NOTES

PREFACE


5. The Journals of the House of Commons, 1:430. Hereafter cited in the text as CJ.


7. Ibid., p. 224.


INTRODUCTION

1. J. M. Nosworthy, “The Narrative Sources for The Tempest,”

3. The theoretical essay on *imitatio* that has most influenced my own work is Marion Trousdale, “Recurrence and Renaissance: Rhetorical Imitation in Ascham and Sturm,” *ELR* 6 (1976): 156–79. The recent Shakespeare scholar who has most repeatedly urged that, in many cases (including *The Tempest*), the procedures of *imitatio* are more relevant to discussions of Shakespearean citation than other terms is Robert Miola: see his *Shakespeare’s Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); “Vergil in Shakespeare: From Allusion to Imitation,” pp. 241–58; and “Shakespeare and His Sources: Observations on the Critical History of *Julius Caesar*,” *ShS* 40 (1988): 69–76. See also T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspere’s small Latine & lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), for both the theory of imitation and detailed illustrations of imitation (of Virgil and Ovid) in *The Tempest*.


6. Michael Riffaterre, Text Production, trans. Terese Lyons (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 6. This position leads also to Riffaterre’s interest in “the rhetorical doctrine of imitation,” which provides that “one writes according to models, so that one’s reader will simultaneously experience the pleasure of discovery and the pleasure of rediscovery” (p. 133). Compare Greene, The Light in Troy, p. 31: “The relationship to the subtext is deliberately and lucidly written into the poem as a visible and acknowledged construct.”

7. Riffaterre, Text Production, pp. 111, 112.


10. Ibid., p. 47.


12. Ibid., p. 92.

13. See ibid., p. 98: “This question of the concept of the speech addressee (how the speaker or writer senses and imagines him) is of immense significance in literary history. Each epoch, each literary trend and literary-artistic style, each literary genre within an epoch or trend, is typified by its own special concepts of the addressee of the literary work, a special sense and understanding of its reader, listener, public, or people.” See also Marilyn Butler, “Against Tradition: The Case for a Particularized Historical Method,” in *Historical Studies and Literary Criticism*, ed. Jerome J. McGann (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), pp. 25–47.

14. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, p. 93: “The topic of the speaker’s speech, regardless of what this topic may be, does not become the object of speech for the first time in any given utterance; a given speaker is not the first to speak about it. The object, as it were, has already been articulated, disputed, elucidated, and evaluated in various ways. Various viewpoints, world views, and trends cross, converge, and diverge in it.”


17. See the work of Stephen Orgel: *The Jonsonian Masque* (Cam-


21. For discussion, see Parry, The Golden Age restor’d, pp. 18–20,
see also pp. 16–17; Goldberg, James I and the Politics of Literature, pp. 43–50; and Erskine-Hill, The Augustan Idea in English Literature, pp. 122–33.

22. For discussion, see Parry, The Golden Age restor'd, p. 26.


24. For example, see Vickers, In Defence of Rhetoric, pp. 55–58.


Part 1: Imitation and Occasion

IMITATION AND THE TEMPEST


3. Trousdale, "Recurrence and Renaissance," p. 165. For another discussion of Sturm, one that cites his later work, De imitatione oratoria (1574), see Pigman, "Versions of Imitation," p. 11. All references to Sturm in the text are to A Ritch Storehouse or Treasure for Nobilitye and Gentlemen (London, 1570).
4. See the discussion of concealing and revealing in Trousdale, "Recurrence and Renaissance."


9. Incidentally, despite the explanation by Orgel, ed., *Tempest*, pp. 40–41, it may not be necessary to go to a non-Virgilian tradition to understand the references to Widow Dido. Dido was a widow when Aeneas came to Carthage; upon leaving Carthage, after the cave incident which Virgil says they called a marriage, Aeneas in effect became a widower because Dido committed suicide. Still, see Lee Patterson, "Virgil and the Historical Consciousness of the Twelfth Century: The Roman d’Eneas and Erec et Enide," in *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), pp. 157–95, for an important consideration of Virgil and the Dido tradition, expressed in terms that are admittedly compelling for anyone interested in Shakespeare and Virgil.

10. Kermode, ed., *Tempest*, pp. 46–47, discarding the older assumption that the references to Dido and Aeneas are trivial, comments, "*The Tempest* is far from being a loosely built play; and nowhere in Shakespeare, not even in his less intensive work, is there anything resembling the apparent irrelevance of lines 73–97. It is a possible inference that our frame of reference is badly adjusted, or incomplete, and that an understanding of this passage will modify our image of the whole play."

