figure of Caliban, signifies patriarchal protection of his innocent daughter from the threats of a born devil. A spectator gazing at this picture, or attending a production at Drury Lane, would presumably have accepted Prospero's wisdom and authority and interpreted the play

13 William Hogarth's composite scene from *The Tempest* (*c.* 1736), the first major artistic rendition of the play

through his eyes. Throughout the eighteenth century, amidst operatic spectacles and comic distractions, *The Tempest* remained Prospero's play.

Romanticism

The Tempest's perceived focus changed significantly with the dawn of the nineteenth century. Partly under the impetus of lectures, letters and essays by Romantic poets such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Wordsworth and John Keats, and partly from the French Revolution's restructuring of social values, a new generation of writers rejected neoclassical rules and decorum. Wordsworth's 'Preface to the Lyrical Ballads' (1800) called instead for poems about everyday life coloured by the poetic imagination. Poetry, declared Wordsworth, is the 'spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings', and the poet, by



14 An engraving of Henry Fuseli's painting of *The Tempest*, commissioned for the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery (1789), featuring a magisterial Prospero, innocent Miranda, and devilish Caliban

definition, 'has a greater knowledge of human nature, and a more comprehensive soul, than are supposed to be common among mankind' (Wordsworth, 448, 453). To Wordsworth and the Romantics who followed him, creative imagination, genius and poetry were intimately associated.[1] Shakespeare had by the late eighteenth century been apotheosized as England's greatest writer; the Romantics hailed his work as the ultimate example of creative imagination and the dramatist himself as the untutored genius who followed nature rather than the ancients' rules.

Poetry thus changed from Samuel Johnson's 'just representations of general nature' (S. Johnson, 491) to the individualized expression of the author's soul. Shakespeare's plays were no

1 For a full discussion of the influence of Shakespeare on the Romantic poets, see Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and the English Romantic Imagination* (Oxford, 1989).

longer considered as acting scripts for a public theatre but as expressions of his personal feelings. Accompanying this emphasis on the texts as poetry rather than drama was the assumption that Shakespeare's genius could only be realized in the reader's imagination. Charles Lamb contended that *The Tempest*, in particular, could not be embodied on stage:

> It is one thing to read of an enchanter, and to believe the wondrous tale while we are reading it; but to have a conjuror brought before us in his conjuring-gown, with his spirits about him, which none but himself and some hundred of favoured spectators before the curtain are supposed to see, involves such a quantity of the *hateful incredible* that all our reverence for the author cannot hinder us from perceiving such gross attempts upon the senses to be in the highest degree childish and inefficient. Spirits and fairies cannot be represented, they cannot even be painted.
>
> (Lamb, 191)

Thus began a split between the literary analysis of Shakespeare's text and assessments of Shakespeare in performance, two distinct threads that, even at present, are usually separate in academic discourse and institutional structure. With some notable exceptions (William Hazlitt, for example, frequently attended the theatre and occasionally referred to performances he had seen), nineteenth-century writers who discussed *The Tempest* relied on their private readings, not on public performance.

Coleridge, for example, found *The Tempest* to be a 'purely romantic drama' that 'addresses itself entirely to the imaginative faculty' (Coleridge, 1.118). Hazlitt concurred: 'the preternatural part has the air of reality, and almost haunts the imagination with the sense of truth', while the 'real characters and events partake of the wildness of a dream'. The enchanted island with its exotic furze, marmosets and water with berries appealed to

the Romantic affinity for stark yet beautiful natural landscapes. The characters of Ariel and Caliban seemed spun from imagination alone. To Hazlitt, Ariel was 'imaginary power, the swiftness of thought personified'. Caliban, too, displayed the power and truth of the poet's imagination; his character grows 'out of the soil where it is rooted, uncontrolled, uncouth, and wild, uncramped by any of the meanness of custom' (Hazlitt, 82, 86, 84).

Ariel's songs, which Samuel Johnson had criticized for expressing 'nothing great, nor reveal[ing] any thing above mortal discovery' (S. Johnson, 531), conveyed to Hazlitt a 'peculiar charm'; they seemed 'to sound in the air, and as if the person playing them were invisible', sometimes resembling 'snatches of half-forgotten music' (Hazlitt, 86). Coleridge described Ariel in his ninth lecture: 'in air he acts; and all his colours and properties seem to have been obtained from the rainbow and the skies . . . He is neither born of heaven, nor of earth; but, as it were, between both' (Coleridge, 2.136–7). And in one of the earliest poems based on *The Tempest*, Percy Bysshe Shelley identified Ariel with the poet, the sprite's songs with poetry. 'With a Guitar, To Jane' begins with Ariel speaking:

> Ariel to Miranda: – Take
> This slave of Music, for the sake
> Of him who is the slave of thee,
> And teach it all the harmony,
> In which thou canst, and only thou,
> Make the delighted spirit glow[.]

Instead of being imprisoned in Sycorax's mighty oak, Shelley's Ariel is caught inside the guitar he presents to Jane, where he sings the harmonies:

> Of the plains and of the skies,
> Of the forests and the mountains,
> And the many-voicèd fountains;
> The clearest echoes of the hills,

The softest notes of falling rills,
The melodies of birds and bees,
The murmuring of summer seas.
(Shelley, 428–30)

Shelley's simple diction – the language of the common man that Wordsworth valued – here conveys Ariel's oneness with nature and imitates the straightforward beauty of Shakespeare's original songs.

Partly because the magus created Ariel's music, the Romantics identified him with Shakespeare. Coleridge called Prospero a 'mighty wizard, whose potent art could not only call up spirits of the deep, but the characters as they were and are and will be, [he] seems a portrait of the bard himself' (Coleridge, 2.253). If Prospero speaks for Shakespeare, and if, as the Romantics believed, poetry is personal expression, it followed that Prospero's feelings were Shakespeare's. This identification between the magus and the dramatist persisted, culminating in the notorious claims of Edward Dowden in 1875 that the romances reveal biographical information about Shakespeare's later life. '[T]he temper of Prosper', Dowden declared, 'the grave harmony of his character, his self-mastery, his calm validity of will, his sensitiveness to wrong, his unfaltering justice, and, with these, a certain abandonment, a remoteness from the common joys and sorrows of the world, are characteristic of Shakspere as discovered to us in all his latest plays'. By the end of *The Tempest*, Prospero / Shakespeare 'has also reached an altitude of thought from which he can survey the whole of human life, and see how small and yet how great it is' (Dowden, 371–2). Prospero, like Shakespeare, was a genius, an artist who understood the truths of human nature and whose words could arbitrate morality and wisdom.

Dowden's biographical approach to *The Tempest* led many – not only in the late nineteenth century but throughout the twentieth – to interpret Prospero's famous lines, 'Our revels

now are ended . . .' (4.1.148–63), as Shakespeare's retirement speech and his 'Ye elves' passage (5.1.33–57) as his assessment of illusion's power and danger. *The Tempest*, in sum, was often perceived as Shakespeare's last and best expression of human reality.

But not everyone adopted Prospero's viewpoint. Several early nineteenth-century writers re-examined Caliban and found some merit in his rebellious claims to ownership of the enchanted isle. In his ninth lecture, Coleridge had argued that 'Caliban is in some respects a noble being: . . . a man in the sense of the imagination: all the images he uses are drawn from nature, and are highly poetical' (Coleridge, 2.138). To Hazlitt, Caliban's 'deformity whether of body or mind is redeemed by the power and truth of the imagination displayed in it' (Hazlitt, 83). Sympathy for Caliban became still more palpable after William Charles Macready produced *The Tempest* in Shakespeare's original text at Drury Lane in 1838. George Bennett's representation of the savage slave seems to have aroused his audience's feelings, including those of Patrick MacDonnell, who saw Caliban as 'maintaining in his mind, a strong resistance to that tyranny, which held him in the thraldom of slavery'. MacDonnell even defended Caliban's morals, suggesting that he tried to rape Miranda only after Prospero imprudently lodged the two together. The 'noble and generous character of Prospero, therefore, suffers, by this severe conduct to Caliban, and I confess, I have never read, or witnessed this scene, without experiencing a degree of pity for the poor, abject, and degraded slave' (MacDonnell, 16–19) (see Fig. 15).

It was perhaps predictable that after Dryden and Davenant cut Caliban's role so drastically, he should be revitalized in Macready's uncut version. Although the abolition of slavery in England coincided with the year of Macready's production, human bondage was still a sensitive topic in England and was, of course, legal through much of the world, including many of the United States. As a 'salvage and deformed slave', Caliban could

15 An 1820 engraving of John Mortimer's 1775 painting of a soulful, puppy-headed Caliban

be cast as 'hereditary bondsman' in Robert and William Brough's burlesque, *The Enchanted Isle* (1848), or as an aggrieved slave in political cartoons and broadsides (see Vaughan, *Caliban*, 105–9).

Enter Darwin

Caliban's deformity and incivility made him a useful symbol for mid-nineteenth-century challengers of traditional theology. Under the impact of Charles Darwin's evolutionary theories, humankind's place within the natural world and its relationship to God were newly debatable. Robert Browning's poem 'Caliban upon Setebos' (1864) explored such issues.[1] In a long monologue based on the principle of analogy (as I do, so does Setebos), Caliban speculates on Setebos's nature and motives. This god, according to Caliban,

> doth His worst in this our life,
> Giving just respite lest we die through pain,
> Saving last pain for worst, – with which, an end.
> Meanwhile, the best way to escape His ire
> Is, not to seem too happy.
> (Browning, 159; see Appendix 2.1)

Note that Caliban, not Prospero, is the speaker who ponders theological and philosophical questions. For the Victorian age, the slave was often more important than the master.

Caliban's importance expanded further in Daniel Wilson's *Caliban: The Missing Link* (1873), which identified him as Darwin's 'missing link' and tied his (presumed) amphibious nature to the increasingly accepted view that human life had evolved from some sort of aquatic animal. Caliban's form, however, remained essentially human, akin to early modern explorers' accounts of New World inhabitants. At the same time, Wilson sympathized with Caliban: 'We feel for the poor monster, so helplessly in the power of the stern Prospero, as for some caged wild beast pining in cruel captivity, and rejoice to think of him at last free to range in harmless mastery over his island solitude' (D. Wilson, 91). Caliban's struggle for knowledge and independence mirrors Victorian notions of progress, in

1 See especially Ortwin de Graef's essay in *Constellation*, 113–34.

which humankind inched towards nineteenth-century European civilization's full flowering. Artistic representations of Caliban in this period assigned him aquatic or apelike features (see Vaughan, *Caliban*, 238–43).

Unlike English writers who focused almost exclusively on Caliban, the French philosopher Ernest Renan gave equal weight to Prospero and Ariel in his closet drama *Caliban: Suite de La Tempête* (1878). In this sequel to Shakespeare's play, Ariel ('role for a woman') has followed Prospero to Milan and remains steadfastly loyal. When Caliban, who spends his time drinking in the palace wine cellar, rebels, Ariel protests that her master Prospero 'believes that God is reason, and that one should work towards the means by which God . . . governs the world more and more'. When Caliban spearheads a palace coup and becomes the new ruler of Milan, Prospero ruefully declares, 'Enlightened, little by little, through living in my house, he at last came to the power of thought and reflection, but all his thought was employed to plan my ruin . . . Oh! what a mistake it was to educate a brute who would turn my very instruction into a weapon against me' (Renan, 14, 20, 57).[1] Mistake or not, when Caliban becomes duke he actively imitates his former master's virtues and even tries to save him from the Inquisition.

Lost in the era's philosophical speculation is Miranda. Browning has her sleep through Caliban's monologue and Renan drops her altogether. Mary Cowden Clarke also omitted Miranda from her description of *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines* (1852). And although the nineteenth century had largely restored Shakespeare's original text, Miranda's most outspoken lines (1.2.352–63) continued to be assigned to Prospero on the grounds of decorum, and her remaining words and actions perhaps struck Victorian audiences as appropriately demure but uninteresting. John Forster praised Helen Faucit's Miranda in the 1838 Macready production for her modest

1 See also Koenraad Geldof's essay in *Constellation*, 85–94.

expression of love to Ferdinand: 'She seemed to us to second the gentlemanly love of Mr. Anderson with just such tones of trusting impulse as peculiarly fitted her for Miranda' (Forster, 71). Ariel, played by Priscilla Horton, was the wilful, interesting female. Miranda's diminished roles on stage and her omission from the most prominent philosophical appropriations of *The Tempest* reflect the nineteenth century's patriarchal perspective.

There were exceptions. Miranda appeared prominently in Anna Jameson's compendium of *Shakespeare's Heroines: Characteristics of Women Moral, Poetical, and Historical*, first published in 1832 under the title, *Characteristics of Women*. Classified along with Juliet, Helena, Perdita, Viola and Ophelia as a 'Character of Passion and Imagination' (in contrast to Portia's intellect and Desdemona's affection), Miranda was to Jameson a picture of 'feminine beauty', not only beautiful but 'so perfectly unsophisticated, so delicately refined, that she is all but ethereal' (see Fig. 16). In contrast to Ariel, she is a true human being with a woman's heart yet distinguished by her upbringing without the trappings of civilization. All who behold her, Jameson proposed, are struck with wonder at her 'soft simplicity, her virgin innocence, her total ignorance of the conventional forms and language of society' (Jameson, 147–55). But even to so enthusiastic an admirer as Jameson, Miranda's most salient feature is a void – a lack of experience, knowledge and sophistication.

With Miranda and Prospero in critical eclipse, Caliban dominated late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century stage productions. Leading actors selected the role for themselves and employed antic stage business to attract audiences to the deformed slave. The athletic Frank Benson played Caliban as an apish missing link by imitating monkeys and baboons he had observed at the zoo. On stage he climbed a tree, hung upside down and gibbered. Beerbohm Tree donned fur and seaweed and sported waist-length hair and an unkempt beard. In the play's final tableau, he stood alone, watching Prospero's ship

16 Miranda, as engraved by W.H. Mote from John Hayter's painting, in *The Heroines of Shakespeare . . . engraved under the direction of Mr. Charles Heath*, London, 1848

depart. Tree described the scene: as he stretches out his arms towards the empty horizon, 'we feel that from the conception of sorrow in solitude may spring the birth of a higher civilization' (Tree, xi). Tree's apelike Caliban, part-animal, part-human,

17 Herbert Beerbohm Tree as a hirsute, apprehensive Caliban in Tree's production of 1904, painted by Charles A. Buchel

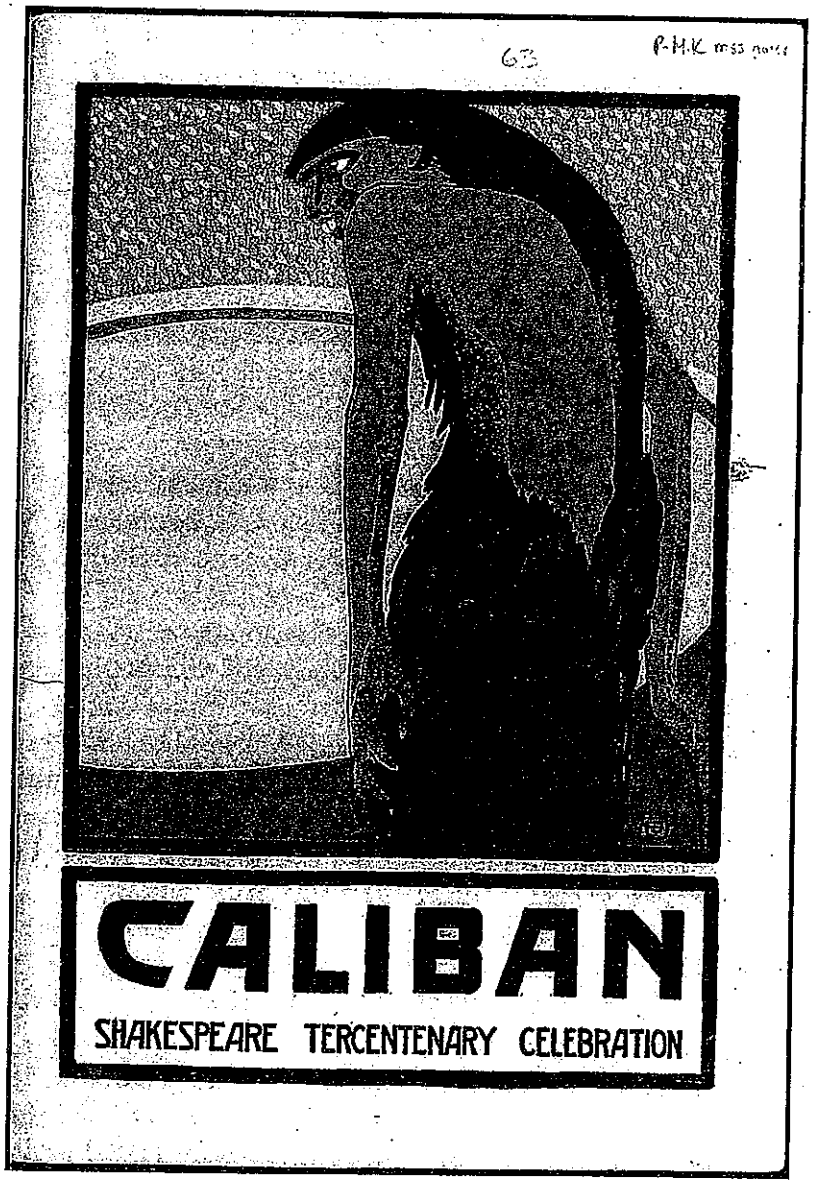
symbolized primitive man before his evolution to a more civilized stage (see Fig. 17).

In the last major Darwinian appropriation of *The Tempest*, Caliban journeyed towards self-discovery in Percy MacKaye's

community masque, *Caliban by the Yellow Sands*, at Lewisohn Stadium in New York City in 1916 and later at the Harvard University stadium in Massachusetts. MacKaye proclaimed that his goal was 'to present Prospero's art as the art of the theater culminating in Shakespeare and to lead Caliban step by step from his aboriginal path of brute force and ignorance to the realm of love, reason and self-discipline' (Franck, 159). The theme, claimed MacKaye, was 'Caliban seeking to learn the art of Prospero – . . . the slow education of mankind through the influences of cooperative art' (MacKaye, xvii).

In addition to its huge cast of dancers and masquers, *Caliban by the Yellow Sands* foregrounded Ariel, Prospero and Miranda as the forces of civilization against Caliban, Lust, Death and War – the representations of evil (see Fig. 18). The pageant begins with Ariel and Caliban caught under Sycorax's evil spell; Miranda discovers Ariel imprisoned by darkness. Prospero releases Ariel and his spirits, who help the magician to display a 'pageant of his art' – a sampling of Shakespearean drama, from the Roman plays' portrayals of ancient Greece and Rome to the history plays' depictions of early modern England. As Caliban watches the unfolding pageantry, he and Prospero discuss the action; but despite the magus's educational efforts, Caliban's rebellious spirit, inspired by a recitation of *Henry V*'s militaristic rhetoric, refuses to die. Shakespeare, looking much like Prospero, appears in a final procession of the world's greatest dramatists and takes the magus's cloak. As the pageant concludes, a repentant Caliban cries for more knowledge:

> A little have I crawled, a little only
> Out of mine ancient cave. All that I build
> I botch; all that I do destroyeth my dream.
> Yet – yet I yearn to build, to be thine Artist
> And stablish this thine Earth among the stars –
> Beautiful!
>
> (MacKaye, 145)



18 The programme cover to Percy MacKaye's *Caliban by the Yellow Sands*, 1916

Looking tenderly at Caliban, Shakespeare delivers the masque's final speech, Prospero's farewell to the stage from *The Tempest* (4.1.148–63).

MacKaye's identification of Prospero with Shakespeare as a figure of omniscient wisdom epitomizes the nineteenth and early twentieth century's romanticization of Shakespeare's last play. In 1916 Caliban's aspirations to build a new world of truth and beauty still seemed plausible to New York audiences, but like Prospero's insubstantial pageant, they were a final vestige of Victorian belief in the inexorable progress of humankind.

Perspectives on imperialism

Caliban was often the key player in two other major interpretations of *The Tempest* which first appeared in the late nineteenth century and flourished in the twentieth: an insistence (1) that the play is essentially about the New World, and (2) that it symbolizes European or United States imperialism, or a related ideology – materialism, for example, or racism – wherever in the world it appears.

During the long span from 1611 to 1898, critical commentary on *The Tempest* rarely emphasized its possible American sources or resonances. Edmond Malone's early nineteenth-century emphasis on the Virginia and Bermuda pamphlets is a notable exception. In 1892, Furness's Variorum edition summarized more than a century of random musings about American connections but did not favour their importance. Until the eve of the twentieth century, *The Tempest* seemed only tangentially connected to Europe's American ventures.

Emphatic identifications of *The Tempest* with the New World began suddenly and almost simultaneously in England and the Americas – North, Central and South. In the former Spanish colonies, the focus was almost entirely on Caliban, beginning with a Nicaraguan journalist, Rubén Darío, who in 1893 likened New York City's crudity and materialism to Caliban's. Five years later, Darío's short essay on 'The Triumph of Caliban'

berated what many Latin Americans considered the United States' blatant aggression in the Spanish-American War of 1898; that same year an Argentine writer dubbed Anglo-Americans 'Calibanesque'. Such metaphorical borrowing from *The Tempest* expanded appreciably in 1900, when the Uruguayan philosopher–statesman José Enrique Rodó's short book, entitled simply *Ariel*, contrasted – cautiously but unmistakably – the noblest traits of Latin American civilization, symbolized by Shakespeare's gentle sprite, with the most regrettable characteristics of Anglo-American civilization, epitomized in Caliban's 'brutal sensuality' (see Appendix 2.2). *Ariel* quickly became a major socio-intellectual statement, hailed throughout Spanish-speaking America and attracting numerous disciples, many of whom exaggerated Rodó's application of metaphors from *The Tempest*. In 1918, for example, the Venezuelan writer Jésus Semprúm encapsulated the Hispanic nations' view of their northern neighbours as 'rough and obtuse Calibans, swollen by brutal appetites, the enemies of all idealisms, furiously enamoured of the dollar, insatiable gulpers of whiskey and sausages – swift, overwhelming, fierce, clownish' (Semprúm, 132).

While Latin American writers loosely applied symbols from *The Tempest* to the western hemisphere's history and culture, Sidney Lee and a growing number of English and American scholars insisted, from a very different perspective, that the play was 'a veritable document of early Anglo-American history'. Shakespeare, Lee argued in 1898 and for three decades thereafter in numerous editions of his *Life of William Shakespeare* and in several essays on American Indians, had intended *The Tempest* to reflect England's early colonial experience and the play's characters to epitomize colonization's representative participants.[1] The play, he contended, took place on an island along

1 More than a dozen editions of Lee's biography of Shakespeare appeared between 1898 and the author's death in 1926, and it remained a standard 'life' for many more years. Lee's most relevant work on Indians appeared first in 1907 in *Scribner's Magazine*, was largely incorporated in 1913 into an article in *Cornhill Magazine* and was reprinted in 1929 in a collection of his essays.

the North American coast or in a conflated English America, and Prospero, though probably modelled initially on one or more characters in European dramas, had unmistakable colonial elements. 'Every explorer', Lee assumed with undisguised Victorian pride, 'shared Prospero's pity for the aborigines' inability to make themselves intelligible in their crabbed agglutinative dialects, and offered them instruction in civilised speech'. Caliban, Lee concluded, was 'a creature stumbling over the first stepping-stones which lead from savagery to civilization' (Lee, 'Indian', 326–8).

Although Lee spearheaded the Americanization of *The Tempest* and was its most articulate and productive proponent, his numerous allies on both sides of the Atlantic reinforced and expanded the play's American connections. In the same year (1898) that Lee in England first linked characters from the play with early seventeenth-century ethnohistorical events, and Darío in Nicaragua proclaimed that Caliban personified the United States, an American cleric-scholar declared that *The Tempest* 'has an entirely American basis and character', and that Caliban 'is an American'. Also that year, Rudyard Kipling inaugurated a popular trend by insisting that Bermuda was, in fact, the play's location (Bristol, 51, 82; Kipling, 25–32).

The Americanization of *The Tempest* gained momentum in the early twentieth century. Morton Luce's Arden edition (1901) estimated that 'nine-tenths of the subjects touched upon by Shakespeare in *The Tempest* are suggested by the new enterprise of colonisation', and Caliban is to a considerable extent 'a dispossessed Indian' (Ard[1], xlii, xxxvi). A few years later, the British scholar Walter Alexander Raleigh declared in his introduction to a major reissue of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* that '*The Tempest* is a fantasy of the New World', in which:

> Shakespeare, almost alone, saw the problem of American settlement in a detached light . . . The drunken butler, accepting the worship and allegiance of

> Caliban, and swearing him in by making him kiss the bottle, is a fair representative of the idle and dissolute men who were shipped to the Virginian colony. The situation of Miranda was perhaps suggested by the story of Virginia Dare, . . . the first child born in America of English parents . . . And the portrait of Caliban, with his affectionate loyalty to the drunkard, his adoration of valour, his love of natural beauty and feeling for music and poetry, his hatred and superstitious fear of his taskmaster, and the simple cunning and savagery of his attempts at revenge and escape – all this is a composition wrought from fragments of travellers' tales, and shows a wonderfully accurate and sympathetic understanding of uncivilised man.
>
> (Raleigh, 112–13)

In 1926 an American scholar, Robert Ralston Cawley, summarized the case for *The Tempest*'s essential Americanness by printing in sequential passages from the major travel accounts and Shakespeare's play every plausible similarity of word, phrase or speech.

A few sceptics found the evidence fragmentary and inconsequential. The most outspoken was the American scholar Elmer Edgar Stoll, who complained to the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association in 1926 that 'Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, and the rest [of Shakespeare's contemporary writers] sing of the New World and Virginia, but not Shakespeare . . . There is not a word in *The Tempest* about America or Virginia, colonies or colonizing, Indians or tomahawks, maize, mocking-birds, or tobacco. Nothing but the Bermudas, once barely mentioned as a faraway place, like Tokio or Mandalay' (Stoll, 212–13). Stoll notwithstanding, *The Tempest* seemed by overwhelming consensus to be Shakespeare's American play. The occasional doubters during the first half of the twentieth century usually ignored the Americanist proponents rather than refuted them.

Until the middle of the twentieth century the Americanization of *The Tempest* remained bifurcated. The critical interpretations promulgated principally by Lee, Raleigh and Cawley held sway in Britain and the United States; the emblematic appropriations popularized by Darío, Rodó, and Semprúm had little opposition in Latin America. In the latter region, versions of noble Ariel in conflict with ignoble Caliban appeared in social, political and cultural statements but seldom in dramatic or literary interpretations of Shakespeare's whole play; *The Tempest*'s usefulness was pragmatic and symbolic rather than aesthetic. Shakespeare specialists in Great Britain and the United States meanwhile worked from different assumptions. Ostensibly concerned with authorial intentions and the 'true' meaning of Shakespeare's text, yet heavily influenced by the political and cultural climates that were creating, at long last, a rapprochement between the two most populous Anglophone democracies, British and North American scholars persuaded themselves and most (apparently) of their generation that *The Tempest* had an essentially American setting, predominantly American themes and, at least in Caliban, a truly American character. Yet, like their Latin American counterparts, English-language commentators usually stressed Caliban's basest qualities: he was more savage than noble, more an aggressor than a victim.[1] Although Prospero was virtually absent from Latin American symbolic appropriations, Anglo-American literary critics kept him near centre stage and implicitly praised his introduction of English culture to the western hemisphere. He was the benign imperialist, the conduit of language, learning, refinement and religion – the uplifter of 'uncivilized man'.

Half a century after the emergence of separate Latin American and Anglo-American versions of *The Tempest*'s relevance to the

1 Two further examples of Caliban as an emphatically pejorative symbol in the first half of the twentieth century are Arnold Zweig, *Caliban, or Politics and Passions* (Potsdam, 1927), in which he personifies German antisemitism, and Leonard Barnes, *Caliban in Africa: An Impression of Colour-Madness* (London, 1930), in which Dutch South Africans are dubbed 'Calibanesque' for their racially exploitive 'apartheid'.

western hemisphere, new critical perspectives reversed the symbolism of the first paradigm, sharply modified the second paradigm and brought them closer to a consensus. Beginning in the 1950s and 1960s, Latin American appropriators of *The Tempest* recast Caliban as the emblem of South and Central American peoples and substituted Prospero as the imperialist, arrogant United States. Anglo-American critics and appropriators soon adopted a similar strategy. It differed from the earlier interpretation of Sidney Lee and his followers less in its realignment of the play's location or themes than in its recognition of new qualities in the central characters. Prospero was still a colonist; Caliban remained an American Indian or perhaps, now, an African–American slave; Trinculo and Stephano continued to be (occasionally) unruly settlers. But English and North American critics and performers now chastised Prospero for seizing the natives' land, enslaving their bodies and imposing an alien, unwanted culture. Caliban, by contrast, was ennobled and to some extent empowered. The victim had emerged victorious.

The radical shift in Latin American and Anglo-American readings of *The Tempest* emerged from different circumstances. The former reflected to a considerable extent the rise in South and Central America, and especially on the Caribbean islands, of an intellectual class whose ethnic and cultural ties were less to Spain or another continental nation than to a Native American or African (or both) heritage. In England and the United States, the new paradigm echoed an emerging scepticism about European imperialism and its impact on colonized people (dispossession and often death) and on the colonizers (insensitivity and often brutality). A major impetus towards paradigmatic reassessment in both hemispheres also came from a French social scientist's analysis of his own nation's administration of the African island of Madagascar: Octave Mannoni's *Psychologie de la colonisation*, first published in 1950 and six years later translated into English, with a provocative new title – *Prospero and Caliban*.

Seldom has a work about non-literary matters so profoundly influenced actors, directors, critics and teachers. (For their impact on readings, stagings and artistic reflections of *The Tempest*, the only comparable texts are Darwin's and Freud's.) Mannoni examined the basic patterns of temperament and behaviour of Madagascar's French colonizers and its indigenous population (Malagasies), which, as a trained psychoanalyst and experienced civil administrator on the island, he seemed uniquely qualified to render. Mannoni also had a keen eye for English literary symbols. In a brief but suggestive chapter on 'Crusoe and Prospero' he employed those fictional islanders to illustrate some of his major findings (see Appendix 2.3).[1]

Although Mannoni's book was a complex analysis of colonial interaction in Madagascar alone, its ultimate concern was with the personality types he believed to be generated by colonial contexts: on the one hand were domineering, callous, neurotic colonizers; on the other were submissive natives, racked by ambivalence over their acceptance of western values and their rejection of indigenous culture, and subconsciously resentful of their conquerors and even of themselves. Despite some heated criticism, especially of its portrayal of the Malagasies, social and political commentators eagerly applied *Prospero and Caliban* to modern colonial contexts in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Literary critics simultaneously applied Mannoni's models to seventeenth-century Anglo-America. Prospero's 'inferiority complex', a common phenomenon (according to Mannoni) among French colonists, explained his irritability, authoritarianism and manipulation; Caliban's 'dependency complex', like that of the Malagasies, shaped his early devotion to Prospero and Miranda, his pandering to Stephano and Trinculo, and his eventual rebellion. Soon after 1950, post-colonial interpretations of *The Tempest*, often with acknowledgement of Mannoni's influence, dominated stages and studies around the world.

1 Mannoni had been writing for several years before 1950 about the personality types he believed to be connected with colonialism, but he did not apply *The Tempest* metaphor until his book of that year.

Invigorated partly by *Prospero and Caliban* and partly by the social turbulence of the 1960s and 1970s, American scholars took renewed interest in *The Tempest*'s sociohistorical implications. Leslie Fiedler's 'prophetic' interpretation reflects one type of response. Fiedler saw in Prospero's rout of the Caliban–Trinculo–Stephano cabal 'the whole history of imperialist America', and in Caliban 'a kind of subhuman freak imagined in Europe even before the discovery of red men in America: the *homme sauvage* or "savage man", who in the nightmares of Mediterranean humanists, had been endowed with sexual powers vastly in excess of their own. Such monstrous virility Shakespeare attributes to Caliban, associating him not with cannibalism, after all, but with unbridled lust' (Fiedler, 238, 234; see also Marx).

American and English scholars continue to incorporate the colonial paradigm, though seldom with Fiedler's expansiveness and sometimes with as much indebtedness to Lee as to Mannoni. A few examples will illustrate the point. *The Tempest* is 'about colonisation', Philip Brockbank wrote in 1966, and Caliban is partly a personification of the anarchic colonists but partly too 'the epitome of the primitive and uncivilised condition of the native American' (Brockbank, 184, 192). Nearly a decade later, Gordon Zeeveld adjudged Caliban to be 'Shakespeare's sole representation of the human population of the New World' (Zeeveld, 250). The influence of Mannoni and of prophetic readings are more palpably expressed by an American historian who suggested that '[i]n an uncanny way, America became a larger theater for *The Tempest* . . . As Englishmen made their "errand into the wilderness" of America, they took lands from red Calibans and made black Calibans work for them'. Caliban, however, need not be limited in time, place, or ethnicity; as a representative figure of America's exploited peoples, he 'could be African, Indian, or even Asian' (Takaki, 12, 11).

The metaphoric appropriations of *The Tempest* in Latin

America after 1950 acknowledged Ariel's and Caliban's roles but emphatically altered them. The most prolific and influential advocate of the new model is a Cuban, Roberto Fernández Retamar, whose essay 'Caliban' initially appeared in Spanish and subsequently in several English editions. Speaking for Latin Americans generally but for Caribbean peoples especially, Fernández Retamar proposed in 1969 that:

> Our symbol . . . is not Ariel, as Rodó thought, but Caliban. This is something that we, the *mestizo* inhabitants of these same isles where Caliban lived, see with particular clarity: Prospero invaded the islands, killed our ancestors, enslaved Caliban, and taught him his language to make himself understood. What else can Caliban do but use that same language – today he has no other – to curse him, to wish that the 'red plague' would fall on him? I know no other metaphor more expressive of our cultural situation, of our reality . . . [W]hat is our history, what is our culture, if not the history and culture of Caliban?
>
> (Fernández Retamar, 24)

Elsewhere in the Caribbean, George Lamming of Barbados had already published a quasi-autobiographical novel, *The Pleasures of Exile* (1960), that drew abundantly on *The Tempest*'s plot and characters. Edward Kamau Brathwaite, also of Barbados, titled one poem 'Caliban', another 'Letter Sycorax' (an epistle to his own mother, thereby identifying himself with Caliban); in an essay on the Jamaican slave revolt of the 1830s, he expanded the customary colonialist metaphors to include Alonso as representative of the British parliament and Gonzalo of the well-meaning but misguided Christian missionaries (see Brathwaite, 'Caliban', *Islands*).[1] Aimé Césaire of Martinique recast Shakespeare's play

1 Brathwaite's poems have many *Tempest* allusions, not only in his early works but also in his later publications, especially *Middle Passages* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1992), which includes 'Letter Sycorax'.

into his own *Une Tempête*, with Caliban an African field hand and Ariel a mulatto house servant (Césaire; Vaughan, *Caliban*, 156).

In 1971 the *Massachusetts Review* celebrated the new Latin American appropriation of *The Tempest* in a special issue, subtitled 'Caliban'. The journal contains a score of articles (including a reprint of Fernández Retamar's essay), poems, short stories and reproductions of original art; all contributions, the editor proclaims, are 'a contemporary echo of the rebellious Antillean slave in Shakespeare's final play', in which Caliban symbolizes 'a struggle for liberation and cultural authenticity . . . [a]gainst the hegemonic, europocentric, vision of the universe' (see Márquez).

Tempest metaphors, especially of Caliban and Prospero, also emerged in the 1970s in Africa. Taban lo Liyong of Uganda observed ironically that:

> Bill Shakespeare
> Did create a character called Caliban,
> The unwilling servant of Prospero,
> And this Caliban would have had Miranda
> – She who is a marvel to behold – a girl
> So much in need of love and for whom
> Ferdinand was a wonder from a brave new world,
> And who would have helped Caliban populate the island
> With little Calibans smelling like fish
> Had Prospero not fouled their plan.

The poet then identified his own writing with Caliban cursing in another culture's language (Liyong, 41). Also within the decade, Lemuel Johnson of Sierra Leone titled a collection of his poems *Highlife for Caliban*; Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (James Ngugi) of Kenya invoked *Tempest* themes in his *Homecoming*; and a play by David Wallace of Zambia, *Do You Love Me, Master?*, incorporated *Tempest* characters and borrowed its title from Ariel's query to Prospero in 4.1.48. The almost universal identification

of Caliban with dispossessed Native Americans or Africans has meant that he is often portrayed on stage by a black actor, that productions emphasize his anger and victimization, and that he often, by himself or in juxtaposition to Prospero, is *The Tempest*'s central symbol.[1]

Only in Anglophone Canada and occasionally in Australia and New Zealand did Caliban fail to dominate late twentieth-century symbolic borrowings from *The Tempest* or to share the spotlight with Prospero. Although some Canadian scholars, especially those of African, Caribbean or French ancestry, adopted Caliban as their emblem of colonial victimization, his role in late twentieth-century literary symbolism was often subordinated to Miranda's.

Re-enter Miranda

In the conclusion to his 1987 analysis of post-colonial appropriations of *The Tempest*, Rob Nixon speculated that 'the play's declining pertinence to contemporary Africa and the Caribbean has been exacerbated by the difficulty of wresting from it any role for female defiance or leadership' (Nixon, 577). Miranda, after all, is the only female figure who actually appears in the text: Claribel and Sycorax are referred to but never materialize, while Ariel's sex – if spirits have sexual identity – is ambiguous. Miranda is the dutiful daughter of the white colonizer; she eagerly agrees to marry the man he has selected for her and relishes her role as the foundress of Prospero's future dynasty.

Yet for feminist writers, as for post-colonial adapters, *The Tempest* proved a rich resource for appropriations that revise, reshape and refocus. As early as 1949, the imagist poet H.D. (Hilda Doolittle) adopted Claribel as her spokeswoman in a two-part poem, *By Avon River*. Because Claribel's marriage to the African King of Tunis precipitates the Neapolitans' sea voyage

1 The literature from Latin America and Africa that borrows from *The Tempest* is far more abundant than the sample given here. Insightful discussions include Nixon; Cartelli; Saldívar; and L. Johnson, *Africa*.

and subsequent adventures, she is, for H.D., 'the figure of the exiled, alienated woman'; abandoned in an alien world, Claribel represented the plight of the twentieth-century female artist (Chedgzoy, 109).

Several late twentieth-century Canadian novelists found in Miranda a model for their experience as Anglophone women. To Diana Brydon, Miranda's situation is Canadian; she is 'attempting to create a neo-Europe in an invaded land, torn between Old World fathers and suitors while unable to ignore the just grievances of those her culture is displacing' (Brydon, 'Sister', 166). Morag, the Miranda-like heroine of Margaret Laurence's *The Diviners*, never openly rebels, but bides her time instead. This temporizing, Brydon suggests, is how the Empire worked itself out in Anglophone Canada and New Zealand. In Constance Beresford-Howe's *Prospero's Daughter*, the Canadian-born Prospero figure has two daughters: Paulina (named perhaps for her outspoken counterpart in *The Winter's Tale*) is the outgoing, wayward sibling, an actor with a botched personal life; her shy sister Nan acts as a servant, cooking meals and cleaning for her father. Prospero's self-obsession is wrong-headed, arrogant and ultimately destructive. The figure of a resistant Miranda is also central to Sarah Murphy's *The Measure of Miranda*, which describes the young Canadian Miranda's sacrifice of her own life to blow up a Central American dictator after she discovers photographs of the tortures he had committed. In Brydon's words, for 'Murphy's Miranda violent rebellion must entail self-destruction, because she is part of the system she rejects' (Brydon, 'Sister', 176). All three Canadian Miranda figures remain trapped by the patriarchal structure.

Another way to make *The Tempest*'s narrative reflect the feminine voice is to create a human, female Ariel. In *Indigo*, by the British writer Marina Warner, Shakespeare's sprite is an Arawak Indian who sleeps with the invading white enemy, Sir Christopher Everard (Warner's Prospero figure), and bears his child. Ariel becomes complicit with the colonizer when she res-

cues Everard from the black slave Caliban's armed rebellion. The novel's conclusion shifts 350 years to the future; Ariel and Everard's descendant, a mulatto Miranda, successfully finds a multiracial identity despite colonialism's painful legacy.

Yet another tactic, adopted by the Indian-born poet Suniti Namjoshi, is to feminize Caliban. In her poetic sequence, 'Snapshots of Caliban', Namjoshi uses *The Tempest*'s characters to explore issues of gender identity. Namjoshi's Miranda and Caliban, a female childhood playmate, grow through immature misunderstandings into lesbian lovers whom Prospero can never understand or acknowledge as his own.

Post-colonial authors such as Laurence, Beresford-Howe, Murphy, Warner and Namjoshi reminded their readers that appropriations of *The Tempest* need not be male-centred. For women as well as men, Shakespeare's text can be a catalyst for imaginative reconsiderations of the role of formerly colonized peoples in a post-colonial world.[1]

Freudian influences

Adaptations and appropriations of *The Tempest* have not been limited to the sociopolitical realm; the play is equally susceptible to modern conceptions of human psychology. Not surprisingly, then, as Freud's theories about the subconscious mind seeped into twentieth-century culture, they were bound to reshape interpretations of Shakespeare's characters. Ariel and Caliban came to be seen as embodiments of Prospero's subconscious mind; in its most reductive form, Ariel is his superego, Caliban his libido.

W.H. Auden's poetic commentary on *The Tempest*, composed during the dark days of World War II, focuses on Prospero's relationship to the libidinous Caliban. He begins his poem with Prospero's words to Ariel after the play's finale; as he packs and

1 The emergence of a feminist perspective on appropriations of *The Tempest* in Latin America is suggested by *Daughters of Caliban: Caribbean Women in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Consuelo López Springfield (Bloomington, Ind., 1998).

prepares to leave for Milan, Prospero concludes that 'In all, things have turned out better / Than I once expected or ever deserved'. Now Prospero claims he knows what magic is: 'the power to enchant / That comes from disillusion'. His only disappointment with the way things have sorted themselves out is with Caliban, his 'impervious disgrace'. After Prospero says good-bye to Ariel, the poem shifts to the supporting actors who reflect *sotto voce* on their experiences. Antonio begins, resigned to his loss but determined never to yield, to remain '*By choice myself alone*' (Auden, 312–14, 318). Caught up in their individual worlds, the other characters echo this theme. These dramatic monologues depend, of course, on the reader's knowledge of Shakespeare's original: Alonso advises Ferdinand how to be a good king; Ferdinand and Miranda profess their mutual devotion; the Boatswain extols the sailor's life; Trinculo resolves to continue fooling; and so forth. Gone from Auden's poetic commentary is MacKaye's buoyant optimism; in its place are lowered expectations and the willingness to make do with the 'darkness that we acknowledge ours'.

Auden's representation of Caliban as Prospero's mirrored face – the magus's dark and secret self – embodies libidinous forces that are normally repressed behind veneers of civility.[1] Caliban as 'id' became a palpable thread in twentieth-century psychoanalytic interpretations of *The Tempest*, a notion more dramatically presented in the 1956 science-fiction film, *Forbidden Planet*. Now a cult classic, this postwar film transports its Prospero figure to Altair–IV, a distant planet, where Professor Morbius (Walter Pidgeon) continues his scientific investigations, builds robots (Robby, the film's Ariel) and raises his daughter Altaira (the Miranda figure played by Anne Francis). When a spaceship from Earth invades the planet, Altaira falls in love with its handsome captain (Leslie Nielson), but their romance is threatened by an invisible force that nearly

1 On Auden's poem, see Herman Servotte's essay in *Constellation*, 199–210.

destroys the spaceship and kills several of its crew. The dramatic finale reveals that the mayhem is caused by the Professor's own inner psyche, projected on to an electromagnetic force (Caliban), which implements Morbius's repressed anger at the man who would take his daughter and jealousy at her love for another man. Only with the destruction of Professor Morbius can the Calibanic force be quelled (see *Constellation*, 211–29).[1]

The most successful twentieth-century musical adaptation of *The Tempest* also adopted a Freudian theme. Mangus, the psychoanalyst in Michael Tippett's 1971 opera, *The Knot Garden*, uses situations from *The Tempest* in his therapy sessions and pretends to be Prospero. Mel, the Caliban figure, represents sexual desire, while Dov, the opera's Ariel, is a musician who is associated with imagination in the opera's libretto. In the finale, Mangus abandons his therapy and addresses the audience:

> Enough! Enough!
> We look in the abyss.
> Lust for Caliban will not save us.
> Prospero's a fake, we all know that.
> (Tippett, 14)

Despite this disillusionment, Mangus's therapeutic tempest succeeds, and the opera concludes with a harmonious scene between Faber and Thea, the patients he had been trying to help.

'The Tempest' on stage and film since 1900

The interpretive patterns outlined here were bound to affect stage interpretations if only by cultural osmosis. A brief survey of memorable performances of *The Tempest* in the twentieth century illustrates how directors and actors have been affected by the broad interpretive trends that shaped the era's adaptations.

1 In the mid-1980s, Bob Carlton's rock-and-roll musical, *Return to the Forbidden Planet*, capitalized on the film's popularity, but also incorporated lines from several other Shakespeare plays (see Carlton).

For the first third of the century, the Darwinian approach suggested by Tree and MacKaye remained dominant. Robert Atkins's Caliban at the Old Vic (1920–5) was praised for showing 'with superlative art the malevolent brute nature with the dim, half-formed, human intellect just breaking through' (Crosse, 58). As late as 1957, Alec Clunes's Caliban for Peter Hall's *The Tempest* at the Royal Shakespeare Theatre in Stratford and later at Drury Lane was described variously as a 'gorilla', 'apish', 'anthropoid' and a 'missing-link'. The reviewer for the *Barnet Press* (21 December 1957) wondered 'why, when every reference to Caliban (Alec Clunes) is "Fishy," should he be so ape-like?' Contrasting with missing-link Calibans was Prospero, the arch representative of European civilization. At the Old Vic in 1930, for instance, John Gielgud's costume for his first venture in the role included a turban; he later confessed that he tried to look like Dante (Hirst, 46).

As the Darwinian Caliban faded, the role opened to modern nuances. In 1934 Roger Livesey (opposite Charles Laughton's Prospero) was probably the first actor to use black makeup in the role, according to Trevor R. Griffiths, but 'this excited virtually no comment, except for complaints that the black came off on Trinculo and Stephano' (Griffiths, 175). In 1945 the African–American actor Canada Lee performed Caliban in Margaret Webster's *The Tempest* for the Theatre Guild, New York. Lee's wife described him: 'In a costume of fish scales and long fingernails, Lee first appeared onstage bent over in a hump back position akin to Richard III; the audience subsequently thought of him only in that curved position, even when he stood tall'.[1] In 1960 Earle Hyman took the role at the American Shakespeare Festival in Connecticut, dressed with padded legs and torso, and with a grotesque headdress; in 1962 James Earl Jones played the monster as a lizard with darting red tongue.

While the presence of black actors in Caliban's role, however

1 Glenda E. Gill, 'The mercurial Canada Lee', in *White Grease Paint on Black Performers* (New York, 1988), 41.

grotesque their costuming, subtly implied black–white power relations in the play, not until 1970 did *The Tempest*'s colonial themes fully emerge on stage. Director Jonathan Miller read Mannoni's *Prospero and Caliban* before preparing his production; Miller's goal, reported by David Hirst, was to represent 'the tragic and inevitable disintegration of a more primitive culture as the result of European invasion and colonisation' (Hirst, 50). Prospero was the colonial governor, Ariel his mulatto house servant and Caliban his darker field hand. Graham Crowden's Prospero showed the magus's dictatorial side. In a final scene reminiscent of Tree but laden with new meaning, Caliban shook his fist at the departing ship as Ariel lifted Prospero's bent staff and began to straighten it: one native rejected western technology, the other sought to appropriate it.

The RSC's 1978 *The Tempest*, directed by Clifford Williams, broadened the colonial concept by making David Suchet's Caliban into a generic third-world 'primitive', with characteristics of both West Indian and sub-Saharan Africans. *The Times* of London (3 May 1978) saw Caliban as 'a sympathetic emblem of imperialistic exploitation, . . . a noble black . . . speaking the language with the too-perfect precision of an alien'. Michael Hordern's Prospero wore an academic gown and exuded a 'schoolmasterly' manner but, in contrast to Prosperos of the previous century, his control of the island's inhabitants was tenuous.

As these productions demonstrate, modern directors have found *The Tempest*'s colonial overtones appealing, and they are still evident in some directors' political perspectives. More difficult to translate to the stage are twentieth-century psychoanalytic readings of the play influenced by Freud. Director Gerald Freedman attempted one in 1981 at the American Shakespeare Theatre. In the programme notes he professed to:

> see Caliban and Ariel . . . as aspects of Prospero's character. Some of the libidinal aspects of his feelings are embodied in Caliban, and it breaks Prospero's heart that he cannot control them. . . . Ariel represents the best aspects of the artist – the creative muse – the part that takes wing at thought.
>
> (Review in *SQ*, 31 (1980), 190–1)

Freedman depicted this psychic opposition by having Ariel performed by a white actor in silver, Caliban by a black actor in brown. But as the reviewer for *Shakespeare Quarterly* noted, the allegorical meaning was not clear to an audience that had not been alerted to it in advance.

The RSC's 1982 *The Tempest*, directed by Ron Daniels, suggested a similar psychological approach. Mark Rylance's Ariel – punk-haired and clad in a rainbow-hued body suit – was accompanied by five doubles who served as the play's nymphs, dogs and the like. Bob Peck's Caliban, naked except for a loin cloth, wore Rastafarian dreadlocks. The *Oxford Mail*'s reviewer took Rylance's quicksilver Ariel and Peck's earthy Caliban to be 'extensions of Prospero's own personality' (12 August 1982). The colour coding of Ariel (white body-paint) and Caliban (charcoal body-paint) in Adrian Noble's 1998 RSC production may also have been an effort to show the characters as opposing aspects of Prospero's psyche, but the resulting contrast remained superficial.

The most successful psychoanalytic performance of *The Tempest* may have occurred when its text was almost wholly abandoned. Peter Brook's 1968 experiment at the Round House in London suggested the play's plot and themes through mime and movement. Sycorax was 'portrayed by an enormous woman able to expand her face and body to still larger proportions – a fantastic emblem of the grotesque'; she '[s]uddenly . . . gives a horrendous yell, and Caliban, with black sweater over his head, emerges from between her legs: Evil is born' (Croydon, 127). As the action progresses, Caliban takes over the island and leads his followers in a wild orgy. They capture Prospero and attack him in a scene suggestive of homosexual rape until Ariel diverts the

devils with ribbons, costumes and trinkets. After Ferdinand and Miranda are married, Prospero admits to forgetting the rest of the plot and the play ends with an epilogue recited by all the actors, who then depart, leaving an empty space with no dimmed lighting and no curtain. This experimental adaptation, like a nightmare come to life, suggested the violent impulses below the surface of Shakespeare's text.

Brook's abandonment of Shakespeare's words for miming actors in turtlenecks and kimonos took the play outside its text. Other directors have been more concerned to restore to the play some of its original impact. At particular issue is the masque, a form that was richly nuanced to a Jacobean audience but whose iconographic significance is often lost on modern viewers. Influenced by the recent publication of Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong's compendium of Inigo Jones's drawings, Peter Hall costumed his Prospero in the 1974 National Theatre production to resemble the Elizabethan astrologer John Dee and, in an elaborately staged masque, made Juno resemble the dead Queen Elizabeth. Hall tried to recreate the masque's exploitation of visual symbolism by directing Gielgud never to look at Ariel, who appeared suspended on a trapeze-like object, or behind the magician as part of Prospero's consciousness, and by having Caliban (Dennis Quilley) appear in bisected makeup; 'one half of his face presented the ugly deformed monster, the other an image of the noble savage' (Hirst, 48).

John Wood's Prospero at the RSC (1988), directed by Nicholas Hytner, emphasized the magician's human complexity. Described in the *Financial Times* (28 July 1988) as 'a demented stage manager on a theatrical island suspended between smouldering rage at his usurpation and unbridled glee at his alternative ethereal power', Wood's modern-dress magus was awkward and uneasy with people, plagued by internal conflicts that he could never wholly resolve.

Sam Mendes' 1993 RSC production also emphasized the play's fusion of magic and spectacle. Although the most contro-

versial stage business – Ariel (Simon Russell Beale) spitting at Prospero (Alec McCowen) after he is granted freedom – was dropped early in the run, Ariel's resentment remained palpable (see Fig. 5); Caliban's (David Troughton's) fleshy malevolence could not compete. The production's self-reflexive use of theatrical magic was also notable. The play began with Ariel, clad in a blue Mao-style suit, rising like a jack-in-the-box from a theatrical trunk; the storm commenced when he gently pushed a lantern overhead, its sway suggesting the ship's movement. Trinculo was a Yorkshire ventriloquist, complete with talking dummy. *The Guardian* (13 August 1993) described Prospero as 'a Victorian dramatist–director writing his own script as he goes along' and the play as 'a series of shifting illusions'. The set was minimal: piles of books and a ladder represented Prospero's study, and most of the action took place on a bare stage. The masque, by contrast, was performed from an elaborately painted Victorian toy stage with twirling mechanical dolls.

