

'O Brave New World': *The Tempest* and Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo*

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How many goodly creatures are there here!
How beauteous mankind is! O brave New World
That has such people in it!

– Miranda (5.1.182–84)

To bee most replenished with people, faire, frutefulle and most fortunate,
with a thousand Ilandes crowned with golde and bewtifull perles ... come
therefore and embrace this New Worlde ...

– Richard Eden, *Decades of the Newe Worlde* (1555, DV4).

In recent years the concept of early modern 'source studies' has undergone a sea change, with profound but underestimated implications for *Tempest* scholarship: 'Where once it was assumed the term [source] could apply only to those texts with demonstrable verbal connection, critics [now insist] ... upon the dialogue that an individual text conducts both with its recognisable sources and analogues, and with the wider culture within which it functioned'.¹ Coincident with this widening of critical focus to include the circulation of motifs and ideas throughout the wider culture of early modern Europe has been the emergence of a renewed emphasis on the Mediterranean contexts – both literary and historical – that have shaped the imaginative topography of Shakespeare's play. After decades of the dominance of Americanist readings, there is now a renewed appreciation for the topographical complexity of Shakespeare's imaginative landscape. Since the 1990s the pendulum has swung back towards a Mediterranean focus, with recent studies emphasizing sources and symbolism that connect *The Tempest* as much to the Old World of Aeneas as to the New World of Christopher Columbus, suggesting that 'the colonial reading of the play masks the Mediterranean contexts which are much more obvious on the play's surface'² and that colonial

criticism has ‘flatten[ed] the text into the mould of colonialist discourse and eliminated what is characteristically “Shakespearean” in order to foreground what is “colonialist”’.³ The Americanist tradition, in the words of Jerry Brotton, has encouraged ‘a historically anachronistic and geographically restrictive view of the play, which has overemphasized the scale and significance of English involvement in the colonization of the Americas in the early decades of the seventeenth century’.⁴ Barbara Fuchs sees that the critical privileging of the American reading, while it has made the play more relevant to a twentieth century audience, has done so at the cost of obscuring relevant early modern context, including ‘the very real presence of the Ottoman threat in the Mediterranean in the early 17th century’,⁵ and David Scott Wilson-Okamura expresses a contemporary consensus in calling for a ‘literary criticism that does justice to the play’s Mediterranean setting without neglecting the obvious references to Atlantic exploration and colonization’.⁶

Notwithstanding these critical developments, *Tempest* studies are still dominated by a series of propositions, inflated into ‘facts’ by a previous generation of scholars who took for granted the priority of the Americanist perspective and employed the traditional method of establishing intertextuality through alleged verbal parallels. A widespread conviction that *Tempest* must necessarily be dated to 1611 has for two centuries received apparent confirmation from the belief of many⁷ that Shakespeare’s chief *Tempest* source and inspiration was a series of reports – Jourdain 1610,⁸ ‘True Declaration’ 1610,⁹ and especially Strachey (1625)¹⁰ of the July, 1609 shipwreck of the *Sea Venture* off the coast of Bermuda.¹¹ Although identifying a large number of *Tempest* motifs derived from Eden, Frank Kermode (1954), for example, continues to endorse the Strachey theory, suggesting that his excerpts from the Bermuda narratives should ‘justify the assumption that Shakespeare has these documents in mind’.¹² And although it ‘seems clear’ to Hallett Smith (1972) that Shakespeare consulted, he still holds fast to the belief that the play ‘is in part based on some accounts of the shipwreck of Sr. George Somers in Bermuda’.¹³ To Vaughan and Vaughan (1999), ‘Commentators since the late eighteenth century have generally agreed that *The Tempest* reveals Shakespeare’s *incidental indebtedness* to this highly accessible source...’.¹⁴ Thus, despite the current critique of the ‘Americanist’ perspective by those who read a *Tempest* contextualized by a Mediterranean topography, it is still widely believed that *True*