11. These phrases are from Greene, *The Light in Troy*, pp. 37, 19.

12. Compare ibid., p. 50: “If the topos has been everywhere, then it derives specifically from nowhere.”


14. Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus* (London, 1565), p. 63, defines *incumbo* as “to leane upon: to fall on a thyng: to sink downe on a thyng: to be inclined to: to geve diligence or studie to: to indevour earnestely.” Surrey incorporates *incumbunt* in his translation by writing “With rered brest lift up above the sea,” p. 63. See also Charles Knapp, *The Aeneid of Vergil* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1928), who also
translates *incumbunt* as "are breasting" and, by way of explanation, refers the reader to the appropriate sections on grammar elsewhere in this textbook (p. 75) to explain the translation. I am indebted to Linda Wallace for this reference.


23. See, for example, Vergilius Maro, Opera (Nuremberg, 1492); and Vergilius Maro, Opera (Venice, 1532). The Camaldolese Disputations, cited throughout my own study, should not be mistaken for the commentary in such editions of Virgil. The Disputations are a separate work, published separately. For a list of some editions of Virgil and the commentaries each includes, see Sears Jayne and Frances R. Johnson, The Lumley Library: The Catalogue of 1609 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956).

24. All references to and citations of the Camaldolese Disputations are from the translation by Stahel, “Landino’s Allegorization of the Aeneid”; citations appear in the text. For summaries of Landino, see Allen, Mysteriously Meant, pp. 146–54; Murrin, The Allegorical Epic, pp. 197–202; and Kallendorf, “Cristoforo Landino’s Aeneid and the Humanist Critical Tradition.”


27. Readers who have always allegorized The Tempest will rec-
OCCASION AND THE TEMPEST


2. Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature*, p. xv, comments, "If formal panegyric is at one extreme of the tradition of the Augustan idea, and Tacitean analysis at the other, the literary imitation holds the centre. Imitation is, at the literary level, that retrieval and incorporation of what is to be admired from the past which panegyric recommends. . . . But genuine imitation, great imitation . . . can draw from both the idealizing and the analytic extremes of the Augustan idea. . . . To recreate so that one can both agree and disagree, at times identify and at other times stand separate—that is the highest measure of imitation."


5. W. F. Jackson Knight, *Roman Vergil* (1944; rpt. New York:
Barnes and Noble, 1971), pp. 125-30, discusses the predecessors Virgil may have relied on for this section. See also Kenneth Quinn, *Virgil's "Aeneid*" (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969), pp. 55 and 152, for the idea that the Cleopatra-Julius Caesar affair be listed with the Antony-Cleopatra affair among the "possible transfers of significance." For Quinn, "an element of uncertainty always remains, to intrigue the reader and arouse his responsiveness to the text; it permits a degree of guarded frankness otherwise unachievable, and it guarantees the integrity of the poet by enabling him to stop short of final one-sided judgments" (p. 55).


8. See ibid., pp. 186-88, for a defense of Aeneas's action against the complaints "by the ladies," and pp. 195-96, for a defense against Ovid's condemnations.


12. See Dryden, "A Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire," Essays, 2:88, for discussion of how Augustus had usurped the peoples' "freedom," and of "the violent methods which he had used, in the compassing that vast design . . . the slaughter of so many Romans" and other "horrible action[s]."


16. Daniell Price, *The Creation of the Prince. A Sermon Preached in the Colledge of Westminster, on Trinity Sunday, the day before the
Creation of the most Illustrious Prince of Wales (London, 1610), sig. D2.

17. Samuel Rawson Gardiner, ed., Parliamentary Debates in 1610, Camden Society, 81 (Westminster: John Bowyer Nichols and Sons, 1862), p. 48; hereafter cited in the text as Gardiner. For another description of these proceedings in Parliament, see The Order and Solemnity of the Creation of the High and mightie Prince Henrie, Eldest Sonne to our sacred Sovereign, Prince of Wales (London, 1610). For the investiture to occur in Parliament was also to emphasize Henry's position as heir apparent not to Wales alone but to the realm of England; this point is from J. G. A. Pocock.


25. See Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1610-1613, pp. 216-17, 226-27. For more on these negotiations from March through November 1611, see pp. 126-27, 130-31, 180-82, 201, 211-12.