Unlike theatrical productions which run for a short season to limited audiences, twentieth-century screen versions of *The Tempest* have been more widely disseminated. A 1905 film of the play's opening shipwreck may have been initially designed to be shown with Beerbohm Tree's touring productions of *The Tempest*, saving the cost of transporting heavy sets and equipment (see pp. 93–5), but under the sponsorship of film entrepreneur Charles Urban, the two-minute film was shown for 143 performances in London and taken to America for independent exhibition (Ball, 30–2).

Like many Shakespearean plays, *The Tempest* was a staple of early BBC productions for television, but those renditions were essentially filmed stagings. The last major effort in this vein was the BBC / Time-Life version of 1979, a straightforward and mundane performance featuring a befuddled Prospero (Michael Hordern), a hairy, apish Caliban (Warren Clarke) and an androgynous, disappearing gold-laméed Ariel (David Dixon). Despite the production's lack of imagination, it demonstrates

Prospero's recent unravelling. No longer all-wise and benevolent, the modern Prospero is troubled by anxiety and anger. He seeks revenge for past wrongs; self-centred, he shows little patience or sensitivity with Ariel, Miranda or Caliban. He often seems aloof at the play's happy conclusion.

More imaginative and 'contemporary', Paul Mazursky's 1982 film adaptation of *The Tempest* chronicles a late twentieth-century, conflicted, middle-aged Prospero; New York architect Phillip Dimitrious (John Cassavetes) is fed up with his job, his boss and his wife. With his teenage daughter Miranda (Molly Ringwald), Phillip flees to an abandoned Greek island where, through interactions with the island's only inhabitant, Kalibanos (Raul Julia), and with Aretha (Susan Sarandon), a newly acquired companion, he finds himself. This adaptation hints strongly at the dangerous possibility of incest on Phillip's secluded island. In a noisy confrontation Kalibanos asks Phillip which of them is going to have sex with Miranda. Ferdinand's timely arrival, by yacht, resolves the dilemma of Miranda's blooming sexuality and Phillip's incestuous temptation.

Derek Jarman's 1980 film of *The Tempest* keeps more of Shakespeare's language, but it, too, is more overt about the play's multiple sexualities than was the original text. Jarman's focus is unabashedly gay. In a mimed flashback he shows Caliban (Jack Birkett) practising obscene rites with his naked mother Sycorax, while a tied-up Ariel looks on. Karl Johnson's Ariel projects the image of a feminized gay male, while Caliban seems more like an aging 'queen'. Toyah Willcox's Miranda, unlike most stage versions, is too sophisticated to take Caliban seriously. Annoyed, not frightened, she throws a sponge at him when he sneaks up on her while she's bathing.

Tension between a tyrannical Prospero and an openly rebellious Ariel animates Jarman's film. Heathcote Williams was a dabbler in the occult himself, and his Prospero is a dark, brooding figure who takes pleasure in exploiting both his servants. Filmed in the Palladian Stoneleigh Manor, this *Tempest* exudes an atmosphere

that reflects the magus's inner life – dark and shadowy. Only the vibrant masque scene is brilliantly lit for Elisabeth Welsh's stunning rendition of 'Stormy Weather'. As the film ends, Prospero falls asleep in his chair while Ariel sneaks away to freedom.[1]

The most flamboyant twentieth-century representation of Prospero was Peter Greenaway's 1991 film, *Prospero's Books*. To Greenaway, Prospero is not simply a 'master manipulator' but a 'prime originator' (Greenaway, 9). Greenaway presents the text of *The Tempest* as Prospero's vision and creation; through a changing panorama of mirror images, the magus creates the characters and the action, writing the play's text in calligraphy as he thinks it, voicing the lines of characters as he imagines them (see Fig. 19). John Gielgud, who had performed Prospero many times in Stratford and London, was assigned in Greenaway's film the ultimate acting opportunity: in a vehicle screened all over the world, he could, like Bottom, play all the parts.

The keys to Prospero's power in Greenaway's version are the books Gonzalo rescued from his library and shipped with Prospero and Miranda to the island. Twenty-four in all (plus the *Tempest* text Prospero is writing), they include books on water, mirrors, mythology, colour, geography, travel, architecture, languages, biology, botany, love, pornography – everything, in short, that a Renaissance intellectual was likely to find of interest. Images from these books form the connecting tissue of the film; as Prospero moves from memories of his past to plotting vengeance in the present and, finally, to forgiveness and reconciliation, his ideas emanate from the pages of his books.

1 For more information on Jarman's *The Tempest*, see his autobiography, *Dancing Ledge* (New York, 1994); Michael O'Pray, *Derek Jarman: Dreams of England* (London, 1996); Colin McCabe, 'A post-national European cinema: a consideration of Derek Jarman's *The Tempest* and *Edward II*', in *Screening Europe: Image and Identity in Contemporary European Cinema*, ed. Duncan Petrie (London, 1992), 9–18; and David Hawkes, '"The shadow of this time": the Renaissance cinema of Derek Jarman', in *By Angels Driven: The Films of Derek Jarman* (Westport, Conn., 1996), 103–16. Far less successful was a made-for-television adaptation of *The Tempest* aired in the United States on 13 December 1998, and set during the American Civil War. Prospero's (Peter Fonda's) magic was African voodoo, learned from Ariel's mother, a slave on his Louisiana Plantation; Caliban was white, swamp-bound 'gator man'.

19 A still from Peter Greenaway's film *Prospero's Books* showing Prospero (John Gielgud) contemplating his work in progress, the text of *The Tempest*

Greenaway explores visually the play's interrogation of 'civility'. His islanders are naked, partly to suggest the naked Indians of Roanoke painted by John White, partly to represent Renaissance conceptions of mythological figures. In contrast to the islanders' uninhibited nudity are the Europeans' extravagant costumes; their dark colours, huge ruffs and high hats suggest Rembrandt's heavily attired aristocrats.

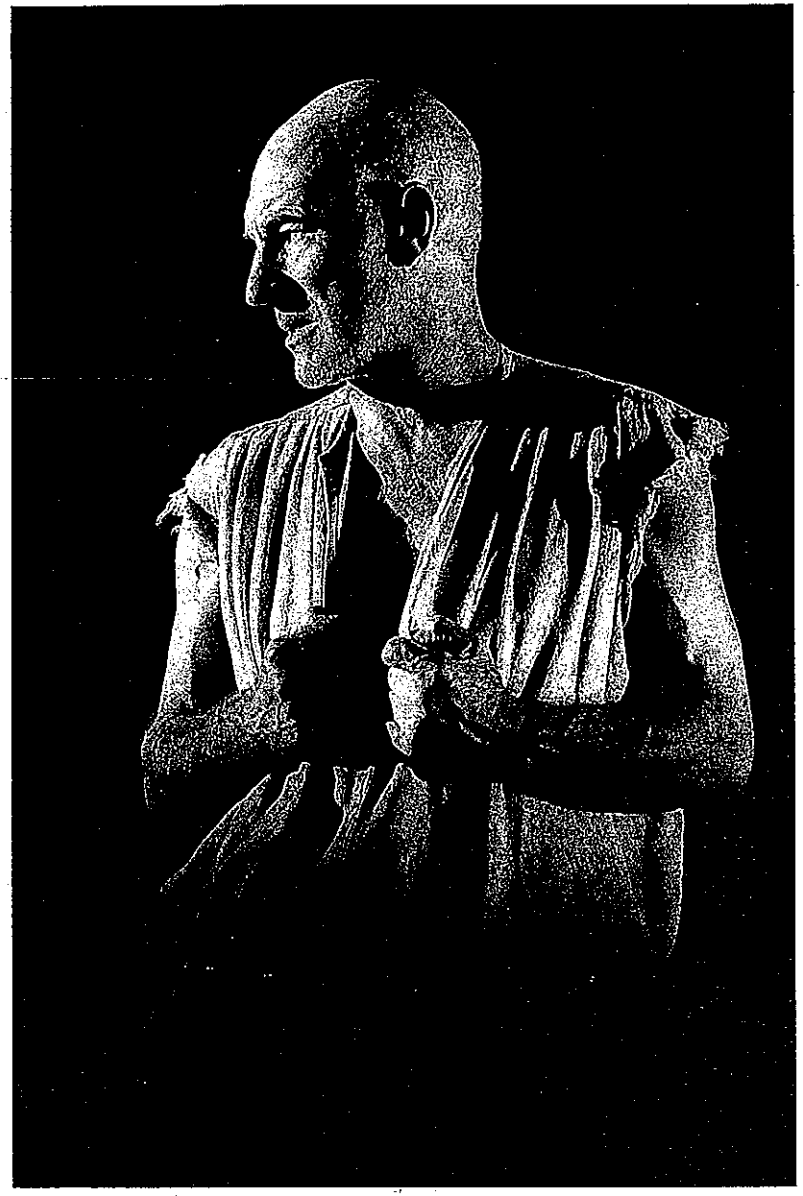
Throughout the film, Gielgud's majestic voice delivers all the play's speeches. The dramatic climax comes in the final scenes, when the perspective shifts: Ariel usurps Prospero's writing tables, takes over the script and writes the lines from 5.1.17–20: 'Your charm so strongly works 'em. . .'. After quietly agreeing that his affections will also become tender – 'mine shall' – Prospero (Greenaway explains) 'closes all the books in his study . . . blows out the candles, picks up his staff/crozier . . . and leaves the study and closes its curtains' (151). In the shots that follow, he throws his books into the ocean; except for *Thirty-Six*

Plays by William Shakespeare and the script of *The Tempest*, which are grabbed by Caliban, all sink. The film closes as it began, with a single drop of water. To Greenaway, the island is an illusion as evanescent as that single drop:

> an island full of superimposed images, of shifting mirrors and mirror-images – true mirages – where pictures conjured by text can be as tantalisingly substantial as objects and facts and events, constantly framed and re-framed. This framing and re-framing becomes like the text itself – a motif – reminding the viewer that it is all an illusion constantly fitted into a rectangle . . . into a picture frame, a film frame.
>
> (Greenaway, 12)

The visual influence of Greenaway's conception seemed readily apparent in the American Repertory Theatre's (A.R.T.) 1995 stage production in Cambridge, Massachusetts, when the Neapolitans appeared in similar be-ruffed black costumes. The natives (Ariel, Caliban and Miranda) in contrast wore very little, though they did not resort to frontal nudity. This eclectic production, directed by Ron Daniels, combined Greenaway's visual imagery with a colonial theme in which the masque imitated a South American carnival dance and Ferdinand resembled a Spanish conquistador.

The A.R.T. production was also reminiscent of George C. Wolfe's production in Central Park for the New York Shakespeare Festival. That *Tempest* sported a Prospero as Robinson Crusoe in cut-offs, beads and an open shirt (see Fig. 20). Science-fiction fans flocked to see *Star Trek*'s Patrick Stewart as Prospero in this outdoor production and found a magus 'whose intellect and emotions were in conflict, still enraged and resentful after all these years, perpetually between simmering fury and boiling point' (Ranald, 10). The casting of the sensual African–American actress Aunjanue Ellis as Ariel charged the production with erotic tensions that made Prospero's release of his servant all the more



20 Patrick Stewart as a pensive Prospero in George C. Wolfe's 1995 production for the New York Shakespeare Festival

difficult. Prospero's masque was memorably rendered by three Brazilian stiltwalkers as the goddesses Iris, Ceres and Juno; they were accompanied by dancers with puppets that moved and chanted to calypso beat. After awkwardly joining the dancers, Prospero remembered Caliban's conspiracy; the figures vanished as quickly as they had appeared.

The Shakespeare Theatre's (Washington, D.C.) 1997 production, directed by Garland Wright, presented Prospero's cell as the library of an eighteenth-century *philosophe*. In addition to stacks of books, like a *Wunderkabinet* its glassed-in shelves stored bones, fossils and other natural curiosities. Ted van Griethuysen's Prospero took emotional charge of the play, exuding vengeful anger from his first appearance. Inspired by Wallace Acton's compassionate Ariel, this humanized Prospero anguished over the decision to forgive but found he had no choice. Despite casting an African–American actor as a dreadlocked Caliban, Wright's *Tempest* eschewed colonial resonances in favour of an exploration of Prospero's psychology.

Many late twentieth-century productions also highlighted *The Tempest*'s underlying sexual tensions, in various combinations: Prospero and Miranda, Prospero and Ariel, Miranda and Caliban, even Caliban and Trinculo, and, newly eroticized, Miranda and Ferdinand. This emphasis on the play's sexuality marks a striking change from eighteenth-century and Victorian *Tempest*s, which were almost perversely asexual. But in adaptations and appropriations of the 1970s and beyond, such as Jarman's homo-erotic Ariel and Caliban, Greenaway's close-up images of naked islanders and Namjoshi's feminized, lesbian Caliban, the erotic component is palpable. Even in late twentieth-century commentaries on the Folio version, *The Tempest*'s implicit sexual tensions often achieved a level of attention that sharply set them off from earlier analyses – the gay perspectives, for example, of Kate Chedgzoy's *Shakespeare's Queer Children* and Jonathan Goldberg's 'Under the covers with Caliban'.

Modern productions are equally candid about the painful legacy of Europe's colonial past. Though the colonial theme is far less prominent than it was during the 1980s, it nevertheless underlies most theatrical productions and appropriations. Critical commentary has not generally followed suit, with the New Historicist insistence on *The Tempest*'s colonialist inspiration and controlling energy coming increasingly under question for underestimating the play's classical roots and European contexts.[1]

The Tempest for the twenty-first century, in sum, may be more conflict-ridden than ever before. Recent productions have emphasized the visceral over the lyrical, the text's underlying violence rather than its reconciliations, and the modern prophetic political context more than the politics of Shakespeare's day. Whether it is set on a distant planet or a tropical island, the contemporary *Tempest* embodies the pertinent issues of our time: the brutal realities of individual and collective power, the bitter legacy of colonialism and slavery, the difficulty of releasing the female body from male inscription and control, and the misunderstandings and violence that often accompany cultural exchange. *The Tempest* has evolved in diverse and sometimes radical ways from the polite *double entendres* of Dryden and Davenant and, indeed, from the optimistic progressivism of Percy MacKaye.

THE TEXT

Why *The Tempest* was given pride of place in the Folio of 1623 is one of the book's minor mysteries. *The Tempest*'s relative brevity may have made it a fitting starter for the Folio's compositors or, perhaps, a late play that had not been printed previously appeared more likely to convert browsers into buyers than would an old standby. The Folio's preface reminded readers

1 See especially Skura; McDonald; and Kastan.

that 'the fate of all Bookes depends vpon your capacities: and not of your heads alone, but of your purses . . . [W]hat euer you do, Buy'. In any event, *The Tempest* was the first text that the blind printer, William Jaggard, assigned to his compositors in February 1622 when work began on John Heminge and Henry Condell's collection of thirty-six dramas by their late theatrical colleague. After nearly two years of labour, with William Jaggard's son Isaac by then in charge after his father's death, *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies. Published according to the True Originall Copies* was available to the public for approximately fifteen shillings unbound and perhaps a pound for a copy in calf binding (Blayney, *Folio*, 25–32).

More than three centuries later, Charlton Hinman, the foremost authority on the mechanics of printing the Folio, demonstrated persuasively that special care was given to *The Tempest* and particularly to its first page. In a deviation from the normal order of printing that worked from the inside of the first twelve-page gathering (of the nineteen pages used for *The Tempest*) to the outer pages, Jaggard's compositors set the opening page first and then corrected the proofs at least four times, as revealed by subsequent changes in the surviving copies. Such a sequence and such proofing were not characteristic of the volume as a whole; *The Tempest* is generally acknowledged to be the cleanest of Shakespeare's early printed texts.[1]

Three compositors worked on *The Tempest*. Hinman's 'Compositor B', an experienced but sometimes careless journeyman in Jaggard's shop, who may have been given special responsibility for the entire volume, set the opening page and six more (Blayney, *Folio*, 11). The play's other compositors, Hinman's C and F, were also full-time employees and experienced printers. Each worked from his own type case, and once the play's

1 The major modern works on the Folio are Charlton Hinman's exhaustive comparison of fifty-five of the Folger Shakespeare Library's copies; Peter W.M. Blayney's Catalogue to the Folger Library's exhibition on 'The First Folio of Shakespeare'; and Blayney's Introduction to the second edition of *The Norton Facsimile* of the Folio.

opening page was deemed acceptable, there seems to have been little difficulty in dividing up the text so that it came out fairly evenly and clearly. Only a few pages (Folio, 15, for example) show the crowding of text and stage directions that reflect a misjudgement of the required space.[1]

Ralph Crane's manuscript

The manuscript used by the compositors has been identified as one of six prepared in the early 1620s by the legal scrivener Ralph Crane specifically, it seems certain, for the Folio project. (The others are *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Measure for Measure* and, as E.A.J. Honigmann recently established, *Othello* (Honigmann, 59–76).) Crane probably copied from Shakespeare's own rough draft, or possibly a copy of it, rather than from prompt copy, which would have been more helpful to actors than to readers (Jowett, 109). Prompt copy, with its barely legible insertions, deletions and impromptu stage directions would have posed serious problems for the typesetters.

Thanks to important research on his extant manuscripts by Trevor Howard-Hill and Ernst Honigmann, Crane's habits are now fairly clear, and speculation about how they shaped Shakespeare's printed texts can be made with some confidence. Because Crane started his career as a lawyer's clerk and only turned late in life to dramatic copying (in his sixties when work began on the Folio), he was old enough to have his own opinions about dramatic format and may accordingly have served to some degree as an 'editor'. Influenced by Ben Jonson's classicism, Crane apparently sought to impose regularity upon the texts – Shakespeare's and others' – that he copied. Howard-Hill concludes that *The Tempest* was Crane's 'first play prepared for publication', that the transcript was 'literary by design not accident', and that it was modelled on Jonson's Folio of 1616, which

1 Improperly casting off copy occasionally caused difficulties elsewhere in the Folio; the resulting pages are either jammed with crowded lines or padded with extra space.

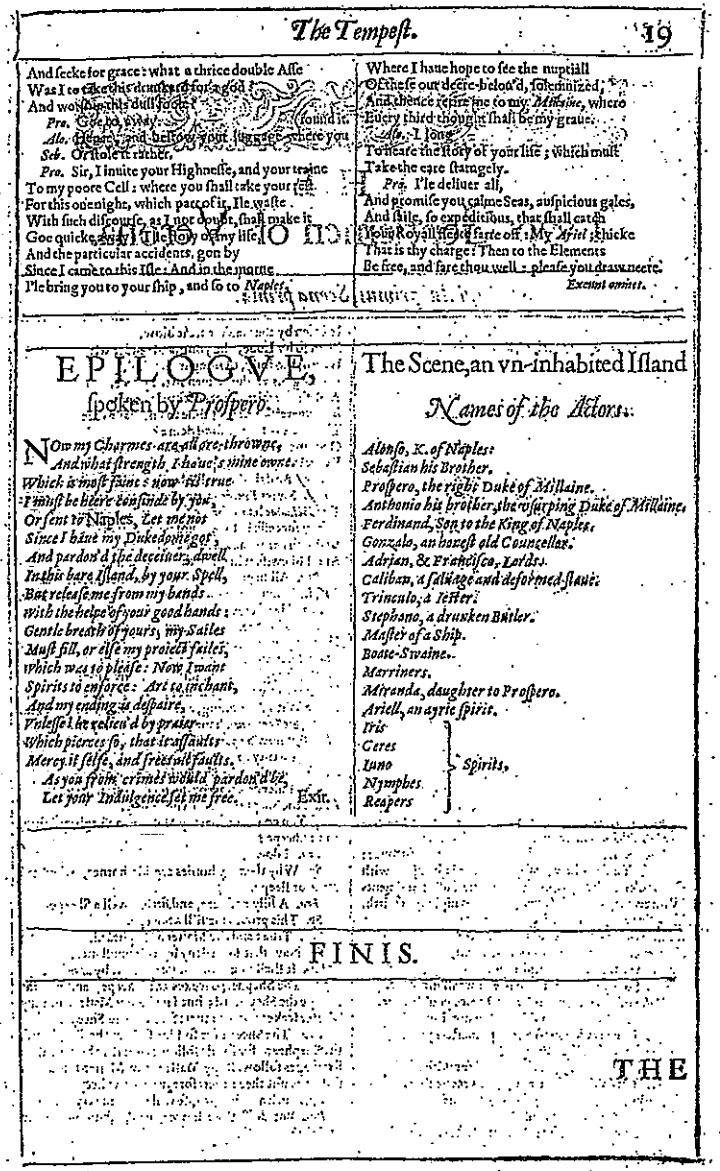
Jonson himself supervised (Howard-Hill, 'Editor', 128). Honigmann observes that 'Crane was neither humble nor faithful; he "improved" his transcripts, as he would see it, a creative or destructive role, depending on one's point of view' (75).

Crane's tidying of (presumably) Shakespeare's rough manuscript is perhaps reflected in the division of the text into acts and scenes, often with massed entries at a scene's beginning which list all the characters who will appear by its conclusion. Crane also habitually listed the play's *dramatis personae* at the end of the text. Like *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Measure for Measure*, *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*, the Folio's *The Tempest* concludes with a complete listing and brief description of each character or group of roles, sometimes with important information that appears to reflect his own judgement (see Fig. 21). The frequently quoted depictions of Caliban as 'A salvage and deformed slave' and Ariel as 'an ayrie spirit', for example, may be Crane's interpretations of what ne saw in performance rather than Shakespeare's descriptions of what he envisioned, although they could be both.[1]

Another of Crane's telling traits is idiosyncratic punctuation. Most often noted are the frequent parentheses, especially for phrases of direct address; Crane seems to have reproduced the parentheses in the text he was copying and probably added to them.[2] He also employed numerous hyphenated forms, as in the Folio's 'wide-chopt-rascall', and made lavish use of apostrophes, often to indicate elision (e.g. 'do'st' for 'doest'). The scribe sometimes even 'used different forms of elision in transcripts of the same text' (Howard-Hill, *Crane*, 39–44, 106). The frequent compression of lines through elision sometimes poses difficulties for actors and editors, as in such tongue-twisting clusters as 'out

1 On these matters, see Howard-Hill, *Crane*; and Roberts, 'Crane'.

2 See Howard-Hill, 'Parentheses'. Persuasive evidence that the parentheses are Crane's rather than the compositors' is found in Kermode's tabulation of the distribution of the parentheses, which reveals no significant variation from one compositor to another; they were therefore probably present in the printer's clean copy (Ard^2, lxxxix); see also G. Wright.



The Tempeſt. 19

And ſeeke for grace: what a thrice double Aſſe
Was I to take this Drunkard for a god?
And worſhippe this dull foole?
Pro. Goe to, away.
Alo. Hence: and bellow your mercies where you
Seb. Or I doe it rather.
Pro. Sir, I inuite your Highneſſe, and your traine
To my poore Cell: where you ſhall take your reſt
For this one night, which part of it, Ile waſte
With ſuch diſcourſe, as I not doubt, ſhall make it
Goe quicke, away: The ſtory of my life,
And the particular accidents, gon by
Since I came to this Iſle: And in the morne
I'le bring you to your ſhip, and ſo to *Naples*,
Where I haue hope to ſee the nuptiall
Of theſe our deere-belou'd, ſolemnized,
And thence retire me to my *Millaine*, where
Euery third thought ſhall be my graue.
Alo. I long
To heare the ſtory of your life; which muſt
Take the eare ſtrangely.
Pro. I'le deliuer all,
And promiſe you calme Seas, auſpicious gales,
And ſaile, ſo expeditious, that ſhall catch
Your Royall fleete farre off: My *Ariel*; chicke
That is thy charge: Then to the Elements
Be free, and fare thou well: please you draw neere.
Exeunt omnes.

EPILOGVE,
ſpoken by *Proſpero*.

NOw my *Charmes* are all o're-throwne,
And what ſtrength I haue's mine owne:
Which is moſt faint: now 'tis true
I muſt be here confinde by you,
Or ſent to Naples, Let me not
Since I haue my Dukedome got,
And pardon'd the deceiuer, dwell
In this bare Iſland, by your Spell,
But releaſe me from my bands
With the helpe of your good hands:
Gentle breath of yours, my Sailes
Muſt fill, or elſe my proiect failes,
Which was to pleaſe: Now I want
Spirits to enforce: Art to inchant,
And my ending is deſpaire,
Vnleſſe I be relieu'd by praier,
Which pierces ſo, that it aſſaults
Mercy it ſelfe, and frees all faults.
As you from crimes would pardon'd be,
Let your indulgence ſet me free. Exit.

The Scene, an vn-inhabited Iſland

Names of the Actors.

Alonſo, K. of *Naples*:
Sebaſtian his Brother.
Proſpero, the right Duke of *Millaine*.
Anthonio his brother, the vſurping Duke of *Millaine*.
Ferdinand, Son to the King of *Naples*.
Gonzalo, an honeſt old Councellor.
Adrian, & *Franciſco*, Lords.
Caliban, a ſauage and deformed ſlaue.
Trinculo, a Ieſter.
Stephano, a drunken Butler.
Maſter of a Ship.
Boate-Swaine.
Marriners.
Miranda, daughter to *Proſpero*.
Ariell, an ayrie ſpirit.
Iris, *Ceres*, *Iuno*, *Nymphes*, *Reapers* } Spirits.

FINIS.

THE

21 The final page of *The Tempest* in Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (1623), with the 'EPILOGVE' and '*Names of the Actors*' and, bleeding through from the verso side of the sheet, part of the title and text of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*

o'th' substitution' (1.2.103) and 'wi'th' King' (1.2.112).[1] As A.C. Partridge contends, some of the contractions may have resulted from Crane's efforts 'to make the freer accentual measures more respectable in the eyes of Renaissance syllabic prosody; and behind this seems to loom the authority of Ben Jonson' (A.C. Partridge, 85). Crane's efforts to tidy the text, in sum, may have extended to the metre as well as to act and scene divisions. Whether the elided forms resulted from Shakespeare's effort to compress language, Crane's attempt to regularize the metre, or a compositor's desire to save space can never be absolutely known. In any case, *The Tempest* includes a high proportion of irregular lines, a characteristic shared with Shakespeare's other late plays.[2]

In copying dramatic manuscripts, Crane often inserted information that would have been especially helpful to a reader rather than an actor. Such interventions are also apparent in *The Tempest*'s elaborate stage directions, which are 'qualitatively different from those of any other Shakespeare play' and would be 'peculiarly ineffective in instructing the players' (Jowett, 107). When, for example, the Folio calls for a banquet set before the Neapolitans to disappear suddenly, the stage direction describes what a reader might expect in a theatrical spectacle:

> *Thunder and Lightning. Enter Ariell (like a Harpey) claps his wings upon the Table, and with a quient deuice the Banquet vanishes.*
>
> (Folio, 13)

Instead of prescriptive stage directions such as one might find in a prompt book, here we have the suggestion of a 'quaint device' – a vague reference to stage machinery by someone who knows little about theatre mechanics. Such unfamiliarity with

1 Howard-Hill suggests that 'Crane is more likely than the author to have contributed the apostrophe' to 'wi'th' King' (*Crane*, 105).
2 G. Wright notes that 'the lines in Shakespeare's later plays diverge from what we think of as regular meter about twenty percent of the time' (105).

technicalities is not surprising in a literary scribe who sought to infuse the stage directions with a literary flavour (Howard-Hill, *Crane*, 24), but it is not what we expect of Shakespeare in 1611.

In rewriting the stage directions for the reader rather than the actor, Crane may have adopted the style developed for Ben Jonson's Folio of 1616. Jowett lists fifteen stage directions in *The Tempest* which seem more likely to have been Crane's than the dramatist's, but he cautions that the case for non-Shakespearean intervention remains unproven and thus recommends a conservative editorial strategy (Jowett, 111–14). Whether *The Tempest*'s stage directions were written by Shakespeare or a prompter, or were interpolated later by Crane, they represent the earliest evidence we have of how the play was staged by the King's Company.

Editorial practices

Because the Folio's *The Tempest* is necessarily the basic text for this edition, our editorial interventions are less numerous and problematic than they would be for plays with one or more quarto editions. Yet even the relatively well-printed and carefully proofread Folio version, like any early seventeenth-century text, presents innumerable peculiarities to the modern eye.

In Shakespeare's day, spelling had not yet been fully regularized. Many words, even names, are spelled two or more ways in the play (e.g. Prospero, Prosper; Ariel, Ariell); 'u' and 'v' were used interchangeably (as in 'braue Vtensils'); 'y' often served for the modern 'i' ('noyses', 'waytes') as did, occasionally, 'i' for 'j' (Iupiter); and the Old and Middle English thorn (represented in type by 'y') sometimes substituted for 'th' ('ye'), though only in *The Tempest* to save space in a tight line. Capital letters and italics were sometimes employed for emphasis but more often for no discernible reason.

Even more problematic was Renaissance punctuation. Commas are interspersed throughout the Folio *Tempest* with (again, to the modern eye) apparent indiscrimination. Dashes and colons, many

of them probably added by Compositor B, frequently indicate pauses that are now more often signified by commas, or pauses of greater length that are now indicated by semicolons or periods. By modern standards, some passages have too much punctuation, others too little, for the meaning to be clear.

The frequency of elisions in the Folio's *The Tempest* creates another kind of editorial conundrum. Although Crane may have tidied some of Shakespeare's irregular lines to improve the metre, there is no way of verifying such interventions, however likely they are. We have accordingly taken a conservative approach to lineation, altering lines only where a compositor's error seems apparent (e.g. 1.2.305). Problematic cases are cited in the textual notes.

Our editorial decisions about the play-text inevitably pit the Folio's chronological authority against the readers' need for a grammatically and orthographically coherent text. Further complicating the issue is the Folio's questionable authority on specific matters; it was a highly mediated document. Honigmann demonstrates that Crane repunctuated the texts he transcribed, and 'the Folio compositors also changed the punctuation of their texts quite drastically' (Honigmann, 179, n.6). There is, in short, no unimpeachable authority, no truly reliable basic version of the play – no 'pure' Shakespeare. In the preparation of this edition of *The Tempest* we have therefore attempted to create the clearest and most readable version of the play that simultaneously expresses our sense of the author's intentions. Our editorial interventions are, as with any mediated text, open to differing interpretations by readers and actors.

The alterations we have made to the Folio text can be summarized as (1) the modernization of spelling and capitalization according to guidelines established by the general editors; (2) the introduction of modern rules of punctuation; (3) the removal of superfluous italics; and (4) the insertion, occasionally, of brief supplementary stage directions where the Folio seems ambiguous. A representative sample of the difference between the

Folio's text and ours is the final speech before the Epilogue, which in the Folio appears as:

> *Pro.* I'le deliuer all,
> And promise you calme Seas, auspicious gales,
> And saile, so expeditious, that shall catch
> Your Royall fleete farre off: My *Ariel*; chicke
> That is thy charge: Then to the Elements
> Be free, and fare thou well: please you draw neere.
> (Folio, 19; see Fig. 21)

This edition reads:

> PROSPERO I'll deliver all,
> And promise you calm seas, auspicious gales
> And sail so expeditious that shall catch
> Your royal fleet far off. [*aside to Ariel*] My Ariel, chick,
> That is thy charge. Then to the elements
> Be free, and fare thou well!
> [*to the others*] Please you, draw near.
> (5.1.314–19)

This brief passage illustrates the four categories of modernization listed above: spelling, which here most notably omits the Folio's superfluous letters (as in 'calme', 'saile', 'farre'); punctuation, which here substitutes periods and an exclamation mark for many of the original's commas and colons; the omission of extraneous italics ('*Ariel*'); and the addition of stage directions to indicate, in this instance, the alternating recipients of Prospero's instructions.

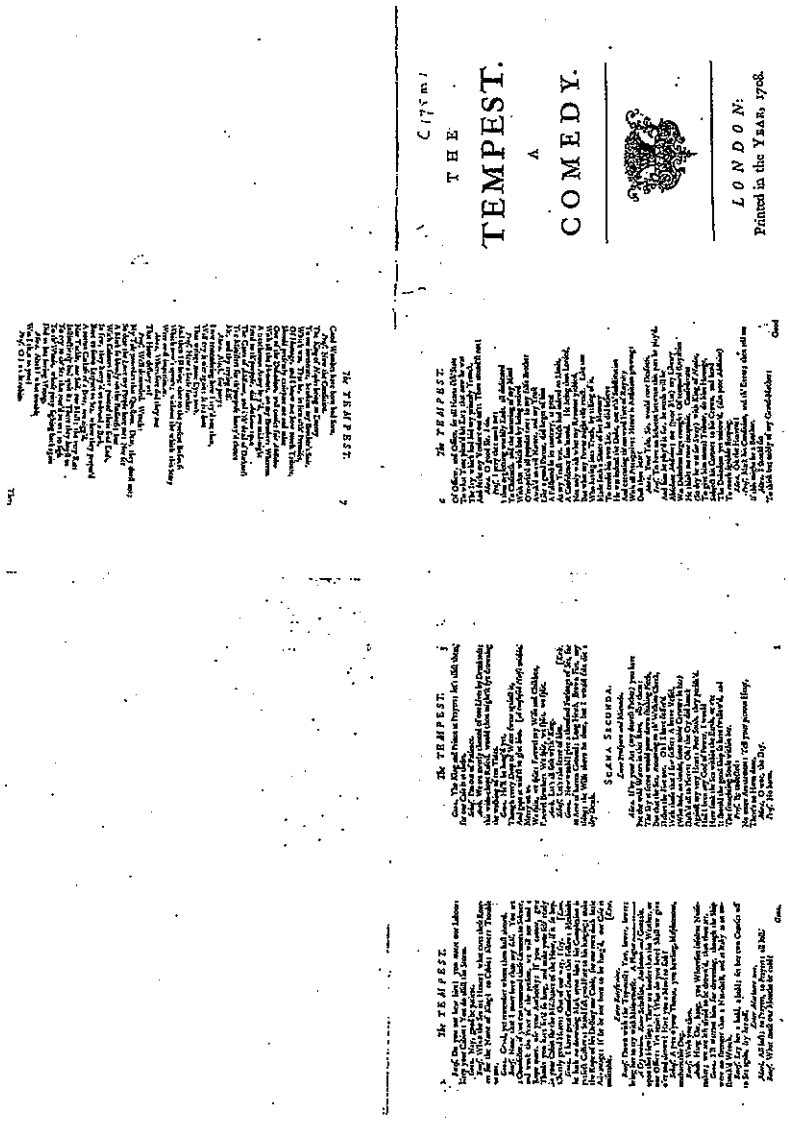
In the preparation of this edition of *The Tempest*, we followed the usual practice of consulting all earlier major versions and have summarized the differences in the textual notes on the bottom of each page of text. Our collation differs from previous editions of *The Tempest* by including Dryden and Davenant's adaptation of 1670. Although *The Enchanted Island* adds characters and action foreign to Shakespeare's text, when it does follow

F directly (as in the first half of 1.2) its spelling, punctuation and occasional emendations illuminate ways in which the generation after Shakespeare interpreted *The Tempest*. Collation with Dryden and Davenant can only be sporadic, of course, in scenes that were freely adapted, such as 1.1, but even there, Dryden and Davenant's decision to keep some words and phrases while deleting others is indicative of what those two Restoration playwrights thought was obscure or ineffective in the original text and what they believed was theatrically useful. It should be borne in mind that each of the other Folio editions of Shakespeare's dramas – the second (1632), the third (1663) and the fourth (1685) – relies on its predecessors but commits additional compositorial errors while occasionally, but inconsistently, correcting earlier errors. It is nonetheless instructive to know what changes were made before Nicholas Rowe began the editorial practices that have persisted, and evolved, since the early eighteenth century.

Our collation is also the first to include a proof-sheet, extant in the British Library, of the first eight pages (through 1.2.181) of *The Tempest: A Comedy*, 'Printed in the YEAR 1708'. This sheet was most likely a preliminary sample of the octavo format that publisher Jacob Tonson planned for Rowe's edition of Shakespeare and was probably intended to pique the interest of potential subscribers. Because several of its readings differ from those in both of Rowe's 1709 editions, it is here regarded as an independent, if fragmentary, edition (see Fig. 22).

Cruxes

Perhaps as a result of Crane's careful inscription, there are fewer textual cruxes in *The Tempest* than in most of Shakespeare's plays. We discuss them briefly in our commentary notes, but two bear further explanation here because they illustrate how the editorial process is often influenced by editors' cultural attitudes and, in particular, how changing gender roles can affect editorial decisions.



THE
TEMPEST.
A
COMEDY.

LONDON:
Printed in the YEAR, 1708.

22 A proof-sheet of *The Tempest: A Comedy*, 1708

The earlier crux is the speech prefix for 1.2.352–63: Miranda's (according to the Folio) angry denunciation of the 'Abhorred slave' Caliban. Beginning with Dryden and Davenant and for the next two and a half centuries, editors reassigned this speech to Prospero, principally because it seemed to them indecorous for a young lady to speak so frankly. In the mid-eighteenth century, Lewis Theobald contended, for example, that it would be 'an Indecency in her to reply to what *Caliban* was last speaking of' (Theobald[1], 1.18), i.e. attempted rape. Yet there are other, less fastidious, reasons for assigning the speech to Prospero. Its verbal style, some argue, not only fits his character more closely than it does Miranda's but is congruous in tone and wording with his other speeches rather than with hers. Miranda's have far fewer polysyllables and never use the second person singular 'thee', as does the 'Abhorred slave' speech and many of Prospero's. The disputed passage, moreover, is a unique instance (if assigned to Miranda) of a speech of hers to which Prospero, when he is part of the dialogue, does not react (RP). And some critics doubted that young Miranda could have served, as the speech claims, as Caliban's tutor. Morton Luce, for one, contended in the first Arden edition that Miranda would not have 'had much to do with the monster's education' (Ard[1], 35–6).

Since the mid-twentieth century, editors have generally sided with the Folio's speech prefix on several grounds. Her outburst at Caliban admittedly deviates from her usual decorum, but in light of Caliban's sexual assault, which her father has just brought up and Caliban has mocked in reply, her anger is timely and appropriate. It is also, according to many modern critics, consonant with her character, which is more forceful and sexually aware than early editors seemed to prefer. And the argument that Miranda, only 3 years old when she arrived at the island, could not have been Caliban's teacher is countered by the likelihood that later on – by age 10 or so – she could have introduced him to European words and ideas that Prospero had recently

taught her. Caliban admits as much when Stephano claims to have been 'the man i'th' moon when time was'. 'My mistress showed me thee', Caliban responds, 'and thy dog and thy bush' (2.2.135–8). Caliban's assault on Miranda presumably did not occur until she reached puberty at approximately 13, an age at which she would have recognized his intentions and heartily endorsed his enslavement and banishment to separate quarters; her emotional outburst against the savage who seems to be 'capable of all ill' (1.2.354) is wholly plausible.

The second and more vexing crux occurs after the masque, when Ferdinand exclaims:

> Let me live here ever!
> So rare a wondered father and a wise
> Makes this place paradise.
>
> (4.1.122–4)

Although the final word in the second line is probably 'wise' in all copies of F–F4, in 1709 Rowe substituted 'wife', on the tacit assumptions that it made better sense for Ferdinand to acknowledge Miranda's importance and that F's compositor had misread a long 's'. Most eighteenth-century editors accepted Rowe's emendation. Many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century editors returned to 'wise', but often with the assertion that a few copies of F (which they admittedly had not seen) had 'wife'. In 1978, Jeanne Addison Roberts persuaded most subsequent editors that the apparent long 's' was actually a broken 'f' which remained intact in the first few impressions but subsequently lost half of its crossbar (Roberts, 'Wife', 203–8). Feminists took comfort in the text's reference to Miranda's importance in a play so male-oriented (see Thompson), and several widely used editions accepted this reading. In an influential psychoanalytic interpretation in 1986, Stephen Orgel reflected on the conspicuous absence of Prospero's wife from the magician's language and Miranda's consciousness, and hailed the new reading of the problematic word (Orgel, 'Wife'). More recently, Valerie Wayne

has documented the crux's erratic history, its relation to gender-based perspectives and its continuing instability (Wayne, 183–7).

However much one would like to read the word as 'wife' in some copies of the Folio, we have been counter-persuaded by Peter W.M. Blayney's exegesis of early seventeenth-century casting and printing techniques, supported by his magnification to the 200th power of all relevant instances of the key word in the Folger Shakespeare Library's extensive Folio collection. The letter in question appears to be 's' in all instances, including the few that Roberts identified with 'f'; blotted ink, not a broken crossbar, encouraged such readings.[1] Although the syntax with 'wise' appears awkward to the modern eye, the placing of an adjective after the noun, as in 4.1.123, was not unusual in Shakespeare's works. Moreover, 'wise' forms a rhymed couplet with the ensuing line's 'paradise', an effect which strikes some critics as poetically appealing, while a few others contend that it is poetically inelegant and uncharacteristic of Shakespearean verse and therefore impressive evidence against the 'wise' reading. But rhymed couplets were not, in fact, uncommon in Shakespeare's late plays.

There is, moreover, an alternative to the assumption that Ferdinand must include Miranda in his notion of paradise. Biblical definitions of heaven excluded marriage (Mark, 12.25; Luke, 20.35); rather, it can be argued, Ferdinand's image of paradise may have been (however implausible to modern sensibilities) inhabited exclusively by himself and his seemingly omnipotent, omniscient new father-in-law (Katherine Duncan-Jones, private communication). If Miranda was also in paradise – the text implicitly includes her in the place where Ferdinand wishes to live forever – she would not have been his, or anyone else's, wife.

Such arguments notwithstanding, Shakespeare may have intended 'wife' all along. Before 1623, it may have been the

1 Blayney (*Norton*, xxxi) offers a preliminary version of his findings.

spoken word in performances of *The Tempest* and the written word in all manuscript copies. If so, authorial intent was thwarted by Ralph Crane's inaccurate deciphering of the rough manuscript, or by compositor C's misreading of Crane's handwriting, or by an apprentice's misplacement of a long 's' in the type case's (probably) adjacent compartment for 'f',[1] a possibility made more likely by the uncommon similarity between lower-case 'f' and long 's' in the font employed by the Jaggards for the Folio. On all these grounds, feminist and psychoanalytic critics have a highly plausible case; their reading is syntactically and logically sound. We opt for the Folio's 'wise' because there is no compelling reason to alter a word that is as plausible as the alternative in syntax and logic, more feasible in rhyme and more compatible with the technology of Jacobean type-founding.

The 'wise / wife' conundrum fittingly concludes our introductory observations because it encapsulates several of the play's major issues: the role of the chaste female (daughter / wife) in Prospero's generative project; the magician's wisdom and control of events (or lack thereof); and, most centrally, the question of what it takes to turn a paradise into a 'brave new world' in a universe corrupted by greed and egoism. While *The Tempest* masterfully probes these concerns, it tenaciously resists solutions.

1 There is no way of knowing the precise layout of Jaggard's type cases, but the leading authority on early English printing asserts that standard lays 'were certainly established by the mid-seventeenth century and probably long before'. The standard English lay called for the two letters to be side by side. See Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972), 34 and the diagram on 37.

THE TEMPEST

LIST OF ROLES

NAMES OF THE ACTORS

ALONSO — *King of Naples*

SEBASTIAN — *his brother*

PROSPERO — *the right Duke of Milan*

ANTONIO — *his brother, the usurping Duke of Milan*

FERDINAND — *son to the King of Naples*

GONZALO — *an honest old councillor*

ADRIAN *and* FRANCISCO — *lords*

CALIBAN — *a savage and deformed slave*

TRINCULO — *a jester*

STEPHANO — *a drunken butler*

MASTER — *of a ship*

BOATSWAIN

MARINERS

MIRANDA — *daughter to Prospero*

ARIEL — *an airy spirit*

IRIS
CERES
JUNO — *spirits*
Nymphs
Reapers

0] The Scene, an vn-inhabited Island 3+ *Milan*] *(Millaine)* 4+ ANTONIO] *(Anthonio)* 6 *councillor*] *(Councellor)* 8 *savage*] *(saluage)* 12 BOATSWAIN] *(Boate-Swaine)* 15 ARIEL] *(Ariell)*

0.1 NAMES OF THE ACTORS This list, originally appended to the text in F and recorded here verbatim, was probably compiled by the scrivener Ralph Crane; the descriptive terms may reflect his knowledge of contemporary stage practice and perhaps, too, his personal assessment of the characters as performed at the time. See Introduction, p. 127.

1 ALONSO a common Italian name used here for a fictional character. As *King of Naples* Alonso controls a large area of the Italian peninsula south of the Papal States. During Shakespeare's lifetime, Spain controlled that part of Italy.

2 SEBASTIAN a common Italian name used for Alonso's brother. Sebastian is second in line to the throne of Naples after Ferdinand, Alonso's son.

3 PROSPERO an Italian name taken from the adjective *prospero*: favourable, propitious, flourishing. A Prospero appears in the first version of Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, performed by the Lord Chamberlain's Men (including Shakespeare) in 1598. See Introduction, pp. 23–4. *Tem*'s Prospero is the *right* (legitimate) *Duke of Milan*, pronounced Milan. Located in Lombardy, Milan was one of the most powerful states in Renaissance Italy; in the sixteenth century, however, it was first taken over by the French and then by the Spanish. In the fifteenth century, its ruler was indeed supplanted, but by his nephew, not his brother.

4 ANTONIO As Prospero explains in 1.2.66–120, twelve years earlier his brother Antonio had arranged a palace coup and usurped the dukedom of Milan. See Introduction p. 35.

5 FERDINAND another common name, here used for Alonso's son and heir, perhaps suggested to Shakespeare by Castiglione's *The Courtier*, translated into English in 1561 by Thomas Hoby, which refers to a King Ferdinand of Naples who 'tooke occasion verye well to stryppe hymselfe sometyme into his doblet: and that bicause he knewe he was verye well made and nymble wythall' (sig. R1^{v}); Ferdinand has the opportunity to demonstrate his physical attractiveness when he appears carrying logs in 3.1.

6 GONZALO Although *gonzo* in Italian means 'simpleton, blockhead, dolt', this honourable gentleman proves to be far more intelligent than Sebastian and Antonio think him, one of the many ways in which this play shows the deceptiveness of appearances. Gonzalo serves Alonso as *an honest . . . councillor*. F's '*Councellor*' combines two modern words: 'councillor', member of a council, and 'counsellor', one who gives advice. Dryden & Davenant use 'Counsellor' in the sense of an advisor ('you are a Counsellor, if you can advise these Elements to silence'), but we have chosen the alternative spelling to suggest his official position. In contrast to Alonso, Antonio and Sebastian, who also serve as councillors, Gonzalo is honest in today's sense of truthfulness. 'Honest' could also describe a person 'Having honourable motives or principles' (*OED a.* 3).

7 ADRIAN *and* FRANCISCO members of Alonso's court, of unspecified rank, with very brief lines in 2.1 and 3.3

8 CALIBAN For a discussion of the etymology of Caliban's name, see Introduction, pp. 31–2. Caliban is described here as (1) *savage*. F's '*saluage*' is an obsolete form of the modern 'savage' and means 'uncivilized; existing in the lowest stage of culture' (*OED a.* and *sb.*[1] 5). See *LLL* 4.3.218, where Berowne compares Rosaline to 'a rude and savage man of Inde'. As the only native on the island, Caliban had been ignorant of European language, customs and values until Prospero's arrival twelve years earlier. He is also (2) *deformed*. In 5.1.291–2 Prospero says that Caliban 'is as disproportioned in his manners / As in his shape'; though he is in these senses *deformed*, he is nevertheless human. For a discussion of Caliban's physical appearance, see Vaughan, *Caliban*, 10–15, and Introduction, pp. 32–4. Finally, he is termed (3) *slave*. While Caliban assisted Prospero upon the latter's

arrival and showed him about the island, 1.2.337–49 indicates that Caliban was not enslaved until he made sexual advances towards Miranda. Thereafter he is an involuntary servant whom Prospero's sprites punish with pinches when he disobeys.

9 TRINCULO This name is perhaps taken from the Italian verb *trincare*, to drink greedily, to swill. The adjective *trincato* means drunk; a *trincone* is a heavy drinker. Trinculo is described as *a jester*, a buffoon or fool maintained in a royal or noble household to entertain, often distinguished by a motley costume.

10 STEPHANO pronounced Stèphano; the name of a messenger in *MV* 5.1.28 and also a character in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour* (1598), in which Shakespeare acted. *Tem*'s Stephano is Alonso's *butler*, the servant in charge of the wine cellar who dispensed liquor to the royal household.

11 MASTER the ship's captain. The master was traditionally in charge of all components of the ship, cargo and crew.

12 BOATSWAIN (pronounced bosun) the officer in charge of a ship's sails, rigging and anchors, who directs the other mariners in such matters. See J. Smith, *Sea Grammar*, 35. The Boatswain dominates the play's opening scene 'by his professionalism in translating the Master's signals into commands and ensuring these are carried out rapidly' (Mahood, 212).

13 MARINERS Mahood describes the popular image of seamen in Elizabethan culture: 'the sailor whose uninhibited behaviour could be a social problem on the London streets had a shipboard life, revealed in countless narratives, which demanded expertise, endurance, enterprise, and ceaseless adaptability. It was a life apart, outside the laws of normal society, yet sustained by the mutual trust on which survival depended, and calling constantly for the propitiation of stern powers' (209).

14 MIRANDA from the nominative singular feminine form of the gerundive of the Latin verb *miror*, to wonder, be astonished at. In Italian, *mirando* is an adjective meaning 'wondrous'. As Prospero's (presumably) only child, Miranda is next in line to the Milanese throne. See Introduction pp. 26–7.

15 ARIEL For discussion of the etymology of Ariel's name and the creation of his character, see Introduction, pp. 27–8. The position of this name in F's list (after Miranda, with the women's roles) suggests that the part was performed by a boy actor. Because Ariel's role calls for several songs, the actor must also have been a singer.

16 IRIS a figure in the masque of 4.1, the Greek goddess who served as the gods' messenger and whose presence was signified by the rainbow. See Introduction pp. 70–1.

17 CERES a figure in the masque of 4.1, goddess of the earth and protectress of the harvest (also known as Demeter), often symbolized by food or grain. This role was probably doubled by the actor playing Ariel (see 4.1.167). See Introduction pp. 70–2.

18 JUNO a figure in the masque of 4.1, the wife of Jupiter (or, in Greek, Zeus) and the goddess of marriage. See Introduction pp. 68–73.

19–20 Nymphs, Reapers Spirits appear in 1.2, where they sing the refrain to Ariel's song; in 3.3, where they assist with the disappearing banquet; in 4.1, where they are Nymphs and Reapers for the dance that concludes the masque; and in 5.1; where they are the dogs who chase Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo on to the stage. The same actors probably doubled as Mariners in 1.1 and assisted in providing music when the text called for it.

THE TEMPEST

1.1 *A tempestuous noise of thunder and lightning heard; enter a* Shipmaster *and a* Boatswain.

MASTER Boatswain!

BOATSWAIN Here master. What cheer?

MASTER Good, speak to th' mariners. Fall to't yarely or we run ourselves aground. Bestir, bestir! *Exit.*

1.1 We have maintained F's act and scene divisions, but the former may be Ralph Crane's rather than Shakespeare's.

0.1 Pope's additional SD 'On a ship at sea' suggests the location of the Mariners, Boatswain and court party. Presumably the ship is somewhere in the Mediterranean close to Prospero's island. At Whitehall and the Blackfriars, the ship was easily presented on a flat stage through dialogue and action. A sea machine (pebbles in a drum) could echo the ocean's sounds and a wind machine (a loose length of canvas turned on a wheel) could create gusts (see Sturgess, 81–2). According to Dessen & Thomson, the *noise of thunder* and the flash of *lightning* were probably originally created by the sound of a drum and squibs (fireworks) that could be hung from a rope across the rear of the stage. In the Prologue to the revised version of *Every Man in his Humour* (1598), however, Ben Jonson describes the stage technology used to create thunder; in his play, there is no 'roul'd bullet heard / To say, it thunders; nor tempestuous drumme / Rumbles, to tell you when the storme doth come' (3.303). Dessen & Thomson conclude that thunder and lightning (which were invariably linked) were often associated with a supernatural figure such as a devil, spirit, witch or magician; even when the SD indicated a storm, divine or satanic agency was usually assumed (see entries for 'thunder' and 'lightning'). In a modern production, the storm can be staged minimally, with a waving blue cloth or a swinging lantern suggesting the motion of the ship, or more elaborately with a mechanized bow rising and falling.

0.2 **Shipmaster . . . Boatswain** See List of Roles, nn. 11, 12 and 13.

2 **What cheer?** 'What is your state or mood?' (*OED sb.* 3b).

3 **Good** probably an abbreviation for the familiar 'goodman' (as in 15), or, perhaps, a perfunctory dismissal of the Boatswain's *What cheer?*, though it might simply be an acknowledgement of the Boatswain's presence. Some editors have read *Good* as an explicit answer to the Boatswain's question, but with the ship about to run aground, the Master would be unlikely to respond so genially.

yarely quickly (cited in *OED adv. arch.*); see also 6 and 33.