Reportory forms a *Tempest* inspiration and source *sine qua non*. To John Wylie, writing in 2000, *Tempest* is still 'historically coterminous with English attempts to establish a colony in Virginia' and especially linked to 'the Bermudan wreck of the Sea Venture';¹⁵ three years later David Scott Wilson-Okamura still accepts that Strachey's communiqué 'stands behind the composition of *The Tempest*';¹⁶ most recently, Michael Neil (2008) continues to insist, without substantiation, that 'no proposed source gives so much emphasis as Strachey's to the terrifying sound of the storm, nor does any other offer so rich a collection of verbal parallels with *The Tempest*',¹⁷ and Alden Vaughan (2008) still believes in the existence of 'abundant thematic and verbal parallels between the play and "True Reportory"'.¹⁸ According to Vaughan's selective history of the secondary literature, these 'parallels' 'have persuaded generations of readers that Shakespeare borrowed liberally from Strachey's dramatic narrative in telling his island tale', and he concludes by insisting that 'Malone and Luce were right'.¹⁹

However, a recent series of articles has cast grave doubt on the continued plausibility of this conviction of Shakespeare's dependence on the Bermuda pamphlets. Specifically, these articles have demonstrated that:

- 1) No hypothetical chain of provenance can plausibly establish Shakespeare's access to Strachey's manuscript, of which there is no surviving mention until the year of its publication in 1625.²⁰ Moreover, *True Reportory*, at least in the form found in Samuel Purchas' 1625 publication,²¹ although describing events of 1609–10, was almost certainly not finished in manuscript until after the first recorded November, 1611 performance of Shakespeare's play, and therefore cannot have been the source of the play's New World imagery and ethos;²²
- 2) All the well known storm parallels, on which the case for Strachey's influence has so heavily depended, can be found in other easily accessible sources such as Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Erasmus' 'Naufragium';²³

- 3) The iconography, design, and themes of *Tempest* stamp the play as one originally conceived and written as an occasional Shrovetide production (as were many early modern dramas), which means that the latest it can conceivably have been completed is late 1610;²⁴
- 4) Close study of the Jacobean theatrical tradition suggests that the conventional 1611 composition date for *Tempest* is too late by at least eight years, since the early Jacobean plays *Faithful Shepherdess* (c.1608)²⁵ and *Darius* (1603),²⁶ together with the German romance *Die Schöne Sidea* (before 1605),²⁷ each exhibit distinct traces of *Tempest* influence, and *Eastward Ho* (1605), known to parody *Hamlet*, *Richard III*, and other Shakespeare plays, also parodies *Tempest*.²⁸

If correct, these arguments pose a problem that remains to be addressed. If *Tempest* was conceived and written long before Strachey's narrative of the wreck of Sir Thomas Gates in Bermuda, from where did Shakespeare derive the inspiration for a play that – as we would agree – so thoroughly manifests the 'New World' zeitgeist of the voyages of exploration? Richard Eden's *Decades of the Newe Worlde* (1555),²⁹ reissued with supplemental material by Richard Willes in 1577 under a new title, *The history of travayle in the West and East Indies*,³⁰ although satisfying the new critical expectation of a dialogical relationship between texts, and long acknowledged as a *Tempest* source (verbal parallels between the two works in fact abound), has suffered from critical neglect. This is partly because the most striking connections between Eden and *Tempest* – the appropriation and transposition of theme or narrative element, inspiration for character development, or opportunity for ideological dialogue and parody – are not easily documented by the traditional methods of tracing influence through verbal resemblance. Indeed, when set beside the evidence for Eden's influence on Shakespeare's play, the Strachey theory can no longer withstand critical scrutiny. Close study reveals that the Iberian travel narratives, whether in their original languages or as translated by Eden, have left an indelible and pervasive imprint on *Tempest*, one demonstrably more significant than any conceivably left by the Bermuda pamphlets.