26. Walter Raleigh, "A Discourse Touching a Match Propounded by the Savoyan between the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince of Piedmont" and "A Discourse Touching a Marriage between Prince Henry of England and a Daughter of Savoy," Works (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1829), 8:223-52. Sir John Holles claimed that money was the motive in the negotiations to marry Henry to a Savoyan princess, " 'supposed the best receivable mean for the clearing the King's debts. . . . But why should the heir of England be sold?' "; quoted in Linda Levy Peck, " 'For a King not to be bountiful were a fault': Perspectives on Court Patronage in Early Stuart England," JBS 25 (1986): 51.
27. At 2.1.24.1–49, Antonio once more describes the tenuousness of a situation wherein the princess “dwell over / Ten leagues beyond man’s life.”

28. Raleigh reminded James that one of the most skillful of Catholic and Spanish politicians when it came to dealing in “matri­monial trafficke” (p. 232) had been Emperor Charles V, who had inherited the crowns of the Spanish kingdom in 1516, and who had conquered Tunis for the Spanish and attempted to spread his power to Algiers (pp. 232–33). Within this context, both “Africa” and “Tunis” may be seen to carry specifically Catholic associations. See Annabel Patterson, Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p. 17, for the reminder that Philip Massinger’s Believe as You List, “clearly critical of Caroline appeasement of Spain, was licensed for production after the most trivial gesture of ‘submission,’ the deletion of all references to Spain and its replacement with Carthage.” Also, in the Aeneid Carthage is the city that represents a constant threat to the Virgilian ideal.

29. See Bergeron, Shakespeare’s Romances and the Royal Family, pp. 186–87; and Parry, The Golden Age restored, pp. 95–107. Parry (p. 95) comments, “Princess Elizabeth did not attract a great deal of literary or artistic attention until the great moment of her marriage.”


31. On the art of political storytelling, see especially Patterson, Censorship and Interpretation; and Albert Braunmuller, “King John and Historiography,” ELH 55 (1988): 309–22.

32. See Bakhtin, Speech Genres and Other Late Essays, pp. 68–70, 99.


35. See especially G. L. Harriss, “Medieval Doctrines in the De-


42. See Sharpe, ed., Faction and Parliament, pp. 1–42; and Conrad Russell, Parliaments and English Politics 1621–1629 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 1–26, on the matter of how revisionist historians of parliamentary history have shifted from an emphasis on the Crown–Parliament relationship as being one of conflict toward seeing it as based primarily on a desire for cooperation. Arguing that the Commons man was, when he returned home, primarily a representative of the Crown, Russell concludes that "the court-country, or government-opposition split assumed by Parliamentary historians was not only institutionally impossible. Under James and Buckingham, it was also ideologically impossible" (p. 9). This perspective is not necessarily in conflict with my own, although I have insisted on retaining the term "opposition" to refer to those who were disagreeing with James. There were still debates on political issues in Parliament, and in 1610 there were those who opposed the proposals of the king. For a discussion of the issue of "opposition" in Parliament as that issue has now been clarified but also distorted by the revisionists, see Galloway, The Union of England and Scotland 1603–1608, pp. 161–69. Cuddy, "The Revival of the Entourage," p. 202, writes succinctly, "First, whatever the 'revisionists' may argue, there was opposition ... and it was focused explicitly on the two key issues of government policy: Union ... and fiscal reform." See also Sommerville, Politics and Ideology in England, 1603–1640; Weston and Greenberg, Subjects and Sovereigns; Marc L. Schwarz, "James I and the Historians: Toward a Reconsideration," JBS 13 (1974): 114–34; Conrad Russell, "Parliamentary History in Perspective, 1604–1629," History 61 (1976): 1–27; and Paul Christianson, "The Causes of the English Revolution: a Reappraisal," JBS 15 (1976): 40–75.


44. I am indebted to Peter Blayney for this detail.


48. Croft, ed., "A Collection of Several Speeches," p. 252, writes "the importance of the events of 1610–12 in stimulating public awareness must not be overlooked, for these were crucial years in focussing national attention on high politics."


53. For the text of the Petition of 1610, see Commons Journals, p. 431, or Tanner, Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I, p. 245-47, or any one of the original printed copies. For one record of how the Commons handled the petition, see Foster, Proceedings in Parliament 1610, 2: 112-13. For the tradition of the petition from the time of Elizabeth to 1628, see Elizabeth Read Foster, "Petitions and the Petition of Right," JBS 14 (1974): 21-45.