1.1] *Actus primus, Scena prima.* Location] On a ship at sea *Pope* 3 to't] *(too't)*

Enter Mariners.

BOATSWAIN Heigh, my hearts; cheerly, cheerly, my hearts! Yare! Yare! Take in the topsail. Tend to the master's whistle! [*to the storm*] Blow till thou burst thy wind, if room enough.

Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO, FERDINAND, GONZALO *and others*.

ALONSO Good boatswain, have care. Where's the master? Play the men!

BOATSWAIN I pray now, keep below!

ANTONIO Where is the master, boatswain?

BOATSWAIN Do you not hear him? You mar our labour. Keep your cabins! You do assist the storm.

GONZALO Nay, good, be patient.

5 **my hearts** my hearties; heart was a 'man of courage or spirit. Often in nautical language' (cited in *OED* heart *sb.* 15a)
cheerly 'Heartily, with a will' – a sailor's shout of encouragement (first occurrence in *OED a.* and *adv.* B 1b)

6–7 **Tend . . . whistle!** 'Pay attention!' Shipmasters often directed the crew with blasts on a whistle; a gold whistle was a sign of the naval commander's rank (Var, 12).

7–8 **Blow . . . wind** is the Boatswain's defiant challenge to the storm to blow until it is out of wind, or, perhaps, a challenge to the clouds to blow until their cheeks burst. Also plausible is the scatalogical notion of the storm blowing until it loses force by breaking wind. In a similar situation in *Per* a sailor cries to the storm, 'Blow, and split thyself' (3.1.44).

8 **if room enough** suggests the ship's dangerous proximity to the coast. On nautical matters in this scene, see Falconer, 36–40.

8.2 *others* This part of the SD is consistent with the opening of 2.1 and 3.3 where SDs also suggest the presence of extra people in the Neapolitan party. The King's Men could have drawn on a number of trained extras for performances of *Tem* (Sturgess, 77), but modern productions seldom include any supernumeraries. See List of Roles, nn. 19–20.

10 **Play the men!** Act with spirit, be manly. John Upton argued in *Critical Observations on Shakespeare* (London, 1748) that 'Ply' rather than 'Play' – 'keep them to their business' – was intended (249). In either case the pronunciation is very similar. Although Alonso could be telling the Boatswain to set the men to work (*OED v.* 1a), it is more likely that he is speaking directly to the Mariners, admonishing them to act like men (cf. Halliwell, *Notes*, 9–11).

5 Heigh] Hey *F3* 7 SD] *Oxf*[1] 8.1 FERDINAND] *Rowe; Ferdinando F, Rowe** 12 boatswain] (Boson) 14 do] *om. Pope*

BOATSWAIN When the sea is! Hence. What cares these roarers for the name of king? To cabin! Silence! Trouble us not.

GONZALO Good, yet remember whom thou hast aboard.

BOATSWAIN None that I more love than myself. You are a councillor; if you can command these elements to silence and work the peace of the present, we will not hand a rope more. Use your authority! If you cannot, give thanks you have lived so long and make yourself ready in your cabin for the mischance of the hour, if it so hap. – Cheerly, good hearts. – Out of our way, I say!

Exit.

GONZALO I have great comfort from this fellow. Methinks he hath no drowning mark upon him – his

16 **cares** The use of a singular verb with a plural subject was common n the early seventeenth century. Cf. *Per* 4.1.59: 'Never was waves nor wind more violent'. See Abbott, §333.

17 **roarers** loud, violent waves; also a reference to people who are unruly, as in Middleton's *The Roaring Girl* (*c.* 1608)

19 **Good** probably meant as in 3 and 15 above, but perhaps an acknowledgement of the Boatswain's sensible admonition

21 **councillor** See List of Roles, n. 6.
these elements wind and water

22 **work . . . present** There is no sound reason to change *present* to 'presence' (cf. Ard[2], 5); the Boatswain challenges Gonzalo to silence the elements and 'make the present moment peaceful' (Folg[2]).

23 **hand . . . more** handle any more rope, i.e. 'we could stop work'
authority The Boatswain introduces the theme of the proper and improper uses of authority, which resonates throughout the play.

26 SD Presumably some, if not all, of the Mariners exit with the Boatswain here, to re-enter at 49.1.

28–9 **he . . . gallows** in accordance with the proverb, 'He that is BORN to be hanged (drowned) shall never be drowned (hanged)' (Dent, B139), Gonzalo relies on the Boatswain's rope of destiny (i.e. the hangman's rope) to be more useful than the ship's anchor cable, which in the midst of a storm is worthless. *OED sb.* 2b cites this as an instance of 'to have the look of one predestined to or deserving the gallows'. Cf. *TGV* 1.1.148–50, where Proteus suggests that Speed's presence on board will save the ship because he is 'destin'd to a drier death on shore'. In *LLL* 5.2.12 Katherine refers to Cupid as 'a shrowd unhappy gallows', i.e. a scoundrel who deserves to be hanged.

20 more love] love more *Dryden & Davenant* 21 councillor] (Counsellor) 28 him –] *Oxf*[1]; him, *F*; him; *F4*

complexion is perfect gallows. Stand fast, good fate, to his hanging; make the rope of his destiny our cable, for our own doth little advantage. If he be not born to be hanged, our case is miserable. *Exit.*

Enter Boatswain.

BOATSWAIN Down with the topmast! Yare! Lower, lower! Bring her to try with main course. (*A cry within.*) A plague upon this howling. They are louder than the weather or our office.

Enter SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO *and* GONZALO.

Yet again? What do you here? Shall we give o'er and drown? Have you a mind to sink?

29 **complexion** may refer to the Boatswain's hue or to his temperament, or, most likely, to the former as indicative of the latter
perfect utter, unmitigated (first occurrence in *OED a.* B 5e)
31 **doth little advantage** scarcely benefits (*OED* advantage *v.* 4c)
33–4 **Down . . . course.** The Boatswain orders the main sail lowered in hope that the ship will thereby slacken its speed and avoid the land. *To try* meant to adjust certain sails and rigging so that the ship would ride out the storm. See J. Smith, *Sea Grammar*, 40: 'A storme, let us lie at Trie with our maine course' (cited in *OED*, trie *v.* 17 for 'Of a vessel: To lie to'); see also Whall, 98–9, and Falconer, 38–9. Some editors have inserted a comma or semicolon after *to*, thus making the commands 'bring her to; try with main course', which conforms to modern rather than Jacobean nautical terminology.
33 **Yare!** 'Be yare' or quick; see 3 and 6.
34–6 *The SDs follow *A plague* in F, but they are customarily separated, and the entry placed after *office* to fit better with the text. *Yet again* (37) almost certainly refers to the reappearance of the annoying passengers, whom the Boatswain accuses of ensuring, by their meddling presence on deck, that all hands will drown.
35 **plague** In F the word is followed by a long dash, perhaps to indicate oaths, possibly implied by Sebastian's characterization of the Boatswain in 39–40, although *blasphemous* may have meant 'abusive', as the Boatswain surely had been, rather than the modern 'irreverent' (Halliwell, *Notes*, 12). The latter form of blasphemy had been outlawed by the Act to Restrain Abuse of (i.e. by) Players (1606). In any event, the interjection of oaths at that point would disrupt the sentence's syntax. See also 39 below and 5.1.218.
35–6 **They . . . office.** The first word refers to the passengers, the last to the sailors' work.

34 her . . . with] her to: try wi'th' *Grant White* 34–5 SD, 36.1] *Ard*[1]*; one line following* plague . . . *F*

SEBASTIAN A pox o'your throat, you bawling, blasphemous, incharitable dog.

BOATSWAIN Work you, then.

ANTONIO Hang, cur! Hang, you whoreson, insolent noise-maker! We are less afraid to be drowned than thou art.

GONZALO I'll warrant him for drowning, though the ship were no stronger than a nutshell and as leaky as an unstanched wench.

BOATSWAIN Lay her a-hold, a-hold! Set her two courses off to sea again! Lay her off!

Enter Mariners, *wet.*

MARINERS All lost! To prayers, to prayers! All lost!

BOATSWAIN What, must our mouths be cold?

39 **pox . . . throat** literally, 'may your throat be wracked by disease', i.e. the French pox (syphilis) or smallpox; here used metaphorically
39–40 **blasphemous** Unless the Boatswain's blasphemy has been obscured by the storm or the courtiers' wailing, the charge is false (see Falconer, 153), but Sebastian should not perhaps be taken literally. The Boatswain has been palpably disrespectful.
45–7 Gonzalo promises to *warrant* (guarantee immunity; cited in *OED v.* 8) the Boatswain *for* (i.e. from) drowning, no matter how unseaworthy the ship, because – as he earlier proclaimed – the man was born to hang. The term *unstanched wench* probably refers to menstrual bleeding, but *leaky* in colloquial speech sometimes implied sexual incontinence.
48–9 The Boatswain, trying to keep the ship from crashing on the shore, orders it held as closely to the wind as possible, then calls for both major sails (*courses*) to be set, so as to drive the ship out to open sea again. J. Smith, *Sea Grammar*, 44–5, described 'Offing' as 'the open Sea from the shore, or the middest of any great streame' – hence *Lay her off* is an order to get out to sea again. Nautical authorities disagree on some aspects of these directions. Allen argues for an emendation to 'Lay her a-hull'. See also Whall, 30, 99.
51 **must . . . cold** perhaps an allusion to the proverbial expression 'To be cold in the MOUTH (i.e. dead)' (Dent, M1260.1). The Boatswain asks 'Must we be dead?', presumably from drowning in the icy ocean waters. Cf. Francis Beaumont's *The Scornful Lady* (1616): 'would I had been cold i'th' mouth before this day, and neer have livd to see this dissolution' (sig. D2[r]). Alternatively, the Boatswain may be referring to the prayers which are 'cold in the mouth'. In the storm scene that opens Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Sea Voyage*, the Master shouts at a sailor who is praying: 'is this a time, / To discourage our friends with your

40 incharitable] uncharitable *Dryden & Davenant, Rowe* 49 off!] off. *F*

GONZALO The King and prince at prayers, let's assist them, for our case is as theirs.

SEBASTIAN I'm out of patience.

ANTONIO We are merely cheated of our lives by drunkards. This wide-chopped rascal – would thou mightst lie drowning the washing of ten tides!

GONZALO He'll be hanged yet, though every drop of water swear against it and gape at widest to glut him. *(A confused noise within)* Mercy on us! – We split, we split! – Farewell my wife and children! – Farewell brother! – We split, we split, we split!

ANTONIO Let's all sink wi'th' King.

SEBASTIAN Let's take leave of him. *Exit [with Antonio].*

GONZALO Now would I give a thousand furlongs of sea for an acre of barren ground – long heath, brown furze,

cold orrizons?' (*Comedies and Tragedies* (London, 1647), Aaaaa1^{r}). Less likely is the suggestion that the prospect of drowning may divert him from his duties to the bottle (Mahood, 212). Some *Tem* editors have the Boatswain and Mariners exit here to join in the *confused noise* mentioned in 60, but there's no reason why some or all the Mariners cannot fall to their knees in prayer on deck.

52 **The . . . prayers** The verb 'are' is implied after *prince*.

55 **merely** altogether, wholly

56 **wide-chopped** big-mouthed (cited in *OED* wide *a.* 12)

57 **lie . . . tides** Courts of Admiralty sentenced pirates to be hanged at water's edge and their bodies to remain awash for three tides; Antonio's curse greatly exaggerates the second part of the penalty.

58–9 Gonzalo clings to his belief that despite the storm's fury, the Boatswain will survive to be hanged and thus none aboard will drown, even if every drop of water tries to open its mouth to swallow him greedily (*glut him*). Strachey described 'the glut of water (as if throttling the wind erewhile)' that enveloped *Sea Venture* (1735).

60 SD The following exclamations (*confused noise*) come from several voices below the stage or from behind the discovery space.

60–2 **split** Literally, the ship splits apart and, figuratively, *we* are shipwrecked (first occurrence in *OED v.* 9b).

65–6 **furlongs . . . acre** Both terms are units of linear measurement; the former is now regularized at 220 yards, the latter (in its now obsolete sense) equalled a furlong. Cf. Hermione's description of women in *WT* 1.2.94–6: 'You may ride's / With one soft kiss a thousand furlongs ere / With spur we heat an acre'.

66 **long . . . furze** *Heath* is heather, *furze* is a low shrub, also known in Scotland

52 prince at prayers] *F4, Rowe*;* Prince, at prayers *F;* Prince are at prayers *Rowe* 54 I'm] *(I'am)* 56 wide-chopped rascal –] *Rowe;* wide-chopt-rascall, *F;* wide-chapp'd rascal, *Dyce* 63 wi'th'] *Rowe*, Grant White;* with' *F;* with *F3;* with the *Rowe;* wi' the *Capell* 64 SD] *Signet* 66 ground –] *Dyce;* ground: *F* brown furze] *Rowe;* Browne firrs *F;* brown firs *F4, Rowe*;* Broom-furs *Dryden & Davenant*

anything. The wills above be done, but I would fain die a dry death. *Exit.*

1.2 *Enter* PROSPERO *and* MIRANDA.

MIRANDA

If by your art, my dearest father, you have
Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them.
The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch
But that the sea, mounting to th' welkin's cheek,
Dashes the fire out. O, I have suffered
With those that I saw suffer – a brave vessel

and northern England as 'gorse', a characteristic moorland plant. The other two words are arguable. Hanmer emended *long* to 'ling' (a type of heather (*OED sb.*^{2} 1)), but it is clear from Henry Lyte's translation of Rembert Dodoens's *Niewe Herbal* (London, 1578) that *long heath* was a distinct plant: long heath 'beareth his flowers alongst the stemmes', as opposed to small heath that bears flowers in 'tuftes at the toppes of the branches' (677). Following Dryden & Davenant, Hanmer emended *brown* to 'broom', but *furze* and 'broom' were synonyms and *furze* was often *brown*. Because of F's apparently intentional adjective–noun pairings, we prefer F's *brown*. In any event, gorse, broom and *furze* were associated with *barren ground* (Gerard, 1139), and Gonzalo, accordingly, expresses his preference for dry land, however sterile.

67 **fain** gladly (cited in *OED* B)

1.2 Above the list of characters provided at the end of the text, F notes: 'The Scene, an vn-inhabited Island'. This island lies somewhere in the Mediterranean between Naples and Tunis. Presumably Prospero and Miranda are standing on a point, which could be anywhere on the Blackfriars stage, where they can see the ship 'at sea'. Many editors have located this scene near Prospero's cell (20), though it need not be. Prospero seems to call Caliban forth from his cave (320–1), which at the Blackfriars could have been off the side of the stage or below the trap door. Just how close Caliban's den is to the magician's cell is up to the director and designer.

1 **art** in this context, magic. *Art* is consistently capitalized in F; some editors assume this implies Shakespeare's special emphasis on Prospero's powers, but it may well be the result of Ralph Crane's predilection.

2 **allay them** set them to rest

3 **stinking pitch** The blackness of the clouds suggests to Miranda that they might disgorge foul-smelling pitch, a common commodity of the time, especially in shipbuilding. Cf. Stephano in 2.2.51 and J. Smith's 'powre hot pitch upon it' (*Sea Grammar*, 13).

4 **welkin's cheek** the sky's, or cloud's, billowed edges. Dover Wilson suggests 'the side of a grate' (Cam^{1}, 112), but we agree with Oxf^{1} (101) that this usage seems inappropriate here.

5 **fire** lightning; possibly dissyllabic (fi-er)

6 **brave** magnificent, splendid

1.2] Scena Secunda. Location] The Inchanted Isle. *Pope* 1 art] *Pope;* Art *F* 6 suffer –] *this edn;* suffer: *F;* suffer! *Capell;* suffer. *Riv*

(Who had no doubt some noble creature in her)
Dashed all to pieces. O, the cry did knock
Against my very heart! Poor souls, they perished.
Had I been any god of power, I would
Have sunk the sea within the earth or ere
It should the good ship so have swallowed and
The fraughting souls within her.

PROSPERO Be collected;
No more amazement. Tell your piteous heart
There's no harm done.

MIRANDA O woe the day.

PROSPERO No harm!
I have done nothing but in care of thee,
Of thee, my dear one, 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.

MIRANDA More to know

8–9 **knock / Against** rap for attention
11 **or ere** Both words mean 'before'; here they are probably doubled for emphasis (see Abbott, §131).
13 **fraughting souls** cargo of souls (cited in *OED* fraught *vbl. sb.* 3b)
Be collected 'Compose yourself'; the opposite of 'distracted' (first occurrence in *OED* collected *ppl. a.* 2)
14 **amazement . . . piteous** Orgel links *amazement* (fear and wonder) along with *piteous* (full of pity) to the catharsis proposed by Aristotle as the effect of the best kind of tragedy (Oxf[1], 102).
16–17 **thee . . . thee . . . thee** Prospero's repetition emphasizes his concern for Miranda and her centrality to his plans.
19 **whence I am** where I came from
more better of more distinguished status. The use of a double comparative is fairly common in Shakespeare. See Abbott, §11.
20 **full poor cell** extremely humble dwelling; a hut or cottage, often the home of a hermit or monk (*OED sb.*[1] 3c), but usually a cave in stage and artistic renderings of *Tem.* Cf. Friar Lawrence's 'cell' in *RJ* 3.5.232. In the early seventeenth century, 'cell' did not yet carry implications of imprisonment.
21 **no greater father** no more important a father than his poor cell suggests

7 creature] creatures *Theobald* 13 fraughting] fraighted *Pope;* freighting *Bantam (Steevens)*
19 I . . . better] I am more or better *Rowe*, Rowe[3];* I'm more *Dryden & Davenant*

Did never meddle with my thoughts.

PROSPERO 'Tis time
I should inform thee further. Lend thy hand
And pluck my magic garment from me. So,
Lie there my art. Wipe thou thine eyes, have comfort;
The direful spectacle of the wreck which touched
The very virtue of compassion in thee,
I have with such provision in mine art
So safely ordered, that there is no soul –
No, not so much perdition as an hair,
Betid to any creature in the vessel
Which thou heard'st cry, which thou sawst sink. Sit down,
For thou must now know further.

MIRANDA You have often
Begun to tell me what I am, but stopped
And left me to a bootless inquisition,
Concluding, 'Stay, not yet'.

PROSPERO The hour's now come;

22 **meddle with** intrude upon
25 **Lie . . . art** addressed to his magician's robe, which was probably covered with cabalistic signs (Sturgess, 79). Prospero distinguishes between his identity as a man, his role as a magician (signalled by this robe) and his role as Duke (indicated by the garments he dons in 5.1.84ff). He then again addresses Miranda. Thomas Fuller reported that Elizabeth's closest advisor, Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, 'At night when he put off his gown, . . . used to say, "Lie there, Lord Treasurer!"' (*The Holy State and the Profane State* (London, 1841), 253).
27 **virtue** essence (Ard[2]). Johnson glossed it as 'the most efficacious part' (Johnson & Steevens, 8).
28 **provision** 'the action of providing, seeing to things beforehand' (cited in *OED sb.* 2a)
29 **safely ordered** effectively arranged
that . . . soul An implied 'lost' completes this line.
30 **not . . . hair** a use of the proverb, 'To hurt (or lose) a HAIR' (Dent, H26.1). See also 217: 'Not a hair perished'.
perdition loss; Ariel uses this word again in 3.3.77, but with the added connotation of eternal damnation.
31 **Betid** happened, befell
32 **Which . . . which** The first clause modifies *creature*, the second *vessel* (31).
35 **bootless inquisition** fruitless inquiry

22 'Tis time] *F, Rowe*, Rowe[3];* 'Tis true *F4, Rowe[1]* 24 So,] So! *(Lays down his mantle) Pope* 26+ wreck] *(wracke)* 28 provision] compassion *F2* 29 soul –] *Rann;* soule *F;* soul, *F3;* soul lost, *Rowe;* foyle, *Theobald;* loss, *Capell;* soil, *Cam[1]* 35 a] the *F2* 36 'Stay . . . yet'] *Dyce; no quotation marks F; ital. Theobald* hour's] *(howr's)*

The very minute bids thee ope thine ear.
Obey and be attentive. Canst thou remember
A time before we came unto this cell?
I do not think thou canst, for then thou wast not
Out three years old.
MIRANDA Certainly, sir, I can.
PROSPERO
By what? By any other house or person?
Of any thing the image, tell me, that
Hath kept with thy remembrance.
MIRANDA 'Tis far off,
And rather like a dream than an assurance
That my remembrance warrants. Had I not
Four or five women once, that tended me?
PROSPERO
Thou hadst, and more, Miranda. But how is it
That this lives in thy mind? What seest thou else
In the dark backward and abysm of time?
If thou rememb'rest aught ere thou cam'st here,
How thou cam'st here thou mayst.
MIRANDA But that I do not.
PROSPERO
Twelve year since, Miranda, twelve year since,
Thy father was the Duke of Milan and

41 **Out** completely, quite; i.e. Miranda was not yet three years old (cited in *OED adv.* 7c).
44 **Hath . . . remembrance** that you can recall; literally, kept within your memory
45 **assurance** certainty
46 **warrants** knows surely
47 **tended** cared for; in 3.1.48–50 Miranda claims she cannot remember any woman's face, so her recollection of her attendants must be vague, at best.
50 **backward** 'the past portion (of time).' Shakespeare appears to have originated this rare usage (*OED sb.* C 2).
abysm a variant of 'abyss', meaning 'any deep immeasurable space, a profound chasm or gulf' (cited in *OED* 2)
54 **Milan** Milan; see List of Roles, n. 3.

38 thou] *om. Pope* 40 wast] *(was't)* 41 Out] full *Dryden & Davenant* 44 with] in *Dryden & Davenant* 50 dark backward] *(dark-backward)* abysm] *(Abisme)* 53 Twelve year . . . year] 'Tis twelve years . . . years *Pope*

A prince of power.
MIRANDA Sir, are not you my father?
PROSPERO
Thy mother was a piece of virtue, and
She said thou wast my daughter; and thy father
Was Duke of Milan, and his only heir
And princess, no worse issued.
MIRANDA O, the heavens!
What foul play had we that we came from thence?
Or blessed wast we did?
PROSPERO Both, both, my girl.
By foul play, as thou sayst, were we heaved thence,
But blessedly holp hither.
MIRANDA O, my heart bleeds
To think o'th' teen that I have turned you to,
Which is from my remembrance. Please you, farther.
PROSPERO
My brother and thy uncle, called Antonio –
I pray thee mark me, that a brother should

56 **piece of virtue** masterpiece or model of chastity. Cf. Dent, P291.1 and M1193, which cite this line.
59 **And princess** Some editors, assuming a printer's error, have replaced *And* with 'A', which accords better with the comma after *heir* in F, thus making *A princess* appositive to *heir*. But F's semicolon after *princess* raises doubts about that reading.
no worse issued of no lesser birth than a princess
61 **blessed** blessèd; fortunate, with a suggestion of divine intervention (*OED ppl. a.* 3a)
Both, both Shakespeare uses this repetition to express great emotion when Bertram asks for pardon in *AW* 5.3.308.
63 **holp** helped
64 **teen** trouble, suffering. Cf. *R3* 4.1.96: 'And each hour's joy wrack'd with a week of teen'.
65 **from** absent from. Abbott, §158, notes that 'from' is frequently used as a shortened form for 'apart from' or 'away from'.
66–74 The difficult syntax of Prospero's speech may indicate the stress he feels at recalling his brother's treachery and the events of twelve years earlier. But as Russ McDonald argues (unpublished paper, Shakespeare Association of America, 1997), complex syntax and elliptical expression are characteristic of Shakespeare's late style.

58 and his] and thou his *Hanmer* 59 And] A *Pope* 63 O] *om. Pope* 66 Antonio –] *Rowe*^{3}; *Anthonio: F*

Be so perfidious – he, whom next thyself
Of all the world I loved, and to him put
The manage of my state, as at that time
Through all the signories it was the first,
And Prospero the prime Duke, being so reputed
In dignity, and for the liberal arts
Without a parallel; those being all my study,
The government I cast upon my brother
And to my state grew stranger, being transported
And rapt in secret studies. Thy false uncle –
Dost thou attend me?

MIRANDA Sir, most heedfully.

PROSPERO
Being once perfected how to grant suits,
How to deny them, who t'advance and who

68–9 **whom . . . loved** Presumably, Prospero's wife died giving birth to Miranda or soon after, thus leaving him with a daughter and brother as closest kin; otherwise Prospero's omission of his wife here and elsewhere would almost surely signify marital disharmony. Miranda's recollection only of 'Four or five women once, that tended me' (47), also implies her mother's early death.
70 **manage** management
71 **signories** 'A governing body, *esp.* that of Venice or other medieval Italian republic' (*OED* 4)
74 **those** the *liberal arts* (i.e the *trivium*: grammar, logic and rhetoric; and the *quadrivium*: arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy), to which Prospero has just referred. Prospero's syntax is slightly jumbled in this emotional recounting of his fall from power and eventual exile by Antonio. Editors have variously punctuated this and the next several passages in efforts to clarify and impose grammatical order, but this speech defies precise reconstruction. In general, especially on stage, the message is coherent.
76 **stranger** either substantive (*OED sb.* 1–2: an alien or outsider) or adjectival form with the same meaning
76–7 **transported . . . studies** enraptured by his studies, especially of magical (*secret*) matters
78 **Dost . . . me?** Prospero's demands for Miranda's attention here and later in 87 and 106 need not imply that she is inattentive; they more likely indicate Prospero's increasing agitation as he recalls the circumstances of Antonio's treachery.
79 **having mastered the procedures for granting favours to suitors; *pèrfected*** should have an accent on the first syllable.

68 perfidious –] *Johnson & Steevens;* perfidious: *F, Rowe*;* perfidious! *Rowe* 77 rapt] wrap'd *Dryden & Davenant* uncle –] *Rowe*^{3}*;* vncle *F;* uncle *Rowe*;* Uncle, *Rowe*^{1} 78 me?] *om. F3*

To trash for overtopping, new created
The creatures that were mine, I say, or changed 'em,
Or else new formed 'em; having both the key
Of officer and office, set all hearts i'th' state
To what tune pleased his ear, that now he was
The ivy which had hid my princely trunk
And sucked my verdure out on't. Thou attend'st not!

MIRANDA
O, good sir, I do.

PROSPERO I pray thee, mark me.
I thus neglecting worldly ends, all dedicated
To closeness and the bettering of my mind
With that which, but by being so retired,
O'er-prized all popular rate, in my false brother
Awaked an evil nature, and my trust,

81 **trash for overtopping** put down for being overly ambitious. 'Trash' meant literally to rein in a dog (first occurrence in *OED v.*[1] 1). Steevens also suggested that to trash is to cut away superfluities: 'This word I have met with in books containing directions for gardeners, published in the time of Q. Elizabeth' (Johnson & Steevens, 11). In either case, the verb suggests the effort to keep matters in check. *Overtopping* (contra *OED*) here means to excel or surpass.
new created Antonio won the loyalty of Prospero's followers by giving them new offices.
82 **creatures** officials appointed by Prospero – i.e. *his* men – but perhaps also meant pejoratively
changed 'em substituted other people, who would be loyal to Antonio rather than Prospero
82–3 **or . . . Or** either . . . or
83 **new formed 'em** reconstituted the offices and those who held them (first occurrence in *OED* new-form *v.* 'form or shape anew')
key Metaphorically, the key both controls the officer and sets the tone of his administration.
86–7 **ivy . . . on't** Prospero employs the common emblem of a vine-covered tree, each plant nourishing the other, but in this instance the ivy extracted the tree's vitality (*verdure*: 'The fresh green colour characteristic of flourishing vegetation' (cited in *OED* 1a)).
88 **mark me** pay attention
90–2 **closeness . . . rate** Prospero's mind was bettered with studies much more valuable than they were estimated (*o'er-prized*, valued too highly, overrated) by the populace, but such studies led him into solitude or seclusion (*closeness*). In effect: 'I was busy with studies more valuable than people rate them, except that they kept me *retired* (away from the people)'. This difficult passage shows Prospero's continuing agitation.

81 trash] plash *Hanmer* 84 i'th' state] *om. Pope* 88 O] *om. Pope;* O yes *Capell* 91 that which,] *Pope;* that, which *F* so] *om. F2*

Like a good parent, did beget of him
A falsehood in its contrary as great
As my trust was, which had indeed no limit,
A confidence sans bound. He being thus lorded,
Not only with what my revenue yielded
But what my power might else exact, like one
Who, having into truth by telling of it,
Made such a sinner of his memory
To credit his own lie, he did believe
He was indeed the duke, out o'th' substitution
And executing th'outward face of royalty
With all prerogative. Hence his ambition growing –
Dost'thou hear?

MIRANDA Your tale, sir, would cure deafness.

PROSPERO

To have no screen between this part he played
And him he played it for, he needs will be
Absolute Milan. Me, poor man, my library

96 **trust . . . limit** Prospero contends that his boundless trust in his brother, like a parent's trust in a child, was perversely rewarded by a falseness of equal magnitude. Perhaps Shakespeare is alluding to the proverb: 'TRUST is the mother of deceit' (Dent, T555). As Miranda ruefully comments at 120, 'Good wombs have borne bad sons'.
97 **sans bound** without limit, a paraphrase of the previous line. Shakespeare used the French *sans* in *AYL* 2.7.166 and in *LLL* 5.2.415–16.
lorded made lord
98–9 **Not . . . exact** having not only the revenue of the office but also the rewards elicited by power
98 **revenue** revènue
100 **having into truth** *Into* is used here in the sense of 'unto' (Warburton) or 'against'. Antonio has sinned against the truth.
100–2 **Who . . . lie** By repeated tellings of the lie, Antonio has deluded his memory into believing it. See Var, 36–9.
103 **out o'th' substitution** by virtue of substituting
104 **executing . . . royalty** playing the part of (and giving the appearance of being) a legitimate ruler
105 **prerogative** rights and privileges of office
107–8 **To have . . . for** to eliminate any discrepancy between his role and that of the Duke himself (Prospero), whose part he is playing; or, to blend his own role with the person's for whose benefit he played it – i.e. himself
107 **screen** a means of securing from attack; anything which intervenes obstructively (cited in *OED sb.* 4a)
108–9 **he . . . Milan** He must be absolute sovereign of Milan.

95 its] *(it's)* 100 of it,] oft *Oxf (Warburton);* oft' *Hanmer* 103 out o'th'] from *Pope* 105 his] is *F2* growing –] *Rowe*^{3}*;* growing: *F, Rowe*;* growing; *Rowe*^{1} 107 screen] *(Schreene)*

Was dukedom large enough. Of temporal royalties
He thinks me now incapable; confederates,
So dry he was for sway, wi'th' King of Naples
To give him annual tribute, do him homage,
Subject his coronet to his crown, and bend
The dukedom yet unbowed (alas, poor Milan)
To most ignoble stooping.

MIRANDA O, the heavens!

PROSPERO

Mark his condition and th'event, then tell me
If this might be a brother.

MIRANDA I should sin
To think but nobly of my grandmother;
Good wombs have borne bad sons.

PROSPERO Now the condition.
This King of Naples, being an enemy
To me inveterate, hearkens my brother's suit,
Which was that he, in lieu o'th' premises
Of homage, and I know not how much tribute,

110 **temporal royalties** secular, as distinct from spiritual, powers
111 **confederates** makes an alliance, conspires
112 **So . . . sway** so thirsty was he for power
114 **Subject . . . crown** *Subject* is here a verb: subjèct. Antonio decided to make his previously independent dukedom (symbolized by a *coronet*) subordinate to the kingdom of Naples (a *crown*).
115 **yet heretofore**
117 **condition** Antonio's terms for confederation with Naples
th'event the outcome
119 **but other than**
120 **Good . . . sons.** a common proverb: 'Many a good COW has an ill (evil) calf' (Dent, C761). Miranda rejects the possibility that her grandmother committed adultery and conceived Antonio by another man than Prospero's father; instead, she concludes that good women can still produce bad children. Theobald[1] grudgingly allowed Miranda to keep this line, but in his notes he argued that Shakespeare originally intended it for Prospero: 'How could *Miranda*, that came into this *Desart Island* an Infant, that had never seen any other Creatures of the World, but her Father and *Calibàn*, with any Propriety be furnish'd to make such an Observation from Life, that the Issue has often degenerated from the Parent?' (10). Hanmer agreed; in his 1744 edition, he gave this line to Prospero. Both forgot Prospero's efforts to educate his daughter and prepare her for her royal role.
122 **hearkens** hears with attention, pays heed to (cited in *OED v.* 4)
123–4 **in lieu . . . homage** in return for the obligations that homage and tribute carry

112 wi'th'] *Rowe;* with *F, Rowe** 116 most] much *F2* 119 but] not *Pope* 120 Good . . . sons] *assigned to Prospero / Hanmer (Theobald)*

Should presently extirpate me and mine
Out of the dukedom and confer fair Milan,
With all the honours, on my brother. Whereon –
A treacherous army levied – one midnight
Fated to th' purpose did Antonio open
The gates of Milan and i'th' dead of darkness
The ministers for th' purpose hurried thence
Me and thy crying self.

MIRANDA Alack, for pity.
I, not rememb'ring how I cried out then,
Will cry it o'er again. It is a hint
That wrings mine eyes to't.

PROSPERO Hear a little further,
And then I'll bring thee to the present business
Which now's upon's, without the which this story
Were most impertinent.

MIRANDA Wherefore did they not
That hour destroy us?

PROSPERO Well demanded, wench:

125 **presently** immediately, without delay (*OED adv.* 3), or, shortly, soon, before long (*OED adv.* 4)
extirpate literally, to pull out by the roots and thus be incapable of regeneration; destroy
129 **Fated** destined by fate (cited in *OED v.* 2). Cf. Helena's observation: 'The fated sky / Gives us free scope, only doth backward pull / Our slow designs when we ourselves are dull' (*AW* 1.1.217–19). Cf. the different use of 'fate' in 180–4 below.
131 **ministers . . . purpose** the agents assigned to this task, which presumably included Gonzalo, coerced by Antonio. Whether Gonzalo was 'Master of this design' (163) from the beginning or only during the final stage – setting the prisoners adrift – depends on how one reads *then* (162).
134 **hint** 'indication intended to be caught by the intelligent; a suggestion or implication conveyed in an indirect or covert manner' (*OED sb.* 2a)
135 **wrings . . . to't** causes my eyes to weep at the tale
137 **upon's** upon us
138 **impertinent** not pertinent, irrelevant
Wherefore why
139 **demanded** asked, as in the French *demander*. It did not carry the modern coercive sense.
wench a young woman and, in Shakespeare's day, a term of endearment, especially for wives and daughters. Petruchio calls Kate a 'wench' in the final scene of *TS* (5.2.180), and Berowne addresses Rosaline the same way in *LLL* (5.2.414). The word also had the very different, pejorative definition of lower-class or wanton woman, which later became the standard usage. Most editors assume that Prospero uses the word benignly. In the next line he addresses her as *Dear*.

127 Whereon –] *this edn;* Whereon *F;* Whereon, *Capell* 128 levied –] *this edn;* leuied, *F* 131 ministers] minister *Rowe* 133 out] on't *Theobald²* 135 to't] (too't) 138 Wherefore] Why *Pope*

My tale provokes that question. Dear, they durst not,
So dear the love my people bore me, nor set
A mark so bloody on the business, but
With colours fairer painted their foul ends.
In few, they hurried us aboard a bark,
Bore us some leagues to sea, where they prepared
A rotten carcass of a butt, not rigged,
Nor tackle, sail, nor mast – the very rats
Instinctively have quit it. There they hoist us
To cry to th' sea that roared to us, to sigh
To th' winds, whose pity, sighing back again,
Did us but loving wrong.

MIRANDA Alack, what trouble
Was I then to you?

PROSPERO O, a cherubin
Thou wast that did preserve me. Thou didst smile,
Infused with a fortitude from heaven,

141–2 **set . . . business** A bloody mark would reveal the treachery.
144 **In few** in a few words; briefly
bark small sailing vessel. Presumably Prospero and Miranda were conveyed some miles down river from Milan and then put to sea, or the scene's imprecise geography may be akin to the location of a seaport at Verona in *TGV*.
146 **butt** clearly slang for a small, decrepit boat but not so recorded in *OED* (Dryden & Davenant use 'boat'); literally a tub or cask, usually for storing liquids or agricultural produce
147 **Nor . . . mast** neither tackle, nor sail, nor mast
148 **have quit** had abandoned
hoist probably used in the sense of 'launched' (*OED* hoise *v.* 1)
151 **loving wrong** The winds did wrong in blowing the ship to sea, but they were also full of pity.
Alack 'An exclamation originally of dissatisfaction, reprobation, or deprecation', probably combining 'Ah' or 'O' with 'lack' – failure, disgrace, shame (cited in *OED int.*)
152 **cherubin** obsolete form of cherub (angel); spoken to a beautiful or beloved woman (cited in *OED* 3b). Cf. Shakespeare, *LC* (Riv, 1986), 319: 'Which like a cherubin above them hover'd'.
153 **preserve** Miranda saved him from spiritual despair and hence, presumably, from death at sea.
154 **Infused** infusèd

146 butt] boat *Dryden & Davenant* 147 sail] nor sail *F2* mast –] *Oxf;* mast, *F* 148 have] had *Dryden & Davenant* 152 cherubin] cherubim *F4*

When I have decked the sea with drops full salt,
Under my burden groaned, which raised in me
An undergoing stomach to bear up
Against what should ensue.

MIRANDA
How came we ashore?

PROSPERO
By providence divine.
Some food we had, and some fresh water, that
A noble Neapolitan, Gonzalo,
Out of his charity – who, being then appointed
Master of this design – did give us, with
Rich garments, linens, stuffs and necessaries,
Which since have steaded much; so of his gentleness,
Knowing I loved my books, he furnished me
From mine own library with volumes that
I prize above my dukedom.

MIRANDA
Would I might

155 decked . . . salt literally, 'adorned', but equally plausible is 'covered with a deck'; in either case, the point is that Prospero shed abundant tears. See 'deck' (*OED v.* 4) and 'decked' (*OED ppl. a.* 1). Johnson suggested 'the original import of the verb *deck* is, *to cover*; so in some parts they yet say *deck the table*. This sense may be borne, but perhaps the poet wrote *fleck'd*, which I think is still used in rustic language of drops falling upon water' (Johnson & Steevens, 14). Malone argued that 'To *deck*, I am told, signifies in the North, to *sprinkle*', as one might treat laundry before ironing (14).
156 which refers back to Miranda's smile
157 An undergoing stomach a staunch determination or the courage to persevere, as in 'he has a strong stomach for such matters'
158 what probably used as 'whatever'
159 divine. Orgel argues for different punctuation, stressing the ambiguity of F's original 'diuine', (Oxf[1], 110), but since it is incongruous to make *providence divine* responsible for Gonzalo's generosity as well as Prospero and Miranda's safe arrival on the island, we opt for Pope's full stop after *divine*.
164 stuffs stores, equipment
165 steaded much been very helpful; 'stood us in good stead' (Ard[2], 19)
gentleness like 'gentleman', this word implied more profound virtue than does its modern derivative.
166–8 Prospero's love for his books indicates his clear preference for the contemplative life over the active, a preference that contributed to the loss of his dukedom.
167 volumes presumably his books on magic as well as on the liberal arts
168–9 Would . . . man! I only (*But*) wish I might some day see that man.

155 decked] mock'd *Warburton;* brack'd *Hanmer;* fleck'd *Johnson & Steevens (Johnson)* 159 divine.] *Pope;* diuine, *F* 162 charity –] *Dyce;* Charity, *F* who] *om. Pope* 163 design –] *Dyce;* designe) *F* 165 much; so] *Ard[2];* much, so *F;* much. So *Rowe*

But ever see that man!

PROSPERO
Now I arise.
Sit still and hear the last of our sea-sorrow.
Here in this island we arrived, and here
Have I, thy schoolmaster, made thee more profit
Than other princes can that have more time
For vainer hours, and tutors not so careful.

MIRANDA
Heavens thank you for't. And now I pray you, sir,
For still 'tis beating in my mind, your reason
For raising this sea-storm?

PROSPERO
Know thus far forth:
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

169 Now I arise. an implied SD, indicating that Prospero gets up from a sitting position, probably to retrieve his magic robe, while Miranda remains seated (170: *Sit still*). But, as Ard[2] (20) and Oxf[1] (101) point out, the words may also refer to Prospero's fortunes which, after plummeting twelve years earlier in Milan, are now about to rise.
170 last the last part, remainder
sea-sorrow Other compounds in the text as noted in Ard[2] (20) are *sea-change* (1.2.401), *sea-marge* (4.1.69), *sea-storm* (1.2.177), *sea-swallowed* (2.1.251).
172 made . . . profit provided a more valuable education
173 *princes F's 'Princesse' is a characteristic spelling of 'princes' in Ralph Crane manuscripts; the word is a 'generic term for royal children of either sex' (Oxf[1], 110).
174 vainer hours less serious uses of their time
175 Heavens pronounced 'Heav'ns'
176 beating in exercising the brain (*OED vbl. sb.* 1a), perhaps with a pulsating sensation (*OED vbl. sb.* 5); cf. Claudius' description of Hamlet: 'This something-settled matter in his heart, / Whereon his brains still beating' (*Ham* 3.1.173–4).
177 thus far forth to this extent
180 prescience prèscience
181 zenith highest point in Prospero's fortunes
181–4 depend . . . droop Prospero's reading of heavenly signs reflects the magician's reliance on astrology, much as other passages invoke his practice in alchemy.
182 influence Prospero must heed the astrological power of the star.

173 princes] *Rowe;* Princesse *F;* Princess, *Rowe*;* princess' *Ard[2] (Dyce)* 178 fortune] *(Fortune)* 181 zenith] *(Zenith)*

If now I court not, but omit, my fortunes
Will ever after droop. Here cease more questions.
Thou art inclined to sleep; 'tis a good dullness,
And give it way. I know thou canst not choose.
[*to Ariel*] Come away, servant, come; I am ready now.
Approach, my Ariel. Come.

Enter ARIEL.

ARIEL
All hail, great master; grave sir, hail! I come
To answer thy best pleasure, be't to fly,
To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride
On the curled clouds. To thy strong bidding, task
Ariel and all his quality.

PROSPERO Hast thou, spirit,
Performed to point the tempest that I bade thee?

ARIEL
To every article.
I boarded the King's ship: now on the beak,

183 **but omit** and instead (*but*) leave disregarded, take no notice of (*OED* omit *v.* 2c)
185 **dullness** sleepiness
186 **give it way** succumb to it. In the following sentence, Prospero suggests that Miranda cannot choose but to sleep, either because she is so tired or because his magical powers are forcing her to sleep.
187 **Come away** come here
Many editions direct Miranda to sleep here. As Ariel approaches, Prospero slips his magic garment back on. Ariel may enter from aloft or from either side of the stage.
190–2 **fly . . . clouds** Ariel's travels associate him with three of the four classical elements: air, water and fire. Ariel is later associated with the fourth element, earth, in 255–6.
192 **task** set tasks for
193 **quality** skills; or, possibly, as some editions (Ard^2, 22; Oxf^1, 111) suggest, Ariel's subordinate Spirits who assist his work
194 **to point** 'To the smallest detail; exactly, completely' (cited in *OED* point *sb.*^{1} D 6b as the second such use, after *FQ*)
195 **article** clause, item
196 **beak** bow; Johnson suggested that 'The beak was a strong pointed body at the head of the ancient gallies; it is used here for the forecastle, or the bolt-sprit' (Johnson & Steevens, 16).

184 Here] *(*Heare*)* 187 SD] *this edn* 188.1] *Enter Ariel. Miranda sleeps. / Theobald* 193 quality] qualities *Dryden & Davenant*

Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin
I flamed amazement. Sometime I'd divide
And burn in many places – on the topmast,
The yards and bowsprit would I flame distinctly,
Then meet and join. Jove's lightning, the precursors
O'th' dreadful thunderclaps, more momentary
And sight-outrunning were not; the fire and cracks
Of sulphurous roaring, the most mighty Neptune
Seem to besiege and make his bold waves tremble,
Yea, his dread trident shake.

PROSPERO My brave spirit,
Who was so firm, so constant, that this coil
Would not infect his reason?

ARIEL Not a soul

197 **waist** middle of the ship or middle part of a ship's upper deck (cited in *OED* 3a)
deck the platform extending from side to side of the ship (*OED sb.*^{1} 2a). J. Smith describes the variety of ships' decks in *Sea Grammar*, 5–7.
198 **flamed amazement** flashed causing amazement. Apparently a description of St Elmo's fire, perhaps based on Strachey, 1737. See Introduction, pp. 40–2.
200 **yards** the crossbars on masts to which sails are attached. See J. Smith, *Sea Grammar*, 17–24.
bowsprit F's 'Bore-spritt' is one of several obsolete spellings of this nautical term (J. Smith, *Sea Grammar*, 15–25, spelled it 'Bowle spret', 'Boultspret', 'Boule-spret', 'Boulspret' and 'Bolspret') for the pole that extends from the bow and holds the lower edge of a sail (jib).
distinctly obsolete word for 'In a distinct or separate manner; separately; individually' (cited in *OED adv.* 1)
201 **Jove's lightning** flashes of light, associated with punishment or vengeance. Jove, the most powerful god in Roman mythology, cowed his enemies with bolts of lightning. Flashes of light also torture the sinners in 26.47–8 of Dante's *Inferno*: 'Dentro dai fuochi son li spirti; / catun si fascia di quel ch'elli e inceso' ('Within the fires are the spirits: each swathes himself with that which burns him' (vol. 1, 272–3)). Perhaps there is also a reference to the commonplace that we see lightning before we hear thunder (Dent, L281), used in *KJ* 1.1.24–6. Prospero declares that he has appropriated Jove's *own bolt* for his magic in 5.1.46.
203 **sight-outrunning** moving so fast as to disappear from sight
204 **sulphurous** Sulphur was often used in explosive devices; here the adjective suggests how Ariel 'staged' the storm.
Neptune god of the sea in Roman mythology
206 **dread trident** fearful three-pronged spear, Neptune's trademark weapon
brave fine
207 **coil** confusion

197 waist] *(*Waste*)* 198 Sometime] sometimes *F2* 199 places –] *this edn;* places; *F;* places. *Penguin* 200 bowsprit] *(*Bore-spritt*);* bolt-sprit *Rowe* 202 O'th'] Of *Pope* 205 Seem] Seem'd *Rowe*^{3} 206 dread] dead *F2*

But felt a fever of the mad and played
Some tricks of desperation. All but mariners
Plunged in the foaming brine and quit the vessel;
Then all afire with me, the King's son Ferdinand,
With hair up-staring (then like reeds, not hair),
Was the first man that leapt, cried 'Hell is empty,
And all the devils are here'.

PROSPERO
Why, that's my spirit!
But was not this nigh shore?

ARIEL
Close by, my master.

PROSPERO
But are they, Ariel, safe?

ARIEL
Not a hair perished;
On their sustaining garments not a blemish,
But fresher than before; and, as thou bad'st me,
In troops I have dispersed them 'bout the isle.

209 **of the mad** of the kind suffered by mad people

209–10 **played . . . desperation** made gestures and performed wild actions expressing despair

210–15 Some productions have used the actions described here, especially Ferdinand's escape from the ship, in staging the conclusion of 1.1.

212 **Then . . . Ferdinand** F's punctuation indicates that Ferdinand is on fire along with the ship; editors since Rowe have argued that such a reading is implausible and insert a colon or semicolon after *me* to break the clause. Thus *with hair up-staring* (hair standing on end) is unconnected to the fire in the rigging. Still, as Kermode suggests, 'the idea of Ferdinand leaping overboard with flaming hair and fingertips is very attractive' (Ard^2, 23).

215 **devils** pronounced dev'ls

spirit pronounced as one syllable

218 **sustaining garments** Many editors suggest that 'sustain' is used in a now rare sense (*OED v.* 11a): 'to hold up, bear the weight of, to keep from falling by support from below'. If this is, indeed, what Shakespeare intended, the line suggests that the Neapolitans' garments filled with air and somehow served as life-preservers. See also *Ham* 4.7.175–83, where Ophelia's garments are said to bear her up for a while in the water, but eventually, 'heavy with their drink', they pull her down 'To muddy death'. But 'sustain' may also be taken in another sense (*OED v.* 6a): 'to support life'. The garments are *sustaining* on land in that they protect the Neapolitans from exposure to the sun and weather.

220 **troops** groups of (usually military) people. This should not be taken literally; when Ariel speaks this line, there is one group of survivors – the court party – and three scattered individuals: Ferdinand, Stephano and Trinculo. The last two join forces in 2.1.

209 mad] mind *Dryden & Davenant* 214–15 'Hell . . . here'] *Theobald; no quotation marks F*

The King's son have I landed by himself,
Whom I left cooling of the air with sighs,
In an odd angle of the isle, and sitting,
His arms in this sad knot.

PROSPERO
Of the King's ship,
The mariners, say how thou hast disposed,
And all the rest o'th' fleet?

ARIEL
Safely in harbour
Is the King's ship, in the deep nook where once
Thou called'st me up at midnight to fetch dew
From the still-vexed Bermudas; there she's hid,
The mariners all under hatches stowed,
Who, with a charm joined to their suffered labour,
I have left asleep. And for the rest o'th' fleet,
Which I dispersed, they all have met again,

223 **odd angle** out of the way (*odd*) corner or nook

224 **arms . . . knot** an implied SD for folded or crossed arms. Cf. *JC* 2.1.240, where Portia describes Brutus as 'musing and sighing, with your arms across'. This pose was also associated with the sighing lover: Valentine argues that Proteus must be a lover because he wreathes his 'arms, like a malcontent' in *TGV* 2.1.19–20, and Moth suggests in *LLL* 3.1.18–19 that Armado's position, 'with . . . arms cross'd . . . like a rabbit on a spit', indicates he is in love.

228 **midnight . . . dew** an ingredient for a magical potion; see also 322, *wicked dew*

229 **still-vexed Bermudas** The uninhabited Bermuda islands were first brought to Europe's attention by a Spaniard, Juan de Bermúdez, in 1515 but were dreaded for the hidden reefs and ferocious storms that, nearly a century later, *still vexed* the island. The 'Bermuda triangle' continues to suggest mysterious losses at sea. Strachey, with a touch of hyperbole, called Bermuda 'the dangerous and dreaded . . . Ilands', notorious for 'tempests, thunders, and other fearefull objects . . . seene and heard about them', and known as 'the *Devil's Ilands*' (1737; see Appendix 1.1). After *Sea Venture*'s wreck in 1609, the islands remained virtually uninhabited until 1612. 'The Bermudas' (and variations of that spelling) was also a section of London notorious for harbouring thieves and prostitutes; Ben Jonson implied the Bermudas' nefarious character in *Bartholomew Fair* (6.57–8). The area was apparently named for the islands because they attracted fugitives from justice during the early years of English settlement.

230 **stowed** 'To fasten down (persons) under the hatches for confinement or safety' (cited in *OED v.* 4b)

231 **suffered labour** hard labours performed during the storm (only occurrence in *OED* suffered *ppl. a.*)

229 Bermudas] *Theobald; Bermoothes F*

And are upon the Mediterranean float,
Bound sadly home for Naples,
Supposing that they saw the King's ship wrecked
And his great person perish.

PROSPERO
Ariel, thy charge
Exactly is performed; but there's more work.
What is the time o'th' day?

ARIEL
Past the mid-season.

PROSPERO
At least two glasses. The time 'twixt six and now
Must by us both be spent most preciously.

ARIEL
Is there more toil? Since thou dost give me pains,
Let me remember thee what thou hast promised,
Which is not yet performed me.

PROSPERO
How now? Moody?
What is't thou canst demand?

ARIEL
My liberty.

PROSPERO
Before the time be out? No more!

234 **Mediterranean float** afloat upon the Mediterranean or on the waves of the Mediterranean Sea (*OED* float *sb.* 3a cites this for the second meaning), but *OED* float *v.* 11a is also plausible: 'Of the tide, to lift up or support on its surface', as opposed to the ships that were sunk. A fourth possibility is in the sense of the Spanish 'flotilla' – that the ships were reunited into a small fleet. Some editors have suggested an emendation to 'flood': 'a body of flowing water' (*OED sb.* 2).

239 **mid-season** noon

240 **At . . . glasses** 2 p.m., i.e. two hour glasses past midday, although sailors at the time usually used half-hour glasses (J. Smith, *Sea Grammar*, 38). Prospero amplifies Ariel's *Past the mid-season*, declaring that the time is now 2 p.m., and the action must end by 6 p.m., thereby maintaining the unity of time. See Introduction, pp. 14–16, and the reference to *glasses* at 5.1.223: 'three glasses since we gave out split'.

241 **preciously** valuably, now obsolete (cited in *OED adv.* 2)

243 **remember** remind

243–4 **promised . . . performed** This may be an allusion to the proverbial expression, 'Great PROMISE small performance' (Dent, P602).

244 **Moody** angry, ill-humoured. Prospero's query suggests that Ariel is palpably impatient to be free.

246 **time** Ariel is Prospero's indentured servant, under an oral agreement to work for a fixed period, though in the following lines Ariel suggests that the magician had offered him a one-year reduction in return for services rendered.