A case in point is the manner in which Eden folds together the Mediterranean and colonial frames of reference that are also conflated in *Tempest*, and for which there is no other convincing precedent. Margaret Tudeau-Clayton³¹ and Wilson-Okamura have recently revived A. C. Brinton's 1928 observation that sixteenth century edition woodcuts illustrating *The Aeneid*, originally published in 1502 in Strasbourg but widely reproduced in subsequent editions issued in Lyons and Paris, picture Aeneas' Mediterranean voyages with woodcuts of Spanish caravels.³² These anachronistic images, which 'dominated Vergil illustration for the first half of the sixteenth century,'³³ have been construed as evidence for what Wilson-Okamura calls the Aeneas/Columbus analogy: 'as Aeneas colonized Italy, so his descendants were now colonizing the New World.'³⁴ While Wilson-Okamura eventually retreats from endorsing the analogy on the grounds that there is no 'corroborating evidence' such as 'a reference to the New World in the commentary that accompanied the [Virgil] woodcuts',³⁵ Richard Eden's influential 1555 book, and more specifically his translation of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo decades cum Legatione Babylonica* (1516),³⁶ supplies the missing corroboration in the form of repeated invocations of the analogy between Aeneas and the Renaissance voyagers. Indeed, the assimilation of the ethos of the New World to the topography and mythology of the Old, which is so characteristic of *Tempest*, is an element Shakespeare found pre-formed in Eden's translation of Martyr. To illustrate the dispersed sovereignty of New World chieftains, for example, Martyr has recourse to the precedent of Aeneas colonizing Latium: '[the Island] hath many kinges, as when *Eneas arrived in Italy*, he founde Latium divided into many kyngedomes and provinces' (2v). Dido, according to Wilson-Okamura, is more central to the Old World literary contexts of *Tempest* than the more commonplace figure of Aeneas in the same role.³⁷ It is therefore even more striking to note that Martyr draws the analogy between Aeneas as colonizer and Dido as colonizer:

The lyke wee reade how *the Tirians and Sidonians arryved with their navye in Libya by the fabulous conduction of Dido*. These Matininans in like maner beyng banysshed from their owne countrey, planted their fyrst habytacion in that part of the Iland of Hispaniola whiche they caule Cahonao, upon the bank of the ryver named Bahoboni: *As is redde in the begynnyng of the Romaynes that Eneas of Troye aryved in the region of Italy called Latium, upon the bankes of the ryver of Tyber* (124v).

Such rich contextualization of Aeneas and Dido as typological antecedents for early modern Atlantic explorers and colonizers not only answers the call for a more dialogical inquiry into the relationship between texts and contexts but also furnishes corroboration for Wilson-Okamura's insight, and establishes a basis to reconsider the relevance of Richard Eden's work as an influential *Tempest* source. Martyr's *Decades*, a narrative of the voyages of Christopher Columbus and other early Iberian explorers, forms the backbone of Eden's book (folios 1–166), which also reprints English translations containing much of Gonzalo Ferdinando Oviedo's *The History of the West Indies* (173v–214) and Antonio Pygafetta's *Brief Declaration of the Voyage or Navigation Made About the World* (216v–232v).³⁸ Predating by decades Hakluyt's earliest accounts of English exploration, Eden's translation became one of the foundational texts of the early English colonial imagination. Martyr's tales of a 'New World' landscape of metamorphic transformations, tragicomic power struggles, of cannibals, water nymphs, nereides, and viceroys – and especially his mention for the first time that 'besyde the *The history of travayle in the West and East Indies* portion of lande pertheynyng to the Spanyardes [there is].... an other portion of that mayne lande [beyond the Southern Spanish colonies] reachyng towards the northeast, thought to be as large as the other, and not yet knowen but only by the sea coaste' – did more than any other single work to incite the imagination of a new generation of English explorers. According to Hakluyt editor George Bruner Parks, in England 'there were practically no books of oversea interest before 1553'; it was Eden who 'broke the long English silence on the New Worlds',³⁹ and the publication of his *Decades* caused 'England [to wake] to the new day'⁴⁰ of the age of exploration. Should it be any surprise, then, that it was to Eden, and more specifically Martyr's 'New World', that the leading dramatist of the Elizabethan age turned for his primary source of information about the Americas?