56. Ibid., p. 258; hereafter cited in the text as Foster.


58. On the importance of Julius Caesar's arguments, see Harriss, "Medieval Doctrines in the Debates on Supply," p. 84.

59. Obviously this statement acknowledging the relationship between king and law is markedly different from the statements James makes in The Trew Law of Free Monarchies (1598). Anxious to show Parliament that he understood that relationship and was willing to listen to counsel in regard to it, he issued A Declaration of His majesties Royall pleasure, what sort He thinketh fit to enlarge, Or reserve Himselfe in matter of Bountie (London, 1610), in which he insisted that he did not want anything "by which Our People in generall may be impoverishe or oppressed" and yet also nothing that would "turn to the diminution of our Revenew and setled Receipts" (A4v). Moreover, "to prevent the passing or graunting of any thing which should be contrary to our Lawes, We have made Our choice of persons severally qualified, both in the understanding of our Lawe, and other knowledges" (B3v).

60. The context of this remark is interesting; James is assuring Parliament that he respects the common law, and that anyone who reports that James is known privately not to respect it is wrong.

61. Harriss, "Medieval Doctrines in the Debates on Supply," pp. 83-85, explains that traditionally the position of Parliament had been that the king could ask for supply for "the necessity of the realm" but not for his own personal needs.

"demonstrated the inability of Crown and Commons to reach agreement on a fundamental overhaul of an outmoded and unpopular financial system. The consequences were very apparent in the rest of early Stuart history right up to the outbreak of the Civil War." See also Eric Lindquist, "The Failure of the Great Contract," JMH 57 (1985): 617–51.

63. Harriss, "Medieval Doctrines in the Debates on Supply," p. 99. Harriss, pp. 99–100, n. 1, also cites the quotation from Bacon that immediately follows in my own text.

64. Cf. the remark of Hoskyns in Parliament on Nov. 23, 1610, as recorded in Gardiner, ed., Parliamentary Debates in 1610, p. 144: "Henry the 7th and Tiberius bothe rich, but not taking all from the people. Tacitus."


ton: University of Kentucky, 1970), p. 109; and Wesley Frank Craven, *Dissolution of the Virginia Company*. Alexander Brown, *The First Republic in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1898), p. 85, comments (and without giving the documentation), "The party in England calling themselves 'advocates of English right,' 'opponents of Spain,' 'the best effected to the English religion and liberty,' 'patriots,' etc., was not satisfied with the 'barring our trade to the West Indies,' or with 'the advancement of absolute power then aimed at in England by King and court.' 'Whereupon many worthy Patriots, Lords, Knights, gentlemen, Merchants, and others held consultation . . . and laid hold on this expectation of Virginia as a providence cast before them,' and in the petition for the new charter they determined to ask for several privileges which would aid them in carrying out 'their ends.'

"Sir Thomas Smythe was selected as the treasurer of the new company in England because he had sympathized with the Earl of Essex 'when his Lordship went to appeal to the citizens of London.' Lord De la Warr, another friend of that Earl's, was chosen to be captain-general in Virginia, and Sir Thomas Gates, who commanded the first expedition, had won his spurs under Essex. The leading managers of the movement under the company in England and in Virginia were members of 'the patriot party.'"


72. Billings, "The Transfer of English Law to Virginia," p. 218. See also Flaherty, ed., Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall, etc., pp. ix–xxxvii; Flaherty remarks (pp. xxxi–xxxii): "It is evident that those responsible for the Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall did exceed the letter of the Virginia charter of 1609 and of the earlier charter and instructions. They went far beyond the definite limits in the instructions of 1606 on the number of offenses which were to bear the death penalty. The various charters had also guaranteed English laws to the residents of Virginia. Only a liberal reading of the charter provisions could justify some of the stipulations of the laws here reprinted. The considerable discretion granted the Virginia Company and its governors by the 1609 charter did not wholly legitimize some of these enactments."


78. See, for example, the letter of Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy

79. For another discussion of the inadequacy of the definition of colonialist discourse provided by critics whose focus is The Tempest in relation to the New World, see Skura, "The Case of Colonialism in The Tempest," pp. 52–57.