ARIEL
I prithee
Remember I have done thee worthy service,
Told thee no lies. made thee no mistakings, served
Without or grudge or grumblings. Thou did promise
To bate me a full year.

PROSPERO
Dost thou forget
From what a torment I did free thee?

ARIEL
No.

PROSPERO
Thou dost, and think'st it much to tread the ooze
Of the salt deep,
To run upon the sharp wind of the north,
To do me business in the veins o'th' earth
When it is baked with frost.

ARIEL
I do not, sir.

PROSPERO
Thou liest, malignant thing; hast thou forgot
The foul witch Sycorax, who with age and envy
Was grown into a hoop? Hast thou forgot her?

ARIEL
No, sir.

PROSPERO
Thou hast! Where was she born? Speak; tell me.

250 **bate** reduce (abate) the length of his servitude

252–6 **tread . . . frost** Prospero accuses Ariel of exaggerating his chores: to walk on the muck of the ocean floor, to be buffeted by cold north winds, to labour in the frozen ground. These descriptions suggest Ariel's wide-ranging action in contrast to his earlier immobility in a pine tree (see 269–80 below).

256 **baked with frost** hardened by the cold

258 **Sycorax** The origins of this name are uncertain. Unique to Shakespeare, it may be derived from the Greek words for sow (*sus*) and raven (*korax*). Both animals are associated with witchcraft; Medea was known as the Scythian raven, and Circe the sorceress turned Odysseus' men into pigs. The witches Circe and Medea were associated with Colchis, home of the Coraxi tribe. Prospero's contempt for Sycorax's witchcraft may reflect his anxiety about his own magical powers, which he used to counteract her spells (see 291–3 below and n.).
envy malice

259 **hoop** a circular band or ring of metal (*OED sb.* 1a). Sycorax is bent over with age.

248 ²thee] *om. Rowe*³

ARIEL
Sir, in Algiers.
PROSPERO O, was she so? I must
Once in a month recount what thou hast been,
Which thou forget'st. This damned witch Sycorax,
For mischiefs manifold and sorceries terrible
To enter human hearing, from Algiers,
Thou knowst, was banished. For one thing she did
They would not take her life; is not this true?
ARIEL Ay, sir.
PROSPERO
This blue-eyed hag was hither brought with child,
And here was left by th' sailors. Thou, my slave,

261 **Algiers** In Shakespeare's era (and therefore in F), the placename was Argier, pronounced Argièr.
O, was she so? Prospero is perhaps being sarcastic here, but as Orgel (Oxf[1], 115) notes, his knowledge of Sycorax is not first-hand but derived from Ariel's accounts.
265 **human** F's 'humane' suggests feelings of compassion in addition to the fact of being human. In Shakespeare's time these spellings and 'humain(e)' were interchangeable.
266 **For . . . did** Debate over the *one thing* has flourished. Charles Lamb quoted John Ogilby's 'accurate description of Africa' (1670) to argue that Shakespeare was drawing on the legend of an Algerian witch who saved the city when it was beseiged by Charles V's navy in 1541; she put a curse on the fleet, raising a furious storm that drove the ships away (*Critical Essays* (London, 1903), 70–2). Most twentieth-century editors acknowledge that Sycorax's pregnancy (269 below), by the laws and conventions of the time, would have prevented her execution. Cf. *1H6* 5.4.62–85, where Joan claims to be pregnant in order to avoid execution. Older theories are set forth in Var, 60–1.
269 **blue-eyed hag** witch with blue eyes. Twentieth-century editors have traditionally argued that the eye colour is meant pejoratively and probably refers to blue eyelids (Ard[2], 27) or pregnancy, as in Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* (1623), 2.1.67, where the pregnant Duchess is described: 'The fins of her eyelids look most teeming blue'. Leah Marcus contends that the sobriquet is far more problematic. In the aftermath of the nineteenth century's racial Darwinism, blue eyes became associated with people of Anglo-Saxon heritage. As an Algerian witch, Sycorax did not fit the stereotype, and commentators accordingly found alternative explanations for the colour of her eyes (see Marcus, 5–17). Despite the prejudices that may have shaped earlier assumptions, the words are Prospero's, and his angry speech should probably be read in its most negative sense.
270–1 **Thou . . . thyself** Ariel's apparent protest that he is Prospero's *slave*

261+ Algiers] *Oxf; Argier F* 264 terrible] too terrible *Dryden & Davenant* 265 human] *(humane)*

As thou report'st thyself, was then her servant,
And – for thou wast a spirit too delicate
To act her earthy and abhorred commands,
Refusing her grand hests – she did confine thee,
By help of her more potent ministers
And in her most unmitigable rage,
Into a cloven pine, within which rift
Imprisoned thou didst painfully remain
A dozen years, within which space she died
And left thee there, where thou didst vent thy groans
As fast as millwheels strike. Then was this island
(Save for the son that she did litter here,
A freckled whelp, hag-born) not honoured with
A human shape.
ARIEL Yes, Caliban, her son.

echoes a common complaint of servants in Shakespeare's time; Prospero mocks the contention.
272 **for** because
spirit probably monosyllabic
delicate fine or exquisite in quality or nature (cited in *OED a.* 6b)
273 **act** carry out, perform (first occurrence in *OED v.* 3)
earthy bestial, as opposed to Ariel's spiritual quality
274 **hests** behests, requests
275 **ministers** agents; presumably, Sycorax's servants disappeared with her death, their potency no longer effective.
276 **unmitigable** with no possibility of softening or lessening (first occurrence in *OED*)
277 **cloven pine** See *FQ*, 1.2.33, where Fradubio is confined in a tree.
279 This line establishes much of the play's chronology. If Sycorax imprisoned Ariel for twelve years before Prospero and Miranda (then aged three) arrived, and assuming that Caliban was born soon after Sycorax came to the island (see 269–70), he was at least twelve years old when they landed and twenty-four when the play takes place.
281 **millwheels strike** i.e. as frequently as each blade of a millwheel hits the water
281–4 This sentence establishes Caliban's human physique; see Vaughan, *Caliban*, 9–12.
282 ***she . . . here** give birth to, using a term usually applied to animal births to demean Sycorax and Caliban, as does *freckled whelp* (i.e. puppy). F's 'he' has, beginning with Dryden & Davenant, almost always been emended to *she* to be consistent with all other references to Sycorax. Jonathan Goldberg, however, suggests that F's 'he' conveys intentional sexual ambiguity, a theme that Goldberg (105–28) also finds elsewhere in the play.
283 **whelp** 'the young of the dog', here applied 'deprecatingly to the offspring of a noxious creature'; 'son of a bitch' (cited in *OED sb.*[1] 3a)
284 **Yes . . . son.** Ariel confirms that Caliban was left on the island, 'A freckled whelp, hag-born'.

273 earthy] earthly *Rowe[2]* 274 hests –] *this edn;* hests, *F* 282 she] *Dryden & Davenant;* he *F*

PROSPERO
Dull thing, I say so – he, that Caliban,
Whom now I keep in service. Thou best knowst
What torment I did find thee in: thy groans
Did make wolves howl and penetrate the breasts
Of ever-angry bears. It was a torment
To lay upon the damned, which Sycorax
Could not again undo. It was mine art,
When I arrived and heard thee, that made gape
The pine and let thee out.
ARIEL I thank thee, master.
PROSPERO
If thou more murmur'st, I will rend an oak
And peg thee in his knotty entrails till
Thou hast howled away twelve winters.
ARIEL Pardon, master,
I will be correspondent to command
And do my spriting gently.
PROSPERO
Do so, and after two days
I will discharge thee.
ARIEL That's my noble master.

285 Dull . . . so Prospero continues to chide Ariel for the spirit's impatience to be free, although the line might conceivably be read as a reference to Caliban: '*he*'s a dull thing, I say, that Caliban'. In either case, Prospero is annoyed at Ariel's interruption.
286 in service Prospero holds Caliban as a servant (cited in *OED* service *sb.*[1] 1), though in this case Caliban is an entirely unfree servant – i.e. a slave. See 2.1.152n.
287–9 thy groans . . . bears Ariel's agony aroused sympathy even in wolves and bears. In a similar scene in canto 13 of the *Inferno*, when the pilgrim Dante plucks a thornbush, the soul lost within it cries out in blood and anguish (Dante, 13.31–151).
291–3 Could . . . out Prospero contends (presumably on Ariel's testimony) that Sycorax, having imprisoned Ariel in the cloven pine, could not counteract the spell. Prospero asserts that his own superior magic did so.
295 peg . . . entrails fasten you with a peg in its (*his*) gnarled inner parts
297 correspondent responsive, compliant, submissive (cited in *OED a.* 3)
298 gently slowly, softly; in a quiet, moderate or subdued fashion (*OED adv.* 2)

285 so –] *this edn;* so: *F;* so; *Capell;* so! *Penguin* 295 peg thee] *(peg-thee)*

What shall I do? Say what? What shall I do?
PROSPERO
Go make thyself like a nymph o'th' sea;
Be subject to no sight but thine and mine, invisible
To every eyeball else. Go take this shape
And hither come in't. Go! Hence with diligence.
Exit [*Ariel*].
[*to Miranda*] Awake, dear heart, awake; thou hast slept well.
Awake.
MIRANDA The strangeness of your story put
Heaviness in me.
PROSPERO Shake it off. Come on,
We'll visit Caliban, my slave, who never
Yields us kind answer.
MIRANDA 'Tis a villain, sir,
I do not love to look on.
PROSPERO But as 'tis,
We cannot miss him; he does make our fire,
Fetch in our wood, and serves in offices
That profit us. – What ho, slave! Caliban,

301 shall in the sense of 'must'
303 invisible Prospero hands Ariel some kind of robe or costume (*this shape*) that suggests a sea-nymph. *Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge, 1961, 325) lists 'a robe for to goo invisibell' in the inventory of the Admiral's Men, but as Sturgess contends, Ariel's sea-nymph costume is somewhat different, making him/her blend in with the marine atmosphere of the play in performance (87). After this speech, the audience knows that whenever it sees Ariel in this garment, the spirit is meant to be invisible to all the characters on stage except Prospero.
308 Heaviness sleepiness
309 visit Caliban Ard[2] (29) and Oxf[1] (118) suggest that Caliban's cave was located at the rear of the stage in the discovery space. In many modern productions, he rises from a trap door down stage centre. Locating Caliban's cave below underscores his opposition to Ariel, who can enter from aloft, but it can also suggest his status as a slave who sleeps, as it were, below ground.
310 villain in the original sense of a low-born person or servant
312 miss do without
313 serves in offices performs duties

302 like] like to *F2* 303 thine and] *om. Rowe*[3] 305 Go!] *Signet;* goe: *F* Hence . . . diligence] *Pope; F lines* hence / diligence. SD] *Rowe; Exit. F* 306 SD] *Oxf*[1] 310–11 'Tis . . . on] *one line in F* 312 does] *(do's)* 313 serves in] serves *F2;* serve *Dryden & Davenant*

Thou earth, thou: speak!

CALIBAN [*within*] There's wood enough within.

PROSPERO

Come forth I say, there's other business for thee.
Come, thou tortoise, when?

Enter ARIEL, *like a water nymph.*

Fine apparition, my quaint Ariel,
Hark in thine ear.

ARIEL My lord, it shall be done. *Exit.*

PROSPERO

Thou poisonous slave, got by the devil himself
Upon thy wicked dam; come forth!

Enter CALIBAN.

CALIBAN

As wicked dew as ere my mother brushed

315 **Thou earth** Prospero again emphasizes Caliban's earthiness (cf. 274 and n.), in contrast to Ariel's spirituality. See Introduction, pp. 28–30.

317 **thou tortoise** This epithet has induced some editors, critics and artists to visualize Caliban as a giant turtle (see the discussion in Vaughan, *Caliban*, 13, 76, 223–4), but the epithet's context and the subsequent *when* leave no doubt that Prospero is responding to Caliban's dilatoriness. **when?** 'When will you get here?' or, more imperatively, 'get a move on'. See *R2* 1.1.162: 'When, Harry? when?'

317.1 Ariel is wearing the costume Prospero had given him earlier, signifying to the audience that Ariel is invisible to Miranda.

318 **Fine** 'Exquisitely fashioned; delicately beautiful' (cited in *OED a.* 6a) **quaint** clever, skillful. See *TS* 3.2.145–7: 'We'll overreach . . . / The quaint musician'.

320 **got . . . himself** In the Jacobean play, *The Birth of Merlin*, the devil (who is described as having 'a face like a Frying-Pan') claims Merlin for his son. Although Merlin does not seem to have inherited his father's blackness, the magician's resonance with Caliban (both are sons of the devil) may suggest a dark hue for Shakespeare's monster. See Udall, 50–5. Prospero's knowledge of Caliban's paternity could only have come from Ariel or Caliban, neither of whom had first-hand information. In any case, the line indicates Prospero's animus towards Caliban.

322–4 **As . . . both.** Prospero had earlier sent Ariel to Bermuda for dew to use in his magic; Caliban now wishes some for his bag of tricks, in this case *wicked* (offensive, foul: cited in *OED a.* 2b) dew from swampy ground. Ravens were commonly associated with witchcraft. See 258n.

With raven's feather from unwholesome fen
Drop on you both. A southwest blow on ye
And blister you all o'er.

PROSPERO

For this, be sure, tonight thou shalt have cramps,
Side-stitches, that shall pen thy breath up; urchins
Shall forth at vast of night that they may work
All exercise on thee; thou shalt be pinched
As thick as honeycomb, each pinch more stinging
Than bees that made 'em.

CALIBAN I must eat my dinner.
This island's mine by Sycorax, my mother,
Which thou tak'st from me. When thou cam'st first
Thou strok'st me and made much of me; wouldst give me
Water with berries in't, and teach me how

324 **southwest** Winds from the southwest often brought warm, damp air, with implications of unhealthiness. Cf. *Cor.* 1.4.30: 'All the contagion of the south light on you'.

325 **blister** i.e. cause infectious lesions

327 **Side-stitches** pains between the shoulders and hips (first occurrence in *OED* side *sb.*[1] 22)
pen . . . up stop your breath
urchins spirits assuming the shape of hedgehogs; cf. Mrs Page's call for children to dress 'Like urchins' in *MW* 4.4.50.

328 ***forth at** F's syntax is faulty here, but many editors leave it unremarked. Dryden & Davenant solve the problem by substituting 'Urchins shall prick thee 'till thou bleed'st'. Thomas White first emended the spacing to read 'forth at': '*Urchins . . . shall . . .* go *forth* [at vast of night] *and work all exercise on thee*' (Var, 70). Though this reading has been rejected by many twentieth-century editors, it nicely resolves an ambiguous line and is adopted in Oxf, Bantam and Folg[2].
vast of night 'The *vast of night* means the night which is naturally empty and deserted, without action' (Johnson & Steevens, 24).

329 **exercise** perform, practise (cited in *OED v.* 6b as obsolete)

329–30 **pinched . . . honeycomb** pinched as densely as bee cells in a honeycomb, which are formed by a sort of pinching

330 **thick** frequently, as in 'thick and fast' (*OED adv.* 3)

332 Caliban here makes his claim to the island on the grounds of inheritance, which many editors and critics (e.g. Oxf[1], 119) have assumed would be invalid were Caliban illegitimate. Yet, as the only human on the island at the time of Sycorax's death, he perforce would possess it regardless of legitimacy.

334 **strok'st** properly 'strok'd'st', which is difficult to pronounce, although Rowe emended to it

335 **Water with berries** Some editors suggest that this line is adapted from Strachey's account of Bermuda (see

328 forth at] *Oxf (Grant White)*; for that *F* vast] waste *Rowe*[1]

To name the bigger light and how the less
That burn by day and night. And then I loved thee
And showed thee all the qualities o'th' isle:
The fresh springs, brine pits, barren place and fertile.
Cursed be I that did so! All the charms
Of Sycorax – toads, beetles, bats – light on you,
For I am all the subjects that you have,
Which first was mine own king; and here you sty me
In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
The rest o'th' island.

PROSPERO Thou most lying slave,
Whom stripes may move, not kindness; I have used thee
(Filth as thou art) with humane care and lodged thee
In mine own cell, till thou didst seek to violate
The honour of my child.

Appendix 1.1), where the shipwrecked Englishmen discovered that cedar berries, 'seething, straining, and letting stand some three or foure daies, made a kind of pleasant drinke' (1739). Another possibility is that *berries* refers to 'grapes', a synonym for berries, especially in Old English (*OED sb.* 1a). If so, Prospero's wine was apparently weaker and less intoxicating than the sack in Stephano's butt, unless the local drink was used up many years earlier and Caliban only dimly remembers its wonders (Bate, *Genius*, 246).

336–7 **the bigger . . . night** Prospero drew his elementary astronomy lesson from Genesis, 1.16 (Geneva Bible), which reports God's creation of 'greater' and 'lesser' lights – the sun and moon.

338 **qualities** characteristics

340 **Cursed** Cursèd

charms spells or incantations

341 **you** Byrne explains the shift here from 'thou' to 'you': 'Caliban uses course, rough *thou* to Prospero, but *you* in anger and cursing' (138).

343 **sty** confine or pen up, as in a pig sty (first occurrence in *OED v.*[2] 1b)

346 **stripes** strokes of the whip

move influence, prompt

347 **humane** 'Human' and 'humane' were interchangeable spellings in Shakespeare's time (see 265n.). We concur with several recent editions (Oxf[1], Bantam, Folg[2]) which choose F's 'humane' to stress Prospero's compassionate care. Modernizing to 'human', as some editors do, emphasizes Prospero's humanity as opposed to Caliban's bestiality, a reading that privileges the magus over his slave.

340 I . . . so] I that I did so *F2* 341 Sycorax –] *Signet; Sycorax: F; Sycorax; / Rowe; Sycorax, / Pope* bats –] *this edn;* Batts *F;* bats, *Pope* 343 Which] I *Dryden & Davenant;* Who *Pope* mine] *(*min*)* sty me] *(*sty-me*)* 347 humane] human *F4* thee] *om. F4* 3

CALIBAN
O ho, O ho! Would't had been done;
Thou didst prevent me, I had peopled else
This isle with Calibans.

MIRANDA Abhorred slave,
Which any print of goodness wilt not take,
Being capable of all ill; I pitied thee,
Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour
One thing or other. When thou didst not, savage,
Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like
A thing most brutish, I endowed thy purposes
With words that made them known. But thy vile race
(Though thou didst learn) had that in't which good
natures
Could not abide to be with; therefore wast thou
Deservedly confined into this rock,

350 **Would't . . . done** Although some critics have recently suggested that the attempted violation was Prospero's fabrication, Caliban here defiantly admits it.

351 'had you not prevented me, I would have populated'

352–63 From Dryden to the early twentieth century, editors generally reassigned this speech from Miranda to Prospero on the grounds of decorum. See Introduction, pp. 135–6.

352 **Abhorred** Abhorrèd

353 **print** imprint. One of the signs of barbarism in Shakespeare's day was thought to be the inability to absorb virtue as well as information. Miranda here consigns Caliban to the ranks of the morally ineducable.

356–9 Miranda implies that whatever Caliban's native language was, to her ears it was simply brutish gabbling that Caliban himself couldn't understand. For discussion of the role of language in Europe's colonization of the New World, see Greenblatt, 16–39.

359 **thy vile race** in effect, creatures of your kind who share your diabolical nature. 'Race' had a wide range of meanings in the seventeenth century and did not necessarily connote systematic and legal categories as it would later. Steevens suggested '*Race*, in this place, seems to signify original disposition, inborn qualities' (Johnson & Steevens, 26, and *OED* race *sb.*[2] 7, which cites this occurrence as meaning 'natural or inherited disposition'); however, if we think of Caliban as African, the term resonates strongly with modern audiences who then see Miranda's contempt for a dark-hued slave as predictive of modern racism. See Introduction, pp. 48–51.

362 **rock** implies that Caliban lives in a cave. See 309n. In *The Birth of Merlin*, Merlin confines his devil-father in a rock (Udall, 176–7).

351 Would't] I wou'd it *Pope* 352 SP] PROSPERO *Dryden & Davenant, Theobald* 359 vile] *(*vild*);* wild *Dryden & Davenant*

Who hadst deserved more than a prison.

CALIBAN

You taught me language, and my profit on't
Is I know how to curse. The red plague rid you
For learning me your language.

PROSPERO Hag-seed, hence:
Fetch us in fuel, and be quick – thou'rt best –
To answer other business. Shrug'st thou, malice?
If thou neglect'st, or dost unwillingly
What I command, I'll rack thee with old cramps,
Fill all thy bones with aches, make thee roar,
That beasts shall tremble at thy din.

CALIBAN No, pray thee.
[*aside*] I must obey; his art is of such power
It would control my dam's god Setebos,
And make a vassal of him.

PROSPERO So, slave, hence. *Exit Caliban.*

363 more . . . prison i.e. a worse punishment than imprisonment
364–6 See 356–9 and n.
366 **red plague** *The General Practice of Physic* (London, 1605) identified red, black and yellow sores caused by plague (675). 'Red' was applied to various diseases marked by 'evacuation of blood or cutaneous eruptions' (cited in *OED* 16b). Johnson suggested that the red plague came 'from the redness of the body universally inflamed' (Johnson & Steevens, 27). See also Var, 75.
366 **learning** teaching
Hag-seed the offspring of a hag
367 **thou'rt best** you are advised to
368 **answer other business** do other work
370 **rack** affect with severe pain, as by torture
old cramps either cramps of old age or, perhaps, more of the same cramps that Caliban has suffered already
371 **aches** originally pronounced with two syllables, soft 'ch', and a soft 'e' – 'aitches'; cf. *AC* 4.7.7–8, where Scarus puns: 'I had a wound here that was like a T, / But now 'tis made an H'.
372 **That . . . din so loudly that beasts will tremble**
374 **Setebos** a Patagonian god, mentioned in Antonio Pigafetta's narrative of a voyage to Patagonia in 1519, published in 1526. It first appeared in English in Eden, 219^{v}. See Introduction, pp. 40–1.

363 Who . . . prison] *Theobald; F lines* hadst / prison.; *om. Pope* 367 quick –] *this edn;* quicke *F;* quick, *F4* thou'rt] thou wer't *Rowe* best –] *this edn;* best *F;* best) *Pope;* best, *Capell* 373 SD] *Ard*[1]

Enter FERDINAND[,] *and* ARIEL, *invisible, playing and singing.*

ARIEL [*Sings.*]
Come unto these yellow sands,
And then take hands;
Curtsied when you have, and kissed
The wild waves whist;
Foot it featly here and there,
And sweet sprites bear
The burden.

(*burden dispersedly*)

SPIRITS Hark, hark! Bow-wow,
The watch dogs bark, bow-wow.

ARIEL Hark hark, I hear,
The strain of strutting chanticleer
Cry cock a diddle dow.

375.1 ***invisible*** Prospero has already (301–4) told Ariel to be invisible to everyone else, thus informing the audience that Ferdinand will not see Ariel. The sea-nymph costume serves as a reminder of his invisibility. Cf. 302 and 317.1.
playing Oxf[1] (121) suggests that Ariel plays a lute.
376 **yellow sands** perhaps suggested by Virgil's *Aeneid.* In the Elysian fields Aeneas finds that 'Some disport their limbs on the grassy wrestling-ground, vie in sports, and grapple on the yellow sand' ('*fulva . . . harena*' (*Aeneid*, Bk 6, 640–4)). Cf. *MND* 2.1.126, where Titania recalls sitting 'on Neptune's yellow sands'.
378–9 **kissed . . . whist** The song tells the dancers to kiss each other until the waves grow silent or, perhaps, to kiss the waves to silence. It was customary at country dances for couples to kiss at certain measures. *OED a.* 1 uses this line to illustrate the archaic meaning of *whist*: 'silent, quiet, still, hushed; making no sound; free from noise or disturbance'. See Var, 78–9, and Oxf[1] (122). Long concludes that this 'music calms the storm', which had continued in the background until this point (99).
380 **Foot it featly** dance skilfully, gracefully (*OED* 2b). Cf. *WT* 4.4.176: 'She dances featly'.
382 SD ***burden dispersedly*** a refrain or chorus that is sung from various positions around the stage, or perhaps from beneath, but not in unison. From Capell on, many editors have made the sounds of dogs barking the only chorus, but Noble argues persuasively that 383–4 form a refrain (105).
383 SP *Ariel is accompanied in the chorus by his fellow Spirits. Otherwise F's inclusion of the ARIEL SP – calling for Ariel to sing solo in 385 – makes no sense. See Noble, 105–6.
386 **strain . . . chanticleer** song of a rooster, as in Chaucer's *Nun's Priest's Tale*

376 SD] *Oxf*[1]; *Ariel* Song *F; Ariel's* Song *F3* 381–2 bear / The burden] *one line in Pope* 383–4] *this edn; F lines barke, / bowgh-wawgh. /* 385–7] *Rowe*[3]; *F lines Chanticlere / dowe. /*

FERDINAND
Where should this music be? I'th' air, or th'earth?
It sounds no more, and sure it waits upon
Some god o'th' island. Sitting on a bank,
Weeping again the King my father's wreck,
This music crept by me upon the waters,
Allaying both their fury and my passion
With its sweet air. Thence I have followed it
(Or it hath drawn me, rather) but 'tis gone.
No, it begins again.

ARIEL [*Sings.*]
Full fathom five thy father lies,
Of his bones are coral made;
Those are pearls that were his eyes,
Nothing of him that doth fade
But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich and strange.
Sea nymphs hourly ring his knell.

SPIRITS Ding dong.

ARIEL Hark, now I hear them.

SPIRITS Ding dong bell.

FERDINAND
The ditty does remember my drowned father;
This is no mortal business nor no sound
That the earth owes. I hear it now above me.

389 waits upon attends
393 passion deeply felt grief; suffering
394 air tune
Thence from that place
397 Full fathom five five fathoms (30 feet) by nautical measurement. The earliest setting of this song by Robert Johnson dates from 1613. See Introduction, p. 19 and Fig. 3.
400 fade decay, decompose (*OED v.* 2)
401 suffer undergo
404 SP *Ariel's fellow Spirits join in the chorus. See 383n.
406 ditty does remember song commemorates
407 no . . . business a supernatural event
408 owes owns
I . . . me. Perhaps, as Orgel suggests, music comes from a consort in the upper gallery (Oxf[1], 123).

388 I'th . . . th'earth] in air, or earth *Pope;* i'th'air or the 'arth *Ard*[2] 390 island.] *Pope;* Iland, *F* 391 again] against *F3* 397 SD] *Oxf*[1]*; Ariell* Song *F; Ariel's* Song *F3* 404 SP] *Oxf; not in F* Ding dong] *Oxf;* Burthen: ding dong *F; Burthen (within):* Ding-Dong *Riv* 405 Hark . . . / Ding dong bell] *as Oxf; one line F* Ding dong bell] *(within)* Ding-dong bell. *Oxf*

PROSPERO [*to Miranda*]
The fringed curtains of thine eye advance,
And say what thou seest yond.

MIRANDA What is't, a spirit?
Lord, how it looks about. Believe me, sir,
It carries a brave form. But 'tis a spirit.

PROSPERO
No, wench, it eats and sleeps and hath such senses
As we have – such. This gallant which thou seest
Was in the wreck, and but he's something stained
With grief (that's beauty's canker) thou mightst call him
A goodly person. He hath lost his fellows
And strays about to find 'em.

MIRANDA I might call him
A thing divine, for nothing natural
I ever saw so noble.

PROSPERO [*aside*] It goes on, I see,
As my soul prompts it. [*to Ariel*] Spirit, fine spirit,
I'll free thee
Within two days for this.

FERDINAND Most sure the goddess

409 fringed . . . advance (fringèd); eyes with fringes (a metaphor for eyelashes) that are raised or lifted up (cited in *OED* advance *v.* 9)
410 yond over there, yonder
412 carries . . . form has a handsome shape
But it has to be, alas
413 wench See 139n.
414 gallant pronounced gàllant; fine, attractive gentleman, here meant playfully, perhaps ironically
415 but except that
something somewhat
416 canker The cankerworm feeds on shrubs and trees, slowly destroying the buds; a glancing reference to the proverb, 'The CANKER soonest eats the fairest rose' (Dent, C56). The metaphor compares grief to a cancer that eats away at a flower (*beauty*). Cf. *TN* 2.4.110–15, where Viola reports how concealed love destroys beauty 'like a worm i'th' bud'.
417 goodly handsome
421 soul prompts intellectual or spiritual power, distinguished from physical (*OED* soul *sb.* 3b), that inspires or directs (*prompts*)
Spirit perhaps monosyllabic
422 Most . . . goddess a paraphrase of Virgil's *'O dea certe'* from the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas encounters his mother Venus. When he asks if she is a goddess, Venus replies, 'Nay, I claim not such worship' (Bk 1, 328–35).

409 SD] *Oxf* 410 What . . . a]*Rowe;* What is't a *F;* What is't? A *Capell;* What, is't a *Riv* 420 SD] *Pope* 421 SD] *Oxf*

On whom these airs attend! – Vouchsafe my prayer
May know if you remain upon this island,
And that you will some good instruction give
How I may bear me here. My prime request,
Which I do last pronounce, is (O, you wonder!)
If you be maid or no?
MIRANDA No wonder, sir,
But certainly a maid.
FERDINAND My language? Heavens!
I am the best of them that speak this speech,
Were I but where 'tis spoken.
PROSPERO How? The best?
What wert thou if the King of Naples heard thee?
FERDINAND
A single thing, as I am now, that wonders
To hear thee speak of Naples. He does hear me,
And that he does, I weep. Myself am Naples,
Who, with mine eyes, never since at ebb, beheld
The King my father wrecked.
MIRANDA Alack, for mercy!
FERDINAND
Yes, faith, and all his lords – the Duke of Milan

423 **on . . . attend** for whom these songs are played
Vouchsafe grant
424 **remain** dwell (*OED v.* 4b)
426 **bear me** comport myself, behave (*OED v.*[1] 4)
427 **wonder** a play on Miranda's name from the Latin verb *miror*: to wonder, be astonished at. See List of Roles n. 14.
429 **maid** a human (not goddess); an unmarried woman; a virgin. Shakespeare may have been alluding to *FQ*, 3.5.35–6, where Spenser records the meeting between Timias and Belphoebe: 'Angell, or Goddesse, do I call thee right? . . . Therat she blushing said, Ah! gentle Squire, / Nor Goddesse I, nor Angell, but the Mayd, / And daughter of a woody Nymphe'.
430 **best** highest in rank. Ferdinand assumes that his father drowned.
433 **single** one and the same person as the King of Naples. The word also resonates with Ferdinand's bereavement: he is 'Unaccompanied or unsupported by others' (*OED a.* 1); 'standing alone' as the unique ruler of Naples (*OED a.* 7); as well as a bachelor (*OED a.* 8a).
434 **He . . . me** 'I, being the King of Naples, hear myself.'
436 **at ebb** at low tide; i.e. without tears
437 **for mercy** 'may God have mercy!'

428 maid] *F3; (*Mayd*);* made *F4* 438 lords –] *Cam*[1]*;* Lords, *F;* Lords; *Rowe*[3]*;* lords: *Theobald*

And his brave son being twain.
PROSPERO [*aside*] The Duke of Milan
And his more braver daughter could control thee
If now 'twere fit to do't. At the first sight
They have changed eyes. [*to Ariel*] Delicate Ariel,
I'll set thee free for this. [*to Ferdinand*] A word, good sir;
I fear you have done yourself some wrong. A word.
MIRANDA [*aside*]
Why speaks my father so ungently? This
Is the third man that e'er I saw, the first
That e'er I sighed for. Pity move my father
To be inclined my way.
FERDINAND O, if a virgin,
And your affection not gone forth, I'll make you
The Queen of Naples.
PROSPERO Soft, sir, one word more.

439 **his brave son** The Duke's (Antonio's) son is mentioned nowhere else in *Tem*; critics have variously explained this oddity, usually by assuming that Shakespeare originally intended to develop the character but later decided against it and neglected to adjust this line. Alonso makes clear in the next scene that he intended Ferdinand to inherit both Milan and Naples (2.1.112–13). Similarly, one of Prospero's central goals is to ensure that his grandchildren inherit the thrones of both Milan and Naples; in either case, Antonio's son is alienated from the succession (Kastan, 96). See also Var, 86–7.
twain two of them (cited in *OED adj.* B 2a)
440 **more braver** The adjective *more* is added to the comparative *braver* for greater emphasis (Abbott, §11).
control rebuke, reprove (*OED v.* 3a)
442 **They . . . eyes** Ferdinand and Miranda have exchanged affectionate glances; perhaps a reference to falling in love at first sight. Cf. Dent, L426: 'Love not at the first LOOK', a proverb that warns against it, although Shakespeare's characters often succumb (cf. Rosalind and Orlando, Romeo and Juliet, as well as Ferdinand and Miranda).
444 **done . . . wrong** spoken falsely; made a serious error
445–7 Although Miranda speaks these words to herself in an aside, she may intend that her father overhear, with the final clause meant as an appeal for pity on Ferdinand.
447 **Pity move** let compassion sway
448 **if a virgin** As a prince (or, as he thinks, a king), Ferdinand must marry a virgin to ensure that any children born of the union are his legitimate descendants and thereby eligible to inherit his throne.
450 **Soft** a call for silence but meant kindly (*OED adv.* 8a)

439 SD] *Ard*[2] *(Dyce)* 442 SD] *Johnson & Steevens* 443 SD] *Ard*[1] 445 SD] *Oxf* ungently] urgently *F2*

[*aside*] They are both in either's powers, but this swift
business
I must uneasy make, lest too light winning
Make the prize light. [*to Ferdinand*] One word more.
I charge thee
That thou attend me. Thou dost here usurp
The name thou ow'st not and hast put thyself
Upon this island as a spy, to win it
From me, the lord on't.

FERDINAND No, as I am a man.

MIRANDA
There's nothing ill can dwell in such a temple.
If the ill spirit have so fair a house,
Good things will strive to dwell with't.

PROSPERO [*to Ferdinand*] Follow me. –
Speak not you for him; he's a traitor. – Come,
I'll manacle thy neck and feet together;
Sea water shalt thou drink; thy food shall be
The fresh-brook mussels, withered roots, and husks
Wherein the acorn cradled. Follow!

FERDINAND No,

452 **uneasy** hard, difficult
452–3 **light . . . light** easy . . . of little value, perhaps with a suggestion of unchastity
453 **charge** command
454 **attend** listen to, pay attention to
455 **ow'st** own. Prospero again accuses Ferdinand of falsely claiming to be King of Naples.
458 Miranda expresses a truism of Renaissance neo-Platonic discourse, that beauty is the physical signifier of a virtuous moral nature. Castiglione's *The Courtier*, the most widely circulated Renaissance courtesy book and translated into English by Thomas Hoby in 1561, made the connection explicit: 'beawtie commeth of God, and is like a circle, the goodnesse wherof is the Centre. And therefore, as there can be no circle without a centre, no more can beawty be without goodnesse' (sig. Tt4^{v}).
459–61 'If the evil spirit has such a handsome body, it will attract goodness to live with it.'
460–1 Prospero begins by addressing Ferdinand, then turns to Miranda, and then back to Ferdinand.
464 **fresh-brook mussels** an inedible variety

451 SD] *Ard*^{2} *(Dyce)* 453 SD] *Ard*^{1} One] Sir, one *Pope* 460 SP] *repeated in F (in first line of fol. A3^{v}, which was the first page of F to be set): catchword on A3^{v} is 'Pro.'* SD] *Johnson & Steevens*

I will resist such entertainment till
Mine enemy has more power.
He draws and is charmed from moving.

MIRANDA O dear father,
Make not too rash a trial of him, for
He's gentle and not fearful.

PROSPERO What, I say,
My foot my tutor? Put thy sword up, traitor,
Who mak'st a show but dar'st not strike, thy conscience
Is so possessed with guilt. Come from thy ward,
For I can here disarm thee with this stick
And make thy weapon drop.

MIRANDA Beseech you, father –

PROSPERO
Hence; hang not on my garments.

MIRANDA Sir, have pity;
I'll be his surety.

PROSPERO Silence! One word more
Shall make me chide thee, if not hate thee. What,
An advocate for an impostor? Hush.
Thou think'st there is no more such shapes as he,

466 **entertainment** in the now obsolete sense of 'treatment' (*OED* 5)
468 **rash** hasty, impetuous, reckless (*OED a.* 2a)
469 **gentle** noble, but also tame, easily managed (*OED a.* 4b)
fearful causing fear, inspiring terror (*OED a.* 1). Kermode, stressing Ferdinand's noble birth, takes this to mean 'not a coward' (Ard^{2}, 40), but since Miranda's intent is to soften Prospero's anger, she is more likely to be emphasizing Ferdinand's mildness than his courage.
470 **My . . . tutor?** Prospero borrows from the proverb 'Do not make the FOOT the head' (Dent, F562), asserting his patriarchal authority over his daughter.
472 **ward** defensive posture (Oxf^{1}, 127) or position (Folg^{2}, 46); Johnson glossed 'come from thy ward' as 'Desist from any hope of awing me by that posture of defence' (Johnson & Steevens, 29).
473 **stick** presumably Prospero's magic staff
474 **make . . . drop** This line hints at Prospero's symbolic emasculation of Ferdinand.
475 **hang . . . garments** Miranda grabs Prospero and tries to stop him.
479 **such . . . he** human males who are shaped like him

471 mak'st] makes *F2* 472 Is so] Is *F2;* Is all *Pope* 474 father –] *Oxf*^{1}*;* Father. *F;* father! *Capell*

Having seen but him and Caliban. Foolish wench,
To th' most of men, this is a Caliban,
And they to him are angels.
MIRANDA My affections
Are then most humble. I have no ambition
To see a goodlier man.
PROSPERO [*to Ferdinand*] Come on, obey:
Thy nerves are in their infancy again
And have no vigour in them.
FERDINAND So they are!
My spirits, as in a dream, are all bound up.
My father's loss, the weakness which I feel,
The wreck of all my friends, nor this man's threats
(To whom I am subdued) are but light to me,
Might I but through my prison once a day
Behold this maid. All corners else o'th' earth
Let liberty make use of; space enough
Have I in such a prison.
PROSPERO [*aside*] It works. [*to Ferdinand*] Come on. –
Thou hast done well, fine Ariel. – Follow me; –
Hark what thou else shalt do me.
MIRANDA [*to Ferdinand*] Be of comfort;
My father's of a better nature, sir,
Than he appears by speech. This is unwonted

481–2 To . . . to in comparison to
485 nerves sinews or tendons (*OED sb.* 1), or the parts that constitute strength, vigour (*OED sb.* 2)
489 nor an unusual use of the word; it here means 'and'. See Abbott, §408.
490 light minor burdens
491 through from
492 all . . . earth everywhere else
493 liberty i.e. people who have liberty
494 SD2 Although it is possible to read this speech differently, it appears most likely that Prospero commands Ferdinand to 'come on', before turning to Ariel, then back to Ferdinand. He next whispers further instructions to Ariel, and Miranda then tries to comfort Ferdinand in 496–8.
496 do me do for me
498 unwonted unusual, infrequent (*OED ppl. a.* 1)

484 SD] *Johnson & Steevens* 485 again] *Riv;* againe. *F;* again, *F3* 489 nor] and *Dryden & Davenant;* or *Capell* 494 SD1] *Dyce* SD2] *Ard*^{2} *(Cam*^{1}*)* 496 SD] *Oxf*

Which now came from him.
PROSPERO [*to Ariel*] Thou shalt be as free
As mountain winds, but then exactly do
All points of my command.
ARIEL To th' syllable.
PROSPERO [*to Ferdinand*]
Come, follow; – speak not for him. *Exeunt.*

2.1 *Enter* ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO, GONZALO, ADRIAN, FRANCISCO *and others.*

GONZALO
Beseech you, sir, be merry. You have cause
(So have we all) of joy, for our escape
Is much beyond our loss. Our hint of woe
Is common: every day some sailor's wife,
The masters of some merchant, and the merchant,
Have just our theme of woe. But for the miracle,
I mean our preservation, few in millions
Can speak like us. Then wisely, good sir, weigh
Our sorrow with our comfort.

499–500 free . . . winds a proverbial expression: 'As free as the AIR (wind)' (Dent, A88). In *AYL* 2.7.48 Jaques calls for liberty, 'as large a charter as the wind', and in *Cor* 1.9.88–9 Cominius offers to release a prisoner: 'he should / Be free as is the wind'.
500 then implies 'if so, then you must'
501 To th' syllable. in every detail
2.1.0.2 *and others* Orgel omits this part of F's SD (as does Bell's eighteenth-century acting edition), noting that when the courtiers reassemble in the final scene no others are included. Perhaps, as Orgel suggests, 'the supernumerary characters were erroneously included in Crane's text' (Oxf^1, 128), but we prefer to leave open to readers and directors the possibility of extra Neapolitans on stage. See similar SDs in 1.1.8.2 and 3.3.0.2.
3 beyond greater than
hint occasion (*OED sb.* 1a)
5 masters . . . ^{2}merchant This obscure line has puzzled editors but seems to indicate the officers or the owners of a merchant vessel (*OED* merchant *sb.* A 4) and the merchant who owns the cargo. In either case, Gonzalo is referring to the woes caused by shipwreck. For a roughly analogous usage, see *H5* 4.1.147–54.
6 theme topic, subject
8–9 weigh . . . comfort 'Consider not only the shipwreck but also our remarkable survival.'

499 SD] *Hanmer* 502 SD] *Johnson & Steevens* 2.1] *Actus Secundus. Scoena Prima.* Location] Another Part of the Island *Pope* 0.2 *and others*] *om. Oxf*

ALONSO Prithee, peace.
SEBASTIAN [*to Antonio*] He receives comfort like cold porridge.
ANTONIO [*to Sebastian*] The visitor will not give him o'er so.
SEBASTIAN Look, he's winding up the watch of his wit; by and by it will strike –
GONZALO [*to Alonso*] Sir –
SEBASTIAN One. Tell.
GONZALO When every grief is entertained that's offered, comes to th'entertainer –
SEBASTIAN A dollar.
GONZALO Dolour comes to him, indeed. You have

9–10 **peace... porridge** a pun on 'pease-porridge hot, pease-porridge cold'. Pease-porridge is made from peas.
10 Here Shakespeare shifts from blank verse to prose; the latter is more appropriate for Sebastian and Antonio's sarcastic badinage. Although their punning wordplay is spoken to each other, after 13 they clearly mean to be overheard. Pope found their dialogue distasteful and suggested that it might have been interpolated by the players, but the discourse shows Sebastian and Antonio to be insensitive and cynical, if not downright cruel. And, as Theobald pointed out, the dialogue does provide important background about Claribel's marriage. Bell's acting edition, however, omitted this badinage as 'not worth either utterance or perusal' (Bell, 24). The text returns to blank verse from line 107, when Alonso expresses his despair at Ferdinand's loss. Gonzalo then describes his ideal commonwealth in verse, only to be interrupted by more prose wordplay. The scene reverts to verse from line 191 until the end for Antonio's seduction of Sebastian. The shifts back and forth seem to have caused some lineation problems in F; major changes are listed in the t.n.
12–13 A visitor is 'One who visits from charitable motives or with a view of doing good' (*OED* 2a); i.e. Gonzalo, as comforter, will not readily abandon his efforts to console Alonso.
14 **winding... wit** 'Striking or "repeating" watches were invented about the year 1510' (Ard^2, 44).
17 **One. Tell.** Sebastian imitates the clock striking one and suggests that they continue to count aloud (*Tell*) (*OED v.* B 1). T.W. Craik suggests that *Tell* may have been an SD in Shakespeare's manuscript; the imperative verb instructed the actor in Sebastian's role to 'count the clock' with his hand as he says *One* (*N&Q*, 244 (1997), 514).
18–19 'when the recipient of grief embraces every grief that comes his way'
20 **dollar** 'The English name for the German thaler, a large silver coin' (*OED* 1). Sebastian puns on Gonzalo's *entertainer*, as if the word were used in the sense of paid performer.
21 **Dolour** sorrow. Gonzalo can play with words, too.

10 SD] *Oxf* 12 SD] *Bantam* 15 strike –] *this edn;* strike. *F* 16 SD] *Oxf* Sir –] *Signet;* Sir. *F* 17 One] On *F2* 19 th'entertainer –] th'entertainer. *F* 18 – 19] *Folg^2; F lines* entertaind, /

spoken truer than you purposed.
SEBASTIAN You have taken it wiselier than I meant you should.
GONZALO Therefore, my lord –
ANTONIO Fie, what a spendthrift is he of his tongue!
ALONSO I prithee, spare.
GONZALO Well, I have done; but yet –
SEBASTIAN He will be talking.
ANTONIO Which, of he or Adrian, for a good wager, first begins to crow?
SEBASTIAN The old cock.
ANTONIO The cockerel.
SEBASTIAN Done! The wager?
ANTONIO A laughter.
SEBASTIAN A match!
ADRIAN Though this island seem to be desert –
ANTONIO Ha, ha, ha.
SEBASTIAN So, you're paid.

22 **purposed** intended (*OED ppl. a.*)
27 **spare** refrain, desist (cited in *OED v.*[1] 6d)
29 proverbial – 'The greatest TALKERS ... are the least ... doers' (Dent, T64 and T64.1). Cf. *MA* 3.5.33, where Dogberry describes Verges as a man who 'will be talking'. Sebastian expresses impatience with Gonzalo's garrulity. Cf. 26 above.
31–3 **crow... cock... cockerel** Antonio and Sebastian engage in a series of puns comparing Gonzalo to an old rooster and Adrian to a younger fowl. Cf. Dent, C491: 'The young COCK crows as he the old hears'. *Cockerel* was sometimes applied figuratively to a young man (*OED* 2).
35 a pun on two senses of laughter: the act of laughing and 'The whole number of eggs laid by a fowl before she is ready to sit' (*OED*, *sb.*^{2}), whereby Antonio picks up on the previous references to cocks. Antonio wins the bet and laughs at Adrian and, implicitly, at Sebastian, who accepts that *laughter* as completion of the *wager* (34).
37 **desert** 'deserted' (*OED a.* 1)
38, 39 SPs *Grant White was the first editor to reverse the Folio's speech headings, giving 38 to Antonio rather than Sebastian and 39 to Sebastian rather than Antonio. Sebastian has lost the bet on who would speak first; since the agreed stakes were a *laughter* (a winner's laugh, as in Dent, L93: 'He LAUGHS that wins'), the *Ha, ha, ha* should come from Antonio. But as Bevington notes, 'The Folio assignment can work in the theater ... if Sebastian pays for losing with a sardonic laugh of concession' (Bantam, 27). An alternative solution would be to assume that the loser is to pay with a laugh, retain F's SPs, and emend 39 to 'you've paid'. Theobald combined the two lines into one remark and assigned it to Sebastian.

25 lord –] *Theobald;* Lord. *F* 28 yet –] *Rowe;* yet *F* 30 – 1] *Ard^1; F lines* wager, / 37 desert –] *Rowe:* desert. *F* 38 SP] *Grant White; Seb. F* 38 – 9] *Seb....* paid. *Theobald* 39 SP] *Grant White; Ant. F*

ADRIAN Uninhabitable and almost inaccessible –
SEBASTIAN Yet –
ADRIAN Yet –
ANTONIO He could not miss't.
ADRIAN It must needs be of subtle, tender and delicate temperance.
ANTONIO Temperance was a delicate wench.
SEBASTIAN Ay, and a subtle, as he most learnedly delivered.
ADRIAN The air breathes upon us here most sweetly.
SEBASTIAN As if it had lungs, and rotten ones.
ANTONIO Or, as 'twere perfumed by a fen.
GONZALO Here is everything advantageous to life.
ANTONIO True, save means to live.
SEBASTIAN Of that there's none, or little.
GONZALO How lush and lusty the grass looks! How green!
ANTONIO The ground indeed is tawny.
SEBASTIAN With an eye of green in't.
ANTONIO He misses not much.
SEBASTIAN No; he doth but mistake the truth totally.
GONZALO But the rarity of it is, which is indeed almost beyond credit –

43 'Adrian could not avoid talking about it (the island).'
44 **subtle** 'refined' (*OED a.* 9)
46 **Temperance** Antonio puns on Adrian's use of 'temperance' to describe the island, using it instead as a proper name for a woman (or *wench*) who is *delicate*, or, in a bawdier sense, given to pleasure.
47 **subtle** Sebastian puns on Adrian's description of the island as *subtle* or *delicate* (*OED a.* 2) by applying the term to a person (*Temperance*) who is crafty or insidious (*OED a.* 10). Sebastian and Antonio are determined to undercut Adrian's idealistic image of the island.
47–8 **learnedly delivered** lectured with authority (sarcastic)
51 **fen** smelly marshland
52 **advantageous** useful, beneficial (cited in *OED a.* 1b)
55 **lush** 'succulent and luxuriant in growth, of plants' (cited in *OED a.* 2a), which Orgel doubts (Oxf[1], 130), in favour of 'soft, tender'
56 **tawny** of a yellowish brown colour
57 **eye of green** *OED sb.*[1] 9a credits the first application of 'eye' as 'Slight shade, tinge' to this line.
61 **credit** belief, credence (cited in *OED sb.* 1)

40 inaccessible –] *Rowe;* inaccessible. *F* 41 Yet –] *Theobald;* Yet *F* 42 Yet –] *Rowe;* Yet *F* 61 credit –] *Rowe;* credit. *F*

SEBASTIAN As many vouched rarities are.
GONZALO 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.
ANTONIO If but one of his pockets could speak, would it not say he lies?
SEBASTIAN Ay, or very falsely pocket up his report.
GONZALO Methinks our garments are now as fresh as when we put them on first in Africa, at the marriage of the King's fair daughter Claribel to the King of Tunis.
SEBASTIAN 'Twas a sweet marriage, and we prosper well in our return.
ADRIAN Tunis was never graced before with such a paragon to their queen.
GONZALO Not since widow Dido's time.

62 **vouched rarities** unusual events that are guaranteed (*vouched*) to be true
65 ***freshness . . . new-dyed** 'Our garments look brand new.' *Freshness*: 'Not faded or worn' (cited in *OED* A 8); 'Superficial lustre' (cited in *OED sb.*[2] 1a). Orgel argues that F's 'glosses' is a misreading of 'glosse' (Oxf[1]; 131).
67 **his pockets** Antonio suggests that the pockets, if not the outer surfaces of their garments, are not as fresh as Gonzalo claims.
69 **falsely pocket up** a pun on pocket: the pocket will conceal (hide) Gonzalo's lying report; from the proverbial expression, 'To pocket up an INJURY' (Dent, I70). See also *KJ* 3.1.200, *1H4* 3.3.162–3 and *H5* 3.2.51, where the wording is similar.
71 ***Africa** Unlike previous editors, we have modernized F's 'Affricke' to be consistent with our treatment of other placenames. The extra syllable does not affect this prose passage.
72 **Tunis** a city in northern Africa, now the capital of Tunisia. The reference here is to Tunis as a city-state, as Carthage was earlier.
73 **prosper** Sebastian's inadvertent pun suggests Prospero's hand in the Neapolitans' fate.
76 **to as**
77 **widow Dido** Dido was the widow of Sychaeus, and Aeneas was a widower when he met her. *Aeneid* (Bks 1–4) describes how Dido, the Queen of Carthage, killed herself when her lover Aeneas abandoned her to travel to Italy, where he founded the city of Rome. Gonzalo's comment, and Sebastian and Antonio's feeble jokes which follow, have puzzled editors, but as Paster contends, Shakespeare may be referring indirectly to Montaigne's essay 'Of Diverting and Diversions' which twice mentions Dido in connection with the themes of shipwreck, loss and consolation. Gonzalo tries to divert the King's attention from his lost son, while the hard-hearted Sebastian and Antonio make jokes. 'At this moment', Paster

65 gloss] *Cam[1];* glosses *F* 71 Africa] *this edn;* Affricke *F*

ANTONIO Widow? A pox o'that. How came that widow in? Widow Dido!
SEBASTIAN What if he had said widower Aeneas too? Good lord, how you take it!
ADRIAN Widow Dido, said you? You make me study of that. She was of Carthage, not of Tunis.
GONZALO This Tunis, sir, was Carthage.
ADRIAN Carthage?
GONZALO I assure you, Carthage.
ANTONIO His word is more than the miraculous harp.
SEBASTIAN He hath raised the wall, and houses too.
ANTONIO What impossible matter will he make easy next?
SEBASTIAN I think he will carry this island home in his pocket and give it his son for an apple.
ANTONIO And sowing the kernels of it in the sea, bring forth more islands!
GONZALO I –
ANTONIO Why, in good time.
GONZALO Sir, we were talking that our garments seem now as fresh as when we were at Tunis at the marriage of your daughter, who is now Queen.

concludes, 'two of Shakespeare's sources – the French essayist and the Roman poet – seem to come together' in the unusual juxtaposition of 'consolation and revenge, of Dido and hardness of heart' (94).
82 **study** of 'to think intently; to meditate' (cited in *OED v.* 2a)
84 Carthage and Tunis were not physically the same city, but 'after the destruction of Carthage Tunis took its place as the political and commercial centre of the region' (Oxf[1], 132).
87–8 **miraculous . . . wall** In Greek mythology, Amphion used a harp to raise the walls of Thebes. Sebastian suggests that Gonzalo rebuilt all of Carthage by conflating it with Tunis.
91–2 Cf. Cleopatra's description of Antony: 'realms and islands were / As plates dropp'd from his pocket' (*AC* 5.2.91–2).
93 **kernels** seeds, presumably from the *apple* in Gonzalo's pocket (91–2)
95 Although most editors have emended Gonzalo's *I* to 'Ay', we have retained F's reading because it suggests that Gonzalo begins to make another pronouncement but is rudely interrupted by Antonio. 'Ay', as a term of assent, seems inappropriate in this conversation. For an interesting discussion of this editorial point, see Warren, 33. Cf. Hartwig, 147.