In evaluating the case for a scenario which grants Eden its rightful position as Shakespeare's prime source of New World knowledge, it deserves emphasis that the connection to Eden has since its origin rested on distinct and unequivocal signs, unlike the theory associating Shakespeare's play with the Jacobean literature of Gates' Bermuda shipwreck. As early as 1778 Richard Farmer, in correspondent's notes to the Johnson-Steevens edition of *The Tempest*,⁴¹ had observed

that the rare word, 'Setebos', which Caliban twice uses (1.2.374; 5.1.261)⁴² to name a divine power, is identified as a Patagonian deity in the Willes 1577 reissue of Eden's work (as well as in the original 1555 edition).⁴³ This was a secure hint of Eden's direct influence on Shakespeare and an invitation to future study. By 1892 it seemed that Eden might even eclipse the Bermuda pamphlets as source material, for Henry Howard Furness not only repeats Farmer's observation but goes on to remark, with regard to the St. Elmo's Fire motif, that 'just before this account ... [in which Setebos occurs] ... there were two separate occasions on which 'the fyers cauled saynte Helen, saynte Nicholas, and saynt Clare appered uppon the mast and cabels of the shyppes' (Eden 218v).⁴⁴

A more comprehensive view of Eden's influence on *Tempest* might begin by noting a structural analogy that has been, strange to say, neglected in the critical literature: in both texts an Old World narrative of the intrigues of Milanese and Neapolitan dynasts is fused to an episodic New World narrative of shipwreck, colonization, and intercultural conflict. In Eden's New World, native and colonizer vie for political dominance, just as Caliban and Prospero contend for power on Shakespeare's island. Even in Eden this struggle for control of the New World follows the patterns of – and sometimes seems to parody – the dynastic conflict of the Old. Eden's 'New World', like Caliban's island, is also saturated with magical influences: Eden's 'fairies or spirites ... cauled Dryades, Hamadryades, Satyros, Panes, and Nereides, [who] have the cure and providence of the sea, wooddes, sprynges, and fountaynes' (46) recall Ariel, the spritely incarnation of alchemical tradition; 'nymph of the sea' (1.2.302) and 'water-nymph' (I.2.SD) – not to mention the '*nymphs called naiades of the windring brooks, / With your sedged crowns and ever-harmless looks ...*' (4.1.128–29). A female spirit (*zeme*) who 'gather<s> togyther the waters whiche faule from the high hylles to the valleys, that beeing loosed, they may with force brust (*sic*) owte into greate fluddes' (47) prefigures Sycorax' authority to 'control the moon, make flows and ebbs' (5.1.270); the 'magical' power of Spanish explorers, whose gunshot smelled like 'brimstone and fyer' and is taken for 'thunderboultes and lyhtenynges [that] had byn sent from god ...' (150v), foreshadows Prospero's power over the storm; Eden's 'devylls incarnate newly broke owte of hell' (33v) even anticipate Ferdinand's anguished cry, 'Hell is empty, and all the devils are here!' (1.2.214–15).