81. Brendan Bradshaw, reviewing Pawlisch, Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland, in TLS (July 5, 1985), p. 742, remarks, "What is the historian of Ireland to do who sets out to explode the nasty historical myths that have bedevilled Anglo-Irish relations in the modern period, and discovers that the myths correspond with the truth?"


83. Citations in my text are to Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1608–1610 (n. 78 above). See also Constantia Maxwell, Irish History from Contemporary Sources 1509 – 1610 (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1923). For a detailed bibliography of primary materials on Ireland, see Pawlisch, Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland, pp. 213–22.

84. On Henry Sidney’s role in Ireland, see Canny, Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland, pp. 45–65.

86. See the account of Richard Stanyhurst in The Dictionary of National Biography.

87. According to DNB, “In 1569 he spoke vehemently in the Irish House of Commons in support of the royal prerogative, and so irritated the opposition that the house broke up in confusion, and his parliamentary friends deemed it necessary to escort him to his lodgings.”


90. Like the tradition of othering the native Americans, the tradition of othering the Irish was well established and is well known. In A New Description of Ireland (London, 1610), Barnabe Riche was repeating an established tradition when he wrote that the Irish people “need to be restrained” (E). A people who had lived like barbarians without law, they were, like the “wilde and uncivill Sythians,” “canibals in their cruelty,” and people who “repay good Princes with grudge and contempt and disobedience” (E). William Camden, Britain, or A Chorographical Description of the Most flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, trans. Philemon Holland (London, 1610), sig. Ffff2, described the Irish as “wilde and uncivill,” given to “love idelness” and “immoderatly given to fleshly lust,” people who “feed upon mans flesh in the manner as of the Sythians” (Mmmm4”). For the same tradition, see Edmund Spenser, A View of the Present State of Ireland, in Works, ed. Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, Ray Heffner; special ed. Rudolf Gottfried (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1949), 9: 39–231; and John Davies, A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued nor brought under obedience of the Crown of England (London, 1612), in Henry Morley, ed., Ireland under Elizabeth and James the First (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1890), pp. 213–342. For discussion of this tradition, see Quinn, The Elizabethans and the Irish, pp. 65–66; and Brown, “This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine: The Tempest


**Part 2: The Tempest as Masque and Romance**

**THREE SPECTACLES**


10. For the critical tradition, see Fletcher, *The Prophetic Moment*, p. 13.


14. Aen. 5.5 88–93: “As of old in high Crete 'tis said the Labyrinth held a path woven with blind walls, and a bewildering work of craft with a thousand ways, where the tokens of the trail were broken by the indiscernible and irretraceable maze: even in such a course do the
Trojan children entangle their steps” (“ut quondam Creta fertur Laby­rinthus in alta / parietibus textum caecis iter ancepsitemque / mille viis habuisse dolum, qua sigis sequendi / frangeret indepressus et inre­meabilis error: / haud alio Teucrum nati vestigia cursu / impediunt”).


17. See Helgerson, “Barbarous Tongues: The Ideology of Poetic Form in Renaissance England,” pp. 273–92, for the argument that the defense of quantitative meter was related to an argument for constitutionalism.

18. Compare Leeds Barroll, “A New History for Shakespeare and his Time,” SQ 39 (1988): 463: “It may have been James, the new-fashioned monarchist with absolutist notions, who was in England, as he had been in Scotland, the subversive force: threatening the established power and order of a circle of oligarchs in the earldom. . . . James’s theories of monarchy were not, after all, traditional ones.”

19. See Orgel and Strong, Inigo Jones, 1:50–61, and passim.

20. See Perelman, A New Rhetoric, p. 51. See Bourdieu, Outline of a Theory of Practice, p. 168–69: “The critique which brings the undiscussed into discussion, the unformulated into formulation, has as the condition of its possibility objective crisis, which, in breaking the immediate fit between the subjective structures and the objective structures, destroys self-evidence practically. . . . It is only when the dominated have the material and symbolic means of rejecting the definition of the real that is imposed on them through logical structures . . . that the arbitrary principles of the prevailing classification can appear as such, and it therefore becomes necessary to undertake the work of conscious systematization and express rationalization which marks the passage from doxa to orthodoxy.”


27. Stahel, ed. and trans., “Cristoforo Landino’s Allegorization of the *Aeneid*: Books III and IV of *Camaldolese Disputations*,” p. 91. Of the critics (cited in the above note) who have connected Shakespeare’s harpy to Celaeno, only Kermode indicates that the harpy specifically signifies avarice.