95 I –] I. *F;* Ay. *Rowe;* Ay? *Capell*

ANTONIO And the rarest that e'er came there.
SEBASTIAN Bate, I beseech you, widow Dido.
ANTONIO O, widow Dido? Ay, widow Dido.
GONZALO Is not, sir, my doublet as fresh as the first day I wore it? I mean, in a sort.
ANTONIO That sort was well fished for.
GONZALO When I wore it at your daughter's marriage.
ALONSO
You cram these words into mine ears, against
The stomach of my sense. Would I had never
Married my daughter there, for coming thence
My son is lost and (in my rate) she too,
Who is so far from Italy removed
I ne'er again shall see her. O thou mine heir
Of Naples and of Milan, what strange fish
Hath made his meal on thee?
FRANCISCO Sir, he may live.
I saw him beat the surges under him
And ride upon their backs. He trod the water,
Whose enmity he flung aside, and breasted
The surge most swoll'n that met him. His bold head
'Bove the contentious waves he kept and oared

101 **Bate** 'To omit, leave out of count, except' (*OED v.*[2] 7). Sebastian playfully posits that Claribel would be the fairest queen except for widow Dido.
104–5 **sort . . . sort** used differently, with a play on words. Where Gonzalo's *in a sort* (104) means 'in a way' or manner (*OED sb.*[2] 21d), Antonio's response in 105 uses *sort* in the sense of kind, variety (*OED sb.*[2] 12a).
107–8 **You . . . sense.** a metaphor of forced feeding. Alonso is in no mood to listen to their chatter.
108 **sense** temper, disposition, state of feeling (*OED sb.* 7a)
110 **in my rate** 'in my estimation' (first occurrence in *OED sb.*[1])
113 **Naples . . . Milan** Alonso had intended that Ferdinand inherit control of Milan as well as the kingdom of Naples, a sentiment that may further motivate Antonio to seduce Sebastian into a conspiracy to assassinate the King. Alonso's statement negates the rights of Antonio's *brave son* of 1.2.439 (see Kastan, 96).
115–22 Francisco's description may derive from Virgil's report of serpents 'breasting the sea . . . Their bosoms rise amid the surge, and their crests, blood-red, overtop the waves' (*Aeneid*, Bk 2, 203–8).
115 **beat . . . him** push the waves down
119 **oared** oar: 'to propel with or as with oars' (cited in *OED v.* 1)

103 sir, my doublet] my doublet, sir *F2* 107–8] *F4; prose in F*

Himself with his good arms in lusty stroke
To th' shore, that o'er his wave-worn basis bowed,
As stooping to relieve him. I not doubt
He came alive to land.
ALONSO No, no, he's gone.
SEBASTIAN
Sir, you may thank yourself for this great loss,
That would not bless our Europe with your daughter
But rather loose her to an African,
Where she at least is banished from your eye,
Who hath cause to wet the grief on't.
ALONSO Prithee, peace.
SEBASTIAN
You were kneeled to and importuned otherwise
By all of us, and the fair soul herself
Weighed between loathness and obedience, at
Which end o'th' beam should bow. We have lost your son,
I fear, for ever. Milan and Naples have
More widows in them of this business' making
Than we bring men to comfort them.

121 **his wave-worn basis** the base of the cliffs rising from the shore. Francisco suggests that the shore itself bent over as if (*As*) to relieve Ferdinand (122).
124 **yourself** This reflexive pronoun emphasizes that Alonso is to blame for his son's presumed death.
126 **loose . . . African** Many editors modernize F's 'loose' to 'lose', removing any sexual connotations in Claribel's being 'loosed' or pandered by her father to a potential customer (and thus suggesting a subtle criticism of a patriarchally arranged interracial marriage). For comparison, see Dover Wilson's discussion of Polonius' promise to 'loose' his daughter to Hamlet in 2.2.162 (J.D. Wilson, *Hamlet*, 103–4).
128 **wet . . . on't** weep for the sorrow of it (i.e. her loss and absence)
129 **importuned** importunèd
131 **Weighed . . . obedience** Balanced (as on a scale) between repulsion (*loathness*) at marrying the King of Tunis and obedience to her father's will. *Weigh* is similarly used in 2.1.8. See 126 above and n.
132 **end . . . bow** continuing the scale image used in 131: whether *loathness* or *obedience* would prove heavier, causing one end of the scale to become lower (*bow*)
134–5 **this . . . them** Sebastian refers to the wedding and subsequent shipwreck and the presumed paucity of survivors.

120 stroke] strokes *F4, Rowe* 126 loose] lose *F2, Rowe* 134 More] *Rowe;* Mo *F*

The fault's your own.
ALONSO
So is the dear'st o'th' loss.
GONZALO My lord Sebastian,
The truth you speak doth lack some gentleness,
And time to speak it in. You rub the sore
When you should bring the plaster.
SEBASTIAN
Very well.
ANTONIO And most chirurgeonly!
GONZALO
It is foul weather in us all, good sir,
When you are cloudy.
SEBASTIAN Foul weather?
ANTONIO Very foul.
GONZALO
Had I plantation of this isle, my lord –
ANTONIO
He'd sow't with nettle-seed.

137 **dear'st** referring to Ferdinand, a 'dear' loss
139 **time . . . it** the right timing for such a harsh sentiment
rub the sore irritate, annoy. Perhaps proverbial, as in Dent, S649: 'to rip up (rub) old SORES'.
140 **plaster** originally 'an external curative application' of some medicines 'spread upon a piece of muslin, skin, or some similar material' (*OED sb.* 1a). Gonzalo tells Sebastian he should administer to the wound rather than exacerbate it.
141 **chirurgeonly** Although 'chirurgeon' was a common sixteenth-century spelling of the word that gradually evolved into 'surgeon', the adverb *chirurgeonly* was so rare that *OED* cites only this example. It has four syllables.
143 ***Foul weather?** F's 'Fowle' suggests that perhaps Sebastian is making another feeble attempt at a pun, picking up on the earlier jokes about cocks (31–3), but Antonio doesn't take the bait. See *AW* 5.3.32–6 for a similar metaphor relating weather to the mood of a king.
144 **plantation** a term for a colonial settlement that originated in England's efforts to subdue Ireland (*OED* 1c). Gonzalo here begins an extended allusion to Montaigne's essay 'Of the Caniballes', which contrasts the culture of Brazilian Indians to more corrupted European ways. In the following line, Antonio and Sebastian teasingly apply instead the word's agricultural meaning. See Appendix 1.2.

141 SEBASTIAN . . . chirurgeonly] *Grant White* 143 Foul] (Fowle) 144 plantation] the plantation *Rowe;* the planting *Hanmer* lord –] *Pope;* Lord. *F*

SEBASTIAN Or docks, or mallows.
GONZALO
And were the king on't, what would I do?
SEBASTIAN
'Scape being drunk, for want of wine.
GONZALO
I'th' commonwealth I would by contraries
Execute all things, for no kind of traffic
Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
Letters should not be known; riches, poverty
And use of service, none; contract, succession,
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard – none;
No use of metal, corn, or wine or oil;

145 nettle-seed seed of the plant *Urtica*, a prickly weed that grows on waste ground (*OED sb.* 1a)
docks a coarse weedy herb that is used as an antidote for nettle stings (*OED sb.*[1] 1)
mallows a wild plant with hairy stems and leaves and deeply cleft reddish purple flowers (cited in *OED* 1). Cf. Gerard, 782, for a discussion of garden mallows, which are similar to hollyhocks.
148–57 Gonzalo's description of his ideal commonwealth borrows heavily from John Florio's translation of Montaigne's 'Of the Caniballes'. See Introduction, pp. 60–2.
148 commonwealth a nation or self-governing community; a body politic. Antonio may use the term sarcastically in 158. The word appears frequently and variously in Tudor and Stuart writings, including twenty-seven times in Shakespeare's plays (Spevack, 224).
148 by contraries contrary to usual customs
149 traffic business, commerce
150 admit 'to consent to the performance, doing, realization, or existence of' (*OED v.* 2a). Cf. *TN* 1.2.45–6: 'she will admit no kind of suit, / No, not the Duke's'.
151 Letters sophisticated learning. Gonzalo, in keeping with this passage's hyperbole, perhaps means *Letters* in the more general sense of 'writings, written records' (*OED sb.*[1] 3).
152 use of service custom of masters employing (and often abusing) servants, i.e. a system of masters and hired subordinates (*OED* service *sb.*[1] 1). Cf. 1.2.247 and 286 and 4.1.35.
succession 'The process by which one person succeeds another in the occupation or possession of an estate, a throne, or the like' (*OED* 5a)
153 Bourn . . . land both mean boundaries; i.e. Gonzalo wants no private landholdings or, at least, no rigid boundaries between them. Cf. *WT* 1.2.133–4: 'one that fixes / No bourn 'twixt his and mine'.
tilth farming labour, husbandry (*OED sb.* 2); the labour's produce (*OED sb.* 3); or tilled land (*OED sb.* 4)
154 use of metal Gonzalo may mean any metal or, more specifically, precious metal (*OED sb.* 1d), as in *CE* 4.1.81–2: 'you shall buy this sport as dear / As all the metal in your shop will answer'. Gonzalo's context also suggests the banning of usury.

153 Bourn] *Rowe*[3]; Borne *F* vineyard –] *Cam*[1]; Vineyard *F*

No occupation, all men idle, all;
And women, too, but innocent and pure;
No sovereignty –
SEBASTIAN Yet he would be king on't.
ANTONIO The latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning.
GONZALO
All things in common nature should produce
Without sweat or endeavour; treason, felony,
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine
Would I not have; but nature should bring forth
Of its own kind all foison, all abundance,
To feed my innocent people.
SEBASTIAN No marrying 'mong his subjects?
ANTONIO None, man, all idle – whores and knaves.
GONZALO
I would with such perfection govern, sir,

155 occupation 'Employment' seems to be the principal meaning intended here, but because 'occupy' was also a slang term for 'cohabit with', Gonzalo may be inadvertently punning.
155–6 idle . . . pure Gonzalo claims that in contrast to the proverbial expression 'IDLENESS begets Lust' (Dent, I9), his islanders will remain *innocent* and *pure*. *Idle* connotes lack of employment (*OED a.* A 4a) and also lazy, indolent, useless (*OED a.* A 6).
157 sovereignty All four syllables are pronounced. Gonzalo calls for a classless society with rule vested in the community.
158–9 Antonio sarcastically notes the inconsistency in Gonzalo's wanting to be *king* of a society that he has decreed will have no *sovereignty*.
160–1 Gonzalo proposes a prelapsarian society in which all inhabitants share all products, perhaps in contrast to Genesis, 3.19: 'In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread' (Geneva Bible).
162 engine a machine or instrument, especially one used in warfare (*OED sb.* 5a), but also for other uses, including torture. Cf. *KL* 1.4.268–9: 'like an engine, wrench'd my frame of nature / From the fixed place'.
164 Of . . . kind i.e. natural to each separate crop; by its own nature (cited in *OED* kind *sb.* 3b). Cf. 5.1.23.
foison plenty, abundance
167 idle Antonio refutes Gonzalo's claim that the islanders will be *idle* and *pure* simultaneously (155–6) by here using *idle* in the sense of frivolous or wanton.

157 sovereignty –] *Cam*[1]; Soueraignty. *F* 164 its] *F4*; it *F*; it's *F3* 167 idle –] *Signet*; idle; *F*

T'excel the Golden Age.

SEBASTIAN

'Save his majesty!

ANTONIO Long live Gonzalo!

GONZALO

And – do you mark me, sir? –

ALONSO Prithee, no more.

Thou dost talk nothing to me.

GONZALO I do well believe your highness, and did it to minister occasion to these gentlemen, who are of such sensible and nimble lungs that they always use to laugh at nothing.

ANTONIO 'Twas you we laughed at.

GONZALO Who, in this kind of merry fooling, am nothing to you, so you may continue and laugh at nothing still.

ANTONIO What a blow was there given!

SEBASTIAN An it had not fallen flat-long.

GONZALO You are gentlemen of brave mettle. You would

169 **Golden Age** a reference to the first 'age of man' described in Ovid 1.91–128. Like the biblical Garden of Eden, the age of gold was a prelapsarian world without discord, war or disease; it was followed by progressively degenerate ages of silver, bronze and lead.

170 **'Save** abbreviation of 'God save'

171 **mark** take notice of, pay attention to (*OED v.* 16)

174 **minister occasion** furnish an opportunity (for laughter)

175–6 **sensible . . . nothing** lungs ready for laughter; i.e. they habitually laugh with little provocation. *Sensible* here has the obsolete meaning of 'Having (more or less) acute power of sensation; sensitive' (cited in *OED* 8a).

179 **nothing** Gonzalo engages in wordplay here on the multiple senses of *nothing*: the absence of any material object as well as lack of importance or significance, 'A thing (or person) not worth reckoning, considering, or mentioning' (*OED sb.* 3a).

181 **An** 'If' (see Abbott, §105).
flat-long with the flat side of a sword, not the sharp edge, and therefore relatively harmless

182 **mettle** 'Metal' (in F, 'mettal') and 'mettle' were interchangeable spellings in the early seventeenth century. Perhaps Gonzalo is punning on 'metal' in response to the previous references to swords. The overriding sense, however, is *mettle* – spirit or courage.

171 And – do] *Signet;* And do *F;* Do *Cam*[1] 181 An] *Pope;* And *F* 182 brave] a brave *F4, Rowe* mettle] *(*mettal*)*

lift the moon out of her sphere, if she would continue in it five weeks without changing.

Enter ARIEL *playing solemn music.*

SEBASTIAN We would so, and then go a bat-fowling.

ANTONIO Nay, good my lord, be not angry.

GONZALO No, I warrant you, I will not adventure my discretion so weakly. Will you laugh me asleep, for I am very heavy.

ANTONIO Go sleep, and hear us.

[*All sleep except Alonso, Sebastian and Antonio.*]

ALONSO

What, all so soon asleep? I wish mine eyes
Would, with themselves, shut up my thoughts. I find
They are inclined to do so.

SEBASTIAN Please you, sir,
Do not omit the heavy offer of it.
It seldom visits sorrow; when it doth,
It is a comforter.

ANTONIO We two, my lord,

183–4 **lift . . . weeks** Gonzalo charges that Sebastian and Antonio would lift the moon out of its orbit round the earth if it would stay still for five weeks – an obvious impossibility; i.e. although they talk a good game, one should not expect any action from them.

184.1 Ariel is presumably wearing the *invisible* costume Prospero provided in 1.2.304 and so cannot be seen by the characters on stage.

185 **bat-fowling** 'the catching of birds at night when at roost' (cited in *OED vbl. sb.* 1) by hitting them with a club; the birds are especially vulnerable when blinded by sudden light on a moonless night (see Strachey, 31). The term was also used metaphorically for 'swindling, victimizing the simple' (*OED vbl. sb.* 2), an intriguing *double entendre* from Sebastian, given Gonzalo's references to the moon's being lifted from its sphere and the action that follows.

187–8 **adventure . . . weakly** 'risk losing my composure so lightly' (*OED* adventure *v.* 2: risk, imperil)

188 **discretion** prudence, sound judgement (*OED* 6)
laugh me asleep 'put me to sleep with your (tedious) laughter'; or, 'tire me to sleep from laughing'

189 **heavy** sleepy, drowsy

190 **and hear us** i.e. hear us laugh

194 **omit . . .** offer disregard the invitation to drowsiness

195 **It . . . sorrow** 'Sleep rarely comes to one who grieves.'

190 SD] *Oxf*[1]; GON. ADR. FRA: *and Train sleep. / Capell* 192–3] *Pope; F lines* thoughts, / so. / Sir, / 195–6 It . . . comforter] *Grant White; one line F* 196–8 *Rowe*[3]; *F lines* person, / safety. /

Will guard your person while you take your rest,
And watch your safety.

ALONSO Thank you. Wondrous heavy.
[*Alonso sleeps. Exit Ariel.*]

SEBASTIAN
What a strange drowsiness possesses them!

ANTONIO
It is the quality o'th' climate.

SEBASTIAN Why
Doth it not then our eyelids sink? I find not
Myself disposed to sleep.

ANTONIO Nor I. My spirits are nimble.
They fell together all, as by consent;
They dropped, as by a thunderstroke. What might,
Worthy Sebastian, O, what might – ? No more;
And yet, methinks I see it in thy face
What thou shouldst be. Th'occasion speaks thee, and
My strong imagination sees a crown
Dropping upon thy head.

SEBASTIAN What, art thou waking?

ANTONIO
Do you not hear me speak?

SEBASTIAN I do, and surely
It is a sleepy language, and thou speak'st
Out of thy sleep. What is it thou didst say?
This is a strange repose, to be asleep
With eyes wide open – standing, speaking, moving,

204 as as if
205 No more Antonio hesitates, as if afraid to articulate what he is thinking. The following dialogue has a striking similarity to Lady Macbeth's conversation with her husband in *Mac* 1.7.28–82.
207 Th'occasion . . . thee 'The opportunity confronts (speaks to) you.'
208 strong intense, fervent (cited in *OED a.* 13i)
209 art thou waking? Are you awake?
211 sleepy language incoherent or dreamlike speech. Sebastian is not sure he has heard Antonio correctly.

198 SD] *Dyce* 200–1] *F lines* Clymate. / Why / finde / 205 might–?] *Riv* 214 open–] *Bantam;* open: *F;* open; *Capell*

And yet so fast asleep.

ANTONIO Noble Sebastian,
Thou let'st thy fortune sleep – die rather; wink'st
Whiles thou art waking.

SEBASTIAN Thou dost snore distinctly.
There's meaning in thy snores.

ANTONIO
I am more serious than my custom. You
Must be so too, if heed me, which to do
Trebles thee o'er.

SEBASTIAN Well, I am standing water.

ANTONIO
I'll teach you how to flow.

SEBASTIAN Do so. To ebb
Hereditary sloth instructs me.

ANTONIO O,
If you but knew how you the purpose cherish
Whiles thus you mock it, how in stripping it
You more invest it. Ebbing men, indeed,

216–17 wink'st . . . waking 'You close your eyes while you are awake'; i.e. you are perversely refusing to see.
217 distinctly 'In a distinct or clear manner; without confusion or obscurity: so as to be clearly perceived or understood' (*OED adv.* 2)
220 if heed me sometimes (unnecessarily) emended to 'if you heed me', which is the sense here
221 Trebles thee o'er makes you three times greater. Cf. Portia's desire to 'be trebled twenty times myself' (*MV* 3.2.153).
221–2 standing water . . . flow . . . ebb Sebastian and Antonio play with the concept of tides that can *flow* (grow higher), stand still or *ebb* (recede). Sebastian replies that his natural laziness – or perhaps his position as a younger brother – has kept him from improving his position. Latham glosses the metaphor with reference to Joseph Hall's *Characters of Vertues and Vices* (London, 1608), which describes the slothful: 'this man is a standing Poole, and cannot chuse but gather corruption . . . as nothing but a colder earth molded with standing water'.
224–5 If . . . mock it '*if* you realized how truly you cherish the prospect while you *mock* it in this way'
226 invest clothe it (after having stripped it). Antonio uses the metaphor of ceremonial robing to imply Sebastian's secret desire for the throne.
226–8 Ebbing . . . sloth. 'Men who are *ebbing* (losing power) stay near the bottom (of the ocean) because of their own fear or *sloth*.' Cf. *AC* 1.4.43–7 and *KL* 5.3.17–19 for other uses of tidal imagery for political power.

216 sleep–] *Johnson & Steevens*[1]; sleepe: *F* 221 Trebles . . . o'er] Troubles . . . o'er *Rowe*[3]; Troubles . . . not *Hanmer;* Trembles . . . o'er *Johnson*

Most often do so near the bottom run
By their own fear or sloth.
SEBASTIAN Prithee, say on;
The setting of thine eye and cheek proclaim
A matter from thee, and a birth, indeed,
Which throes thee much to yield.
ANTONIO Thus, sir:
Although this lord of weak remembrance – this
Who shall be of as little memory
When he is earthed – hath here almost persuaded
(For he's a spirit of persuasion, only
Professes to persuade) the King his son's alive,
'Tis as impossible that he's undrowned
As he that sleeps here swims.
SEBASTIAN I have no hope
That he's undrowned.
ANTONIO O, out of that 'no hope',

229 **setting** 'the manner or position in which anything is set, fixed, or placed' (*OED vbl. sb.* 2a)
230 **matter** reason or cause (*OED sb.* 13). Cf. *TC* 2.1.8–9: 'Then would come some matter from him; I see none now'.
231 **throes** We change F's spelling to *throes* (see t.n.), as do most editors, to continue Sebastian's metaphor of childbirth with a reference to labour pains. Sebastian observes that Antonio is having difficulty giving birth to (talking about) the matter. Cited in *OED* throe (throw) *v.* 1: 'to agonize as if in child birth'.
yield probably means 'produce', 'generate' or 'give birth to' (*OED* 8a) – an extension of the *birth . . . throes* metaphor. Cf. *Per* 5.3.47–8: 'Thy burden at the sea, and call'd Marina / For she was yielded here'. Other plausible meanings include 'declare', 'communicate' (*OED* 12), as in *AW* 3.1.10: 'The reasons of our state I cannot yield'; and 'grant', 'allow', as in *WT* 4.4.410–11: 'I yield all this; / But for some other reasons'.
232–4 **weak . . . earthed** 'This lord who being now in his dotage has outlived his faculty of remembring, and who once laid in the Ground shall be as little remembered himself, as he can now remember other things' (Johnson, 38).
235 **spirit of persuasion** The *spirit* ('essential principle or power' (*OED sb.* 7a)) of *persuasion* ('presenting inducements or winning arguments' (*OED* 1)). Gonzalo is an expert at *persuasion.*
235–6 **only . . . persuade** Because he is a councillor, Gonzalo's sole profession is to persuade and give opinions.
239–40 **'no hope' . . . great hope** Antonio picks up on Sebastian's double negative to make a positive: *great hope* or expectation.

231 throes] *Pope;* throwes *F* 232 remembrance –] *this edn;* remembrance; *F* 234 earthed –] *this edn;* earth'd, *F*

What great hope have you! No hope that way is
Another way so high a hope that even
Ambition cannot pierce a wink beyond,
But doubt discovery there. Will you grant with me
That Ferdinand is drowned?
SEBASTIAN He's gone.
ANTONIO Then tell me,
Who's the next heir of Naples?
SEBASTIAN Claribel.
ANTONIO
She that is Queen of Tunis; she that dwells
Ten leagues beyond man's life; she that from Naples
Can have no note unless the sun were post –
The man i'th' moon's too slow – till newborn chins

242–3 **Ambition . . . there** '*Ambition* cannot go (*pierce*: penetrate) the least bit higher (*wink beyond*; cited in *OED* wink *sb.*[1] 3b) than the kingship without fear of discovery.' Sebastian's *great hope* is the crown, and circumstances have just presented him with a unique opportunity to attain it without being discovered. As Orgel notes, the exact sense of Antonio's words seems to contradict what he has just said (Oxf[1], 139–40), though the confused syntax may also reflect the excitement of the moment or Antonio's deliberate obfuscation of the murder he is suggesting. Antonio seems to realize that Sebastian does not understand him, so he tries a more straightforward approach in the following lines. See Furness for a summary of earlier editorial conjectures about this obscure passage (Var, 115–16).
247 **Ten . . . life** A league was about three miles, but the term was most often used metaphorically, as it is here. Antonio claims that Tunis is far away from Naples – 30 miles *beyond* a *man's life*, or, perhaps, beyond human (or civilized) habitation – and that consequently Claribel will never make any claim to the crown.
248 **no note . . . post** no communication, unless the sun were to serve as messenger
249 **The . . . slow** The moon takes a month to circle the earth, in contrast to the sun's (presumed) circumnavigation, which only requires twenty-four hours. Cf. 2.2.135–7, where Stephano claims to have been 'the man i'th' moon when time was', and Caliban has 'seen thee in her'.
249–50 **newborn . . . razorable** until *newborn* male children mature to the age when they can shave. Antonio exaggerates the amount of time it would take for news to travel from Naples to Tunis, a distance of only about 300 miles. He seems to have a

244–5 Then . . . Naples] *Theobald; one line F* 248 post –] *Penguin;* post: *F* 249 slow –] *Signet;* slow, *F*

Be rough and razorable; she that from whom
We all were sea-swallowed, though some cast again,
And by that destiny to perform an act
Whereof what's past is prologue, what to come
In yours and my discharge!

SEBASTIAN
What stuff is this? How say you?
'Tis true my brother's daughter's Queen of Tunis,
So is she heir of Naples, 'twixt which regions
There is some space.

ANTONIO A space whose every cubit
Seems to cry out, 'How shall that Claribel
Measure us back to Naples? Keep in Tunis,
And let Sebastian wake.' Say this were death
That now hath seized them; why, they were no worse
Than now they are. There be that can rule Naples
As well as he that sleeps; lords that can prate
As amply and unnecessarily

Eurocentric notion that even the northernmost cities of Africa were off the end of the earth, as suggested also in 256–60.

250 **from whom** coming away from Claribel's wedding; as Kermode notes, *from* functions as a verb of motion (Ard², 56).

251 **sea-swallowed . . . cast** As far as Claribel will know, we were all swallowed by the sea, with only a few survivors cast up (or vomited) on shore. Some editors suggest that *cast* also has theatrical connotations that are echoed in the next lines.

253 **past is prologue** Sebastian's previous life is only a *prologue* to what Macbeth would call the 'swelling act / Of the imperial theme' (*Mac* 1.3.128–9) – to becoming king.

253–4 **what . . . discharge** What's to come is up to us.

254 **discharge** 'Fulfilment, performance, execution (of an obligation, duty, function, etc.)' (first occurrence in *OED sb.* 6)

255 **stuff** 'nonsense, rubbish' (*OED sb.* 8b)

258 **cubit** a measure of distance, about 20 inches, roughly the length of a forearm

260 **Measure us** 'retrace (one's steps, the road)' (cited in *OED v.* 11b). The cubits ask how Claribel can traverse the distance back to Naples.
Keep keep yourself, stay

261 **death** Sleep was often described as a mirror of death. See for example Hamlet's conflation of sleep and death in his 'To be or not to be' soliloquy (*Ham* 3.1.59–66). See also Dent, S527.

263 **There be** 'there are other men'

252 And by that] May by that *Pope;* And that by *Ard² (Johnson)* 253 past is] past in *F2, Rowe*
259–61 'How . . . wake.'] *Ard²; no quotation marks F* 260 to] by *F2, Rowe*

As this Gonzalo. I myself could make
A chough of as deep chat. O that you bore
The mind that I do! What a sleep were this
For your advancement! Do you understand me?

SEBASTIAN
Methinks I do.

ANTONIO And how does your content
Tender your own good fortune?

SEBASTIAN I remember
You did supplant your brother Prospero.

ANTONIO True:
And look how well my garments sit upon me
Much feater than before. My brother's servants
Were then my fellows; now they are my men.

SEBASTIAN
But for your conscience?

ANTONIO
Ay, sir, where lies that? If 'twere a kibe
'Twould put me to my slipper, but I feel not
This deity in my bosom. Twenty consciences
That stand 'twixt me and Milan, candied be they

266–7 **I . . . chat.** Antonio claims he could teach a prating bird (jackdaw) to speak as profoundly as the chatty Gonzalo. *OED* uses this line to illustrate both *chough* (1b *fig.*), a chatterer; and *chat* (*sb.* 1), idle or frivolous talk. See also *AW* 4.1.19–20, where the gibberish used to expose Parolles is called 'choughs' language, gabble enough'.

267–8 **bore . . . do** shared my resolution or, perhaps, my awareness of the opportunity

270–1 **And . . . fortune?** 'How does your contentment (at what I've just said) translate into (*Tender*) your good fortune?'

270 **content** (1) satisfaction, contentment (*OED sb.* 2); (2) tenor, purport (*OED sb.*² 3)

273 **garments** royal robes. Cf. *Mac* 5.2.20–2: 'Now does he feel his title / Hang loose about him, like a giant's robe / Upon a dwarfish thief', and 1.7.32–6, for extended metaphors of clothing.

274 **feater** with a better fit (cited in *OED* feat *a.* 3)

275 **fellows** companions (*OED sb.* 2a), or, perhaps, accomplices (*OED sb.* 1b)
men servants

277 **kibe** a sore on the heel, usually caused by exposure to cold weather; chilblain

278 **put me** to force me to wear

279 **deity** conscience, as in 276

280 **candied** formed into crystals, congealed. Kermode argues for 'sugared' as the meaning, linking *candied* to Shakespeare's characteristic associa-

279 Twenty] *('Twentie)*

And melt ere they molest! Here lies your brother,
No better than the earth he lies upon.
If he were that which now he's like (that's dead)
Whom I with this obedient steel – three inches of it –
Can lay to bed forever (whiles you, doing thus,
To the perpetual wink for aye might put
This ancient morsel, this Sir Prudence, who
Should not upbraid our course) – for all the rest
They'll take suggestion as a cat laps milk;
They'll tell the clock to any business that
We say befits the hour.

SEBASTIAN Thy case, dear friend,
Shall be my precedent. As thou got'st Milan,
I'll come by Naples. Draw thy sword! One stroke
Shall free thee from the tribute which thou payest,
And I the king shall love thee.

ANTONIO Draw together,
And when I rear my hand, do you the like

tion among candy, dogs and flattery (Ard², 58). However, 'congealed' fits more clearly with the ensuing verb, *melt*. Malone glosses 279–81: 'Let twenty consciences be first congealed, and then dissolved, ere they molest me, or prevent me from executing my purposes' (45).

281 **molest** 'vex, annoy' (*OED v.* 1)

284 **steel** sword, or, perhaps, dagger

285 **doing thus** stabbing (perhaps spoken with an appropriate gesture)

286 **perpetual . . . aye** closing of his (Gonzalo's) eyes forever. The redundancy (*perpetual*, *for aye*) reinforces the point.

287 **morsel** piece of food or flesh. Cf. Antony's 'I found thee as a morsel, cold upon / Dead Caesar's trencher' (*AC* 3.13.116–17) and Lucio's reference to Mistress Overdone as 'my dear morsel' (*MM* 3.2.54).

288 **Should not** must not be allowed to

289 **take suggestion** They'll accept as true our suggestions.
cat . . . milk proverbial; see Dent, C167: 'That CAT is out of kind that sweet milk (cream) will not lap'. In *1H4* 4.2.58–9 Falstaff exults that he is 'as vigilant as a cat to steal cream'.

290–1 **tell . . . hour** The court party will say whatever Antonio and Sebastian want; literally, they'll report the time (*clock*) to accord with Antonio and Sebastian's wishes. Cf. 17 and n.

290 **business** probably trisyllabic

292 **precedent** F's 'president' was the common spelling at the time.

294 **tribute** Alonso agreed to Prospero's deposition provided Antonio paid annual tribute to Naples. See 1.2.112–15.

296 **rear** raise, lift up

284 steel – . . . it –] *Grant White;* steele (. . . it) *F* 288 course) –] *this edn;* course: *F*
292 precedent] (president)

To fall it on Gonzalo.

SEBASTIAN O, but one word –

Enter ARIEL *with music and song.*

ARIEL
My master through his art foresees the danger
That you, his friend, are in, and sends me forth
(For else his project dies) to keep them living.
Sings in Gonzalo's ear.
While you here do snoring lie,
Open-eyed conspiracy
His time doth take.
If of life you keep a care,
Shake off slumber and beware.
Awake, awake!

ANTONIO
Then let us both be sudden.

GONZALO [*Wakes.*]
Now, good angels preserve the King!

ALONSO [*Wakes.*]
Why, how now, ho! Awake! Why are you drawn?
Wherefore this ghastly looking?

GONZALO What's the matter?

297 **fall it** let it fall
O . . . word a common late Shakespearean theatrical contrivance to intercept the action, as in *WT* 4.4.594: '– one word', and 661: 'Pray you a word'

297.1 Once again Ariel is invisible, and neither Sebastian nor Antonio can see or hear him.

299 **his friend** Ariel refers to the sleeping Gonzalo.

300 **project** Prospero's plan for Miranda's marriage to Ferdinand and the couple's inheritance of both Naples and Milan. *Project* was also an alchemical term for the adept's experiment.
them Ariel turns to the audience and here refers to both Gonzalo and Alonso, who must be kept alive if Prospero's plan is to succeed.

309 **Why . . . drawn?** Why have you *drawn* your swords?

310 **ghastly** 'full of fear, inspired by fear' (cited in *OED a.* 3)

297 word –] *Theobald;* word. *F* 308 SD] *Ard²; Ard¹ lines* angels / King! / 309 SD] *Signet*

SEBASTIAN
Whiles we stood here securing your repose,
Even now we heard a hollow burst of bellowing,
Like bulls, or rather lions. Did't not wake you?
It struck mine ear most terribly.
ALONSO I heard nothing.
ANTONIO
O, 'twas a din to fright a monster's ear –
To make an earthquake! Sure it was the roar
Of a whole herd of lions.
ALONSO Heard you this, Gonzalo?
GONZALO
Upon mine honour, sir, I heard a humming,
And that a strange one too, which did awake me.
I shaked you, sir, and cried. As mine eyes opened,
I saw their weapons drawn. There was a noise,
That's verily. 'Tis best we stand upon our guard,
Or that we quit this place. Let's draw our weapons.
ALONSO
Lead off this ground, and let's make further search
For my poor son.
GONZALO Heavens keep him from these beasts,
For he is, sure, i'th' island.
ALONSO Lead away.
ARIEL
Prospero, my lord, shall know what I have done;
So, King, go safely on to seek thy son. *Exeunt.*

311 **securing** watching over, guarding
312–13 **burst . . . bellowing . . . bulls** Sebastian's mendacity may be indicated by the forced alliteration.
315 **monster's ear** Presumably a monster is less easily frightened than a human, because of its monstrous size or, perhaps, stupidity.
318 **humming** Gonzalo refers to Ariel's song, which he dimly heard.
322 **That's verily** 'That's true.' This unusual construction, in which *That's* is combined with an adverb is found also in *Cor* 4.1.53: 'That's worthily'. Pope emended to 'That's verity'. (Abbott, §78, cites this.)

315 ear –] *this edn;* eare; *F* 322 verily] verity *Pope*

2.2 *Enter* CALIBAN, *with a burden of wood; a noise of thunder heard.*

CALIBAN
All the infections that the sun sucks up
From bogs, fens, flats, on Prosper fall, and make him
By inchmeal a disease! His spirits hear me,
And yet I needs must curse. But they'll nor pinch,
Fright me with urchin-shows, pitch me i'th' mire,
Nor lead me, like a firebrand in the dark,
Out of my way unless he bid 'em. But
For every trifle are they set upon me:
Sometime like apes that mow and chatter at me
And after bite me, then like hedgehogs which
Lie tumbling in my barefoot way and mount
Their pricks at my footfall. Sometime am I
All wound with adders, who with cloven tongues
Do hiss me into madness. Lo now, lo,

2.2.0.2 *noise of thunder* However the sound of thunder was created in performances of *Tem* (see 1.1.0.1. and n.), it was repeated appropriately throughout the scene.
1 **infections** 'morbific influences, principles or germs' (cited in *OED* 3b). Caliban 'alludes to the Renaissance view that infection-carrying fogs were drawn out of the earth by the sun' (Everyman, 78).
2 **bogs . . . flats** spongy grounds, marshes and swamps
3 **By inchmeal** inch by inch
4 **nor** neither
5 **urchin-shows** apparitions of goblins or elves, perhaps in the shape of hedgehogs (*OED sb.* 1a, 1c)
6 **firebrand** an ephemeral light, perhaps like a 'phosphorescent light that hovers over swampy ground at night' (Folg^2, 76)
9 **mow** grimace
10–12 Prospero's spirits appear like *hedgehogs*, covered with spiny quills that hurt Caliban's bare feet.
13 **adders** viperous snakes. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century engravings often depict Caliban at the mouth of a cave with snakes twisted about his body. Cf. Vaughan, *Caliban*, 231.
cloven tongues bifurcated, split; probably intended to connote an evil or Satanic connection. Cf. 1.2.277, where Prospero asserts that Sycorax imprisoned Ariel in *a cloven pine*.

2.2] *Scoena Secunda.* Location] Changes to another part of the island. *Pope* 4 nor] not *F3, Dryden & Davenant, Rowe* 9, 12 Sometime] Sometimes *Dryden & Davenant*

Enter TRINCULO.

Here comes a spirit of his, and to torment me
For bringing wood in slowly. I'll fall flat;
Perchance he will not mind me.

TRINCULO Here's neither bush nor shrub to bear off any weather at all, and another storm brewing; I hear it sing i'th' wind. Yond same black cloud, yond huge one, looks like a foul bombard that would shed his liquor. If it should thunder as it did before, I know not where to hide my head. Yond same cloud cannot choose but fall by pailfuls. [*Sees Caliban.*] What have we here, a man or a fish? Dead or alive? A fish: he smells like a fish, a very ancient and fish-like smell, a kind of – not of the newest – poor-John. A strange fish! Were I in England now (as once I was) and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver. There would this monster make a man; any strange beast there makes a man. When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian. Legged

15 **spirit** Caliban mistakes Trinculo for one of Prospero's Spirits. Probably monosyllabic.
16 **fall flat** In his effort to hide from Trinculo, Caliban mostly covers himself under the *gaberdine* (37).
17 **Perchance** perhaps
18 **bear off** keep away, ward off
21 **bombard** a leather jug or bottle for liquor (cited in *OED sb.* 3a). In *1H4* 2.4.451 Hal describes Falstaff as a 'huge bombard of sack'.
27 **poor-John** dried fish. Caliban smells like a long-dead fish.
28 **painted** painted on a sign to attract the notice of passers-by
28–9 **holiday fool** someone on holiday and therefore likely to spend money on souvenirs and sideshows, as in *WT* 4.4.231–314. See also the mindless spending of Bartholomew Cokes in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, 6.67–72.
30–1 **any . . . man** (1) make a man's fortune, as in *MND*, where the mechanicals hoped their play would be selected for the courtly revels and 'we had all been made men' (4.2.17–18); or (2) pass for human. Both senses may be intended.
31 **doit** half an English farthing, a trifling sum (cited in *OED* 1)
32 **dead Indian** Especially after Martin Frobisher's expedition to North America in 1576, native Americans

14.1 *Rowe; Enter / Trinculo. opp. 14–15* 15 and] sent *Dryden & Davenant;* now *Pope* 20 Yond . . . yond] Yon . . . yon *Oxf* 21 bombard] (bumbard) 23 Yond] Yon *Oxf* 24 SD] *this edn* 26 of –] *this edn;* of, *F* 26–7 newest –] *this edn;* newest *F* 28 this] his *F2* 28–9 a holiday fool] (a holiday-foole); an holy-day fool *F4*

like a man and his fins like arms! Warm, o'my troth! I do now let loose my opinion, hold it no longer: this is no fish, but an islander that hath lately suffered by a thunderbolt. Alas, the storm is come again. My best way is to creep under his gaberdine; there is no other shelter hereabout. Misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows! I will here shroud till the dregs of the storm be past.

Enter STEPHANO *singing.*

STEPHANO

I shall no more to sea, to sea,
Here shall I die ashore.
This is a very scurvy tune to sing at a man's funeral.
Well, here's my comfort. *Drinks* [*and then*] *sings.*
The master, the swabber, the boatswain and I;
The gunner and his mate,
Loved Mall, Meg, and Marian, and Margery,
But none of us cared for Kate.

were occasionally brought back to England and, for a fee, displayed by their masters to a public audience. See Var, 128–9, and Introduction, pp. 43–4.
Legged Caliban has human legs; he is not a fish.
35 **islander** Trinculo concludes that this strange creature is an inhabitant of the island.
37 **gaberdine** a long, loose cloak for men made of coarse cloth. Its simplicity contrasts with Prospero's and the court party's finery. Cf. Shylock's 'Jewish gaberdine' (*MV* 1.3.112).
38–9 **Misery . . . bedfellows** proverbial; see Dent, B197.1: 'Misery (Adversity) makes (acquaints men with) strange BEDFELLOWS'. In Shakespeare's era, travellers often shared beds with strangers.
39–40 **I . . . past.** Trinculo crawls under Caliban's gaberdine. Usually the two lie on the stage, facing each other (or with one on top), with pairs of legs protruding from opposite sides of the gaberdine and Caliban's head partly or wholly visible – hence Stephano's perception of a strange, four-legged beast.
39 **shroud** take shelter
dregs continues the metaphor of *bombard* (21)
40.1 As Capell first noted, Stephano enters with a bottle in his hand. Since he has already been drinking, most actors play him as tipsy.
43 **scurvy** contemptible, despicable
45 **swabber** the sailor who mops the deck

40.1] *singing [a bottle in his hand] / Capell* 41–2] *Capell; one line F* 43–4] *Pope; as verse F, lined* mans / comfort. / 44 SD *and then] this edn*

For she had a tongue with a tang,
Would cry to a sailor, 'Go hang!'
She loved not the savour of tar nor of pitch,
Yet a tailor might scratch her where'er she did itch.
Then to sea, boys, and let her go hang!
This is a scurvy tune too, but here's my comfort.

Drinks.

CALIBAN Do not torment me! O!

STEPHANO What's the matter? Have we devils here? Do you put tricks upon's with savages and men of Ind? Ha! I have not 'scaped drowning to be afeard now of your four legs; for it hath been said, 'As proper a man as ever went on four legs cannot make him give ground'. And

49 **tang** 'A pungent or stinging effect' (cited in *OED sb.*[1] 5c), a usage that may have begun with *Tem.*

50 **Go hang** proverbial; see Dent, H130.1: 'Farewell . . . and be HANGED'. Often meant figuratively: 'Go to the devil'. Cf. *TS* 3.2.226, where Petruchio tells the wedding guests to 'go hang yourselves'.

52 **tailor . . . itch** Kate would let a tailor scratch her anywhere; i.e. she would sleep with a tailor but not with a sailor. But, as H. Hulme notes, *tailor* could also mean 'penis' (100–1).

55–9 Caliban fears *torment* by Prospero's spirits, heralded by Stephano's singing or Trinculo's wriggling; Stephano, in turn, is startled by the unexpected voice and his first sight of the gaberdine-covered quadruped. See Introduction, p. 44.

57 **tricks** proverbial; see Dent, PP18: 'To PUT a trick upon one'. See also *AW* 4.5.60, where the Clown threatens: 'If I put any tricks upon 'em, sir, they shall be jades' tricks'.

savages . . . Ind *Savages* ('Saluages' in F, a common spelling at the time) suggests only that Stephano perceives the mostly concealed creature to be an uncivilized being, perhaps an Indian, though whether from West (more likely, given their topicality) or East India is uncertain. Cf. *LLL* 4.3.218: 'like a rude and savage man of Inde', which almost certainly refers to an East Indian, in light of the play's subsequent lines. Some early English Bibles (e.g. Coverdale (1535), Bishops' (1568)) tell in Jeremiah, 13.23, that 'the man of Inde' could not change his skin, but subsequent and more widely used English Bibles substituted other terms, e.g. 'blacke More' (Geneva, 1560) or 'Ethiopian' (King James, 1611). Like Oxf, we change F's 'Inde' to *Ind* to indicate its probable pronunciation, as in *AYL* 3.2.88, where it rhymes with Rosalind.

60 **four legs** proverbial: 'as good a MAN as . . . (ever went on legs)' (Dent, M66). Here, of course, the tipsy Stephano is indulging in a fanciful paraphrase of the proverb because he sees four legs. See also 64–5.

50 'Go hang!'] *Signet; no quotation marks F* 54] *Pope; F lines* too: / comfort. / 56] *Pope; as verse F, lined* matter? / here? / 57 savages] *Capell;* Saluages *F* 58 afeard] afraid *F4, Rowe* 59–60 'As . . . ground'] *Signet; no quotation marks F*

it shall be said so again while Stephano breathes at' nostrils.

CALIBAN The spirit torments me! O!

STEPHANO This is some monster of the isle, with four legs, who hath got, as I take it, an ague. Where the devil should he learn our language? I will give him some relief, if it be but for that. If I can recover him and keep him tame, and get to Naples with him, he's a present for any emperor that ever trod on neat's leather.

CALIBAN Do not torment me, prithee. I'll bring my wood home faster.

STEPHANO He's in his fit now and does not talk after the wisest. He shall taste of my bottle; if he have never drunk wine afore, it will go near to remove his fit. If I can recover him and keep him tame, I will not take too much for him! He shall pay for him that hath him, and that soundly.

61–2 **at' nostrils** at (through) his, i.e. Stephano's, nostrils. For this grammatical construction, see Abbott, §143.

63 **spirit torments** As above (55), Caliban is distraught by Stephano's voice, which he assumes to be a spirit's, or by Trinculo's trembling (79), or both.

64 **monster** 'An imaginary animal . . . having a form either partly brute and partly human or compounded of elements from two or more animal forms' (cited in *OED sb.* and *a.* A 3a)

65 **ague** fever or chill that causes shivers. The creature (Caliban/Trinculo) is shaking.

66 **language** assuming the four-legged creature to be an indigenous monster, Stephano is surprised to hear it speak his language (ostensibly Neapolitan, actually English).

67 **recover** revive

68–9 **he's . . . leather** proverbial; see Dent, M66: 'As good a MAN as ever trod on shoe (neat's) leather (as ever went on legs)'. See also the cobbler's comment in *JC* 1.1.25–6 that 'As proper men as ever trod upon neat's-leather have gone upon my handiwork', and 59–60 above. *Neat's leather*: cowhide.

72–3 **does . . . wisest** does not speak sensibly. See also Dent, W534.1: 'To be none of the WISEST'.

74 **remove** take away, relieve (cited in *OED v.* 4a)

75–6 **I . . . him** No price is too high for him. '[I]t is impossible for me to sell him too dear' (Malone, 50). Stephano shares Trinculo's earlier observation (27–32) that the monster is marketable as an oddity, or, as Stephano has suggested (67–9), as a gift to an *emperor.*

76 **that hath him** who will have (i.e buy) him

77 **soundly** 'Dearly, heavily, in respect of payment' (first occurrence in *OED adv.* 3c)

61–2 at' nostrils] at his nostrils *Rowe*[3]; at 's nostrils *Grant White*

CALIBAN Thou dost me yet but little hurt. Thou wilt anon, I know it by thy trembling. Now Prosper works upon thee.

STEPHANO Come on your ways; open your mouth. Here is that which will give language to you, cat. Open your mouth! This will shake your shaking, I can tell you, and that soundly. [*Pours into Caliban's mouth.*] You cannot tell who's your friend. Open your chaps again.

TRINCULO I should know that voice. It should be – but he is drowned, and these are devils. O, defend me!

STEPHANO Four legs and two voices – a most delicate monster! His forward voice now is to speak well of his friend; his backward voice is to utter foul speeches and to detract. If all the wine in my bottle will recover him, I will help his ague. Come. Amen! I will pour some in thy other mouth.

TRINCULO Stephano!

STEPHANO Doth thy other mouth call me? Mercy, mercy! This is a devil and no monster. I will leave him; I have no long spoon.

TRINCULO Stephano? If thou be'st Stephano, touch me and speak to me, for I am Trinculo! Be not afeard – thy good friend Trinculo.

79 **thy trembling** i.e. Trinculo's fearful shaking, as Caliban hinted earlier (55, 63), which suggests possession by spirits of the devil

81–2 **Here . . . cat.** proverbial; Dent, A99: 'ALE (Liquor) that would make a cat speak'

84–5 **You . . . friend.** 'You don't know what's good for you' – i.e. I'm your friend because I have the bottle.

85 **chaps** jaws, chops

88–91 Stephano notes that words are coming out of both ends of the strange monster.

88 **delicate** in the now obsolete sense of 'pleasant' or 'delightful' (*OED a.* 1) rather than the modern 'fragile'

92–3 **Amen . . . mouth.** Stephano stops pouring liquor into Caliban's mouth and moves to the opposite side of the gaberdine where Trinculo's head is hidden. *Amen* implies that Caliban has imbibed heartily on his second draught.

97 **long spoon** proverbial: 'He must have a long SPOON that will eat with the devil' (Dent, S771). See also *CE* 4.3.63–4, where Dromio of Syracuse makes an almost identical statement.

78 dost] *F3;* do'st *F;* does *Bantam* 84 SD] *this edn* 86 I . . . be] *Pope; as verse F, lined* voyce: / I . . . be, / be –] *Rowe;* be, *F* 88 voices –] *Signet;* voyces; *F;* voices! *Grant White* 89 speak well of] speak of *F2* 99 afeard –] *Signet;* afeard, *F;* afraid, *Rowe*

STEPHANO If thou be'st Trinculo, come forth. I'll pull thee by the lesser legs. If any be Trinculo's legs, these are they. [*Pulls him from under the cloak.*] Thou art very Trinculo indeed! How cam'st thou to be the siege of this mooncalf? Can he vent Trinculos?

TRINCULO I took him to be killed with a thunderstroke. But art thou not drowned, Stephano? I hope now thou art not drowned. Is the storm overblown? I hid me under the dead mooncalf's gaberdine for fear of the storm. And art thou living, Stephano? O Stephano, two Neapolitans 'scaped?

STEPHANO Prithee, do not turn me about; my stomach is not constant.

CALIBAN

These be fine things, an if they be not sprites;
That's a brave god and bears celestial liquor.
I will kneel to him.

STEPHANO How didst thou scape? How cam'st thou hither? Swear by this bottle how thou cam'st hither. I

102 **lesser legs** Presumably Trinculo's legs are shorter, thinner or more abundantly clad than Caliban's, if the latter are clad at all.

104 **very true, real**
siege literally, 'shit' (*OED sb.* 3c: 'Excrement, ordure'). Stephano has pulled Trinculo from between Caliban's legs. *Siege* is also an obsolete word for 'seat', which has encouraged some editors to argue that Trinculo crept underneath Caliban.

105 **mooncalf** a misshapen birth, a monstrosity (cited in *OED* 2b), presumably caused by the full moon. Warburton notes: 'It was imagined that the Moon had an ill influence on the infant's understanding. Hence Idiots were called *Moon calves*' (45). Steevens's observation that 'A *moon-calf* is an inanimate shapeless mass, supposed by Pliny to be engendered of woman only' (Malone, 52) fits with Caliban's mysterious parentage but not with most of the play's references to his physique.
vent excrete: *OED v.*[2] 2b, 'to evacuate (urine, etc.)'

112–13 Stephano has trouble keeping his balance because he is so drunk or, as Orgel notes (and stage productions often demonstrate), Trinculo might be swinging Stephano in joy (Oxf[1], 148).

114 **an . . . sprites** Kermode notes that 'Caliban's brave new world, unlike Miranda's, can only be if the people are *not* spirits' (Ard[2], 66). Orgel points out the connection between *sprites* (spirits) and celestial liquor (Oxf[1], 148–9).

103 SD] *Oxf[1]* 114 an if] *Pope;* and if *F* 114 – 16] *Ard[1]; prose F* 117 – 18 1 'How . . . hither] *Pope; F lines* scape? / hither? /

escaped upon a butt of sack, which the sailors heaved o'erboard – by this bottle, which I made of the bark of a tree with mine own hands since I was cast ashore.

CALIBAN I'll swear upon that bottle to be thy true subject, for the liquor is not earthly.

STEPHANO Here, swear then how thou escaped'st.

TRINCULO Swum ashore, man, like a duck. I can swim like a duck, I'll be sworn.

STEPHANO Here, kiss the book. [*Trinculo drinks.*] Though thou canst swim like a duck, thou art made like a goose.

TRINCULO O Stephano, hast any more of this?

STEPHANO The whole butt, man. My cellar is in a rock by th' seaside, where my wine is hid. How now, moon-calf, how does thine ague?

CALIBAN Hast thou not dropped from heaven?

STEPHANO Out o'th' moon, I do assure thee. I was the man i'th' moon when time was.

119 **butt of sack** a cask of white wine. *Sack* was a general name for a class of white wines imported from Spain and the Canaries (*OED sb.*[3] 1a). Its strength varied greatly; Stephano seems to dispense a potent vintage.

122 **thy** As with subsequent *thou* (e.g. 134) and *thee* (e.g. 137), Caliban may signify awe of Stephano, but elsewhere Stephano uses *thou* to Trinculo (128) and *thee* to Caliban (135).

125 **duck** proverbial; see Dent, F328: 'To swim like a FISH (duck)'.

127 **kiss the book** a sign of fealty, akin to kissing the Bible when swearing an oath. Here, a metaphor for taking another swig. Stephano realizes his control of the wine cask determines his authority, a parallel to Prospero's control of a different sort of 'spirits'.