Martyr's narrative as reproduced by Eden draws for exemplification not only from Virgil but from the most Shakespearean of all ancient texts, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.⁴⁵ Next to Martyr's account of the New World transmutation of natives 'turned into a stone ... [or] transformed into myrobalane trees ... [or one who] was turned into a nyghtyngale [who] bothe in the nyght with a moornyng songe bewayle[s] his misfortune, and caule[s] for the helpe of his maister' (43v–44) (recalling the arboreal imprisonment, birdlike singing, and plaintive petitions of Prospero's Ariel), the ethnological humanist Eden attaches a marginal note, observing that the new world myths are 'Fables much lyke Ovide his transformations' (43v). In Eden's Ovidian New World, Shakespeare would have found a copious vocabulary of natural history reproduced in *Tempest*: pignuts (2.2.165) and <popin>jays (2.2.166), tortoises (1.2.317), marmosets (2.2.167) and seamewes (2.2.169),⁴⁶ ornament a landscape of 'deserte wooddes, craggye mountaynes, & muddy maryshes full of ... quagmyres ... (99v)'⁴⁷ in a world 'uninhabitable after the opinion of the owlde writers ... but nowe founde to bee most replenished with people, faire, frutefulle and most fortunate, with a thousand Ilandes crowned with golde and bewtiful <p>erles ...' (D4v);⁴⁸ equipped, like Stephano's seashore kingdom,⁴⁹ with 'cellers in the grounde, wel replenysshed with wynes ... (68v). Eden even describes 'images ... placed in ... *solemn haules, palaces, or temples*, with certeyn verses made to the commendation of them whom the images represented', followed by mention of '*the begynnyng of the world*' (diii: emphasis supplied), a passage anticipating Prospero's nostalgic Act 4 farewell to the masquers:

The cloud-capp'd 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.

(IV.1.152–56)

Many *Tempest* names, as Furness, following Malone, noticed,⁵⁰ owe their apparent genesis to Eden. A list of names common to Eden and *Tempest*, compared with those found in Strachey (Table 1), illustrates at a glance the dubious nature of the proposition that Strachey constitutes a more significant *Tempest* source than Eden. Of the eleven *Tempest* names found (sometimes in variant form) in Eden's

narrative, only four are duplicated in Strachey, and even this number misleads in Strachey's favour; Kathman (2005) and Cawley (1926) both cite Strachey as the source for the names Gonzalo and Ferdinand, but fail to notice that Strachey is actually copying the names with attribution from Eden, who reproduces a portion of *Gonzalo Ferdinando Oviedo's History of the West Indies*.

Eden:	Strachey:
Gonzalo	Yes (derived from Eden)
Ferdinand (In Eden but not Strachey, this name refers to Ferdinand II, King of Spain and Naples)	Yes (derived from Eden)
Alonso	No
Duke of Milan	No
Antonio	No
Stephano	Yes. Stephen Hopkins.
Sebastian	No
Ceres	No
Francisco	Yes. Francis Pearepoint.
Caliban (Cannibal)	No

Table 1: Comparative Census of Names in Eden and Strachey.

Advocates of the Strachey theory emphasize Shakespeare's supposed dependence on Strachey's anecdotal accounts of conspiracies among the Bermuda adventurers.⁵¹ However, comparison of all three relevant texts reveals that the most significant aspect of the *Tempest* plot, although prominent in Eden, is entirely absent from Strachey: the intrigues of Prospero's 'New World' island originate in the Old World of Naples and Milan.⁵² Given the larger context, it is beyond reasonable dispute that Shakespeare drew this dynamic from Martyr's narrative as reproduced by Eden, and not from the Bermuda pamphlets, which contain no comparable linkage between Old and New World. Dedicated in part to Ascanio Sforza (1455–1505), the youngest of three sons of Francesco, the first Sforza Duke of Milan (who ruled from 1450–1466),⁵³ and in part to his kinsman, the Cardinal of Aragon, Martyr's book foregrounds the real-world intrigues of the Sforza and Aragon dynasties⁵⁴ in plots and counter-plots that supply a historical

template for the sibling contretemps between Prospero and Antonio in Shakespeare's play. In 1480, after the murder of Ascanio and Ludovico Sforza's elder brother the Duke, Ludovico seized de facto power in Milan. He later expelled his young nephew, the *de jure* Duke, together with his nephew's wife, Isabella of Aragon.⁵⁵ Before being deposed by the French forces of Louis XII in 1499, Ludovico established a reputation as the archetypal Renaissance prince, ruling a court rife with intrigue and corruption but generous in its patronage of such cultural luminaries as Leonardo Da Vinci. With Ludovico in 1499 fell Martyr's patron Ascanio; writing some years later, Martyr compares the power struggles of these Sforza dynasts to violent tempests, much like those literal new world tempests so frequent in his book:

In this meane tyme had fortune overthrowne Ascanius (his brother *Lodovike beinge cast owt of Mylayne* by the Frenchmen) whose autoritie wold not suffer me to bee idle, but ever to have my pen in hand.... Fortune did noo lesse withdrawe my mynde from wrytynge, then disturbe Ascanius from power. *As he was tossed with contrary stormes* and ceased to persuade me, even soo slacked my ferventness to enquire any further untyl the year of Christe. 1500. When the court remayned at Granata where yowe are viceroye:⁵⁶ At which time Lodovike the Cardinall of *Aragonie*, nevie to kyng Frederike by his brothers side (beinge at Granata *the queene Parthenopea [of Naples]* the syster of owre catholike kyng) browght me kyng Frederikes letters, whereby he exhorted me to fynyshe the other bookes... (47v–48; our emphasis).

The passage prefigures multiple *Tempest* themes, including the metaphor of the storm as an emblem of political instability, and the downfall and expulsion of a Milanese duke. That Shakespeare had in mind these convoluted intrigues is confirmed by his adoption of the specific names Alonso and Ferdinand for two *Tempest* protagonists; both names were traditional among the Aragonese in-laws of the Sforzas, and at least two father/son sets of Aragon kings of Naples were named Al(f)onso/Ferdinand. The Aragon dynasty engaged in a protracted game of diplomatic chess with its Sforza in-laws for political control of Naples and Milan, and during the late fifteenth century the two powerful families intermarried across at least two generations. Alfonso II of Naples, before he became king, married the sister of Ascanio and Ludovico Sforza, Ipolita Maria, in 1465. Their daughter Isabella of Aragon, sister to Ferdinand II of Naples, then became the wife of her own Sforza cousin, Gian Galeazzo Sforza, in 1489, just before both were expelled by Gian's uncle

Ludovico. Martyr's description of these diplomatic games, in which that 'great Queene Helisabeth with her husbände [Ferdinand II]' received the 'roialme of Castile as her dowerye' (80), is reflected in the lover's banter between Miranda and Ferdinand at chess:

Mir: Sweet lord, you play me false.

Ferd: No my dearest love, I would not for the world.

Mir: Yes, for a score of kingdoms you should wrangle...

(5.1.172–74)

Out of this convoluted 'Spanish maze' of Aragon/Sforza alliances and intrigues Shakespeare thus created his own Alonso and Ferdinand, two Dukes of Milan and their offspring,⁵⁷ together with the story of the expulsion of the rightful Duke of Milan and his daughter, and her subsequent marriage to the son of a King of Naples.

Martyr's New World conspiracies also left their mark on Shakespeare's play. A number of these, including a plot of 'privie conspiracies [by natives] ... to have kylled [Columbus'] men' like Alonso's, '*in their sleepe...*' (123, our emphasis),⁵⁸ involve both native and voyager. Native chiefs, like Caliban, 'conspyred with desperate myndes to rebell' (24v) against colonizers, who sought 'freely to possesse the full dominion of the Iland' (20). In the double-edged power struggle of Martyr's narrative, these conquered chiefs were obliged to pay homage to the Spaniards to survive, but at the same time the unstable colonial government was subject to the mutinous impulses of the conquistadors themselves, some of whom – like Trinculo and Stephano – separated from their former leaders to establish rogue colonies (Table 2).

Tristan Marshall has suggested that the *Tempest* portrait of Caliban as a rebellious savage enslaved by Prospero's magic is anachronistic from a Jacobean perspective and instead recalls earlier 'Spanish printed accounts of their exploits in South America'.⁵⁹ From this perspective it is not surprising that *De Orbe Novo*, by far the most influential of these accounts, contains numerous incidents which could have furnished Shakespeare with the substance of Caliban's character, as well as supplying a generic paradigm of interaction between enslaved New World natives and dominant Old World voyagers that had little place in the English colonial experience until the second half of the seventeenth century. Eden's text describes a 'wylde and myschevous people called Canibales' (3), whose physical 'deformities' – like those of Caliban's – mask their spiritual

Tempest

Eden

The beginning of the conspiracies

Ant: Th'occasion speaks thee, and / My strong imagination sees a crown dropping Upon thy head (2.1.207–209).