28. For these concepts, see, for example, *Macbeth* 4.3.


32. The same trick had been played on Ceres’s daughter. At the
instigation of Venus, Cupid shot an arrow to make Pluto fall in love with Proserpina.


34. When Kott, “The Aeneid and _The Tempest_,” pp. 438–39, notes the parallel between Virgil’s nymphs and Shakespeare’s, he does not also note the contrast, an omission that leads him to conclude that Shakespeare is also repeating in _The Tempest_ the defeat and failure that characterize this moment in Virgil.


36. See Kermode, ed., _Tempest_, p. lxxii; Wickham, “Masque and Anti-Masque in _The Tempest_”; and Gilman, “‘All eyes’: Prospero’s Inverted Masque.”


40. In _Metamorphoses_ 15, Arthur Golding, trans., _The Fifteen Books of P. Ovidius Naso Entituled Metamorphoses_ (London, 1567), sig. Cc8’’, Ovid prefaces his announcement that the new city of Rome is now coming into being with the reminder that Troy, Sparta, Amphion, Thebes, and Athens have all fallen; thus, “One nation gathereth strength: / Another wereth weake: And bothe doo make exchaunge at length. / So Troy which once was great and strong as well in welth as men. / Now . . . hath nothing left . . . Save ruines.” Cf. Allen, _Image and Meaning_, p. 100: “When Prospero talks about ruined towers, temples, and palaces, he may be speaking in general terms, but a tra-
velled Jacobean . . . would certainly think of the waste of Imperial Rome. No dream was ever greater than this imperial one; no dream ever passed more sadly and left grander evidence of its passing."


42. Still, The Timeless Theme, p. 204, connects Shakespeare's foul lake to Cocytus (Aen. 6.295-97) rather than to Avernus. I emphasize Avernus because Virgil refers to it in the context of speaking of the doves that light on the tree bearing the golden bough (Aen. 6.190-204). But it is not necessary to insist that only one of these rivers is Shakespeare's model; Landino associates all the foul rivers in the underworld with base things; he explains, "From our concupiscence, as from a spring, flows the water which makes up the Stygian Swamp" (p. 230).

43. For summaries of the confusion caused by the word line in "Come, hang them on this line" (4.1.193), see Furness, ed., Tempest, pp. 222-25, and Kermode, ed., Tempest, gloss for 4.1.193.


45. Or so Kermode suggests in his gloss to 1.2.164.


47. In his notes to Poly-Olbion, John Selden connects the use of mistletoe by the British Druids for their magical ceremonies to the passage in the Aeneid that describes the golden bough and compares it to mistletoe; see Michael Drayton, Works, ed. J. William Hebel, 5 vols. (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1933), 4:192-95.

48. The emphasis on the "noise of hunters" also evokes the associations of James with the hunt.

THE EDUCATION OF FERDINAND


5. This topos of the Aeneas who offers comfort occurs three other times in *The Tempest*. Stephano finds comfort in liquor: “Here’s my comfort” (2.2.46, 56). Alonso presents himself as one who can neither give comfort nor receive it (2.1.9, 10, 18, 166; 3.2.7–10, 11). And Gonzalo, who can offer others comfort, tells his companions that, though shipwrecked they all “have cause . . . of joy” (2.1.1–2).


8. As Sessions (“Spenser’s Georgics,” p. 228) reminds us, “Belphebe as the Vergilian Venus has been a commonplace in Spenser criticism since Upton. Her first appearance in the Legend of Temperance recalls the Venus of Vergil’s Book One, pointing her son the way out of the forest . . . When Belphebe appears again in Book III to heal the wounds of Timias in the forest, Spenser again directly translates the ‘O dea certe’ recognition scene, using it, as he had for Elizabeth in the April eclogue, to indicate an exalted being. Belphebe’s answer also paraphrases Venus’ assertion of mortality: ‘Nor Goddess I, nor Angell, but the Mayde, / and daughter of a woody Nymph.’ ” See also Norman Council, “‘O Dea Certe’: The Allegory of ‘The Fortress of Perfect Beauty,'” *HLQ* 39 (1975–76): 329–42.