128–9 **made . . . goose** Perhaps Trinculo is shaped like a goose, or perhaps the liquor makes him waddle.

134–5 The notion that deities inhabit the sky was, of course, compatible with classical mythology as well as Christian popular theology. Additionally, natives along the Virginia Coast were reputed to believe that 'all the gods are of humane shape' and initially suspected, as did natives elsewhere, that Europeans were supernatural (Hakluyt, vol. 8, 376–8).

136 **man i'th' moon** Stephano claims to be the man whose face appears in a full moon.

time was proverbial; see Dent, T341.1: 'When TIME was (i.e. once upon a time)'.

120 o'erboard –] *Cam*[1]*;* o'reboord, *F* 127] *Pope; as verse line F* SD] *Folg*[2]
132–3] *Pope; as verse F, lined* hid: / Ague? /

CALIBAN
I have seen thee in her, and I do adore thee!
My mistress showed me thee, and thy dog and thy bush.

STEPHANO Come, swear to that. Kiss the book. I will furnish it anon with new contents. Swear! [*Caliban drinks.*]

TRINCULO By this good light, this is a very shallow monster. I afeard of him? A very weak monster. The man i'th' moon? A most poor credulous monster! Well drawn, monster, in good sooth.

CALIBAN
I'll show thee every fertile inch o'th' island,
And I will kiss thy foot. I prithee, be my god.

TRINCULO By this light, a most perfidious and drunken monster; when's god's asleep, he'll rob his bottle.

CALIBAN
I'll kiss thy foot. I'll swear myself thy subject.

STEPHANO Come on, then, down and swear.

138 **This line** appears to corroborate Miranda's claim that she taught Caliban 'each hour / One thing or other' (1.2.355–6) and thus to support F's original assignment of 1.2.352–63 to her.

dog . . . bush The man in the moon was accompanied by his dog and his thorn bush, because, according to folk legend, he had disobeyed the Sabbath regulations by gathering firewood on a Sunday; thereupon, the man, still carrying the brush he had gathered, and his dog were banished to the moon. Cf. the representation of Moonshine with thorn bush and dog in *MND* 5.1.238–59.

140 **furnish** provide, supply

141 **By . . . light** probably a paraphrase of the mild oath 'by God's light'

shallow lacking in depth of mind, feeling, or character (*OED a.* 6c). The fool Trinculo exults in what he sees as Caliban's credulity.

143–4 **Well drawn** Trinculo praises Caliban for taking a deep drink.

144 **in good sooth** a mild oath meaning 'truly', 'indeed'

145 **I'll . . . island** Caliban promises to do for Stephano what he did for Prospero twelve years earlier, thus underscoring the parallel between Stephano's liquor and Prospero's magic.

148 **when's . . . bottle** Trinculo worries that when Stephano (Caliban's new god) is asleep, Caliban will steal the bottle.

140 SD] *Penguin* 142 weak] shallow *F2, Rowe* 142–4 The . . . sooth] *Pope; F lines* Moone? / Monster: / sooth. / 145–6] *Bantam; prose F* 145 island] isle *F2, Rowe*

TRINCULO I shall laugh myself to death at this puppy-headed monster. A most scurvy monster. I could find in my heart to beat him –

STEPHANO Come, kiss.

TRINCULO But that the poor monster's in drink. An abominable monster!

CALIBAN

I'll show thee the best springs; I'll pluck thee berries;
I'll fish for thee, and get thee wood enough.
A plague upon the tyrant that I serve!
I'll bear him no more sticks but follow thee,
Thou wondrous man.

TRINCULO A most ridiculous monster – to make a wonder of a poor drunkard!

CALIBAN

I prithee, let me bring thee where crabs grow,

151 **laugh . . . death** proverbial; see Dent, L94.1: 'To die LAUGHING'.

151–2 **puppy-headed** As a result of this remark, Caliban is sometimes portrayed with floppy ears (cf. John Mortimer's engraving of 1775; Fig. 15), but there is no reason to assume he looks especially doglike. Trinculo more likely means that Caliban is stupid-looking. Cited in *OED* puppy *sb.* 6 for 'puppy-headed' meaning 'stupid'.

154 **kiss** take another drink, as in 127

157–61 F prints Caliban's speech largely as prose, but, from Pope on, editors have divided it into iambic pentameter lines. Caliban speaks the only verse in this scene when he describes the wonders of his island in speeches that set him apart from Stephano and Trinculo. Because Miranda and Prospero were members of the nobility and taught him their language, Caliban's poetic idiom reflects their characteristic speech rather than the lower-class prose of Trinculo and Stephano. Dryden noted that 'his language is as hobgoblin as his person; in all things he is distinguished from other mortals' (53), a theme that was echoed in Rowe: 'Shakespear *had not only found out a new Character in his* Caliban, *but had also devis'd and adapted a new manner of Language for that Character*' (Rowe[1], xxiv).

164–9 Like 157–61, this passage was printed as prose in F, but, since Pope, editors have divided it into blank verse. Caliban is describing the island delicacies that only he knows how to procure.

164 **crabs** crabapples from trees, or, more likely, shellfish that breed in rockpools along the beach

153 him –] *Pope;* him. *F* 155 – 6] *Ard[1]; F lines* drinke: / 157 – 8] *Pope; prose F* 160 – 1] *Pope; prose F* 162 monster –] *this edn;* Monster, *F* 164 – 9] *Pope; prose F*

And I with my long nails will dig thee pignuts,
Show thee a jay's nest, and instruct thee how
To snare the nimble marmoset. I'll bring thee
To clust'ring filberts, and sometimes I'll get thee
Young scamels from the rock. Wilt thou go with me?

STEPHANO I prithee, now, lead the way without any more talking. Trinculo, the King and all our company else being drowned, we will inherit here. Here, bear my bottle. Fellow Trinculo, we'll fill him by and by again.

CALIBAN (*Sings drunkenly.*)

Farewell, master; farewell, farewell!

TRINCULO A howling monster, a drunken monster!

CALIBAN

No more dams I'll make for fish,

165 **pignuts** a type of edible tuber (*bunium flexuosum*). The nutty root is only obtained by digging; it cannot be pulled up. See Var, 138.

166 **jay's nest** Orgel notes that jays 'were prized for their plumage', but because Caliban seems to be listing things to eat, 'he may be offering Stephano the eggs' (Oxf[1], 150).

167 **marmoset** a small monkey to be captured for a pet or for eating

168 **filberts** hazelnuts

169 **scamels** Theobald suggested a printer's error for 'shamois' or 'seamews'; the latter is a sea bird that feeds on fish and is the reading adopted in Oxf. As Orgel notes, the 'context requires, a crustacean, bird, or a fish of the sort frequenting rocks' (Oxf[1], 151). Theobald also suggested a bird called a 'stannel', a kind of hawk (39). Other possibilities come from explorers' descriptions of Patagonian man-eating small fish, *fort scameux* ('very scaly'), or from the French word *squamelle* ('having small scales') that appeared, with variant spellings, in several dictionaries (Frey, 33), from Thomas Hariot's report of 'Seekanauk, a kinde of crusty shel-fish . . . found in shallowes of waters, and sometimes on the shore' in Raleigh's Virginia (Hakluyt, vol. 8, 370–1), or from the Irish *scallachan* (Callaghan). We imagine scamels as shellfish, perhaps like mussels, but the exact meaning remains a mystery. See the long discussion in Var, 138–40. First occurrence in *OED* 'scamel', its 'meaning uncertain'.

172 **inherit** 'to succeed as an heir; to take possession of an inheritance' (cited in *OED v.* 5)

173 **him** Ostensibly Stephano refers to the empty bottle, but the use of this pronoun suggests Caliban as well.
by and by immediately (*OED* 3), or, soon (*OED* 4)

176 **dams** Caliban refers to a method of catching fish by damming streams so that they can be easily caught in fish weirs. Although some commentators have claimed this as evidence of American Indian influence on the play, catching fish in weirs on dammed streams had long been common in England and was perhaps a universal fishing technique.

169 scamels] *om. Dryden & Davenant;* shamois *Theobald;* sea-malls *Hanmer;* seamews *Oxf*

Nor fetch in firing at requiring,
Nor scrape trenchering, nor wash dish.
Ban' ban' Ca-caliban,
Has a new master, get a new man.
Freedom, high-day; high-day freedom; freedom high-day, freedom.

STEPHANO O brave monster, lead the way. *Exeunt.*

3.1 *Enter* FERDINAND, *bearing a log.*

FERDINAND
There be some sports are painful, and their labour
Delight in them sets off. Some kinds of baseness
Are nobly undergone; and most poor matters
Point to rich ends. This my mean task

177 **firing . . . requiring** firewood on demand
178 **trenchering** wooden or earthenware plates (only occurrence in *OED* 2: 'Trenchers collectively'), perhaps invented as a progressive verb to extend the pattern of 177
179 **Ca-caliban** Caliban's syncopation may be a sign of intoxication or simply a rhythmic embellishment to his song.
180 proverbial; see Dent, M723: 'Like (Such a) MASTER like (such a) man (servant)'. Stephano will replace Prospero as Caliban's master; Prospero will have to *get* a new servant.
181–2 **high-day** day of celebration, holiday
183 **brave** Stephano uses the word sarcastically, in mockery of Caliban's bravado in declaring his independence from Prospero (176–80). Cf. *AYL* 3.4.40–1: 'O, that's a brave man! he writes brave verse, speaks brave words, swears brave oaths'.
3.1 Early editors located this scene in front of Prospero's cave, but it could also occur elsewhere on the island. In a visual parallel to Caliban's entrance in 2.1, Ferdinand enters bearing wood that Prospero has ordered him to move from one unspecified place to another, presumably for heating or cooking, or perhaps for creating an alchemical boil (Simonds, 'Charms', 543).
1 **sports** exercises or athletic pastimes. Ferdinand alludes to the mixture of satisfaction taken in exercise and the physical effort required by such pastimes; the effort and the delight, in effect, compensate for the pain. See *Mac* 2.3.50: 'The labour we delight in physics pain'.
painful 'causing pain or suffering' (*OED a.* 1), or, more likely, 'toilsome, laborious' (*OED a.* 3)
2–3 **Some . . . undergone** One may perform base acts (manual labour) and still retain a noble character.
2 **baseness** a reference to the low status of manual labour
4 **ends** results
mean humble

181–2 high-day] Heigh-day *Dryden & Davenant;* Hey-day *Rowe* 3.1] *Actus Tertius. Scoena Prima.* Location] Prospero's Cave *Pope;* Before Prospero's Cell *Theobald* 1 and] *(&);* but *Pope* 2 sets] *Rowe;* set *F*

Would be as heavy to me as odious, but
The mistress which I serve quickens what's dead,
And makes my labours pleasures. O, she is
Ten times more gentle than her father's crabbed,
And he's composed of harshness. I must remove
Some thousands of these logs and pile them up,
Upon a sore injunction. My sweet mistress
Weeps when she sees me work and says such baseness
Had never like executor. I forget;
But these sweet thoughts do even refresh my labours
Most busilest when I do it.

Enter MIRANDA[,] *and* PROSPERO
[*at a distance, unseen*].

MIRANDA Alas now, pray you,
Work not so hard. I would the lightning had

5 **heavy** sorrowful, grievous (*OED a.* 25)
6 **quickens** makes alive
8 **crabbed** irritable, churlish (cited in *OED a.* 1b)
9 **harshness** severity, rigour
11 **sore injunction** harsh command
13 **executor** exècutor; agent, performer, one who carries out a purpose (cited in *OED* 1)
I **forget** After these reveries, Ferdinand reminds himself to get back to work. He is working when Miranda addresses him in 15.
15 ***busilest** a heavily debated textual crux, generating twelve pages of commentary in Furness (Var, 144–55). We adopt this reading from Kermode (Ard², 71–3), who argues to our satisfaction that F's 'busie lest' is a corruption entered by the compositor for Shakespeare's *busilest*, the rarely used superlative form of the adverb 'busily', modifying the verb *refresh*. Other commentators have emended to the adjective 'busiest'. In either case, Ferdinand is reflecting on the pleasure that thoughts of Miranda have for him and how they lighten the onerous task (*it*) that Prospero has assigned him. Kermode concludes that such thoughts 'attend him [Ferdinand] even more assiduously when he works'.
15.2 Rowe's addition to F's SD (see t.n.) clarifies the actors' stage positions. Prospero enters separately from Miranda and places himself in a position to overhear her conversation with Ferdinand. He might have appeared on the upper stage at the Globe or the Blackfriars, though he could eavesdrop equally well from behind a pillar on the main stage. Bell omits Prospero altogether from this scene in his 1773 acting edition.

5 as] as 'tis *Pope* 9 remove] move *Pope* 15 busilest] *Ard²;* busie lest *F;* busie least *F2;* least busy *Pope;* busie-less *Theobald;* busiest *Grant White;* busil'est *Riv* 15.2] *Rowe*

Burnt up those logs that you are enjoined to pile!
Pray set it down and rest you. When this burns,
'Twill weep for having wearied you. My father
Is hard at study; pray now, rest yourself.
He's safe for these three hours.

FERDINAND O most dear mistress,
The sun will set before I shall discharge
What I must strive to do.

MIRANDA If you'll sit down,
I'll bear your logs the while. Pray give me that;
I'll carry it to the pile.

FERDINAND No, precious creature,
I had rather crack my sinews, break my back,
Than you should such dishonour undergo
While I sit lazy by.

MIRANDA It would become me
As well as it does you, and I should do it
With much more ease, for my good will is to it,
And yours it is against.

PROSPERO [*aside*] Poor worm, thou art infected!
This visitation shows it.

MIRANDA You look wearily.

19 **'Twill weep** Resin will seep from the log when it burns. Miranda personifies the log, attributing to it tears of sympathy for Ferdinand's enforced labour.
21 **He's . . . hours.** 'He will remain safely in his study, away from us, for the next three hours.'
22 **discharge** 'fulfill, execute' (*OED v.* 11). Cf. *MND* 5.1.204: 'Thus have I, Wall, my part discharged so'.
23 **strive** 'endeavour vigorously' (*OED v.* 9)
26 **crack my sinews** sprain my tendons (or muscles)
28–31 Cf. 2–3. Like Ferdinand, Miranda does not find manual labour beneath her dignity.
31 **worm** 'A human being likened to a worm' (*OED sb.* 10a) with a 'qualification expressing tenderness, playfulness, or commiseration' (cited in *OED sb.* 10c). Prospero affectionately compares Miranda to a *worm* who is infected with disease, in this case, love and desire for Ferdinand.
32 **visitation** Miranda's visit to Ferdinand, but Prospero – following up on the previous line's *infected* – may also be punning on *visitation* as 'the onset of plague'.
wearily Use of an adverb in lieu of an adjective is not unusual in Shakespeare. Cf. 2.1.322 and n.

17 you are] thou art *F2, Rowe*[1]; thou'rt *Rowe*[3]; you're *Hanmer* 31 SD] *Signet (Capell)*

FERDINAND
No, noble mistress, 'tis fresh morning with me
When you are by at night. I do beseech you –
Chiefly that I might set it in my prayers –
What is your name?

MIRANDA Miranda. – O my father,
I have broke your hest to say so!

FERDINAND Admired Miranda!
Indeed the top of admiration, worth
What's dearest to the world! Full many a lady
I have eyed with best regard, and many a time
Th' harmony of their tongues hath into bondage
Brought my too diligent ear. For several virtues
Have I liked several women; never any
With so full soul but some defect in her
Did quarrel with the noblest grace she owed
And put it to the foil. But you, O you,
So perfect and so peerless, are created
Of every creature's best.

MIRANDA I do not know

34 **by** near, nearby
37 **hest** behest, command
Admired Miranda See List of Roles, n. 14. She is literally 'worthy of wonder'.
38 **top of admiration** epitome of wonder, the most admired
39 **dearest . . . world** the most valued in the world
40 **regard** look, glance (*OED sb.* 2a); or, esteem, affection (*OED sb.* 10a)
42 **diligent** 'attentive', 'heedful' (*OED a.* 3)
44–6 **but . . . foil** A *foil* is a rapier used in fencing. Ferdinand reports that the ladies he has known always had some defect that overwhelmed or defeated their virtues (as in a swordfight or *quarrel*). Or, he may use *foil* in the sense of 'thwart' – i.e. the lady's defect foiled the otherwise successful effects of her *noblest grace*.
45 **owed** owned, possessed
47 **perfect** complete (*OED a.* B 3a); or, 'free from any flaw' (*OED a.* B 4a)
48 **Of . . . best** Johnson suggested an allusion here to Apelles' painting of Venus, which 'was a synthesis of the most perfect features of the most beautiful women the painter could find' (Oxf[1], 154). Steevens disagreed and cited instead a fable from Sidney's *Arcadia* (1598), Bk 3, 384–7, where the animals ask Jupiter to create a king to rule over them. Jove combines every creature's 'best' feature to make 'Man'.

34 you –] *Cam*[1]; you *F* 35 prayers –] *Cam*[1]; prayers, *F* 37 I have] I've *Pope* 47 peerless] *F2*; peetlesse *F*

One of my sex, no woman's face remember –
Save, from my glass, mine own. Nor have I seen
More that I may call men than you, good friend,
And my dear father. How features are abroad
I am skilless of, but by my modesty
(The jewel in my dower), I would not wish
Any companion in the world but you,
Nor can imagination form a shape,
Besides yourself, to like of. But I prattle
Something too wildly, and my father's precepts
I therein do forget.

FERDINAND I am, in my condition,
A prince, Miranda; I do think a king
(I would not so!) and would no more endure
This wooden slavery than to suffer
The flesh-fly blow my mouth! Hear my soul speak:
The very instant that I saw you did
My heart fly to your service, there resides

Miranda, Ferdinand implies, combines all the *best* features of women without their defects. Cf. Orlando's description of the composite Rosalind in *AYL* 3.2.141–50.

50 glass mirror

51–2 In 1.2.446 Miranda states that Ferdinand is the *third man* she ever saw, thus including Prospero and Caliban in the trio. Here she omits Caliban and compares Ferdinand only with her father.

52 features bodily shapes, proportions
abroad elsewhere, in the world at large

53 skilless ignorant
modesty 'Womanly propriety of behaviour; scrupulous chastity of thought, speech, and conduct' (cited in *OED* 3a)

54 jewel . . . dower Miranda refers to her virginity, the most precious gift she will bring as a dowry to her husband when she marries.

57 like of admire, derive pleasure from

58 Something somewhat, a little (cited in *OED adv.* B 2e)

59 condition 'social position, rank' (cited in *OED sb.* 10)

61 I . . . so I wish it were not so.

62 wooden slavery an implied comparison with Caliban. Ferdinand alludes to his forced log-carrying and his virtual enslavement by Prospero.
suffer allow

63 flesh-fly a fly that lays its eggs in carrion
blow 'to deposit eggs on or in (a place)' (cited in *OED v.* 28c). Cf. *LLL* 5.2.408–9: 'these summer flies / Have blown me full of maggot ostentation'.

49 remember–] *this edn;* remember, *F* 59 therein] *om. Pope* 62 wooden] *F2, Rowe;* wodden *F*
to] I would *Pope*

To make me slave to it, and for your sake
Am I this patient log-man.

MIRANDA Do you love me?

FERDINAND
O heaven, O earth, bear witness to this sound,
And crown what I profess with kind event
If I speak true; if hollowly, invert
What best is boded me to mischief! I,
Beyond all limit of what else i'th' world,
Do love, prize, honour you.

MIRANDA I am a fool
To weep at what I am glad of.

PROSPERO [*aside*] Fair encounter
Of two most rare affections! Heavens rain grace
On that which breeds between 'em.

FERDINAND Wherefore weep you?

MIRANDA
At mine unworthiness that dare not offer
What I desire to give, and much less take
What I shall die to want. But this is trifling,
And all the more it seeks to hide itself,
The bigger bulk it shows. Hence, bashful cunning,
And prompt me, plain and holy innocence!
I am your wife, if you will marry me;

66 it i.e. *your service* (stress probably on *your*, and similarly in 65)

69 kind event good fortune, happy outcome

70–1 invert . . . mischief turn any promised good fortune into bad; *mischief*, misfortune, distress (*OED sb.* 1)

72 what whatever

75–6 Heavens . . . 'em. a reminder of Prospero's awareness of the dynastic implications in Ferdinand and Miranda's union; the child they breed will become heir to both Naples and Milan.

79 die to want die for lack of. Miranda fears she will *die* (metaphorically) for not having Ferdinand's love.

80–1 it . . . itself . . . it Miranda's desire. Barton suggests a metaphor of pregnancy (Penguin, 162).

81–2 Hence . . . innocence! Away with coyness; may candid and pure innocence guide me.

74 SD] *Signet (Capell)*

If not, I'll die your maid. To be your fellow
You may deny me, but I'll be your servant
Whether you will or no.

FERDINAND My mistress, dearest,
And I thus humble ever.

MIRANDA
My husband, then?

FERDINAND Ay, with a heart as willing
As bondage e'er of freedom. Here's my hand.

MIRANDA
And mine, with my heart in't. And now farewell
Till half an hour hence.

FERDINAND A thousand thousand!
Exeunt [*Miranda and Ferdinand*].

PROSPERO
So glad of this as they I cannot be,
Who are surprised withal, but my rejoicing
At nothing can be more. I'll to my book,
For yet ere suppertime must I perform
Much business appertaining. *Exit.*

84 **die your maid** Even though Miranda has confessed her desire, she rejects sexual relations outside marriage. *Maid* is thus used in the double sense of 'virgin' and 'servant'.
fellow spouse (cited in *OED sb.* 4a)
86 **Whether . . . no.** proverbial; see Dent, W400.1: 'Whether one WILL or no'.
mistress the feminized form of 'master', with no suggestion of illicit sex; Ferdinand declares that Miranda is the ruler of his heart.
89 **As . . . freedom** Ferdinand pledges himself to Miranda as eagerly as a person in bondage embraces freedom.
89–90 Miranda and Ferdinand's pledge of betrothal is signified by the taking of hands.
91 **A thousand thousand!** a million (farewells). Cf. *TN* 2.4.63: 'A thousand, thousand sighs'.
93 **withal** by it
93–4 **my . . . more** 'Nothing could make me rejoice more.'
96 **business appertaining** appropriate tasks; *business* refers to Prospero's plans for the union of Miranda and Ferdinand and, more generally, to Prospero's agenda in raising the tempest. Placing the adjective after the noun was a fairly common Shakespearean sequence (Abbott, §419, 420).

88 as] so *F2, Rowe* 91 SD] *Capell (Exeunt* FER. *and* MIR. *severally.)* 93 withal] *Theobald;* with all *F*

3.2 *Enter* CALIBAN, STEPHANO *and* TRINCULO.

STEPHANO Tell not me. When the butt is out, we will drink water; not a drop before. Therefore bear up and board 'em. Servant monster, drink to me.

TRINCULO Servant monster? The folly of this island! They say there's but five upon this isle; we are three of them. If th'other two be brained like us, the state totters.

STEPHANO Drink, servant monster, when I bid thee. Thy eyes are almost set in thy head.

TRINCULO Where should they be set else? He were a brave monster, indeed, if they were set in his tail.

STEPHANO My man-monster hath drowned his tongue in sack. For my part, the sea cannot drown me. I swam, ere I could recover the shore, five and thirty leagues off

3.2.1. **Tell not me.** Trinculo has perhaps asked Stephano to stop drinking, but he refuses; or, Trinculo may have pointed out that the bottle is getting low, even if Stephano replenished it after 2.2.
2 **bear up** stay up, do not fall
3 **board 'em** a naval command used figuratively here to mean 'Drink up!'
3, 4 **Servant monster** Ben Jonson derided Shakespeare's '*Servant-monster*' in the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, 6. 16. In 4, Trinculo perhaps questions how the drunken monster can be a servant when the master is as drunk as he is. If the rest of the island's population is equally pickled, *the state totters* (6).
4 **folly** Kermode suggests that Trinculo means 'freak' rather than generalized foolishness, perhaps in a reference to the freaks and monsters who inhabit Bartholomew Fair and thus to Caliban (Ard², 78). But the term could equally apply to Stephano's foolery or to the general absurdity of the island, in Stephano's drunken perception.
5 **They say** Although Trinculo suggests that he is reporting general knowledge – i.e. 'everyone knows' – the text gives no hint that he has communicated with anyone on the island but Stephano and Caliban, and only the latter can have known the number of people on the island. Even Caliban, of course, is unaware of the court party and Ferdinand.
6 **brained . . . us** addle-brained as we are
7–8 **Thy . . . head.** slang expression for 'You're drunk'. See Eric Partridge, 1. 261.
10 **brave** probably in the sense of famous or worthy (*OED a.* 3), though other definitions are possible. Cf. 2.2.183 and n.
tail Richard Farmer refers to a story from Stowe's *Survey*: 'It seems, in the year 1574, a whale was thrown a shore near *Ramsgate*. "A *monstrous fish* . . . but not so *monstrous* as some reported, – for his eyes were in his *head*, and not in his *back*"' (Malone, 60).
13 **five . . . leagues** A league was a measure of distance of approximately three miles, so the total distance described here would be about 100 miles. Stephano's drunken boast is inconsistent with his earlier claim that he floated to shore on 'a butt of sack' (2.2.118–19).

3.2] *Scoena Secunda.* Location] The other part of the Island *Pope*

and on. By this light, thou shalt be my lieutenant, monster, or my standard.

TRINCULO Your lieutenant, if you list; he's no standard.

STEPHANO We'll not run, Monsieur Monster.

TRINCULO Nor go, neither; but you'll lie like dogs and yet say nothing, neither.

STEPHANO Mooncalf, speak once in thy life, if thou be'st a good mooncalf.

CALIBAN How does thy honour? Let me lick thy shoe. I'll not serve him; he is not valiant.

TRINCULO Thou liest, most ignorant monster. I am in case to jostle a constable. Why thou deboshed fish, thou, was there ever man a coward that hath drunk so much sack as I today? Wilt thou tell a monstrous lie, being but half a fish and half a monster?

CALIBAN Lo, how he mocks me. Wilt thou let him, my lord?

TRINCULO 'Lord', quoth he? That a monster should be such a natural!

CALIBAN Lo, lo again! Bite him to death, I prithee.

STEPHANO Trinculo, keep a good tongue in your head. If you prove a mutineer – the next tree! The poor monster's my subject, and he shall not suffer indignity.

15, 16 **standard** ensign or flagbearer; the *standard* could also be the pole that bears the flag. Trinculo's retort 'is a reminder that none of these characters can now do much valiant standing' (Everyman, 104).
16 **list** like
17 **run** run away from battle; perhaps with the suggestion that, like a good ensign, he'll hold the *standard* high
18 **go** walk; proverbial from 'He may ill RUN that cannot go' (Dent, R208)
lie like dogs proverbial; see Dent, D510.2: 'To lie (in field, etc.) like a DOG (hound)', but also with the sense of not telling the truth.
24–5 **in case** ready, or valiant enough
25 **deboshed** a variant of debauched. We retain the original spelling (modernized) because it may suggest the slurred quality of Trinculo's drunken speech.
31 **natural** fool, idiot
33 **keep . . . head** proverbial for 'be careful what you say'; see Dent, T402: 'to keep a good TONGUE in one's head'.
33–4 **If . . . tree!** 'You'll be hanged like a mutineer from the *next tree.*'

14 on. By] *Johnson & Steevens;* on, by *F;* on; by *Rowe* light, thou] *Theobald;* light thou *F;* light. – Thou *Capell* 25 deboshed] debauch'd *Dryden & Davenant;* debauched *Oxf*[1] 27 tell] tell me *F2, Rowe* 34 mutineer –] *Signet;* mutineere, *F*

CALIBAN I thank my noble lord. Wilt thou be pleased to hearken once again to the suit I made to thee?

STEPHANO Marry, will I. Kneel and repeat it; I will stand, and so shall Trinculo.

Enter ARIEL, *invisible.*

CALIBAN
As I told thee before, I am subject to a tyrant,
A sorcerer, that by his cunning hath
Cheated me of the island.

ARIEL [*in Trinculo's voice*]
Thou liest.

CALIBAN Thou liest, thou jesting monkey, thou.
I would my valiant master would destroy thee.
I do not lie.

STEPHANO Trinculo, if you trouble him any more in's tale, by this hand, I will supplant some of your teeth.

TRINCULO Why, I said nothing.

STEPHANO Mum, then, and no more. Proceed.

CALIBAN
I say, by sorcery he got this isle.
From me he got it. If thy greatness will
Revenge it on him – for I know thou dar'st,

38 **Marry** a mild oath abbreviated from 'by the Virgin Mary'
41 **sorcerer** Caliban equates Prospero's magic with the black magic practised by his mother Sycorax.
43 **Thou liest.** Cf. *MND* 3.2.360–1, where Oberon commands Puck to imitate the voices of Lysander and Demetrius.
47 **supplant** an interesting word choice given the play's emphasis on usurpation; cf. Antonio's language in 2.1.270 and the harpy's speech, 3.3.70.
48–9 **I . . . nothing. / Mum** proverbial: 'I will (etc.) say NOTHING (nought) but mum' (Dent, N279).
51 **thy greatness** Caliban's honorific attests to his infatuation with Stephano's authority and his *celestial liquor* (2.2.115).

36 – 7 to . . . again] *F, Rowe*[3]; once again to hearken *F3, Rowe*[1] 38 – 9] Pope; *as verse F, lined* it, / *Trinculo.* / 40 – 2] *this edn; prose F* 43 SD] *Folg*[2] 43 – 5] *prose Folg*[2] 46 – 7] *Pope; as verse F, lined* tale, / teeth. / 50 isle.] *this edn;* Isle *F;* Isle, *F4;* isle; *Ard*[2] 52 him –] *Signet (Capell);* him, *F*

But this thing dare not –

STEPHANO That's most certain.

CALIBAN

Thou shalt be lord of it, and I'll serve thee.

STEPHANO How now shall this be compassed? Canst thou bring me to the party?

CALIBAN

Yea, yea, my lord, I'll yield him thee asleep,
Where thou mayst knock a nail into his head.

ARIEL [*in Trinculo's voice*] Thou liest, thou canst not.

CALIBAN

What a pied ninny's this? Thou scurvy patch!
I do beseech thy greatness, give him blows,
And take his bottle from him. When that's gone,
He shall drink nought but brine, for I'll not show him
Where the quick freshes are.

STEPHANO Trinculo, run into no further danger. Interrupt the monster one word further, and by this hand I'll turn my mercy out o'doors and make a stockfish of thee.

53 **this thing** Trinculo
56 **compassed** accomplished
59 **knock . . . head** Cf. Judges, 4.21, where Jael hammered a nail into Sisera's temples.
61 **pied ninny** a reference to the jester and his costume; *pied* describes the parti-coloured garment and *ninny* is the simpleton who wears it. This passage, in accord with Crane's 'Names of the Actors' listing Trinculo as *a jester*, lends credence to those who personate Trinculo as an official court fool dressed in motley. He was represented in the harlequin's colourful costume in the RSC 1994 and A.R.T. 1995 productions, but some directors choose instead to costume him in a serviceable uniform similar to Stephano's steward's garb (see Introduction, pp. 12–13).
patch another term for fool or jester. According to *OED sb.*[2], 'Patch' was the name of Cardinal Wolsey's domestic fool.
64 **brine** sea water
65 **quick freshes** flowing (*quick*) streams of fresh water. Caliban reported showing these to Prospero in 1.2.339.
68 **turn . . . doors** 'banish any merciful feelings I might have'
68–9 **make a stockfish** *stockfish*, dried cod or other fish. *OED* 1b cites this as an example of a 'jocular expression' referring to the 'beating of the fish before cooking'. See Dent, S867: 'To beat one like a STOCKFISH'.

53 not –] *Johnson & Steevens*[1]; not. *F* 56 now] *om. Pope* 56–7] *Pope; as verse F, lined* compast? / party? / 60 SD] *Folg*[2] 66] *prose Pope; as verse F*

TRINCULO Why, what did I? I did nothing. I'll go farther off.

STEPHANO Didst thou not say he lied?

ARIEL [*in Trinculo's voice*] Thou liest.

STEPHANO Do I so? Take thou that! [*Hits Trinculo.*] As you like this, give me the lie another time!

TRINCULO I did not give thee the lie. Out o'your wits and hearing too? A pox o'your bottle! This can sack and drinking do. A murrain on your monster, and the devil take your fingers.

CALIBAN Ha, ha, ha!

STEPHANO Now, forward with your tale. [*to Trinculo*] Prithee, stand farther off.

CALIBAN

Beat him enough; after a little time,
I'll beat him too.

STEPHANO [*to Trinculo*] Stand farther. [*to Caliban*] Come, proceed.

CALIBAN

Why, as I told thee, 'tis a custom with him
I'th' afternoon to sleep. There thou mayst brain him,
Having first seized his books, or with a log
Batter his skull, or paunch him with a stake,
Or cut his wezand with thy knife. Remember

75 **give . . . lie** accuse me of lying
77 **pox** a standard seventeenth-century curse, meaning may you be diseased. 'Pox' was often shorthand for 'the French pox' or syphilis, though it could be used less specifically.
78 **murrain** a plague or pestilence
82 **stand farther off** almost certainly addressed to Trinculo, but see Var, 167, where Furness opines that Stephano is telling the ill-smelling Caliban to move farther away
87–8 **'tis . . . him** Cf. *Ham* 1.5.59–70, where the ghost of Hamlet's father describes how he was murdered during his customary nap.
89 **seized his books** Caliban knows that Prospero's books are an important source of his magical powers.
90 **paunch** 'to stab or wound in the paunch' (i.e. stomach) (cited in *OED v.*[1] 1)
91 **wezand** windpipe

70-1] *Pope; as verse F, lined* nothing: / off. / 70 go] *F;* go no *F*[2], *Rowe* 73 SD] *Folg*[2] 74 thou] you *F3* SD] *this edn; Beats him / Rowe; strikes him / Malone* 74 – 5] *Ard*[1]; *F lines* that, / 76 thee the] *F4;* the *F* 77 – 8 A Pox . . . do] *prose Pope; as verse F* 81 SD] *Signet* 85 SD1] *Riv* SD2] *Oxf*

First to possess his books, for without them
He's but a sot, as I am, nor hath not
One spirit to command. They all do hate him
As rootedly as I. Burn but his books.
He has brave utensils (for so he calls them)
Which, when he has a house, he'll deck withal.
And that most deeply to consider is
The beauty of his daughter; he himself
Calls her a nonpareil. I never saw a woman
But only Sycorax, my dam, and she;
But she as far surpasseth Sycorax
As great'st does least.

STEPHANO Is it so brave a lass?

CALIBAN
Ay, lord, she will become thy bed, I warrant,
And bring thee forth brave brood.

STEPHANO Monster, I will kill this man. His daughter and I will be king and queen – save our graces – and Trinculo and thyself shall be viceroys. Dost thou like the plot, Trinculo?

93 **sot** fool, but with the added connotation of 'drunkard'. *OED sb.*[1] A 2 defines a sot as 'One who dulls or stupefies himself with drinking'.
95 **rootedly** in a 'firmly grounded manner' (first occurrence in *OED adv.*) but especially or only
96 **brave utensils** (ûtensils) impressive implements, perhaps for magic or alchemy, perhaps merely household goods with which Caliban would presumably be unfamiliar
97 **deck** decorate, furnish
100 **nonpareil** a person having no equal. Capt. John Smith described Pocahontas as 'the only *Nonpareil*' of Powhatan's chiefdom (J. Smith, *Relation*, E3[v]). Shakespeare had previously used the word in *AC*, *Cym*, *Mac* and *TN*.
100–1 I . . . she Caliban is in a situation analogous to Miranda; raised and educated by Prospero on the island, he has never seen any women besides her and his own mother, while until now she had never seen any men but Caliban and her father.
101 **dam** mother
103 **brave** splendid
104 **become** grace, adorn (cited in *OED v.* 9c)
105 **brood** Like Prospero, Caliban speculates about Miranda's children; as the offspring of Stephano and Miranda, they would inherit the island.
108 **viceroys** those appointed to rule in place of the monarch or as deputies
109 **plot** plan or scheme; but Kermode also suggests the Elizabethan sense of a 'skeleton programme giving a synopsis of a masque or entertainment' (Ard[2], 82).
117 **jocund** cheerful, merry
troll the catch sing the song in a full, rolling voice (cited in *OED* troll *v.* 10a). A catch, like a modern round (e.g. 'Three Blind Mice'), begins with one voice singing the opening line and then proceeding to the next line while a second voice sings the first line, and so forth until at least three are singing different parts of the song at once.
118 **whilere** a short time ago; the only use of the word in Shakespeare (cited in *OED adv. arch.*)
119 **do reason** do anything reasonable
121 ***scout** 'mock' or 'deride'. F's reading, 'cout', is emended here to match *skowt* in 122, but, as Orgel implies (Oxf[1], 161), the original reading of 'cout' (colt, gibe) also could have connoted an obscenity, such as 'cut' or 'cunt'.
123 Cf. *TN* 1.3.68, where Maria says the same thing, in the sense of 'I can think whatever I like'.
124 SD ***tabor*** small drum used to accompany a tubular wind instrument (*pipe*) which, in this case, was played with one hand

93 nor] and *Pope* 100 [2]a] *om. Pope* 103 least] the least *Rowe* 108–9] *Pope; as verse F, lined* Vice-royes: / *Trinculo?* /

TRINCULO Excellent.

STEPHANO Give me thy hand. I am sorry I beat thee, but while thou livest, keep a good tongue in thy head.

CALIBAN
Within this half hour will he be asleep.
Wilt thou destroy him then?

STEPHANO Ay, on mine honour.

ARIEL [*aside*] This will I tell my master.

CALIBAN
Thou mak'st me merry; I am full of pleasure.
Let us be jocund. Will you troll the catch
You taught me but whilere?

STEPHANO At thy request, monster. I will do reason, any reason. Come on, Trinculo, let us sing.

Sings.

Flout 'em and scout 'em,
And scout 'em and flout 'em,
Thought is free.

CALIBAN That's not the tune.

Ariel plays the tune on a tabor and pipe.

STEPHANO What is this same?

111–12] *Pope; as verse F, lined* thee: / head. / 115 SD] *Oxf (Capell)* 119–20] *Pope; as verse F, lined* reason, / sing. / 119 any] And *F2* 121–2] *Ard[1]; one line F* 121 scout] *Capell; cout F;* skout *Pope* 122 scout] *(skowt)*

TRINCULO This is the tune of our catch, played by the picture of Nobody.
STEPHANO If thou be'st a man, show thyself in thy likeness. If thou be'st a devil, take't as thou list.
TRINCULO O, forgive me my sins!
STEPHANO He that dies pays all debts. I defy thee. Mercy upon us!
CALIBAN Art thou afeard?
STEPHANO No, monster, not I.
CALIBAN
Be not afeard. The isle is full of noises,
Sounds and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not.
Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
Will hum about mine ears; and sometimes voices,
That if I then had waked after long sleep,
Will make me sleep again; and then in dreaming,
The clouds, methought, would open and show riches
Ready to drop upon me, that when I waked
I cried to dream again.
STEPHANO This will prove a brave kingdom to me, where I shall have my music for nothing.

127 **picture of Nobody** Kermode suggests a topical allusion here to a picture of a man all head, legs and arms, with no trunk (body), which appeared on the title-page of the comedy *No-body and Some-body* (1606). John Trundle, a London bookseller who in 1603 helped to publish the first quarto of *Hamlet*, used the sign of Nobody (Ard^2, 83–4; Var, 171). Whether this was a topical joke or not, Trinculo is responding to Ariel's music, which seems to come from nowhere and be performed by *Nobody*.
129 **If . . . list** proverbial; see Dent, T27: 'TAKE as you will (list, please)' – in effect, 'if you're a devil, do what you will; we can't stop you'.
131 **He . . . debts.** proverbial; see Dent, D148: 'DEATH pays all debts'; i.e. the dead are free of debts. The jailor tells Posthumus in *Cym* 5.4.158–9 that 'the comfort' of his impending execution 'is, you shall be call'd to no more payments, fear no more tavern-bills'.
137 **twangling instruments** Pope emended to 'twanging', but F's reading (cited in *OED ppl. a*) connotes more clearly the sounds of stringed instruments. Hortensio complains that after Kate brained him with the lute, she called him a 'twangling Jack' (*TS* 2.1.158).

131 – 2] *Ard^2; F lines* thee; / 137 twangling] twanging *Pope* 138 sometimes] *F2; sometime F* 142 that] then *Johnson; om. Pope* 144 – 5] *Pope; as verse F, lined* me, / nothing. /

CALIBAN When Prospero is destroyed.
STEPHANO That shall be by and by. I remember the story.
TRINCULO The sound is going away. Let's follow it, and after do our work.
STEPHANO Lead, monster, we'll follow. I would I could see this taborer; he lays it on.
TRINCULO [*to Caliban*] Wilt come? I'll follow Stephano.
Exeunt.

3.3 *Enter* ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO, GONZALO, ADRIAN, FRANCISCO *and others.*

GONZALO
By'r lakin, I can go no further, sir;
My old bones aches. Here's a maze trod, indeed,

147 **by and by** immediately (*OED adv. phr.* 3); or, soon (*OED adv. phr.* 4)
152 **this taborer** Ariel, who plays the tabor while invisible
153 Some editors assign *Wilt come?* to Stephano (see Var, 173, and Folg^2, 109); others (e.g. Ard^2, 85) place a comma after *follow*. We see no persuasive reason to change F's assignment and punctuation. The lines occur at the end of a column in F and were probably separated simply to fill out the extra space caused by an underestimate of cast-off copy for the page. Malone suggests that when Stephano lingers in hopes of seeing the invisible taborer, Trinculo enquires, 'Will you come, or not? . . . If you will not, *I'll follow* Caliban without you' (Malone, 65). It seems more likely that Trinculo is addressing Caliban here, announcing his own intention to follow Stephano.
3.3.0.2 *F's SD lists '*&c.*' along with the Neapolitans and Antonio. Most editors simply record F's reading, but Oxf and Oxf^1 omit it. We emend '*&c.*' to *and others* to be consistent with the initial SD of 2.1. Directors can decide whether to include supernumeraries in the court party; presumably Shakespeare did, or the '*&c.*' would probably not have been recorded.
1 **lakin** an abbreviation for 'ladykin', an obsolete shortening of 'by our Ladykin' (the Virgin Mary) (cited in *OED* lakin^2)
2 **aches** A singular verb follows a plural object. Cited in Abbott, §333.
Here's . . . trod 'We're lost!' Mazes constructed of hedges were popular in English gardens of the period.

147–8] *Pope; as verse F, lined* by: / storie. / 149–50] *Pope; as verse F, lined* away, / worke. / 151–2] *Pope; as verse F, lined* Monster, / Taborer, / on. / 152 this] his *F3* 153] *Pope; F lines* come? / Stephano. / SP] *om. Folg^2* I'll] STE. I'll follow. *Capell;* TRINCULO I'll follow *Folg^2*
3.3] *Scena Tertia.* Location] Changes again to another part of the Island *Pope* 0.2 *and others*] *Malone; &c. F; om. Oxf*

Through forthrights and meanders! By your patience,
I needs must rest me.
ALONSO Old lord, I cannot blame thee,
Who am myself attached with weariness
To th' dulling of my spirits. Sit down and rest.
Even here I will put off my hope and keep it
No longer for my flatterer. He is drowned
Whom thus we stray to find, and the sea mocks
Our frustrate search on land. Well, let him go.
ANTONIO [*aside to Sebastian*]
I am right glad that he's so out of hope.
Do not, for one repulse, forgo the purpose
That you resolved t'effect.
SEBASTIAN [*aside to Antonio*] The next advantage
Will we take throughly.
ANTONIO Let it be tonight,
For now they are oppressed with travail; they
Will not, nor cannot, use such vigilance
As when they are fresh.
SEBASTIAN I say tonight. No more.

3 **forthrights and meanders** paths that are straight and paths that are crooked
5 **attached with** seized by
7 **Even here** now, at this point in time. Cf. *AC* 4.12.19–20, where Antony motions to his men: 'even here / Do we shake hands'.
8 **flatterer** Like a court flatterer, *hope* has been telling Alonso what he wants to hear rather than the truth.
10 **frustrate** unsuccessful, thwarted
14 **throughly** thoroughly. We retain F's archaic spelling so that Shakespeare's metre will not be disturbed.
15 **travail** Many editors modernize F's 'trauaile' to 'travel'. The words were interchangeable in 1611, when travelling was extremely arduous. We have retained the original word with its suggestions of exhaustion because it fits more closely with the royal party's experience and with Antonio's plan.

11 SD] *Hanmer* 13 SD] *Ard*[1] *(Capell)* 13–14 The . . . throughly] *Pope; one line F* 15 travail] *(trauaile)*

Solemn and strange music, and PROSPERO *on the top (invisible). Enter several strange shapes, bringing in a banquet, and dance about it with gentle actions of salutations, and inviting the King etc. to eat, they depart.*

ALONSO
What harmony is this? My good friends, hark!
GONZALO
Marvellous sweet music!
ALONSO
Give us kind keepers, heavens! What were these?
SEBASTIAN
A living drollery! Now I will believe
That there are unicorns; that in Arabia
There is one tree, the phoenix' throne, one phoenix
At this hour reigning there.
ANTONIO I'll believe both;
And what does else want credit, come to me

17.1 ***the top (invisible)*** As Orgel notes, the top was 'a technical term for the level above the upper stage gallery, within which the musicians sat' (Oxf[1], 164). From this, the highest vista of the theatre, Prospero can view the ensuing action without being seen by the court party.
20 **keepers** protecting spirits, guardian angels
were F's use of the past tense here suggests that Prospero's Spirits do exactly what the SD directs – bring in a banquet, invite the court party to eat, and depart. Hence we see no merit in moving F's 17.4 (*'they depart'*) to later in the scene as some editions do.
21 **living drollery** a comic puppet show enacted by living beings
22 **unicorns** mythological four-footed beasts with horns in the centre of their foreheads; when ground into powder, the horn was believed to be an aphrodisiac. Pliny described a 'Licorne or monoceros: his bodie resembleth an horse, his head a stagge, his feet an Elephant, his taile a bore; he loweth after an hideous manner; one blacke horn he hath in the mids of his forehead, bearing out two cubits in length: by report, this wild beast cannot possibly be caught alive' (106). Sometimes the unicorn was confused with the rhinoceros, which explorers had encountered in Africa.
23–4 **phoenix' . . . there** The phoenix was a mythological Arabian bird which was miraculously reborn from the ashes of its own funeral pyre (*throne*) every 500 years; only one bird existed at any given time. Shakespeare's enigmatic 'The Phoenix and Turtle' appeared in a 1601 collection of poems appended to Robert Chester's *Love's Martyr*.
25 **want credit** lack credibility

17.1] *Pope; after* fresh *F* PROSPERO] *Rowe; Prosper F* 17.3 *salutations*] salutation *Rowe*[2] 20 heavens] *(heauẽs); heaven Pope* were] are *F4, Rowe*

And I'll be sworn 'tis true. Travellers ne'er did lie,
Though fools at home condemn 'em.

GONZALO If in Naples
I should report this now, would they believe me?
If I should say I saw such islanders
(For certes, these are people of the island),
Who, though they are of monstrous shape, yet note
Their manners are more gentle, kind, than of
Our human generation you shall find
Many – nay, almost any.

PROSPERO [*aside*] Honest lord,
Thou hast said well, for some of you there present
Are worse than devils.

ALONSO I cannot too much muse
Such shapes, such gesture and such sound, expressing
(Although they want the use of tongue) a kind
Of excellent dumb discourse.

PROSPERO [*aside*] Praise in departing.

26 **Travellers . . . lie** Antonio inverts the proverbial expression, 'A TRAVELER may lie with authority' (Dent, T476). In 21–4 Sebastian refers to the improbable stories brought home by travellers such as John Mandeville, whose fourteenth-century travelogue, first published in English in 1503, included numerous woodcuts. It was published several more times and circulated widely in sixteenth-century England.

30 **certes** certainly

31–4 These lines seem to echo Montaigne's discussion of the comparative merits of Brazilian Indian culture and European ways in 'Of the Caniballes'. See Appendix 1.2.

33 **Our human generation** (1) our nation, (2) our 'race', or, more likely, (3) our species – i.e. humankind. Although Gonzalo calls them *people* (30), he implies that the creatures are not human, which comports with other evidence, e.g. 3.2.4–5.

36 **muse** wonder at

39 **Praise in departing.** Prospero ruefully responds to Alonso's praise of the vanishing figures with a proverbial expression (Dent, P83) that advises guests to reserve their praise for the host's entertainment until they depart, lest they prematurely praise something that will prove unsatisfactory. This should not be taken, as some editors suggest, as a reference to the Spirits' departure, which occurred some twenty lines earlier, but as Prospero's ironic aside. He knows what other entertainment is in store for the Neapolitans and that it won't be nearly as pleasant as the spectacle they have just experienced.

29 islanders] *F2, Rowe;* Islands *F* 34 Many –] *Signet;* Many, *F* SD] *Johnson & Steevens (Capell)* 35 present] *Rowe;* present; *F;* present, *F2* 39 SD] *Johnson & Steevens (Capell)*

FRANCISCO
They vanished strangely!

SEBASTIAN No matter, since
They have left their viands behind, for we have
stomachs.
Will't please you taste of what is here?

ALONSO Not I.

GONZALO
Faith, sir, you need not fear. When we were boys,
Who would believe that there were mountaineers
Dewlapped like bulls, whose throats had hanging at 'em
Wallets of flesh? Or that there were such men
Whose heads stood in their breasts, which now we find
Each putter-out of five for one will bring us
Good warrant of?

ALONSO I will stand to and feed,
Although my last; no matter, since I feel

41 **viands** dishes of food
stomachs appetites

44–6 **mountaineers . . . flesh** exotic people dwelling in the mountains whose necks have a dewlap or fold of skin hanging down. *Wallets* are wattles, or protuberant nodules of flesh (cited in *OED sb.* 2).

46–7 **men . . . breasts** Travellers' tales reported the existence of strange 'men whose heads / Do grow beneath their shoulders' (*Oth* 1.3.144–5). See Pliny, 96, where Blemmyi are described with 'no heads, but mouth and eies both in their breast'.

48 **putter-out . . . one** English travellers often insured their trips with London brokers. Before leaving, they deposited a specified sum; if they returned with proof they had reached their destination, the broker owed them five times the amount. Given the difficulties of travel in that period, the odds were in favour of the broker. Theobald first clarified the passage with a reference to Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*, in which Puntarvolo, '*A Vaine-glorious Knight*', declares: 'I doe intend this yeere of *Jubile* . . . to travaile: and (because I will not altogether goe upon expence) I am determined to put forth some five thousand pound, to be paid me, five for one, upon the returne of my selfe, my wife, and my dog, from the *Turkes* court in *Constantinople*. If all, or either of us miscarry in the journey, 'tis gone: if we be successefull, why, there will be five and twenty thousand pound, to entertaine time withall' (3.423, 477). In Shakespeare's passage, as Orgel notes, the *putter-out* is either the traveller or the broker; either would be in a position to give *Good warrant* of the traveller's veracity (Oxf[1], 166).

49 **stand to** come forward; set to work

42 SP] *Ant. / Hanmer*

The best is past. Brother, my lord the Duke,
Stand to and do as we.