Cal: I say, by sorcery he got this isle ... If thy greatness will Revenge it on him ... Thou shalt be Lord of it ... (3.2.50–5).

Cal: As I told thee before, I am subject to a tyrant, / A sorcerer, that by his cunning hath cheated me of the island (3.2.37–8).

The kynges of the Islandes which had hitherto lyved quietly and content with theyr lyttle whiche they thowght abundante, whereas they now perceived that owre men began to fasten foote within theyr Regions and to beare rule amonge them, *took the matter so grevously, that they thowght nothyng else but by what meanes they myght utterly destroy them ...*(18v).

Here *this filthy synke of rebels thus conspired, played their wages and lyved with loose brydels in al kyndes of myscheffe robberyng the people, spoyling the countrey, and ravysHING bothe wyves and virgins ...*(28).

The Indies have rebelled sayth an other ... with such other false and licentious talke divided by *unquiet braines in whose heades the hammers of sedition sease not to forge ingens (sic) of iniquitie ...* (biiv).

Incipient mutiny

Ant: 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 ... (2.1.283–85).

Then the Spanyardes whiche were accompanied with hym, beganne fyrste to murmure secretly among them selves: and shortly after with wordes of reproche spake evyll of Colonus theyr governoure, and *consulted with them selves, eyther to rydde hym out of the way, or elles to cast hym into the sea....* (2).

Thus Caunaboa on the one syde and the other, beinge troubeled as it were on a rocke in the sea *having excogitated this deceyte, to have slayne the Admirall and his company under the colour of frendshippe if oportunitie wold soo have served* (19).

Plots discovered

Sebastian and Antonio's plot to kill Alonso is discovered and interrupted before they do the deed, as is Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban's plot to kill Prospero.

Hoieda with many fayre wordes and promises, brought [Caunaboa] to the Admirall: At whose commaundement, he was immediatly taken and put in prison (19).

But when the Christian men had knowledge hereof, they compelled the poore wretches to confesse their intente, and punyshed the chiefe attours of the devyle (123).

Table 2: Martyr's New World Conspiracies.

depravity. One native king, recalling a Caliban who, as 'his body uglier grows, / So his mind cankers' (4.1.191–92), is described as a 'monstrous and deformed creature ... worse then a brute beaste, with maners accordynge to the linyamentes of his bodye' (97). In both cases the outward physical deformity signifies dissolute morality. Prospero rebukes Caliban – 'Filth as thou art ... [I] lodged thee in my own cell, till thou didst seek to violate the honour of my child' (1.2.346–49), while Eden's Kynge Pacra 'abused with moste abhominable lechery the doughters of foure kynges his brothers from whom hee had taken them by violence' (97).

According to advocates of the Strachey theory, Shakespeare required the inspiration of the 1609 Gates shipwreck in order to conceive particular details of the *Tempest* storm. Closer inspection shows that these details are available in Eden, if not in a 'standard set piece'⁶⁰ or literary 'formula storm'⁶¹ contained in other alternative texts, such as Erasmus' 'Naufragium', which Bullough has identified as one of Shakespeare's sources, or the well known *Orlando Furioso* (Appendix A). Contrary to Neil's unsubstantiated view that 'no other account of the storm and shipwreck seems as close to Shakespeare's as Strachey's',⁶² both the *Orlando* and 'Naufragium' storm scenes constitute sources of at least equal plausibility for Shakespeare's *Tempest* storm, while including details that are not in Strachey. In fact, as we demonstrate (Appendix A), texts such as these furnished a literary template which Strachey may have utilized in constructing his own highly literary account of the Bermuda storm and shipwreck.⁶³