9. See Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, pp. 142–43; Marsilio Fic-
10. Writing about the difference in the two Venuses, Landino, *Camaldolese Disputations*, p. 64, explains that Aeneas's journey toward divine love is naturally difficult and long: "Indeed no one will completely finish this journey which abounds in sweat and labor unless, burning with a love of it, he is prepared to undergo every difficulty." Giordano Bruno's "The Heroic Frenzies," trans. Paul Eugene Memmo (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 184, also speaks of the labor that is called for and that is eagerly taken up: "You know very well that to men who are well disposed the love of material beauty not only does not at all delay them from the greater enterprises, but rather gives them wings to accomplish them; for love's constraint is transformed into a virtuous zeal which forces the lover to progress to the point of becoming worthy of the thing loved."

11. On Henry's preference for a style of representation that emphasized his warlike nature, see Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror*, pp. 23, 28–29, 64–70; for Jonson's decision to cast Henry as a figure of love in *Oberon, the Faery Prince*, see pp. 75–107. See also Orgel, "Making Greatness Familiar," p. 44.


17. For the metaphor of flight that Ferdinand uses, compare Bruno’s “The Heroic Frenzies,” p. 203, “it is customary to depict . . . by a pair of wings that potency of the soul that orders it to its highest good.” Cf. Plotinus, who explains that the philosopher is “one who is by nature ready to respond and ‘winged’” (Ennead 1.3.3.), and who asks, “How can one see the ‘inconceivable beauty,’ ” and then replies, “let us fly to our dear country” (Ennead 1.6.8).


19. Kermode, ed., Tempest, glosses 3.1.89, with a heart “as desirous of it . . . as the bondman is to be free.”


27. Since Carthage was for the allegorists a place where the passions held sway, the story of Aeneas’s building the city walls could represent the hero’s immersion in base things. Landino read the episode as an instance of how “the enticement of earthly things” leads one to “give up contemplation of the heavenly” (Stahel, p. 170).


32. See Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror*, p. 51; Williamson continues, “the Virginia headland was soon sprouting with landmarks named for him: Cape Henry, Fort Henry, Henricopolis, and Henrico College.” Williamson, p. 53, also notes that Henry had also been named Supreme Protector of the Northwest Passage Company.

33. A central issue also in Bryan Loughrey and Neil Taylor, “Fer-
Additionally, in “The Aeneid and The Tempest,” Kott cites a reference Panofsky makes to a picture of Dido and Aeneas playing chess. Panofsky’s reference (Studies in Iconology, pp. 19–20) refers us, in turn, to Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, “Classical Mythology in Medieval Art,” Metropolitan Museum Studies 4, no. 2 (1933): 228–80. In this latter essay, where I expected to find it, there is no picture of Dido and Aeneas, or anyone else, playing chess. But the authors do speak of the medieval artist presenting ancient figures in medieval and frequently chivalric settings: “in all these illustrations of the Troy legend . . . the classical heroes and heroines appear as medieval knights and ladies. The typical scenes of battle, lovemaking, and mourning wholly conform to the contemporary types most common in novel illustration and religious art” (pp. 262–63). They also explain that the medieval artists, “Being familiar with the game of chess as a characteristic feature of courtly life . . . saw no incongruity in a picture of Medea playing chess” (p. 268). For more on illustrations of the Troy story, see Fritz Saxl, “The Troy Romance in French and Italian Art,” in Lectures, 2 vols. (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1957), 1:125–38; vol. 1 contains Saxl’s lectures, vol. 2, the illustrations. There are plates of Achilles and Patroclus playing chess in Hugo Buchthal, Historia Troiana: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Illustration, Studies of the Warburg Institute 32 (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1971), plate 33, b and d.


**Part 3: Prospero and the Best State of the Commonwealth**

5. The translation of this line only is from C. M. Bowra, *From Virgil to Milton* (London: Macmillan, 1967), p. 63, n. 1. In discussing the meaning of *praecipere*, Bowra recalls that "Cicero uses the word when he says that the duty of a great nature is to foresee what can happen, whether good or bad [De officiis 1.80], and Seneca quotes Virgil's actual words to illustrate his view of a good man.—'Whatever happens he says, 'I foresaw it'" [Ep. 76.35] (p. 63). In his *Thesaurus*, Cooper gives many definitions of *praecipio*, including "to foresee: to conceive in mind before," a definition he repeats again and illustrates by reference to Virgil when he cites the infinitive *praecipere*.
8. On the use of supernatural machinery in epic, see Thomas Greene, *The Descent from Heaven: A Study in Epic Continuity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963). In discussing Ariosto, Greene remarks that "in most true romances, an episode like a conventional celestial descent is anachronistic . . . romance characteristically presents only the conclusion of the intervention . . . one may witness a miracle . . . but one never glimpses [its] origin or starting place" (p. 112).
9. According to Ficino ("Marsilio Ficino's Commentary on Plato's Symposium," trans. Jayne, p. 200), Socrates, Zoroaster, Apollonius Tyaneaus, and Porphyry were all known to be friends of daemons.