Thunder and lightning. Enter ARIEL, *like a harpy, claps his wings upon the table, and with a quaint device the banquet vanishes.*

ARIEL
You are three men of sin, whom destiny,
That hath to instrument this lower world
And what is in't, the never-surfeited sea
Hath caused to belch up you, and on this island
Where man doth not inhabit – you 'mongst men
Being most unfit to live – I have made you mad;
And even with such-like valour, men hang and drown
Their proper selves.
[*Alonso, Sebastian and Antonio draw their swords.*]
You fools! I and my fellows

52.1 ***harpy*** a mythical predatory bird with a woman's head, talons for hands and the body of a vulture, associated with divine retribution. The spectacle that follows visually alludes to the *Aeneid*. After landing on the Strophades, Aeneas and his men are twice accosted by a band of harpies who disturb their attempts to dine. When the men draw their swords on the birds, Celaeno (their leader) predicts that Aeneas will find Italy: 'ye shall not gird with walls your promised city until dread hunger and the wrong of violence towards us force you to gnaw with your teeth and devour your very tables!' (Bk 3, 209–77).
52.2 ***quaint device*** an example of Crane's descriptive SD. A prompter would have specified the mechanism to be used; instead, Crane describes what the spectator would have seen. See Introduction, pp. 129–30.
52.3 ***banquet vanishes*** Some mechanical device was probably used to make the banquet disappear; in many productions the table top is quickly overturned or swivelled to reveal a bare surface where the food had been. Mowat notes that this sort of magical disappearance was a common juggler's trick ('Hocus', 301).
53–4 **destiny . . . world** 'Destiny uses the lower, material world to enact its plans.'
53 **destiny** supernatural or preordained outcome (cited in *OED sb.* 4)
54 **to instrument** as its instrument
55–6 **the . . . you** The object precedes the verb; '*destiny* has caused the sea to *belch* you up'.
59 **such-like valour** 'the quality of mind which enables a person to face danger with boldness or firmness' (*OED* valour 3); the context here suggests excessive or misguided courage.
60 **Their proper selves** their own (as property) selves

52.1 *harpy*] *(Harpey)* 56 up you] you up *F4, Rowe;* up *Theobald* 57 inhabit –] *Riv;* inhabit, *F* 58 live –] *this edn;* liue: *F* 60 SD] *Bantam*

Are ministers of fate. The elements
Of whom your swords are tempered may as well
Wound the loud winds, or with bemocked-at stabs
Kill the still-closing waters, as diminish
One dowl that's in my plume. My fellow ministers
Are like invulnerable. If you could hurt,
Your swords are now too massy for your strengths
And will not be uplifted. But remember
(For that's my business to you) that you three
From Milan did supplant good Prospero,
Exposed unto the sea, which hath requit it,
Him and his innocent child; for which foul deed,
The powers delaying, not forgetting, have
Incensed the seas and shores – yea, all the creatures –
Against your peace. Thee of thy son, Alonso,
They have bereft, and do pronounce by me
Ling'ring perdition, worse than any death
Can be at once, shall step by step attend

61 **ministers** agents, servants
61–2 **elements . . . tempered** raw materials with which (*whom*) *your swords* have been hardened
63 **bemocked-at** scorned
64 **still-closing waters** waters that close again after the *bemocked-at stabs* attempt to *Kill* them
65 **dowl . . . plume** *OED* dowl, which cites this line, defines it as 'One of the filaments or fibres of a feather; . . . down'. Antonio and the Neapolitans cannot touch a strand in Ariel's feathery tail, which is either 'displayed in pride' or 'ruffled in excitement'.
66 **like** similarly
could This word should be stressed to imply that they cannot hurt at all.
67 **massy** heavy, massive
69 **business** mission
71 **requit it** repaid. The attempt to drown Prospero and Miranda has been avenged by the tempest and the supposed drowning of Ferdinand.
73 **powers** deities
77 **Ling'ring perdition** This substantive serves both as the object of the verb *pronounce* (76) and the subject of the verb *shall . . . attend* (78). The confusing syntax is perhaps symptomatic of Ariel's (and Prospero's) agitation. The phrase also connotes the continuous pain suffered under everlasting damnation. *Perdition* here means 'utter destruction, complete ruin' (*OED* 1a).
78 **attend** probably meant in the sense of 'To follow closely upon, to accompany', although the earliest example in *OED* is from 1615 (*v.* 10)

63 bemocked-at stabs] *(*bemockt-at-Stabs*)* 64 still-closing] *(*still closing*)* 65 dowl] down *Pope* plume] *Rowe;* plumbe *F* 74 shores –] *Cam*[1]*;* Shores; *F* creatures –] *this edn;* Creatures *F*

You and your ways, whose wraths to guard you from –
Which here, in this most desolate isle, else falls
Upon your heads – is nothing but heart's sorrow
And a clear life ensuing.

He vanishes in thunder. Then, to soft music, enter the shapes again and dance with mocks and mows, and carry out the table.

PROSPERO
Bravely the figure of this harpy hast thou
Performed, my Ariel; a grace it had, devouring.
Of my instruction hast thou nothing bated
In what thou hadst to say. So, with good life
And observation strange, my meaner ministers
Their several kinds have done. My high charms work,
And these, mine enemies, are all knit up
In their distractions. They now are in my power;
And in these fits I leave them while I visit

79 **whose wraths** the anger of *The powers* (73)
81–2 **is . . . ensuing** 'There is no means but heartfelt repentance and a pure life hereafter.'
82.1 ***He vanishes*** Dessen argues that in this case, *vanishes* simply indicates Ariel's sudden disappearance, not the use of a special stage mechanism (213).
82.2 ***mocks and mows*** This descriptive SD draws on the traditional association between two terms for grimacing facial expressions. See Dent, M1030: 'To MOCK (mop) and mow'. Cf. *KL* 4.1.61–2, where Poor Tom raves about 'Flibbertigibbet, of mopping and mowing'.
83 **Bravely** admirably, splendidly
figure in the obsolete sense of 'art enacted' (cited in *OED sb.* 11a)
84 **devouring** could mean that (1) Ariel's impersonation gracefully devoured (consumed) the banquet, or (2) Ariel's impersonation displayed a 'ravishing grace'. Both senses may be in play at once.
85 **bated** omitted, neglected
86–7 **good . . . strange** energy or vivacity and attention to detail
87 **observation** 'observant care, heed' (cited in *OED* 4)
meaner ministers the (lesser) Spirits who assisted Ariel
88 **several kinds** according to their specific natures
high charms Prospero thinks his magic (*charms*) are of the most elevated (*high*) or superior kind, perhaps in contrast to the low charms of the witch Sycorax.
89–90 **knit . . . distractions** entangled by their temporary madness

79 from –] *Cam*^{1}*;* from, *F* 81 heads –] *Cam*^{1}*;* heads, *F* heart's sorrow] *(*hearts-sorrow*)* 82.3 *carry*] *Capell; carrying F* 83 harpy] *(Harpie)*

Young Ferdinand (whom they suppose is drowned)
And his, and mine, loved darling. [*Exit.*]

GONZALO
I'th' name of something holy, sir, why stand you
In this strange stare?

ALONSO O, it is monstrous, monstrous!
Methought the billows spoke and told me of it;
The winds did sing it to me, and the thunder –
That deep and dreadful organpipe – pronounced
The name of Prosper. It did bass my trespass.
Therefore my son i'th' ooze is bedded, and
I'll seek him deeper than e'er plummet sounded,
And with him there lie mudded. *Exit.*

SEBASTIAN
But one fiend at a time,
I'll fight their legions o'er.

ANTONIO I'll be thy second.
Exeunt [*Sebastian and Antonio*].

GONZALO
All three of them are desperate: their great guilt,
Like poison given to work a great time after,
Now 'gins to bite the spirits. I do beseech you

92 **whom** who; see Abbott, §410.
96 **it** Alonso's *trespass* (99)
98 **deep** 'Low in pitch, grave' (cited in *OED a.* 14)
99 **bass my trespass** *OED* (bass *v.*^{2}) uses this as its only example of 'To utter or proclaim with bass voice or sound'. *Bass* is a pun as well on the baseness of Alonso's actions.
101 **plummet** a weight-based mechanism used to determine vertical distances, especially in navigation. This line is echoed in 5.1.56.
103–4 **But . . . o'er.** 'If they come one by one, I'll battle whole legions of devilish spirits.'
106 **poison** *Leicester's Commonwealth*, a scurrilous tract attacking the Earl of Leicester and originally published as *The Copie of a Leter . . .*, refers to a poison that 'might so be tempered and given as it should not apeare presentlie, and yet should kill the partie afterward at what time should be appointed' (London, 1584, 29).
107 **bite the spirits** erode their vitality

93 mine] my *Rowe* 97–8 thunder – / That] *this edn;* Thunder / (That *F* 98 organpipe –] *this edn;* Organ-Pipe) *F* 99 bass] *Johnson;* base, *F* 104 SD *Sebastian and Antonio*] *Malone* 107 do] *om. Pope*

That are of suppler joints, follow them swiftly,
And hinder them from what this ecstasy
May now provoke them to.

ADRIAN Follow, I pray you.

Exeunt omnes.

4.1 *Enter* PROSPERO, FERDINAND *and* MIRANDA.

PROSPERO [*to Ferdinand*]
If I have too austerely punished you,
Your compensation makes amends, for I
Have given you here a third of mine own life,
Or that for which I live, who once again
I tender to thy hand. All thy vexations
Were but my trials of thy love, and thou
Hast strangely stood the test. Here, afore heaven,
I ratify this my rich gift. O Ferdinand,
Do not smile at me that I boast her off,

108 **suppler joints** more flexible and physically fit
109–10 **hinder . . . to** prevent their madness (*ecstasy*) from inducing *desperate* (105) actions, possibly suicide
4.1.3 **third . . . life** Several explanations are plausible: (1) that 15-year-old Miranda has been with, and was raised by, Prospero for one-third of his life (thus making him 45, in the play's most important clue to his age); or (2) that his daughter is one of his three greatest riches, along with his dukedom and his art, or, alternatively, his wife and himself; or, less literally, (3) that Miranda is a major ingredient of his happiness, expressed imprecisely as one-third, much as Prospero later uses *Every third thought* as a rough estimate (5.1.312). Theobald argued that *third* was an insult to Miranda and emended to 'thread', a reading rejected by later editors. Bacon contends that the explanation based on Prospero's age makes the most sense, and we agree. For an extended discussion see Var, 187–9.
7 **strangely** exceptionally, admirably
9 ***her off** Although F has 'of', F2–4 emend to 'off', as does Rowe. *Boast her off* suggests that Prospero is singing Miranda's praises, which he insists she *will outstrip*. Some editions since Cam[1] have argued that the compositor of F reversed the words and therefore invert the sequence to 'of her'. The second 'f' was often omitted from 'off' in the Jacobean era, though seldom in Shakespeare. See Var, 189. J.D. Wilson's suggestion of 'hereof' (i.e. the gift of Miranda) is also plausible (Cam[1], 101–2).

4.1] *Actus Quartus. Scena Prima.* Location] Prospero's Cave *Pope* 3 third] thread *Theobald* 5 tender] render *Rowe[1]* 7 test] rest *F2* 9 her off] *F2, Rowe;* her of *F;* hereof *Cam[1];* of her *Oxf, Oxf[1], Folg[2]*

For thou shalt find she will outstrip all praise
And make it halt behind her.

FERDINAND I do believe it
Against an oracle.

PROSPERO
Then as my gift and thine own acquisition
Worthily purchased, take my daughter. But
If thou dost break her virgin-knot before
All sanctimonious ceremonies may
With full and holy rite be ministered,
No sweet aspersion shall the heavens let fall
To make this contract grow; but barren hate,
Sour-eyed disdain and discord shall bestrew
The union of your bed with weeds so loathly
That you shall hate it both. Therefore take heed,
As Hymen's lamps shall light you.

FERDINAND As I hope

11 **halt** limp (*OED v.*[1] 1). Miranda is so far beyond *praise* that *praise* itself limps *behind her*.
12 i.e. in defiance of an oracle's testimony
13 ***gift** Modern editors have accepted Rowe's emendation of F's 'guest' to 'gift' on the basis of Crane's characteristic spelling, 'guift', which the compositor may have misread as 'guest'. *Gift* suggests the cultural practice in which men exchange a woman to consolidate their relationship. Prospero's *gift* of Miranda to Ferdinand establishes a kinship tie between the men (Singh, 199).
15 **virgin-knot** maidenhead. Prospero warns of the dangers of taking Miranda's virginity before marriage, in what could be an allusion to the Latin expression *zonam solvere* – to untie the girdle, a euphemism for loss of virginity. Shakespeare might also have had in mind Catullus' poem to Hymen (LXI, 52–3): '*tibi virgines zonula soluunt sinus*' – 'for thee the virgins loose their garments from their girdle' (Loeb trans., Cambridge, Mass., 1988), an allusion that only makes sense if the girdle is knotted.
16 **sanctimonious** holy, sacred
17 ***rite** F's 'right' is not implausible, but the context of *sanctimonious ceremonies* (holy in character) suggests that the modern *rite* was intended, although either or both meanings could apply. Cf. *Oth* 1.3.257, where Desdemona's 'rites' (F) conflates the sense of sexual rights (as a wife) with the sense of ceremonial rites (marriage rituals).
18 **sweet aspersion** sprinkling or shower of, presumably, holy water (cited in *OED* aspersion 2). Prospero suggests that the marriage will be barren and miserable if the couple engages in premarital sex.
20–1 **bestrew . . . weeds** cover the marriage bed (and the marriage) with *weeds* rather than the customary flowers
23 **Hymen's lamps** Hymen, god of marriage in Greek and Roman mythology, carried a torch that shone brightly on a

11 do] *om. Pope* 13 gift] *Rowe;* guest *F* 14 But] *om. F2, Rowe* 17 rite] (right) 20 Sour-eyed] (Sower-ey'd)

For quiet days, fair issue and long life,
With such love as 'tis now, the murkiest den,
The most opportune place, the strong'st suggestion
Our worser genius can, shall never melt
Mine honour into lust to take away
The edge of that day's celebration,
When I shall think or Phoebus' steeds are foundered
Or night kept chained below.

PROSPERO Fairly spoke.
Sit then and talk with her; she is thine own.
What, Ariel! My industrious servant Ariel!

Enter ARIEL.

ARIEL
What would my potent master? Here I am.

PROSPERO
Thou and thy meaner fellows your last service
Did worthily perform, and I must use you
In such another trick. Go bring the rabble
(O'er whom I give thee power) here to this place.

happy union, smokily on a marriage that was ill-fated. See 97 (*Hymen's torch*), which suggests that *lamps* here should perhaps be singular.
25 **murkiest den** dark and concealed cave or hideaway, perhaps suggestive of the cave where Dido and Aeneas had sexual relations
26–7 **strong'st . . . can** greatest temptation that our most evil spirit (*worser genius*) can propose (first occurrence in *OED* genius 1c)
29 **edge** keenness, enjoyment (cited in *OED sb.* 2a), with implications too of anticipated sexual excitement when the marriage is consummated
that . . . celebration the wedding-day festivities
30–1 **Phoebus' . . . below** Ferdinand will not 'take away / The edge' of the forthcoming marriage when, to him, the sun will seem never to set (as if the sun god's horses have foundered, i.e. gone lame) nor the wedding night ever to arrive (as if night has been imprisoned beneath the Antipodes). The lengthiness of the wedding day and the anticipation of the wedding night were common themes in hymeneal songs and epithalamia.
33 **What** an exclamation used to 'summon, or call the attention of a person' (cited in *OED* B 3)
35 **meaner fellows** lesser Spirits; Ariel's subordinates
37 **such another** another such
rabble Ariel's minions; apparently meant pejoratively (*OED sb.*[1] A 1–2)

27 genius] *(Genius)*

Incite them to quick motion, for I must
Bestow upon the eyes of this young couple
Some vanity of mine art. It is my promise,
And they expect it from me.

ARIEL Presently?

PROSPERO
Ay, with a twink.

ARIEL
Before you can say 'come' and 'go',
And breathe twice and cry 'so, so',
Each one tripping on his toe,
Will be here with mop and mow.
Do you love me, master? No?

PROSPERO
Dearly, my delicate Ariel. Do not approach
Till thou dost hear me call.

ARIEL Well, I conceive. *Exit.*

PROSPERO [*to Ferdinand*]
Look thou be true. Do not give dalliance
Too much the rein. The strongest oaths are straw

39 **quick motion** rapid, swift (cited in *OED* quick *a.* 24)
41 **vanity . . . art** light-hearted display of magic, a pleasing illusion; perhaps an allusion to Cornelius Agrippa's *De vanitate et incertitudine artium et scientiarum*, translated into English by J. Sanford as *Of the Vanity of arts and sciences* (1569)
42 **Presently?** right away, immediately?
43 **twink** 'A winking of the eye', or 'the time taken by this' (*OED sb.*[1] 1). Cf. *TS* 2.1.308–10: 'kiss on kiss / She vied so fast . . . / That in a twink she won me to her love'.
46 **tripping** moving quickly, nimbly
47 **mop and mow** grimace (*OED sb.* 3) and pout (*OED sb.* 2). See also 3.3.82.2.
49 **delicate** 'fine or exquisite in quality or nature' (*OED a.* 6b); or, delightful, charming (*OED a.* 1)
50 **conceive** understand
51 **dalliance** amorous conversation and, perhaps, gestures. While Prospero addressed Ariel, Ferdinand and Miranda were no doubt demonstrating their mutual affection.
52 **Too . . . rein** undue liberty, perhaps from the proverbial expression, 'To give one the BRIDLE (reins)' (Dent, B671)
52–3 **strongest . . . blood** Blood was assumed to be the seat of strong passions, including sexual. Prospero warns that even the lovers' oaths of abstinence could melt in the heat of their *dalliance*.

51 SD] *Cam*[1] 52 rein] *(raigne)*

To th' fire i'th' blood. Be more abstemious
Or else good night your vow!
FERDINAND I warrant you, sir,
The white cold virgin snow upon my heart
Abates the ardour of my liver.
PROSPERO Well! –
Now come, my Ariel; bring a corollary
Rather than want a spirit. Appear, and pertly. *Soft music.*
No tongue, all eyes. Be silent!

Enter IRIS.

IRIS
Ceres, most bounteous lady, thy rich leas
Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats and peas;
Thy turfy mountains where live nibbling sheep,
And flat meads thatched with stover them to keep;

54 **good night** farewell to
warrant guarantee, assure
55–6 **The . . . liver** Ferdinand, his heart 'as chaste (pure) as ICE' (Dent, I1, from *Ham* 3.1.135), combats his liver's passions. The liver, according to humoural theory, was the seat of physical passion and desire.
57–8 **bring . . . spirit** i.e. bring an extra spirit (*meaner fellow*) rather than have too few for the task. *Corollary* is an obsolete word for 'something additional', or 'supernumerary' (cited in *OED* 4).
58 **want** lack
pertly smartly, quickly (cited in *OED adv.* 3)
59 **No tongue** In some modern performances, Ferdinand and Miranda are caught 'French-kissing' here, but it is far more likely that Prospero simply asks them to be quiet. Cf. Faustus's request to the emperor and his court to remain in 'dumb silence' while he presents the shapes of Alexander and his paramour (Marlowe, B text (1616), 4.1.96).
59.1 **IRIS** See List of Roles, n. 16; Introduction, pp. 70–1.
60 **Ceres** See List of Roles, n. 17; Introduction, pp. 70–2.
leas fields, meadows
61 **vetches** coarse crops often used for fodder, tares; sometimes spelled 'fetches' before the late seventeenth century but almost always *vetches* thereafter. See Gerard, 1052–4.
62 **turfy** covered with grass (*OED a.*)
63 **meads . . . keep** meadows covered with growth of fodder for sheep. *Stover* is any type of grass that is stored to make fodder.

53 abstemious] *(*abstenious*)* 61 vetches] *(*Fetches*)* peas] *(*Pease*)* 62 turfy mountains] *(*Turphie-Mountaines*)* 63 thatched with] *(*thetchd with*); with* thatched *Hanmer*

Thy banks with pioned and twilled brims,
Which spongy April at thy hest betrims
To make cold nymphs chaste crowns; and thy
broomgroves
Whose shadow the dismissed bachelor loves,
Being lass-lorn; thy pole-clipped vineyard,
And thy sea-marge, sterile and rocky-hard,
Where thou thyself dost air – the queen o'th' sky,
Whose watery arch and messenger am I,
Bids thee leave these, and with her sovereign grace,

64 **pioned and twilled** pionèd, twillèd. *OED* pioned and *OED* twilled cite this as the first occurrence and indicate that the meanings are uncertain. The most persuasive explanation of this long-debated phrase seems to be that the meadow's banks are lacerated or trenched (*pioned*) by the currents of streams or drainage ditches and tangled with exposed roots, but whether the phrase describes natural erosion or human efforts to prevent further damage (i.e. *twilled* or woven with sticks) has no consensus. Early editors offered horticultural substitutes, such as 'peonied' and 'tulip'd', and *twilled* was sometimes changed to 'lilied' or 'willow'd'. See Var, 195–201 for an exhaustive account of early emendations. For more recent explanations, see Harrison, who glosses the terms using the 1936 *Handbook of Erosion-Control Engineering on the National Forests*, and Fox, who relates the terms to ditching and hedging in Warwickshire.
65 **spongy** rainy
hest behest, command
66 **cold nymphs** The nymphs are cold because of their restraint from sexual activity.
chaste crowns coronets of flowers, symbols of virginity
broomgroves areas of terrain covered with yellow-flowered shrubs. Although editors have debated whether *broom*, which Gerard defines as 'a bush or shrubbie plant' (Gerard, 1130), can be described as growing in a grove, which usually consists of trees (Var, 201–2), we agree with Orgel that the passage should be taken as Shakespeare's invention. Orgel also notes that 'broom figures significantly in magic spells designed to ensure the success of love affairs', which explains why the *dismissed bachelor* loves it (Oxf[1], 174).
67 **dismissed** dismissèd; rejected (first occurrence in *OED v.* 6)
68 **lass-lorn** bereft of lasses
pole-clipped cited in *OED sb.*[1] 5 for hyphenated variant of *pole* – 'pertaining to or made of a pole or poles', but equally plausible is the sense of hedged in by tall stakes (*OED sb.*[1] 5c), or the modern 'poll', in which case the meaning is 'pruned short' (pollarded; *OED sb.*[1] 3)
69 **sea-marge** margin of the sea, seacoast
70 **queen o'th' sky** Juno; see List of Roles, n. 18; Introduction, pp. 68–73.
71 **watery arch** rainbow, Iris' sign
72 **these** the terrain described above

64 pioned] peonied *Oxf;* pionied *Theobald*[2] twilled] tulip'd *Rowe;* tilled *Capell;* lilied *Grant White* 68 pole-clipped] poll-clipt *Ard*[2]*;* pale-clipt *Hanmer* 70 air –] *Cam*[1]*;* ayre, *F* 71 I,] *F2;* I. *F*

JUNO *descends.*

Here on this grass-plot, in this very place,
To come and sport. Her peacocks fly amain.
Approach, rich Ceres, her to entertain.

Enter CERES.

CERES
Hail, many-coloured messenger, that ne'er
Dost disobey the wife of Jupiter;
Who, with thy saffron wings, upon my flowers
Diffusest honey-drops, refreshing showers,
And with each end of thy blue bow dost crown
My bosky acres and my unshrubbed down,
Rich scarf to my proud earth. Why hath thy queen
Summoned me hither to this short-grassed green?

72.1 Eighteenth-century editors usually moved F's SD to 102, arguing that Juno's appearance is not noted until Ceres announces, *Great Juno comes.* But, as Jowett contends, '*descends*' may refer to the 'convention of the floating deity' whereby 'the deity would be expected, upon appearing from the heavens, to remain suspended in the air rather than to come down to the stage'. Ceres' announcement of Juno's arrival at 102 marks the 'second stage of the descent to earth'. See Jowett, 115–17.

74 **peacocks fly amain** Peacocks, Juno's sacred birds, draw her carriage speedily. In many stage productions Juno appears in a chariot drawn by actors dressed as peacocks, but she may also descend astride a single giant bird.

75 **to entertain** 'to show hospitality to' (*OED v.* 13)

76 **many-coloured messenger** addressed to Iris, the gods' messenger, who probably wears a costume suggesting her sign, the rainbow

77 **wife of Jupiter** Juno; Jupiter was the king of gods.

78 **saffron wings** yellow-coloured wings, perhaps reflecting the sun

79 **Diffusest honey-drops** shed sweet drops of rain

81 **bosky . . . down** cited in *OED* bosky *a.*[1] to illustrate 'Consisting of or covered with bushes or underwood; full of thickets, bushy' – hence, shrub-covered fields and bare undulating hills (*unshrubbed down*)

82 **Rich scarf** Iris, the rainbow or *many-coloured messenger*, forms a colourful *scarf* that covers Ceres' earth (first occurrence in *OED* scarf *sb.*[1] 3c as a figurative use).

83 **short-grassed green** the lawn on which the masque is imagined to take place, which was probably mowed short and thus made suitable for dancing. As Orgel contends, this phrase may also refer to the 'green cloth that carpeted the dancing area when the Banqueting House was set up for a masque' or to green rushes that covered the stages in public theatres (Oxf[1], 175).

72.1] *F; opp. 102 Ard[1], Bantam, Folg[2]* 74 Her] *Rowe;* here *F* 75.1] *enter [Ariel as] Ceres Oxf, Oxf[1]* 83 short-grassed] *Rowe[1];* short gras'd *F;* short-grass *Rowe[3], Pope;* short-grazed *(RP)*

IRIS
A contract of true love to celebrate,
And some donation freely to estate
On the blessed lovers.

CERES
Tell me, heavenly bow,
If Venus or her son, as thou dost know,
Do now attend the queen? Since they did plot
The means that dusky Dis my daughter got,
Her and her blind boy's scandaled company
I have forsworn.

IRIS
Of her society
Be not afraid. I met her deity
Cutting the clouds towards Paphos, and her son
Dove-drawn with her. Here thought they to have done
Some wanton charm upon this man and maid,

85 **donation . . . estate** gift generously to bestow

86 **blessed** blessèd
bow rainbow, Iris' sign

87 **Venus . . . son** the goddess of love and her son Cupid. Both were associated with sexual desire. See Introduction, pp. 70–1.
as as far as

89 **dusky Dis** dark Pluto. Shakespeare uses a Roman name for the god of the underworld: 'dis', a contraction of *dius, divus* or *deus*, all of which mean 'divine'; since the number of his subjects increased exponentially, Dis was considered the richest of all gods. In a myth that explains the changing seasons, Pluto, aided by Venus and Cupid, kidnaps Ceres' (Demeter's) daughter Proserpina and continues to keep her in the underworld half of every year. While Proserpina lives with Pluto in the underworld, it is winter and the earth is barren; when she returns, the earth bears fruit in spring, summer and early autumn. Cf. Perdita's reference to Dis and Proserpina in *WT* 4.4.116–18.

90 **blind boy's** Cupid's. He was often portrayed with a blindfold ('LOVE is blind', Dent, L506).
scandaled 'disgraceful, shameful' (first occurrence in *OED ppl. a. obs.*). Cupid's companionship is to be avoided because of his complicity with Venus, according to Ovid, in causing Pluto to abduct Ceres' daughter Proserpina. See Introduction, pp. 71–2.

93 **Paphos** Venus' sacred home on the island of Cyprus; cf. *VA* 1189–94, which describes Venus' journey to Paphos.

94 **Dove-drawn** Venus' chariot was pulled by doves, the birds of love (Dent, D573).

94–5 **done . . . charm** When Cupid's arrows strike the eyes, the recipient of the wound is overcome with sexual desire. Venus and Cupid intended to charm Ferdinand and Miranda into lust.

90 blind boy's] *(blind-Boyes)*

Whose vows are that no bed-right shall be paid
Till Hymen's torch be lighted, but in vain.
Mars's hot minion is returned again;
Her waspish-headed son has broke his arrows,
Swears he will shoot no more, but play with sparrows
And be a boy right out.

CERES Highest queen of state,
Great Juno comes; I know her by her gait.

JUNO
How does my bounteous sister? Go with me
To bless this twain that they may prosperous be,
And honoured in their issue.

They sing.

JUNO
Honour, riches, marriage-blessing,
Long continuance and increasing,
Hourly joys be still upon you;
Juno sings her blessings on you.

96 **bed-right** consummation of the marriage
97 **Hymen's torch** as in 23. Prospero has asked Ferdinand and Miranda to postpone the consummation of their marriage until the wedding rites are complete and *Hymen's torch* (or lamp) is lit. See also 23n.
98 **Mars's hot minion** Mars, god of war, had an adulterous affair with Venus, his *hot minion*. Venus has returned to Paphos and is no longer a threat.
99 **waspish-headed son** the stingingly (with arrows instead of bees' stings) mischievous Cupid, who may also have broken his arrows in anger (cited in *OED* waspish *a.*[1] 2 for the meaning 'irascible, petulantly spiteful'). Silvius in *AYL* (4.3.9–11) observes that Phebe's 'waspish action' in writing a letter suggests its 'angry' message.
broke his arrows Cupid can no longer cast his spell on the lovers because he has broken his arrows.
100 **sparrows** appropriate playmates for Cupid, in accordance with the proverb 'As lustful as SPARROWS' (Dent, S715)
101 **right out** outright (first occurrence in *OED adv.* 4); i.e. behave properly, or (perhaps) behave like a human child instead of a god
102 **Great . . . comes** See 72.1. Juno's chariot arrives at centre stage, sometimes by descending from where it has been suspended aloft, or, in modern productions, sometimes from doors at the rear of the stage.
gait manner of walking or general bearing. Cf. *Aeneid*, Bk 1, 404–5, where Aeneas recognizes his mother by her gait. Ceres does not necessarily mean that Juno is walking along the stage, although she often does so in modern productions.
104 **twain** pair, couple (cited in *OED sb.* 2)

98 Mars's] *(Marses)* 101 Highest] High *Pope;* High'st *Capell* 102 gait] *(gate)*

CERES Earth's increase, foison plenty,
Barns and garners never empty.
Vines with clustering bunches growing,
Plants with goodly burden bowing;
Spring come to you at the farthest,
In the very end of harvest.
Scarcity and want shall shun you,
Ceres' blessing so is on you.

FERDINAND
This is a most majestic vision, and
Harmonious charmingly. May I be bold
To think these spirits?

PROSPERO Spirits, which by mine art
I have from their confines called to enact
My present fancies.

FERDINAND Let me live here ever!
So rare a wondered father and a wise
Makes this place paradise.

Juno and Ceres whisper, and send Iris on employment.

PROSPERO Sweet now, silence!
Juno and Ceres whisper seriously.

110 SP *Theobald first added this SP: in the light of the reference to *Ceres' blessing* at 117, Ceres must here take over the speech.
foison abundance (also in 2.1.164)
111 **garners** granaries
113 **bowing** bending
114–15 **Spring . . . harvest** May spring follow immediately after the autumn harvest – meaning there will be no winter but, instead, constant fair weather and abundance. See Introduction, pp. 70–2.
119 **charmingly** enchantingly, delightfully (first occurrence in *OED adv.*)
121 **confines** confines; presumably where the Spirits lurk when they are not performing Prospero's bidding
enact perform
123 **wondered** performing such rare wonders (cited in *OED ppl. a.* 2), with play on Miranda's name. See Abbott, §294.
wise See Introduction, pp. 136–8.
124 **Sweet . . . silence!** Prospero appears to be addressing Ferdinand, although some editors have suggested that Miranda is about to speak when her father intercedes; other editors have assigned this phrase and the subsequent line to Miranda. Elsewhere (e.g. *3H6* 2.5.137: 'good sweet Exeter') Shakespeare's male characters apply *sweet* to each other.

110 SP] *Theobald; not in F* 121 from their] from all their *F2, Rowe* 123 wise] wife *Rowe* 124 Makes] Make *Pope* 124 SD] *Capell; opp. 127 F*

There's something else to do. Hush and be mute,
Or else our spell is marred.

IRIS

You nymphs, called naiads, of the windring brooks,
With your sedged crowns and ever-harmless looks,
Leave your crisp channels, and on this green land
Answer your summons; Juno does command.
Come, temperate nymphs, and help to celebrate
A contract of true love. Be not too late.

Enter certain Nymphs.

You sunburned sicklemen, of August weary,
Come hither from the furrow and be merry;
Make holiday! Your rye-straw hats put on,
And these fresh nymphs encounter every one
In country footing.

128 **naiads** water nymphs. Samuel Daniel's *Tethys' Festival*, a masque performed in 1610 for Prince Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales, describes 'Naydes' as 'attired in light robes adorned with flowers, their haire hanging downe, and waving with Garlands of water ornaments on their heads' (sig. E3^{v}).
windring This word is not found elsewhere (*OED* cites this line only and suggests a misprint for winding). Shakespeare may have conflated 'winding' and 'wandering'. Whatever its origin, the word evokes the brooks' curving paths.
129 **sedged crowns** crowns or coronets woven from a rush-like river plant (first occurrence in *OED* sedged)
ever-harmless guiltless, innocent (*OED a.* 3); or, causing no harm (*OED a.* 4)
130 **crisp channels** rippling waterways
green land grassy lawn; see 83 and n.
132 **temperate** abstemious (*OED a.* 1b). *Temperate nymphs* (*fresh nymphs* in 137) are appropriate for a marriage of chaste lovers.
134 **sicklemen** harvesters with sickles
of August weary tired from harvest labours
136 **rye-straw** straw made from rye, a cereal grain (and therefore appropriate to Ceres' pageant)
137 **encounter** stand opposite. The Nymphs and Reapers line up in pairs for the dance.
138 **country footing** The dance of Nymphs and Reapers that immediately follows should be rustic rather than courtly.

128 naiads] *(Nayades)* windring] winding *Rowe;* wand'ring *Malone (Steevens)* 130 green land] *(*greene-Land*)*

Enter certain Reapers, properly habited. They join with the Nymphs in a graceful dance, towards the end whereof Prospero starts suddenly and speaks; after which, to a strange hollow and confused noise, they heavily vanish.

PROSPERO [*aside*]

I had forgot that foul conspiracy
Of the beast Caliban and his confederates
Against my life. The minute of their plot
Is almost come. [*to the Spirits*] Well done. Avoid, no more! [*Spirits depart.*]

FERDINAND [*to Miranda*]

This is strange. Your father's in some passion
That works him strongly.

MIRANDA

Never till this day
Saw I him touched with anger so distempered!

PROSPERO

You do look, my son, in a moved sort,
As if you were dismayed. Be cheerful, sir.
Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits and

138.4 *heavily vanish* Although some editors take *heavily* to mean 'reluctantly' or 'sadly', the adverb may indicate that the Nymphs and Reapers all exit quickly or, possibly, that they disappear through a trap door or other device. See Dessen, 209–15.
140 **beast** Because Caliban is generally described as human in 1.2.281–4 and elsewhere, this comment probably refers to his behaviour rather than his shape. See Introduction, pp. 33–4.
142 **Avoid** depart
143 **passion** excitement
144 **works** affects, stirs (cited in *OED v.* 14b)
145 **distempered** out of humour, vexed, troubled (*OED ppl. a.* 2)
146 **in . . . sort** upset, agitated
148 **revels** courtly entertainment. The term was used for 'the final dance between masquers and spectators' in the court masque (Oxf^{1}, 180).
148–58 This passage is often extracted from its context and treated as Shakespeare's farewell to his art; Al Pacino recited it, e.g., as Shakespeare's own words in his 1996 film *Looking for Richard*. The vanishing spectacle was a recurrent feature in Jacobean court masques, however. In Samuel Daniel's *Tethys' Festival*, Tethys sings that 'Pleasures onely shadowes bee / Cast by bodies we conceive, / And are made

138.4 *heavily*] *om. Pope* 139 SD] *Johnson* 142 SD1] *Malone* SD2] *this edn* 143 SD] *Oxf, Bantam, Folg*^{2} 146 You do look] You look *Pope;* Why, you do look *Hanmer*

Are melted into air, into thin air;
And – like the baseless fabric of this vision –
The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep. Sir, I am vexed;
Bear with my weakness; my old brain is troubled.
Be not disturbed with my infirmity.
If you be pleased, retire into my cell
And there repose. A turn or two I'll walk
To still my beating mind.

FERDINAND, MIRANDA We wish your peace. *Exeunt.*

the things we deeme, / In those figures which they seeme. / But these pleasures vanish fast, . . . Glory is most bright and gay / In a flash, and so away' (italics removed). Daniel added a third spectacle after the vanishing sea nymphs 'to avoid the confusion which usually attendeth the desolve of these shewes' (sig. F3ᵛ); perhaps Prospero was not alone in finding such sudden disappearances disconcerting.

149 **foretold** you told you before

151 **baseless . . . vision** i.e. this spectacle, having no foundation in reality

152 **cloud-capped towers** towers so tall that they are 'Capped with heavy clouds about [their] summit[s]' (first occurrence in *OED a.*)

153 **great globe** the world, though probably with a simultaneous reference to the Globe playhouse for which Shakespeare wrote plays after 1599

154 **all . . . inherit** i.e. all people who will subsequently live on the earth and, perhaps also, all who will perform in or attend (and possibly own) the Globe

156 **rack** 'driving mist or fog' (cited in *OED sb.*[1] 2b), which like the *pageant* . . . *Leave*(s) scarcely a trace *behind*

157 on of

158 **rounded with** finished by, completed by (cited in *OED v.*[1] 4a). Cf. Orgel, who argues against this usage and in favour of 'surrounded' (Oxf[1], 181).

162–3 **A . . . mind.** 'A short walk will calm my agitated mind'; see 1.2.176: 'still, 'tis beating in my mind'. Cf. *2H6* 1.3.152–3: 'my choler being overblown / With walking once about the quadrangle'.

163 **your** We follow F here, although many editors have preferred 'you', which appears in F4 and Rowe. We see no justification for the change but recognize the plausibility of a scribe's or compositor's misreading of the manuscript.

151 And –] *this edn;* And *F* this] their *F2, Rowe;* th'air *Warburton* vision –] *this edn;* vision *F*
163 your] you *F4, Rowe*

PROSPERO
Come with a thought, I thank thee, Ariel. Come!

Enter ARIEL.

ARIEL
Thy thoughts I cleave to. What's thy pleasure?
PROSPERO
Spirit, we must prepare to meet with Caliban.
ARIEL
Ay, my commander. When I presented Ceres,
I thought to have told thee of it, but I feared
Lest I might anger thee.
PROSPERO
Say again, where didst thou leave these varlets?
ARIEL
I told you, sir, they were red-hot with drinking,
So full of valour that they smote the air
For breathing in their faces, beat the ground
For kissing of their feet, yet always bending

164 **with a thought** as quickly as a thought; as soon as I think of you. Cf. Dent, T240: 'As swift as THOUGHT'.
I thank thee In *Riv* Prospero addresses these words to Miranda and Ferdinand, which is certainly plausible, but the previous and subsequent words, as well as the singular *thee*, make Ariel the more likely addressee. Prospero's appreciation of Ariel's alacrity contrasts with his impatience in 1.2 and suggests a closer relationship between master and servant.

165 **cleave to** adhere to; obey

167 **presented Ceres** This phrase is generally taken to mean that the actor who performs Ariel also doubles in Ceres' role, though Ariel might be using *presented* in the sense of serving as a stage manager. Prospero's meditation in 148–63 allows the actor playing Ariel / Ceres plenty of time to change costumes.

170 **varlets** scoundrels

171 **red-hot** literally red-faced and figuratively highly inflamed or excited, though it may also mean fired with false courage, as the next line suggests

172–3 **So . . . faces** 'They were so quarrelsome that they picked a fight with the air for surrounding their faces.'

173–4 **beat . . . feet** 'They beat the ground for being under (*kissing*) their feet', i.e. they walked (staggered?) heavily.

174 **bending** proceeding, turning (*OED* bend *v.* 20). Cf. *AW* 3.2.53–5: 'for thence we came; / And after some dispatch in hand at court, / Thither we bend again'.

169 Lest] *(*Least*)*

Towards their project. Then I beat my tabor,
At which like unbacked colts they pricked their ears,
Advanced their eyelids, lifted up their noses
As they smelt music; so I charmed their ears
That calf-like they my lowing followed, through
Toothed briars, sharp furzes, pricking gorse and thorns,
Which entered their frail shins. At last I left them
I'th' filthy-mantled pool beyond your cell,
There dancing up to th' chins, that the foul lake
O'erstunk their feet.

PROSPERO This was well done, my bird.
Thy shape invisible retain thou still.
The trumpery in my house: go bring it hither,
For stale to catch these thieves.

ARIEL I go, I go. *Exit.*

PROSPERO
A devil, a born devil, on whose nature

175–9 **Then . . . followed** For a similar image of music's effect on wild horses, see *MV* 5.1.71–9.
175 **tabor** drum. See 3.2.124 SD and n.
176 **unbacked colts** unbroken young horses
177 **Advanced** raised, lifted
178 **As . . . music** as if they could smell music
179 **calf-like** as docile as a calf
lowing mooing; making the sound of cattle
180 **sharp . . . gorse** prickly shrubs
182 **filthy-mantled** covered with slime or scum
184 **O'erstunk their feet** stank even worse than, or drowned the stench of, *their feet* (only occurrence in *OED* overstink *v.*)
my bird This epithet suggests (1) Ariel's ability to fly, and (2) Prospero's affection for a faithful pet.
186 **trumpery** fancy garments; worthless finery (first occurrence in *OED sb.* 2d), referred to in 193.1 as *glistering apparel*
187 **stale** Several uses of the word may apply here: (1) decoy, almost certainly, and perhaps also (2) prostitute, (3) cover for sinister designs and (4) playing on the *horse piss* of 199, horse's urine.
188–9 **nature/Nurture** In Shakespeare's day, as in ours, the respective roles of nature and nurture in the formation of human character were debated. If, as Prospero charges, Caliban is the son of a witch and the devil, he is immune to the benefits of nurture. But not quite: Prospero and Miranda taught him language and, they claim (1.2.308–63), much else. Prospero's emphasis here is probably on moral nature, to which Caliban (in Prospero's and Miranda's eyes, at least) appears wholly resistant.

180 gorse] *(gosse)*

Nurture can never stick; on whom my pains
Humanely taken – all, all lost, quite lost!
And, as with age his body uglier grows,
So his mind cankers. I will plague them all,
Even to roaring. Come, hang them on this line.

Enter ARIEL, *loaden with glistering apparel, etc.*
Enter CALIBAN, STEPHANO *and* TRINCULO, *all wet.*

CALIBAN
Pray you tread softly, that the blind mole may
Not hear a footfall. We now are near his cell.

STEPHANO Monster, your fairy, which you say is a harmless fairy, has done little better than played the jack with us.

TRINCULO Monster, I do smell all horse piss, at which my nose is in great indignation.

STEPHANO So is mine. Do you hear, monster? If I should

189–90 **pains . . . taken** Prospero earlier claimed to 'have *used* Caliban *with humane care*' (1.2.346–7).
192 **cankers** grows malignant, decays
plague afflict, torment
193 **line** For theatrical purposes, *line* is often interpreted as clothes line, but the subsequent reference to *line grove* (5.1.10) argues for a botanical meaning: the line, lime or linden tree. Clothes can, of course, be hung from a tree, but if ropes were used in the staging of 1.1, they could here be used equally well for a clothes line.
194 **blind mole** Moles, in their dark tunnels, could hear but not see footfalls. Topsell explained in *The Historie of Foure-footed Beasts* (London, 1607): 'These Moles have no eares, and yet they heare in the earth more nimbly and perfectly then men can above the same, for at every step or small noise and almost breathing, they are terrified and run away' (499). Caliban asks Stephano and Trinculo to tread so softly that even the mole will not notice them.
196 **your fairy** This may suggest that Caliban has told the conspirators about Ariel; many postwar appropriations expand on the relationship between Ariel and Caliban, but this line is one of the few indications that Caliban knew of the sprite. Yet they must have been acquainted before Prospero and Miranda arrived on the island, and Sycorax would presumably (if she lived until Caliban reached the age of understanding) have informed her son about the recalcitrant spirit-servant she confined for twelve years in *a cloven pine* (1.2.274–7).
198 **jack** trickster (cited in *OED sb.*[1] 2b)
199 **horse piss** All three conspirators must reek from the *filthy-mantled pool* (182).

190 taken –] *this edn;* taken, *F* 193 them on] *Rowe*[1]*;* on them *F, Rowe*[3] 194–5] *Pope; prose F*
196–202] *Pope; as verse F, lined* Fairy, / vs. / which / indignation. / should / you. /

take a displeasure against you, look you!
TRINCULO Thou wert but a lost monster.
CALIBAN
Good my lord, give me thy favour still.
Be patient, for the prize I'll bring thee to
Shall hoodwink this mischance. Therefore speak softly;
All's hushed as midnight yet.
TRINCULO Ay, but to lose our bottles in the pool –
STEPHANO There is not only disgrace and dishonour in that, monster, but an infinite loss.
TRINCULO That's more to me than my wetting, yet this is your harmless fairy, monster.
STEPHANO I will fetch off my bottle, though I be o'er ears for my labour.
CALIBAN
Prithee, my king, be quiet. Seest thou here;
This is the mouth o'th' cell. No noise, and enter.
Do that good mischief which may make this island
Thine own forever, and I, thy Caliban,
For aye thy foot-licker.
STEPHANO Give me thy hand. I do begin to have bloody thoughts.
TRINCULO [*Sees the clothes.*] O King Stephano! O peer!
O worthy Stephano! Look what a wardrobe here is for thee!

203 lost ruined; probably meant in the sense of 'as good as dead'
206 hoodwink this mischance cover up this mistake
207 hushed as midnight 'As still as MIDNIGHT' (Dent, M919.1)
212 harmless fairy See 196n.
213 fetch off retrieve
o'er ears over my ears in the *filthy-mantled* horse pond (182)
217 good mischief This oxymoron fits the purpose of the three conspirators: harm, evil (*OED* mischief *sb.* 2), that could serve them well.
219 aye ever
foot-licker Although Caliban resents being treated as a slave earlier in the play, here he seems willing to submit to Stephano's authority.
222 King . . . peer a reference to the old ballad 'King Stephen was a worthy peer', which links clothing with social status. Iago sings it in *Oth* 2.3.89–96.

208 pool–] *Hanmer;* Poole. *F* 211–14] *Pope; as verse F, lined* wetting: / Monster. / bottle, / labour./ 220–4] *Pope; as verse F, lined* hand, / thoughts. / worthy *Stephano,* / thee. / 222 SD] *this edn*

CALIBAN
Let it alone, thou fool; it is but trash.
TRINCULO O ho, monster; we know what belongs to a frippery! O King Stephano! [*Puts on a garment.*]
STEPHANO Put off that gown, Trinculo. By this hand, I'll have that gown.
TRINCULO Thy grace shall have it.
CALIBAN
The dropsy drown this fool! What do you mean
To dote thus on such luggage? Let't alone
And do the murder first. If he awake,
From toe to crown he'll fill our skins with pinches,
Make us strange stuff.
STEPHANO Be you quiet, monster. Mistress Line, is not this my jerkin? Now is the jerkin under the line! Now jerkin you are like to lose your hair and prove a bald jerkin.

227 frippery old-clothing shop; Trinculo denies that the garments before them are, as Caliban contends, *trash.*
228 gown Trinculo has apparently donned a gown that reflects, because of its finery or insignia, more rank or elegance than 'King' Stephano can tolerate.
230 grace a courtesy title that in Shakespeare's day was reserved for the monarch, although its application was spreading to high ranks in church and state. Here it is appropriate for 'King' Stephano.
231 dropsy a disease in which the body retains fluids
232 luggage meant in a general sense of goods, in this case worthless garments
236 Mistress Line Stephano begins a series of puns that has defied satisfactory explanation, largely because 'line' has a remarkable range of meanings, several of which may be invoked here. The initial reference (*Mistress Line*) is to the line (linden) tree, or to a rope; in either case it holds the *wardrobe* (223; see also 193n.).
237 [1]jerkin jacket of leather (usually) and fur, often sleeveless (*OED* a)
under the line may mean only that the jerkin is now under, rather than on, the tree (or rope), but most editors take *line* in this instance to be the equator, where seafarers were believed to go bald from tropical fevers or, in a parody of that possibility, sailors sometimes shaved the heads of those crossing the equator for the first time. A more persuasive explanation is offered by R. Levin, who modifies and extends Steevens's attribution of hair loss to venereal disease: *under the line* should be read anatomically, with Stephano tucking the jerkin into his trousers and associating it with the body's lower and hotter regions, where it may lose the hair from the head (or, we suggest, from the pubic region) from syphilis.

227 SD] *this edn* 232 Let't alone] *Rann;* let's alone *F;* Let's along *Theobald;* Let it alone *Hanmer*
236 Line] lime *Oxf*

TRINCULO Do, do. We steal by line and level, an't like your grace.

STEPHANO I thank thee for that jest; here's a garment for't. Wit shall not go unrewarded while I am king of this country. 'Steal by line and level' is an excellent pass of pate. There's another garment for't.

TRINCULO Monster, come put some lime upon your fingers and away with the rest.

CALIBAN

I will have none on't. We shall lose our time,
And all be turned to barnacles, or to apes
With foreheads villainous low.

STEPHANO Monster, lay to your fingers. Help to bear this away where my hogshead of wine is, or I'll turn you out of my kingdom! Go to; carry this.

TRINCULO And this.

STEPHANO Ay, and this.

239 Do, do. yes; bravo
line and level literally, a plumb line and a carpenter's level, but also a proverbial expression, 'To work by LINE and level (measure)' (Dent, L305), or, more loosely, to work with craftsmanly precision – i.e. 'we're skilful thieves'. Trinculo thus adds a third meaning to the pun on *line* (see 236n.).
239–40 an't . . . grace if your grace pleases
243–4 pass of pate witty jab or stroke (first occurrence in *OED* pass *sb.*[2] 9b). A *pass* is a thrust in fencing, while *pate* refers to the head. Stephano makes his own pun while praising Trinculo's foray into clever wordplay.
245 lime probably birdlime, a sticky substance used to catch birds; it would cause clothing to stick to the fingers. See Dent, F236: 'His FINGERS are lime twigs'.
247 on't of it
248 barnacles either the hardshelled sea creatures that fasten onto rocks and ship bottoms or, more likely, the barnacle goose, which was widely believed at the time to originate in such sea life and thereby to signify a strange or stupid creature
apes Caliban's recognition that, in contrast to him and the others, apes have low foreheads suggests that – post-Darwinian interpretations notwithstanding – he should not be portrayed as apelike.
249 villainous vilely (cited in *OED a.* 5b)
250 lay to 'to put or bring into action' (cited in *OED v.*[1] 58b)
252 Go to Get moving.

239 an't] (and't) 247 none] done *F2* lose] (loose) 248 [2]to] *om. Pope*

A noise of hunters heard. Enter diverse Spirits in shape of dogs and hounds, hunting them about, Prospero and Ariel setting them on.

PROSPERO Hey, Mountain, hey!

ARIEL Silver! There it goes, Silver!

PROSPERO

Fury, Fury! There, Tyrant, there! Hark, hark!
[*The Spirits chase Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo off stage.*]
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.

ARIEL Hark, they roar!

PROSPERO

Let them be hunted soundly. At this hour
Lies at my mercy all mine enemies.
Shortly shall all my labours end, and thou
Shalt have the air at freedom. For a little,
Follow and do me service. *Exeunt.*

254.1 *diverse* (1) several in kind or quality (*OED a.* 1); (2) varied, multiform (*OED a.* 2); (3) perverse, 'opposed to what is right' (*OED a.* 3)
254.3 *setting . . . on* urging the dogs to attack (cited in *OED* set *v.*[1] 148c)
255–7 Mountain . . . Silver . . . Fury . . . Tyrant These names for '*Spirits in shape of dogs and hounds*' have no clear origin. Silver appears in *TS* 1.1.19; both Silver and Mountain are in Ayrer's *Die Schöne Sidea*, a play thought by some commentators to have been *Tem*'s principal source. See Introduction, pp. 55–6.
258 charge order
goblins mischievous demons
grind torment
259 convulsions cramps, contractions (cited in *OED sb.* 2a)
shorten contract, draw together (cited in *OED v.* 1d)
sinews tendons; nerves
260 aged agèd
pinch-spotted bruised from pinches
261 pard . . . mountain *Pard* was a leopard or panther; *cat o'mountain* (catamount) could be the same or any wildcat.
262 soundly severely
263 Lies (1) is (are) in subjection; (2) is (are) in a state of inactivity. F here uses a singular verb with a plural subject.
265 have . . . freedom 'take to the air when I (soon) set you free'
For a little for a while longer

254.2 *dogs and*] *om. Rowe, Pope* 257 SD] *this edn*

5.1 *Enter* PROSPERO, *in his magic robes, and* ARIEL.

PROSPERO
Now does my project gather to a head.
My charms crack not; my spirits obey; and time
Goes upright with his carriage. How's the day?
ARIEL
On the sixth hour, at which time, my lord,
You said our work should cease.
PROSPERO I did say so,
When first I raised the tempest. Say, my spirit,
How fares the King and's followers?
ARIEL Confined together
In the same fashion as you gave in charge,
Just as you left them; all prisoners, sir,

5.1 Although Prospero and Ariel were on stage at the end of 4.1, they normally go off stage so that Prospero can put on the *magic robes* called for at the beginning of Act 5 in F's SD. If the magus merely donned a cloak, the quick change would not have disrupted continuous staging at the Globe. At the Blackfriars a musical interval could have allowed the actor time to exit and change his costume.
1 **project** Prospero's plan, whether to wreak vengeance on his enemies or to arrange Miranda's marriage, with the added connotation of an alchemist's experiment, wherein 'projection' is the 'casting of the powder of philosopher's stone . . . upon a metal in fusion to effect its transmutation into gold or silver' (*OED sb.* 2a)
gather . . . head a reference to the alchemical boil, in which the ingredients of the experiment are heated to boiling point. At this crucial moment, the experiment succeeds or fails (Simonds, 'Charms', 553).
2 **crack** another alchemical reference, to the breaking of the alembic if it is boiled over too high a heat. Since Prospero's charms *crack not*, his *project* seems to be a success (Simonds, 'Charms', 555–6).
3 **Goes . . . carriage** travels 'without stooping because his burden (*carriage*, what he carries) is no longer heavy' (Oxf[1], 187). In contrast to his anxiety in 4.1.139–42, Prospero declares that at this time his work is coming to a successful conclusion.
How's the day? What time is it?
4 **On** approaching
sixth hour In 1.2.239 Ariel told Prospero that it was 'Past the midseason'; three hours, more or less, have passed since the storm that began the play and it is almost six, the hour by which Prospero said his project would be finished. Repeated references to the hours create a sense of urgency and remind the audience that the unity of time has been observed.
7 **How fares** Here again, F has a singular verb with a plural subject.
8 'exactly as you ordered'

5.1] *Actus quintus: Scoena Prima.* Location] Before the Cell *Theobald* 4 sixth hour] (sixt hower) 7 together] *om. Pope* 9 all] all your *Pope*

In the line grove which weather-fends your cell.
They cannot budge till your release. The King,
His brother and yours abide all three distracted,
And the remainder mourning over them,
Brimful of sorrow and dismay; but chiefly
Him that you termed, sir, the good old Lord Gonzalo.
His tears run down his beard like winter's drops
From eaves of reeds. Your charm so strongly works 'em
That, if you now beheld them, your affections
Would become tender.
PROSPERO Dost thou think so, spirit?
ARIEL
Mine would, sir, were I human.
PROSPERO And mine shall.
Hast thou, which art but air, a touch, a feeling
Of their afflictions, and shall not myself
(One of their kind, that relish all as sharply,

10 **line grove** a grove of trees of the linden genus *Tilia*, sometimes referred to as the European lime. Though these trees are ornamental and do not bear fruit, editions from Dryden & Davenant to Oxf have emended to 'lime grove', but Oxf[1] and others retain F's original. See 4.1.236 n. and 193.
weather-fends defends from the weather, shelters (first occurrence in *OED v.*) – i.e. the trees serve as a windbreak for Prospero's *cell* (see 1.2.20 and n.).
11 **till your release** i.e. until you release them
12 **abide** remain, stay
16 **winter's drops** drips of cold rain
17 **eaves of reeds** thatched roofs; possibly a metaphor for Gonzalo's beard
18 **affections** passions. Ariel may refer to Prospero's anger and vindictiveness.
20 **human** Editors since Rowe have modernized F's 'humane' to *human*; as a spirit Ariel is not human, but if he were, Ariel would be filled with compassion for the Neapolitans. See 1.2.346–7.
shall must (*OED v.* B 3b)
21 **touch** influence, sense (*OED sb.* 13)
23 **kind** 'A race, or a natural group of animals or plants having a common origin' (cited in *OED sb.* 10a)
23–4 **relish . . . Passion** F's punctuation establishes two complementary phrases: (1) *relish . . . sharply* means to feel experiences as deeply (cited in *OED v.*[1] 2b); (2) *Passion* (here used as a verb) means 'to be affected by deep passion', or perhaps 'to sorrow' (cited in *OED v.*[1] 3). Prospero exclaims that as 'One of their kind', he is deeply affected by the Neapolitans' suffering.

10 line grove] *(Line-grove); lime-grove / Dryden & Davenant, Rowe, Oxf* 11 your] you *F3* 15 Him that you] Him you *Ard[2] (Cam[1]);* He that you *Hanmer;* him, / that you *Malone* sir] *om. Pope* 16 run] *F2;* runs *F* winter's] *F2;* winter *F4, Rowe* 20 human] (humane); human *Rowe* 23 sharply,] sharply *F3*

Passion as they) be kindlier moved than thou art?
Though with their high wrongs I am struck to th' quick,
Yet with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury
Do I take part. The rarer action is
In virtue than in vengeance. They being penitent,
The sole drift of my purpose doth extend
Not a frown further. Go, release them, Ariel.
My charms I'll break; their senses I'll restore;
And they shall be themselves.

ARIEL I'll fetch them, sir. *Exit.*

PROSPERO [*Traces a circle.*]
Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves,

24 **kindlier moved** more compassionately affected, but also more in accord with humankind

25–8 **Though . . . vengeance.** These lines may derive from a similar passage in Montaigne's essay, 'Of Crueltie', in which the sage reflects that 'He that through a naturall facilitie, & genuine mildness, should neglect or contemne injuries received, should no doubt performe a rare action. . . . But he who being toucht & stung to the quicke . . . should arme himselfe with reason against this furiously-blinde desire of revenge' (Montaigne, 243). But the proverbial expression, 'To be able to do HARM and not to do it is noble' (Dent, H170), had wide currency; Shakespeare reiterated the sentiment in Sonnet 94: 'They that have pow'r to hurt, and will do none'; and in *LLL* 2.1.58, where Katherine describes Dumaine as possessing 'Most power to do most harm, least knowing ill'.

25 **high wrongs** *High* suggests the crimes of treason and attempted murder.
struck . . . quick figurative: hit in a tender, vital part, causing mental pain or irritation (*OED sb.*[1] B 4b). 'To touch one to the QUICK' was a proverbial expression used to describe one person's emotional effect upon another (Dent, Q13).

27 **rarer** unusual, exceptional (*OED a.*[1] 5a); or, finer, of uncommon excellence (*OED a.*[1] 6a)

28 **virtue** Prospero no doubt uses *virtue* to stand for forgiveness and mercy.
They being penitent Orgel asserts that 'These conditions are not met' (Oxf[1], 189), but we think the case is less certain. While Antonio and Sebastian remain silent on the issue, Alonso meets Prospero's condition and asks for pardon in 118–9. Sebastian and Antonio may indicate repentance by body language or, conversely, their silence can be taken as defiance.

29 **drift** tendency (*OED sb.* 3); or, object, intention (*OED sb.* 4)

33 SD *F's SD at 57.3–4 directs the Neapolitans and Antonio to *enter the circle* Prospero *had made*. At 33 many editors direct the magician to make the circle with his staff, but since an actor might instead use his hand or foot, we have kept the SD here to its essentials.

33–50 This speech is a rough paraphrase of Medea's incantation from Ovid, 7.263–89. For a full analysis of

26 'gainst] against *F3* 28 They] *Rowe;* they, *F* 33 SD] *this edn*

And ye that on the sands with printless foot
Do chase the ebbing Neptune, and do fly him
When he comes back; you demi-puppets that
By moonshine do the green sour ringlets make,
Whereof the ewe not bites; and you whose pastime
Is to make midnight-mushrooms, that rejoice
To hear the solemn curfew, by whose aid –
Weak masters though ye be – I have bedimmed
The noontide sun, called forth the mutinous winds,
And 'twixt the green sea and the azured vault
Set roaring war; to the dread-rattling thunder
Have I given fire and rifted Jove's stout oak
With his own bolt: the strong-based promontory

Shakespeare's borrowing from Ovid's original, Golding's translation, and other sources, see Bate, *Ovid*, 251–5.

34 **printless foot** leaving no print or trace (first occurrence in *OED a.*). Because the elves are not corporeal, they leave no footprints. Cf. *VA* 147–8, where nymphs dance on the sands without leaving footprints.

35 **ebbing Neptune** As the god of the sea, Neptune appears in the ebb and flow of the waves.
fly run away from

36 **demi-puppets** half-sized or dwarf puppets (only occurrence in *OED*), i.e. fairy, elf

37 **green sour ringlets** rings that appear in the grass at the base of toadstools, supposedly caused by dancing fairies

38 **ewe not bites** Sheep won't eat the *sour* grass that circles the toadstools.

39 **midnight-mushrooms** mushrooms that spring up during the night
that who

40 **solemn curfew** the evening bell, rung at nine o'clock. After curfew, spirits were thought to be free to roam the earth until sunrise.

41 **Weak masters** The *elves* and *demi-puppets* who assist Prospero are subject to the magician, yet they are also *masters* in their own supernatural domains.

41–2 **bedimmed . . . sun** caused eclipses of the sun (cited in *OED* bedim *v.*: 'make dim, cover with dimness, becloud')

42 **mutinous winds** Perhaps a reference to an episode in the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus, driven by curiosity, untied the sack given to him by Aeolus that contained the contrary winds which later impeded his journey.

43 **azured vault** the sky

44 **roaring war** the tumult of tempests, such as was manifest in 1.1

45 **fire** i.e. lightning. Cf. 1.2.191 and 203.
rifted split
Jove's . . . oak As king of the gods, Jove demonstrated his power by hurling a thunderbolt. The oak, known for its hard wood, was sacred to him.

46 ***strong-based promontory** Rowe's emendation of F's 'strong bass'd' better suits *promontory*, suggesting a mountain peak with a broad or sturdy base. 'Bass'd', however, could refer to the 'bass' sound made by the *promontory* as it shakes.

41 bedimmed] (bedymn'd) 44 dread-rattling] *RP;* dread ratling *F* 46 strong-based] (strong bass'd)

Have I made shake, and by the spurs plucked up
The pine and cedar; graves at my command
Have waked their sleepers, ope'd and let 'em forth
By my so potent art. But this rough magic
I here abjure; and when I have required
Some heavenly music (which even now I do)
To work mine end upon their senses that
This airy charm is for, I'll break my staff,
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
And deeper than did ever plummet sound
I'll drown my book. *Solemn music.*

47 **spurs** the principal roots of the trees (cited in *OED sb.*[1] 9)
48–9 **graves . . . forth** A loose translation of Ovid's *'manesque exire sepulcris'*, which Golding rendered as 'I call up dead men from their graves'. If these lines are taken literally, Prospero must be referring to events that occurred before he came to the island; more likely, Shakespeare includes the passage from Ovid as a rhetorical climax to Prospero's recitation of his magical powers (Ovid, Bk 7, 275). The ability to raise the dead was associated with black magic. As Bate contends, Medea's speech, here paraphrased, 'was viewed in the Renaissance as witch-craft's great set-piece'; Shakespeare's audience would have realized at this point that Prospero's magic must be rejected because it was the 'selfsame black magic as that of Medea' (Bate, *Ovid*, 252).
50 **rough magic** *OED* rough *a.* 5a describes 'rough' actions as 'marked by violence towards, or harsh treatment of others'. In this sense, Prospero hereby relinquishes his power to wreak physical harm on his former enemies – Alonso, Sebastian and Antonio – as well as on his servants Caliban and Ariel. *Rough* can also be taken in a more benign sense, meaning 'rudely sufficient', as in the Poet's reference to his 'rough work' in *Tim* 1.1.43 (*OED a.* 17a). Prospero could be self-deprecating here, referring to the imperfect nature of his craft (see also *OED a.* 13: unpolished, rugged). The interpretation of *rough*, therefore, depends upon Prospero's present mood and on the nature of his magic. Despite critical claims that Prospero is really a 'white magician' (see Introduction, pp. 62–6), the preceding allusions to Medea's incantation suggest to us that the adjective *rough* here indicates the underlying danger of the magus's power.
51 **abjure** renounce, recant (cited in *OED v.* 1)
required demanded. Cf. 132.
52 **heavenly . . . do** In neo-Platonic discourse, music was thought to be an earthly embodiment of heavenly harmony; it soothes and heals the troubled mind. Prospero's line calls for *Solemn music* to sound in the background.
54 **airy charm** the *heavenly music*
break my staff Prospero will break and bury his magic staff so that it can never be used again.
55 **fathoms** A fathom was a distance of 6 feet (see 1.2.397n.); now (and usually in this play) used primarily for nautical depth but in the seventeenth century often applied to other contexts.
56 **plummet** a device used to measure the vertical, in this case to sound the depth of the ocean. See 3.3.101.

54 airy charm] *(Ayrie-charme)*

Here enters ARIEL *before; then* ALONSO *with a frantic gesture, attended by* GONZALO; SEBASTIAN *and* ANTONIO *in like manner, attended by* ADRIAN *and* FRANCISCO. *They all enter the circle which Prospero had made and there stand charmed, which Prospero observing, speaks:*

A solemn air and the best comforter
To an unsettled fancy, cure thy brains
(Now useless) boiled within thy skull. There stand,
For you are spell-stopped. –
Holy Gonzalo, honourable man,
Mine eyes, ev'n sociable to the show of thine,
Fall fellowly drops. [*aside*] The charm dissolves apace,
And as the morning steals upon the night,
Melting the darkness, so their rising senses
Begin to chase the ignorant fumes that mantle
Their clearer reason. – O good Gonzalo,
My true preserver and a loyal sir
To him thou follow'st, I will pay thy graces

57.3 ***circle*** See 33 SD and n.
57.5 ***Prospero observing*** Prospero stands outside the circle and addresses the Neapolitans, who cannot see or hear him until 106.
58–60 These lines are probably addressed to Alonso; then Prospero turns to the court party.
59 **unsettled fancy** troubled imagination
60 ***boiled** another alchemical reference; the 'boil' is a crucial step before base metal can be transformed to gold. See Simonds, 'Charms', 543.
61 **spell-stopped** put under a spell (first occurrence in *OED sb.*[1] 4)
64 **Fall fellowly drops** emit 'companionable, sympathetic' tears (cited in *OED* fellowly *a.* 2). At the sight of Gonzalo's tears, Prospero sheds tears in fellowship.
SD *Prospero may be speaking to Ariel or mostly to himself.
apace speedily (*OED adv.* c); or, at once, immediately (*OED adv.* d)
66 **rising** Continuing the metaphor of sunrise, their senses emerge clear or (figuratively) emerge above the horizon (first occurrence in *OED ppl. a.* 3).
66–8 **their . . . reason** The courtiers' returning *senses* dispel the *fumes* that had blocked their ability to think clearly.
67 **ignorant . . . mantle** ignorance-causing *fumes* (vapours) *mantle* ('cover or conceal') the Neapolitans' undertanding (cited in *OED* mantle *v.* 2). *Fumes* is perhaps another reference to the alchemist's boil.
69 **sir** gentleman
70 **him** Alonso
70–1 **pay . . . Home** a proverbial expression meaning to repay a debt completely (Dent, H535.1). Compare to

60 boiled] *Ard*[2] *(Rowe*[3]*)*; boil *F* 64 fellowly] fellowy *Rowe*[3]; fellow *Pope* SD] *Bantam (Capell)*
68 good] my good *Pope*

Home, both in word and deed. – Most cruelly
Didst thou, Alonso, use me and my daughter.
Thy brother was a furtherer in the act. –
Thou art pinched for't now, Sebastian! – Flesh and blood,
You, brother mine, that entertained ambition,
Expelled remorse and nature, whom with Sebastian
(Whose inward pinches therefore are most strong)
Would here have killed your king, I do forgive thee,
Unnatural though thou art. [*aside*] Their understanding
Begins to swell, and the approaching tide
Will shortly fill the reasonable shore
That now lies foul and muddy. Not one of them
That yet looks on me or would know me. – Ariel,
Fetch me the hat and rapier in my cell;
[*Exit Ariel and returns immediately.*]
I will disease me and myself present
As I was sometime Milan. Quickly, spirit,
Thou shalt ere long be free.

1H4 1.3.287–8, where Worcester maintains that the King believes the rebels should 'think ourselves unsatisfied, / Till he hath found a time to pay us home'.

72 ***Didst** Although F's compositor printed 'Did', *Didst* appears as the catchword at the bottom of the previous page and is more likely the manuscript's original reading.

74 **pinched** hurt, tormented (*OED v.* 5 *obs.*). Cf. 1.2.329, where Prospero threatens Caliban: 'thou shalt be pinched'.

75 ***entertained** harboured, cherished (*OED v.* 14c)

76 **Expelled . . . nature** 'rejected pity and natural feelings'
whom sometimes emended to 'who' (Abbott, §274)

77 **inward pinches** inner torment, anguish. See 74 and n.

79–81 **Their . . . shore** Like a wave of the sea, their understanding grows and approaches the shore of their reason (*reasonable*).

79–83 Like 64–8, Prospero may be speaking to Ariel or to himself.

84 **hat and rapier** part of a Renaissance gentleman's costume. Ariel may bring a cloak and other fashionable items of dress, or Prospero may already wear courtier's clothing beneath his robe, as suggested in 85–6.
*SD Theobald was the first to supply this SD so that Ariel can comply with Prospero's command to fetch his hat and rapier.

85 **disease** undress (cited in *OED v. arch.*)

86 **As . . . Milan** the way I appeared when I was Duke of Milan

72 Didst] *catchword on B2v*, Did *on B3* 74 Thou art] Thou'rt *Rowe*^{3} 75 entertained] *Rowe;* entertaine *F* 76 whom] who *Rowe* 79 SD] *Oxf* 82 lies] *F3;* ly *F* 84 SD] *Theobald*

ARIEL (*Sings and helps to attire him.*)
Where the bee sucks, there suck I,
In a cowslip's bell I lie;
There I couch when owls do cry.
On the bat's back I do fly
After summer merrily.
Merrily, merrily, shall I live now,
Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.

PROSPERO
Why, that's my dainty Ariel! I shall miss thee,
But yet thou shalt have freedom. – So, so, so. –
To the King's ship, invisible as thou art;
There shalt thou find the mariners asleep
Under the hatches. The master and the boatswain
Being awake, enforce them to this place,
And presently, I prithee.

ARIEL
I drink the air before me and return
Or ere your pulse twice beat. *Exit.*

88–94 For Robert Johnson's musical setting of Ariel's song, see Fig. 4.

89 **cowslip's bell** Gerard discusses seven types of cowslips, primroses and oxlips in chap. 118, and notes that the terms were often confused. All flowered early in the spring. Gerard's drawing of the field cowslips show bell-shaped blossoms, and it is to these that Ariel probably refers.

90 **couch** crouch or lie close (*OED v.*[1] 2). F3 and F4's 'crowch' works equally well here, though most modern editors prefer F's reading. In either case, Ariel's ability to lie or hide inside a cowslip's bell suggests his diminutive fairy nature.

92 **After summer** 'following summer from clime to clime' (Folg^2, 150)

96 **So, so, so.** Prospero has donned his hat and rapier and is probably adjusting an item of clothing to indicate his readiness.

99 **Under the hatches** below the deck, inside the ship

99–100 **The . . . awake** 'when you have awakened them'

101 **presently** immediately, at once

102 **I . . . me** The Latin phrase *viam vorare* – to devour the way – meant to travel quickly. Thus in *2H4* 1.1.47, a gentleman fleeing from battle is described: 'He seem'd in running to devour the way'. As an airy spirit, Ariel moves through the air, and the metaphor of drinking seems more appropriate than devouring to his spiritual nature.

103 **Or ere** before. Cf. 1.2.11n.

88 SP, SD ARIEL (*Sings*] *Oxf; Ariell sings F* 90 couch] *(cowch);* crowch *F3* 95–6] *F2, Rowe; F lines* misse / so. /

GONZALO
All torment, trouble, wonder and amazement
Inhabits here. Some heavenly power guide us
Out of this fearful country.
PROSPERO Behold, sir King,
The wronged Duke of Milan, Prospero!
For more assurance that a living prince
Does now speak to thee, I embrace thy body,
And to thee and thy company I bid
A hearty welcome.
ALONSO Whe'er thou be'st he or no,
Or some enchanted trifle to abuse me
(As late I have been), I not know. Thy pulse
Beats as of flesh and blood; and since I saw thee,
Th'affliction of my mind amends, with which
I fear a madness held me. This must crave –
An if this be at all – a most strange story.
Thy dukedom I resign and do entreat
Thou pardon me my wrongs. But how should Prospero
Be living, and be here?
PROSPERO [*to Gonzalo*] First, noble friend,
Let me embrace thine age, whose honour cannot

105 **Inhabits** The singular verb may indicate a conflation of the compound noun – *torment . . . amazement* – into a single subject, but the use of singular verbs with plural subjects is common in F (Abbott, §333).
107 **wronged** wrongèd
111 ***Whe'er** F's 'Where' is a variant of 'whether'.
112 **enchanted trifle** a ghostly apparition caused by magic
abuse deceive and mistreat
115 **amends** heals, cures (cited in *OED v.* 6b)
116 **crave** require or demand (*OED v.* 6)
117 **An if** As Abbott notes, 'and if' (or 'an if') can mean either 'even if' or 'if indeed' (§105).
be at all is truly happening
118 **Thy . . . resign** The duchy of Milan has become a tributary to Naples; even though Antonio is now its Duke, as King of Naples Alonso has the power to revoke his title and restore it to Prospero.
119 **how should** 'how is it possible that'
121 **thine age** Prospero addresses the elderly Gonzalo.

106 Behold] Lo *Pope* 111 Whe'er] *Capell;* Where *F;* Whether *Ard² (Cam¹)* thou be'st] Be'st thou *Pope* 116 crave–] *Dyce;* craue *F* 117 An] *(And)* all–] *Dyce;* all) *F* 120 SD] *Cam¹*

Be measured or confined.
GONZALO Whether this be
Or be not, I'll not swear.
PROSPERO You do yet taste
Some subtleties o'th' isle that will not let you
Believe things certain. Welcome, my friends all;
[*aside to Sebastian and Antonio*] But you, my brace of lords, were I so minded,
I here could pluck his highness' frown upon you
And justify you traitors! At this time
I will tell no tales.
SEBASTIAN The devil speaks in him.
PROSPERO No.
For you, most wicked sir, whom to call brother
Would even infect my mouth, I do forgive
Thy rankest fault – all of them; and require
My dukedom of thee, which perforce I know
Thou must restore.
ALONSO If thou be'st Prospero,

124 **subtleties** Prospero puns here on two senses of the word: (1) the ingenious contrivances of his magic and (2), in conjunction with the verb *taste*, the ornamental sugar desserts used in elaborate Renaissance banquets that, in this case, might cloud one's judgement. See Var, 245–6, and *OED* subtleties 4, 5.
125 **my friends all** probably meant in a loose sense of goodwill, not necessarily implying fondness for or forgiveness of Antonio and Sebastian (*OED* friends *sb.* 2)
126 **brace** pair, couple. The term was originally applied to dogs or certain kinds of game and here is used with 'a touch of humour or contempt' (*OED sb.*² 15d).
127 **pluck** 'bring down' (*OED v.* 3b)
128 **justify** prove
129 **I will** elided in speaking to 'I'll'
devil The metre requires an elision here to 'dev'l'.
No Prospero overhears Sebastian's comment, emphatically denies that it is the devil that speaks, and then directly addresses Antonio; or, perhaps, Prospero reiterates that he will *tell no tales.*
131 **even** probably elided to 'e'en'
132 **fault** F4 and Rowe emended to 'faults' but *all of them* may be an afterthought to Antonio's *rankest fault.*
require demand as a right (cited in *OED v.* 5a)
133 **perforce** by necessity. Antonio has no choice.

124 not] *F3;* nor *F* 126 SD] *Johnson* 129 I will] I'll *Pope* 132 fault–] *Grant White;* fault; *F;* faults *F4*

Give us particulars of thy preservation,
How thou hast met us here, whom three hours since
Were wrecked upon this shore, where I have lost
(How sharp the point of this remembrance is!)
My dear son Ferdinand.

PROSPERO I am woe for't, sir.

ALONSO
Irreparable is the loss, and patience
Says it is past her cure.

PROSPERO I rather think
You have not sought her help, of whose soft grace
For the like loss I have her sovereign aid
And rest myself content.

ALONSO You the like loss?

PROSPERO
As great to me as late; and supportable
To make the dear loss have I means much weaker
Than you may call to comfort you, for I

135 **particulars** the details
136 **whom** emended by F2 and Rowe to 'who', but cf. 76 and n.
since ago
139 **I . . . for't** 'I am sorry (grieved, miserable (*OED* C 1a)) for it.' Cf. *Cym* 5.5.297, where the King declares, 'I am sorrow for thee'. Shakespeare occasionally used *woe* as an adjective (Abbott, §230).
141 **past her cure** beyond her ability to cure
142 **her help** the help of patience
soft compassionate, kind (*OED a.* 8a)
143–4 **her . . . content** With the aid of patience, Prospero has accepted the loss of his daughter (*sovereign*, efficacious, potent).
145 **late** recent
145–7 **supportable . . . you** The difficult syntax of this passage probably inspired F3, F4 and Rowe's emendation to 'insupportable'. Prospero claims to lack the compensations that Alonso has for the (presumed) death of Ferdinand to make the loss of his daughter *supportable* ('bearable, tolerable, endurable' (cited in *OED* supportable *a.* 2)). Some editors have speculated that Claribel, Alonso's daughter, is the compensation Prospero has in mind, but the magician could also be referring to Alonso's royal power and prerogatives. More likely, Prospero simply considers the loss of his daughter through marriage as a dear loss, dearer than Alonso could comprehend (Melchiori, 69).
146 **dear** severe, grievous (*OED a.*[2] 2)
147 **comfort** console, solace

136 whom] who *F2* 139 I am] I'm *Pope* 145 supportable] insupportable *F3*

Have lost my daughter.

ALONSO A daughter?
O heavens, that they were living both in Naples,
The king and queen there! That they were, I wish
Myself were mudded in that oozy bed
Where my son lies. When did you lose your daughter?

PROSPERO
In this last tempest. – I perceive these lords
At this encounter do so much admire
That they devour their reason and scarce think
Their eyes do offices of truth, their words
Are natural breath. – But howsoe'er you have
Been jostled from your senses, 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 wrecked, was landed
To be the lord on't. No more yet of this,
For 'tis a chronicle of day by day,

148 **daughter . . . daughter** The implication of this exchange is that Alonso did not know that Prospero had a daughter, which seems implausible but not impossible – either because he had never been told of Miranda's birth or because during the twelve years since their exile, he had forgotten. It is even less plausible that Alonso knew of Miranda's birth but not that she had been exiled with her father.
151 **mudded** buried in the mud. Cf. 3.3.102 (these are the only occurrences cited in *OED v.*[1] 3a).
oozy bed the ocean's floor
154–5 **so . . . reason** 'their reason is swallowed up in amazement' (Oxf[1], 196). They may also be open-mouthed in astonishment. *Admire*, wonder, marvel.
156 **do . . . truth** perform the duties of truth; i.e. they think their eyes are deceiving them.
157 **natural breath** 'ordinary speech'; the Neapolitans are so amazed they can hardly believe the words they are saying.
160 **of from**
strangely in a most unusual way (*OED adv.* 3)
162 **on't** of it
163 **chronicle** narrative account
day by day 'to be told over many days' (Oxf[1], 196), or 'of daily events, over many years'

156 their] these *Oxf (Capell)*

Not a relation for a breakfast, nor
Befitting this first meeting. – Welcome, sir.
This cell's my court; here have I few attendants,
And subjects none abroad. Pray you, look in.
My dukedom since you have given me again,
I will requite you with as good a thing,
At least bring forth a wonder to content ye
As much as me my dukedom.

Here Prospero discovers Ferdinand and Miranda, playing at chess.

MIRANDA
Sweet lord, you play me false.
FERDINAND No, my dearest love,
I would not for the world.
MIRANDA
Yes, for a score of kingdoms you should wrangle,
And I would call it fair play.
ALONSO If this prove

164 **relation** report
167 **abroad** elsewhere
168 **you have** The metre requires an elision to 'you've'.
170 **wonder** Prospero deliberately puns on his daughter's name.
171.1 Furness contends that chess was associated with royalty in Jacobean England; it was 'a deeply intellectual pastime, above the reach of the vulgar, confined to royal and princely personages'. Moreover, Naples was known as a centre of chess-playing (Var, 250–1). Chess was featured in many courtly-love allegories and is found in Renaissance discourses on government. See Loughrey & Taylor.
discovers Dessen defines the theatrical term 'discover': 'to part a curtain or otherwise reveal to the playgoer (and often to onstage figures) something hitherto unseen' (42), in this instance, the seemingly miraculous existence of Ferdinand and Miranda; the former had perished, the court party believes, in the tempest and the latter is no longer an infant but a lovely young woman. Alonso wonders if it is another 'vision of the island' (176), but this is the only spectacle Prospero produces without the aid of magic.
172 **play me false** Miranda claims that Ferdinand is cheating.
174 **a score of twenty.** Miranda checks Ferdinand with twenty kingdoms, as opposed to the *world.*
wrangle dispute, take opposition
175 **And** Oxf interprets as 'An' (meaning 'If'), making Ferdinand's wrangling conditional upon Miranda's approval. F's *And* seems preferable; Miranda approves no matter what Ferdinand does.
fair play Miranda would call Ferdinand's cheating fair play (because she loves him).

168 you have] you've *Pope* 172 dearest] dear *Pope;* dear'st *Capell* 175 And] An *Oxf*

A vision of the island, one dear son
Shall I twice lose.
SEBASTIAN A most high miracle!
FERDINAND [*Sees Alonso and the others.*]
Though the seas threaten, they are merciful.
I have cursed them without cause. [*He kneels.*]
ALONSO Now all the blessings
Of a glad father compass thee about!
Arise and say how thou cam'st here.
MIRANDA O wonder!
How many goodly creatures are there here!
How beauteous mankind is! O brave new world
That has such people in't.
PROSPERO 'Tis new to thee.
ALONSO
What is this maid with whom thou wast at play?
Your eld'st acquaintance cannot be three hours.
Is she the goddess that hath severed us
And brought us thus together?
FERDINAND Sir, she is mortal,
But by immortal providence she's mine;
I chose her when I could not ask my father
For his advice, nor thought I had one. She
Is daughter to this famous Duke of Milan –

176 **vision** Alonso wonders whether the image of Ferdinand is just another of the island's illusions. See 171.In. (*discovers*).
177 **A . . . miracle!** This line can be spoken with reverent wonder or sarcasm, depending on the actor's interpretation of Sebastian's emotional state.
183 **mankind** humans in general, though the people Miranda now admires are all male
186 **eld'st** oldest, longest
187 **goddess** Like Ferdinand in 1.2.422–3, Alonso assumes Miranda is a goddess. He may also think that his reunion with his son is providential.
190–1 **father . . . advice** Ferdinand would not normally be allowed to marry without his father's permission. Cf. *WT* 4.4.391–417, where Polixenes flies into a rage because his son Florizel plans to marry a shepherdess without consulting him.
191 **one** a living father

178 SD] *this edn* 179 I have] I've *Pope* SD] *Theobald* 188 she is] she's *Pope* 192 Milan –] *this edn; Millaine, F*

Of whom so often I have heard renown
But never saw before – of whom I have
Received a second life; and second father
This lady makes him to me.

ALONSO I am hers.
But O, how oddly will it sound that I
Must ask my child forgiveness.

PROSPERO There, sir, stop.
Let us not burden our remembrances with
A heaviness that's gone.

GONZALO I have inly wept,
Or should have spoke ere this. Look down, you gods,
And on this couple drop a blessed crown,
For it is you that have chalked forth the way
Which brought us hither.

ALONSO I say 'amen', Gonzalo.

GONZALO
Was Milan thrust from Milan that his issue

194 **of whom** from whom
renown report, rumour (with the implication of being widely celebrated (cited in *OED sb.* 3))
195 **second life** Ferdinand acknowledges Prospero's role in his new life (after nearly losing his life in the shipwreck) on the island.
second father Prospero will be Ferdinand's father-in-law, a term rarely used in Shakespeare's time. The spouse's parents were referred to as 'father' and 'mother'.
196 **I am hers.** 'I am *her* father (in law)'; i.e. Alonso consents to the marriage.
198 **forgiveness** This line shows that Alonso repents his involvement in Prospero's usurpation.
There, sir, stop. In some performances, Alonso tries to kneel before Miranda while asking forgiveness but is prevented by Prospero who raises him back up with this line.
200 **heaviness** sadness, grief (cited in *OED* e)
inly 'Inwardly'; or 'thoroughly, extremely' (*OED adv.*)
202 **blessed** blessèd
crown the combined crowns of Naples and Milan
203 **chalked forth** marked out, as if with chalk, 'as a course to be followed' (cited in *OED* chalk *v.* 4c *fig.*). Cf. *H8* 1.1.59–60: 'ancestry, whose grace / Chalks successors their way'.
205 **Milan** the Duke of Milan. Shakespeare and his contemporaries frequently conflated the names of countries with their rulers. Cf. *AC* 4.15.41, where Antony refers to Cleopatra as 'Egypt'.

194 before –] *this edn;* before: *F* 199 remembrances] remembrance *Ard² (Rowe³)* 200 I have] I've *Pope*

Should become kings of Naples? O, rejoice
Beyond a common joy, and set it down
With gold on lasting pillars: 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.

ALONSO [*to Ferdinand and Miranda*]
Give me your hands.
Let grief and sorrow still embrace his heart
That doth not wish you joy.

GONZALO Be it so; amen.

Enter ARIEL, *with the* Master *and* Boatswain *amazedly following.*

O look, sir, look, sir; here is more of us!
I prophesied, if a gallows were on land
This fellow could not drown. [*to Boatswain*] Now, blasphemy,
That swear'st grace o'erboard, not an oath on shore?

206 **Naples** Prospero's descendants will inherit both Naples and Milan by virtue of Ferdinand and Miranda's marriage.
208 **lasting pillars** Kay describes the *pillars*' 'recognized iconographic significance': after Charles V combined the pillars of Hercules with the motto *plus ultra* (greater than the greatest), European monarchs, including Elizabeth, adopted the emblem to signify their imperial ambitions. 'Gonzalo's pillars', Kay concludes, 'would derive their status as an emblem of rule, ambition, dynastic continuity, and the operation of Providence' and resonate with the play's political concerns.
214 **still** ever, always
his heart the heart of anyone
215 **That** who
Be it probably elided to 'Be't' to fit the metre
216 **here is** Pope emended to 'here are' but, as Abbott indicates, a singular verb preceding a plural subject is common in Shakespeare (§335).
218 **blasphemy** one who blasphemes. Sebastian had called the Boatswain a 'bawling, blasphemous, incharitable dog' in 1.1.39–40, though we never actually heard the Boatswain say anything blasphemous.
219 **swear'st grace o'erboard** Gonzalo charges that the Boatswain's swearing will send *grace* overboard.

213 SD] *Capell* 215 Be it] Be't *Pope* 216 ²sir] *om. F3* is] are *Pope* 218 SD] *Oxf*

Hast thou no mouth by land? What is the news?
BOATSWAIN
The best news is that we have safely found
Our King and company. The next: 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.
ARIEL [*to Prospero*] Sir, all this service
Have I done since I went.
PROSPERO My tricksy spirit!
ALONSO
These are not natural events; they strengthen
From strange to stranger. Say, how came you hither?
BOATSWAIN
If I did think, sir, I were well awake,
I'd strive to tell you. We were dead of sleep
And – how we know not – all clapped under hatches,
Where but even now with strange and several noises
Of roaring, shrieking, howling, jingling chains
And more diversity of sounds, all horrible,
We were awaked; straightway at liberty,
Where we, in all our trim, freshly beheld

220 **Hast . . . land?** Can't you speak on land?
223 **three glasses** three hours, each hour consuming one hourglass
gave out reported
224 **tight and yare** shipshape, seaworthy, easily manageable (cited in *OED* yare *a. arch.* 2b)
bravely finely, handsomely
226 **tricksy** 'full of or given to tricks, or pranks; playful, sportive; mischievous, capricious, whimsical' (cited in *OED a.* 2)
227 **strengthen** 'become strong or stronger, grow in strength or intensity' (first occurrence in *OED v.* 10)
228 **strange to stranger** curiouser and curiouser
230 **dead of sleep** deeply asleep
231 **clapped under hatches** confined under the deck
232 **even** The metre suggests an elision to 'e'en'.
236 **our trim** Assuming that the Boatswain referred to the ship, Theobald emended to 'her trim', and some modern editors have followed suit. Even without the emendation, the reference (however oddly placed) may be to the ship: '*our* trim on *our* ship'. But the Boatswain more likely refers to himself and his fellow sailors, the *trim* being their garments or perhaps their personal equipment.
freshly recently, lately (cited in *OED adv.* 1)
237 **gallant** stately, noble; 'often used as an admiring epithet for a ship' (*OED* A 4b)
238 **Cap'ring** dancing with joy
On a trice instantly, without delay (Dent, T517)
239 **them** the other crew members
240 **moping** confused, bewildered
241 **Bravely, my diligence** i.e. well done, my diligent one
242 **maze** Gonzalo compared the winding path the Neapolitans have travelled to a maze in 3.3.2, and Alonso here echoes the same theme.
244 **conduct** director. Alonso finds this business beyond or outside nature's usual guidance.
246 **infest . . . on** Emended to 'infect' in F4 and Rowe, F's 'infest' – 'to attack, assail, annoy, or trouble in a persistent manner' (*OED v.*[2] 1) – accords better with *beating on*, defined by Orgel as 'hammering, insistently thinking' (Oxf[1], 201).
247 **picked leisure** a time that is deliberately selected
248 ***shortly, single** Since Rowe, editors have added a comma after *shortly*, making *single* an adverb that modifies the verb *resolve*. Prospero wants to talk to Alonso privately, in single company, without Sebastian and Antonio present.
resolve you explain to you, make you understand
249 **probable** 'capable of being proved; demonstrable, provable' (*OED a.* 1); or, 'likely' (*OED a.* 3a)

220] *Pope; F lines* land? / newes? / 221 safely] safe *F3* 225 SD] *Malone* 227 events] *Fc* (euents); euens *Fu* 230 of sleep] a-sleep *Pope* 231 And – how] *Dyce;* And (how *F* not –] *Dyce;* not) *F* 234 more] *Rowe;* mo *F* 236 our] her *Theobald*

240 SD] *Malone* 246 infest] infect *F4, Rowe*[1] 248 shortly, single] *Rowe*[3]; shortly single *F*

Our royal, good and gallant ship; our master
Cap'ring to eye her. On a trice, so please you,
Even in a dream, were we divided from them
And were brought moping hither.
ARIEL [*to Prospero*] Was't well done?
PROSPERO
Bravely, my diligence. Thou shalt be free.
ALONSO
This is as strange a maze as e'er men trod,
And there is in this business more than nature
Was ever conduct of. Some oracle
Must rectify our knowledge.
PROSPERO Sir, my liege,
Do not infest your mind with beating on
The strangeness of this business. At picked leisure,
Which shall be shortly, single I'll resolve you
(Which to you shall seem probable) of every

These happened accidents. Till when, be cheerful
And think of each thing well.
[*aside to Ariel*] Come hither, spirit.
Set Caliban and his companions free;
Untie the spell. [*Exit Ariel.*]
[*to Alonso*] How fares my gracious sir?
There are yet missing of your company
Some few odd lads that you remember not.

Enter ARIEL, *driving in* CALIBAN, STEPHANO *and* TRINCULO *in their stolen apparel.*

STEPHANO Every man shift for all the rest, and let no man take care for himself, for all is but fortune. *Coraggio*, bully monster, *coraggio*.

TRINCULO If these be true spies which I wear in my head, here's a goodly sight.

CALIBAN
O Setebos, these be brave spirits indeed!
How fine my master is! I am afraid
He will chastise me.

SEBASTIAN Ha, ha!
What things are these, my lord Antonio?
Will money buy 'em?

ANTONIO Very like. One of them

250 **accidents** unforeseen events
256–7 Drunken Stephano inverts the sense of what he surely intended or at least what custom called for: 'Let each man shift for himself and not bother with the others, for only chance (*fortune*) can save us from this predicament', i.e. 'Every man for himself'.
258 ***Coraggio . . . coraggio*** the Italian exclamation for 'Have courage!'(cited in *OED int.*). Cf. *AW* 2.5.92: 'Bravely, *coraggio!*' Andrews suggests that F's '*Coragio . . . Corasio*' was the playwright's way of conveying Stephano's inebriation (Everyman, 172), but it may have been a compositorial error.
bully gallant
259 'If I can believe my eyes'
261 **Setebos** Caliban's god. See 1.2.374 and n.
brave splendid, wonderful
262 fine finely dressed. Caliban had not, presumably, ever seen Prospero in his ducal attire.

251 SD] *Johnson* 253 SD1] *Capell* SD2] *Oxf* 256–8] *Pope; as verse F, lined* let / is / Bully-monster *Corasio.* 258 *coraggio*] *F2; Corasio F*

Is a plain fish and no doubt marketable.

PROSPERO
Mark but the badges of these men, my lords,
Then say if they be true. 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.
These three have robbed me, and this demi-devil
(For he's a bastard one) had plotted with them
To take my life. Two of these fellows you
Must know and own; this thing of darkness I
Acknowledge mine.

CALIBAN I shall be pinched to death.

266 **fish** perhaps a reference, probably not literal, to Caliban's appearance, or, more likely, to his smell (see 4.1.183–4 and 199–200). Cf. Trinculo's reaction in 2.2.25–35.
267 **badges** signs of employment. In Renaissance great houses, servants wore livery that identified their employer.
268 **true** genuine, legitimate; i.e. Prospero challenges the Neapolitans to certify that the servants are their own.
misshapen knave another elusive reference to Caliban's appearance, suggesting some sort of physical deformity
269 **mother** Sycorax. Cf 1.2.263–9 and 266n.
270 **control the moon** Ovid's Medea claims to control the moon in *Metamorphoses*, 7.207.
flows and ebbs By controlling the moon, Sycorax could also control the tides.
271 **deal . . . power** Sycorax could usurp some of the moon's authority but not all her power, although *without her power* might also mean 'beyond the limits of the moon's power', or 'without need to rely on the moon's power'.
272 **demi-devil** In 1.2.320–1 Prospero claimed that Caliban's sire was a devil. Cf. Othello's charge that Iago is a 'demi-devil' (*Oth* 5.2.301).
273 **bastard one** Prospero could mean that Caliban was illegitimate or that he was a 'mongrel hybrid of inferior breed' (*OED* bastard B 2a).
275 **thing of darkness** Caliban's *darkness* has traditionally been interpreted as a sign of his moral depravity, or at least Prospero's conviction that he is morally depraved. Recently it has sometimes been taken as an epithet implying Caliban's African or Native American ancestry. See, e.g. two scholarly works: Hall, *Things of Darkness*, and Brown, '"This thing of darkness"'.
276 **Acknowledge mine** Prospero may be merely acknowledging Caliban as his servant (as opposed to Stephano and Trinculo who are Alonso's responsibility), but this line has often been taken as Prospero's 'anagnorisis', a recognition of his own part in the darker side of humanity or, more particularly, in Caliban's lust for Miranda. See, e.g., Bate, *Ovid*, 254–7, and Melchiori, 71–2.
pinched Caliban expressed his fear of the pinches inflicted by Prospero's Spirits in 2.2.4–6.

268 misshapen] mis-shap'd *Pope*

ALONSO
Is not this Stephano, my drunken butler?
SEBASTIAN
He is drunk now. Where had he wine?
ALONSO
And Trinculo is reeling ripe! Where should they
Find this grand liquor that hath gilded 'em?
How cam'st thou in this pickle?
TRINCULO I have been in such a pickle since I saw you last, that I fear me will never out of my bones. I shall not fear fly-blowing.
SEBASTIAN Why, how now, Stephano?
STEPHANO O touch me not; I am not Stephano, but a cramp!
PROSPERO You'd be king o'the isle, sirrah?
STEPHANO I should have been a sore one then.
ALONSO
This is a strange thing as e'er I looked on.

279 **reeling ripe** so drunk that he 'reels', staggering or perhaps losing his balance
280 **liquor . . . 'em** Theobald first noted that this line is an alchemical reference and emended *liquor* to 'lixir' to make the connection clearer (73). Liquor has *boiled* their brains (see 60 above and n.), turning their base metal into gold; liquor may also have flushed their faces and thereby *gilded* them. There could also be a resonance of gild / guilt, as in *Mac* 2.2.52–4: 'If he do bleed, / I'll gild the faces of the grooms withal, / For it must seem their guilt'.
281 **pickle** (1) The liquor, as a preservative, has turned Trinculo into a *pickle*; (2) Trinculo has got himself into a sad predicament (Dent, P276). Both meanings are probably intended. Cf. *AC* 2.5.65–6, where Cleopatra threatens the messenger: 'Thou shalt be whipt with wire, and stew'd in brine, / Smarting in ling'ring pickle'.
284 **fly-blowing** Because he is 'pickled', Trinculo will not worry about flies which otherwise would deposit their eggs on him as on raw meat.
286–7 **I . . . cramp** 'I've been so tormented by cramps (inflicted by Ariel's minions) that I've turned into one.'
288 **sirrah** 'a term of address used to men or boys expressing contempt, reprimand, or assumption of authority on the part of the speaker' (*OED* 1)
289 **sore** painful, aching (*OED a.*[1] 1), playing on *cramp* (287); or, 'distressed' (*OED a.*[1] 11)

278] *Pope; F lines* now; / wine? / 282–4] *Pope; as verse F, lined* last, / bones: / fly-blowing. / 290 This . . . as] 'Tis a strange thing as *F3, F4, Rome;* This is as strange a thing as *Folg*[2] *(Capell)*

PROSPERO
He is as disproportioned in his manners
As in his shape. Go, sirrah, to my cell;
Take with you your companions. As you look
To have my pardon, trim it handsomely.
CALIBAN
Ay, that I will; and I'll be wise hereafter
And seek for grace. What a thrice-double ass
Was I to take this drunkard for a god,
And worship this dull fool!
PROSPERO Go to, away.
ALONSO [*to Stephano and Trinculo*]
Hence, and bestow your luggage where you found it.
SEBASTIAN Or stole it, rather.
[*Exeunt Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo.*]
PROSPERO
Sir, I invite your highness and your train
To my poor cell, where you shall take your rest
For this one night, which (part of it) I'll waste
With such discourse as, I not doubt, shall make it

291–2 **He . . . shape.** Another suggestion that Caliban is somehow deformed, reflecting the common view that the physical body is a true reflector of the moral condition.
291 **manners** in the now obsolete sense of 'conduct in its moral aspect' (*OED sb.*[1] 4b); and, perhaps, 'customary rules of behaviour' (*OED sb.*[1] 4c)
293 **look** expect, hope
294 **trim it handsomely** decorate the cell admirably, beautifully
296 **seek for grace** This line is often taken to indicate Caliban's repentance and promise of reform. *Grace* can be read as either 'mercy' (forgiveness) or 'favour' in that Caliban will now seek Prospero's goodwill. In either case, Caliban now realizes how stupid he was to involve himself with Stephano and Trinculo.
thrice-double three times two – six times over
298 **worship** intended in the general sense of 'honour' or 'treat with respect' (*OED v.* 2b) as well as 'revere as a supernatural' (*OED v.* 1a)
299 **luggage** the stolen apparel; cf. 4.1.232.
300 SD *F does not provide an exit for Stephano, Trinculo and Caliban here, but it is common stage practice for them to comply with Prospero's *Go to, away.*
301 **train** entourage
303 **waste** pass away the time

299 SD] *this edn* 300 SD] *Capell* 303 which (part of it)] *Pope;* which part of it, *F*

Go quick away – the story of my life,
And the particular accidents gone by
Since I came to this isle – and in the morn
I'll bring you to your ship, and so to Naples,
Where 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.

ALONSO I long
To hear the story of your life, which must
Take the ear strangely.

PROSPERO I'll deliver all,
And promise you calm seas, auspicious gales
And sail so expeditious that shall catch
Your royal fleet far off. [*aside to Ariel*] My Ariel, chick,
That is thy charge. Then to the elements
Be free, and fare thou well!
[*to the others*] Please you, draw near.

Exeunt omnes.

305 **quick** used here as an adverb; quickly
306 **accidents** events, occurrences
310 **dear-beloved** dear-belovèd. F's 'belou'd' may be the result of Crane's habit of elision; we take instead Rowe's reading ('dear-beloved solemnized'), which makes the line metrical, with the extra accent on belovèd (not on solemnized), and suggests the Anglican marriage ceremony's 'dearly belovèd'.
312 **third thought** Prospero's plan to meditate on his own death is sometimes taken as an indication that he is quite old and near death. Since the *memento mori*, a meditation on death, was a widespread religious convention, this resolve need not imply Prospero's imminent mortality. We prefer to think of Prospero as a middle-aged man who looks forward to regaining his dukedom and watching his grandchildren grow up (see Introduction, pp. 24–5). Orgel contends that Prospero's meditation may also be a form of gloating over Antonio's loss of the throne to Ferdinand and Miranda (Oxf[1], 55).
314 **Take the ear** affect the listener; 'captivate, delight, charm' (*OED* take *v.* B 10)
deliver all tell everything
316 **shall catch** They will catch up with the rest of the fleet, which was reported somewhere on *the Mediterranean float* (1.2.234).
317 **chick** literally, a young chicken but also a term of endearment (cited in *OED sb.*[1] 3). In 4.1.184 Prospero called Ariel *my bird*; both epithets suggest the spirit's avian qualities.
319 **Be . . . well!** In Ron Daniels's 1984–5 RSC production, Prospero (Derek Jacobi) addressed these words to empty space. More melodramatically, in some performances of the 1994–5 RSC production, Simon Russell Beale's Ariel spat at Prospero at this moment and then disappeared. As Dessen argues, Ariel's departure here, rather than after Prospero's last words, can call attention to his role as the agent of Prospero's magical powers and suggest the magus's loss and newfound vulnerability (214–15).
Please . . . near. This line is usually delivered as Prospero draws the court party into his cell, off stage. If Prospero remains on stage for the Epilogue, the line can be delivered to the audience as he moves forward.

305 away –] *Penguin*; away: *F* 307 isle –] *this edn*; Isle: *F* 309 nuptial] nuptials *F2* 310 dear-beloved] (deere-belou'd) 317 SD] *Malone* 319 SD1] *Signet*

EPILOGUE
spoken by PROSPERO

Now my charms are all o'erthrown,
And what strength I have's mine own,
Which is most faint. Now, 'tis true
I must be here confined by you,
Or sent to Naples. Let me not,
Since I have my dukedom got
And pardoned the deceiver, dwell
In this bare island by your spell;
But release me from my bands

EPILOGUE The Epilogue is not required for a coherent reading or production because the play's action is complete. Shakespeare may have added it for special performances, perhaps at court. However, the Epilogue, like 4.1.148–56, relates Prospero's art to the dramatist's skill, and the conventional request for applause also relates to the play's themes of reconciliation and forgiveness. The octosyllabic couplets used in the Epilogue are similar to some of Gower's choric speeches in *Per*; compare also Puck's epilogue in *MND*.
1 **charms . . . o'erthrown** a reference to the magic Prospero has relinquished or to the role of the actor. In George C. Wolfe's 1995 production for the New York Shakespeare Festival, Patrick Stewart gave up the microphone he had used throughout the outdoor performance and here addressed the audience without the aid of amplification. If Prospero has exited and returned, he may have doffed some of his ducal trappings and appear in a simple shirt or gown. Such theatrical choices can indicate Prospero's loss of power or the actor's loss of his role.
4 **you** the audience. As Orgel notes, 'Prospero puts himself in the position of Ariel, Caliban, Ferdinand and the other shipwreck victims throughout the play, threatened with confinement, pleading for release from bondage' (Oxf[1], 204).
8 **this bare island** presumably the stage as well as its imaginary setting
9 **bands** bonds, confinement. Prospero is confined to the island, the actor to his role, until the audience releases him.

EPILOGUE] 1 Now] Now, now *F3* 2 own,] *F2* (owne,); *owne. F*; own; *Pope* 3 Now] and now *Pope*

With the help of your good hands. 10
Gentle breath of yours my sails
Must fill, or else my project fails,
Which was to please. Now I want
Spirits to enforce, art to enchant;
And my ending is despair, 15
Unless I be relieved by prayer,
Which pierces so that it assaults
Mercy itself, and frees all faults.
As you from crimes would pardoned be, 19
Let your indulgence set me free. *Exit.*

10 **good hands** applause. It was thought that the sound of hands clapping could break a charm. Cf. Puck's similar request in *MND*: 'Give me your hands, if we be friends' (5.1.437).
11 **Gentle breath** from the audience's cheers or perhaps, as Orgel suggests, from their kind words about the performance (Oxf[1], 205)
12 **my project** perhaps the alchemist's experiment, though Prospero might also mean his project to regain his dukedom. The actor's project is, of course, to please his audience. See 5.1.1.
13 **please** implying *please* you, the audience
want lack
15–6 **ending . . . prayer** Warburton contended that these lines allude 'to the old Stories told of the despair of Necromancers in their last moments; and of the efficacy of the prayers of their friends for them' (89). But taken in context, the passage suggests that without his art – like the actor without his role – Prospero is simply human, in need of mercy and forgiveness like others.
17–18 **pierces . . . faults** Prayer is able to penetrate the heart of *Mercy* (a personification of divine grace) and attain pardon for all faults, in both the play and the performance.
19 **crimes** sins, offences
19–20 Cf. Matthew, 6.14 (Geneva Bible): 'For if ye do forgive men their trespaces, your heavenlie Father wil also forgive you'.
20 **indulgence** favour; but perhaps also an irreverent pun on the Roman Catholic practice of offering remission of the punishment due to a sin in return for a donation to the Church

13 Now] For now *Pope* 14 art] Arts *F3*

APPENDIX 1
SOURCES

Unlike most of Shakespeare's plays, *The Tempest* has no principal source for its plot nor even a cluster of sources for its central themes. It does, however, have several unquestionable general sources, such as Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, for many of its minor themes, some of its characterizations and some of its language, as we discuss briefly in our Introduction and as books by Donna Hamilton and Jonathan Bate explain more fully. There are also two documents on which Shakespeare surely drew for specific passages: William Strachey's 'True Reportory', for the opening scene and perhaps for a few later references to dissensions, conspiracies, and retributions; and Michel de Montaigne's 'Of the Caniballes', for Gonzalo's utopian musings and perhaps for some observations about cultural differences. For other sources and analogues that may underly *The Tempest*, see our Introduction and Bullough's *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. VIII.

The following extracts from Strachey and Montaigne are here reproduced as first published in England (1625 and 1603 respectively), with minor modifications as set forth in our Preface, and with the omission of extraneous marginalia.

1 *Strachey*, 'A True Reportory'

William Strachey (1572–1621) attended Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and was later a resident of the Blackfriars area of London, where he was an acquaintance of Ben Jonson and a member of the Virginia Company. In 1609 Strachey was aboard the *Sea Venture* when she was wrecked on the coast of Bermuda;