10. See Kott, "The Aeneid and The Tempest," p. 430. Recalling also the tradition that Mercury "disperses not only real clouds but the clouds which dim and darken the human mind," Kott refers us to The Tempest, 5.1.64–68. For the tradition that Mercury is a peacemaker, see Greene, Descent from Heaven, p. 368; for a picture of Mercury with Peace, see Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods (1940; English trans., New York: Pantheon Books, 1953). Often in The Tempest, Prospero uses Ariel to make peace. On Ariel as Mercury, see also E. M. Butler, Ritual Magic (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), p. 168.


15. Bakhtin, Speech Genres and Other Late Essays, p. 133.


17. For similar perspectives on what "rude" characters can represent, see Louis Adrian Montrose, "'Eliza, Queene of shepheardes,' and the Pastoral of Power," ELR 10 (1980): 153–82; and Javitch, The Poetry and Courtliness in Renaissance England, pp. 79–82.

18. On vituperation and blame as a technique of epideictic, see Hardison, The Enduring Monument, p. 87; and Vickers, In Defence of Rhetoric, pp. 54–62.

19. Cf. Bourdieu, Distinction, p. 156: "the field of struggles' is the system of objective relations within which positions and postures are defined relationally and which governs even those struggles aimed at transforming it."


22. See Sommerville, *Politics and Ideology in England 1603–1640*, pp. 151–59, for the notion of "absolute property" as a concept that was used in 1610 and later to argue against absolute monarchy.


27. As Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," *Daedalus* 101 (1972): 26, explains, "Any expressive form works (when it works) by disarranging semantic contexts in such a way that properties conventionally ascribed to certain things are unconventionally ascribed to others, which are then seen actually to possess them. To call the wind a cripple, as Stevens does, to fix tone and manipulate timbre, as Schoenberg does, or, closer to our case, to picture an art critic as a dissolute bear, as Hogarth does, is to cross conceptual wires; the established conjunctions between objects and their qualities are altered and phenomena—fall weather, melodic shape, or cultural journalism—are clothed in signifiers which normally point to other referents. Similarly, to connect—and connect, and connect—the collision of roosters with the divisiveness of status is to invite a transfer of perceptions from the former to the latter, a transfer which is at once a description and a judgment."


29. See Gardiner, ed., *Parliamentary Debates in 1610*, p. 82.


32. By contrast, in 3 *Henry VI*, 3.2.190, Richard says that he will "like a Sinon take another Troy." In *Titus Andronicus*, 5.3.85, Marcus instructs Lucius: "Tell us what Simon hath bewitch'd our ears." In *Cymbeline*, 3.4.59–60, Imogen, angered at having been accused of unfaithfulness, recalls that once "Simon's weeping / Did scandal many a holy tear."


35. For discussion, see Trousdale, "Recurrence and Renaissance: Rhetorical Imitation in Ascham and Sturm," pp. 173–74.


37. And see Weston and Greenberg, Subjects and Sovereigns, pp. 12–15.


39. The imitation and variation here turn on the words used to describe that which covers and conceals the hero—Aeneas or Prospero—and which must then be removed to reveal him. Virgil, who describes Aeneas as covered with a cloud, uses the word amictu, meaning "garment," as a metaphor for the effect the cloud has: it robes him. Then Shakespeare, imitating this image when he is about to have Prospero reveal himself, has Prospero remove his magician's garment; but Shakespeare does not describe it as a garment or robe or mantle or cloak. Rather, he uses the verb dispense, a word not usually applied to disrobing, just as garment is usually not used in speaking of a cloud. In his Thesaurus, Cooper defines amictus as "a garment or apparyle: araiying or cloathying." And as one of his examples he cites this very line in Virgil and then translates it as follows: "Dyd caste a thick clowde about them." Shakespeare's only other use of the word dispense occurs in The Winter's Tale: "discase thee... and change garments" (4.4.634–36).

**EPILOGUE**