Eden, in any case, is filled with references to storms and shipwrecks, several of which show linguistic influence on *Tempest*, sometimes of a demonstrably more definitive character than anything found in Strachey: 'soo fierce a tempeste' that 'twoo [caravels] were drowned even befor theyr eyes' (42v), ships that 'leaked and tooke water' (Eden 232v), or 'ranne upon a blynde rocke covered with water, and clove in sunder' (2v; emphasis ours); sailors caught in 'soo greate a tempest ... that they were enforced to caste into the sea, all the householde stuffe ... (67v); ships, confused by St. Elmo's fire, which 'so wandered owte of theyr course and were diparsed in sunder, that they in maner dispayred to meete ageyne But as God wolde, the seas and tempest being quieted, they came safely to theyr determined course ...' (217v). The latter passage so closely anticipates Ariel's description of his scattering of Alonso's fleet as to

Tempest

Eden, 1555

Caliban/Trinculo under the gaberdine is a four-footed 'mooncalf' monster; also called a 'tortoise'.

Stephano. This is some monster of the isle with four legs, who hath got, as I take it, an ague ... 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 *Four legs* and two voices; a most delicate monster! (2.2.64–89)

Into his neates chanced a young fish of the kind of those huge monsters of the sea which the Thinhabitours call manati This fyshe is four footed, and in shape lyke unto a tortoise ... and her heade utterly lyke the head of an ox. She lyveth both in the water and on the lande: she is slowe of movynge: of condition meeke, gentell, assocyable and loving to mankind. And of a marvellous sense or memorie as are the elephant and the delphyn A monster of the sea fedde with man's hand (130v–131).

Manate is very brutysse and vyle ... (202).

Caliban shows Prospero where the fresh water is

Cal: I lov'd thee And show'd thee all the qualities o' th' Isle, *The fresh springs, brine-pits*, barren place and fertile (1.2.337–9).

I'll show thee *the best springs* ... (2.2.157).

As [the chief] drewe neere towarde owre men, he seemed frendly to admonysse theym to take none of the water of that ryver, affirming it to bee unholosome for men: And shewed theym that not farre from thense, there was a ryver of good water (60v).

Numerous references to springs occur in Eden (as above and in 84 etc); to pools (standing pools, 79v etc), and salt water ('certeyne springs whose water is more sharpe and salt then the water of the sea') (39–39v, etc).

Caliban learning the language of the Old World

Cal: *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! (1.2.364–6)

Beinge demaunded what woordes [the natives] cryed uppon the virgin Mary when they assayed theyr enemies, they answered that they had lerned no other woordes of the mariners doctrine but Sancta Maria adivua nos, Sancta Maria adivua nos ... (74).

Table 3: Caliban and Martyr's Natives.

put the matter of influence beyond reasonable doubt: 'And for the rest o' th' fleet (*Which I dispers'd*), they have all met again, / and are ... Bound sadly home for Naples' (1.2.232–35).

Most strikingly, the account of St. Elmo's Fire found in Eden's translation of Antonio Pygafetta's narrative, describes 'certeyne flames of fyre burnynge very cleare ... uppon the masts of the shyppes ... which *sum ignorant folkes thynke to bee spirites or such other phantasies*' (217v; emphasis supplied).⁶⁴ From this Shakespeare apparently took inspiration for Ariel's first person account of his bewitching performance as St. Elmo's fire: 'Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin, / I flam'd amazement. Sometimes, I'd divide, / And burn in many places; on the topmast, / The yards and bowsprit, would I flame distinctly' (1.2.196–200). Although Shakespeare seems to have known more than one account of St. Elmo's fire, only from Eden could he have taken inspiration for the idea, embodied in his play, that the phenomenon may be caused by 'spirits'. Shakespeare has also apparently reconfigured Gonzalo's notion of the 'drowning mark' ('Methinks he hath no *drowning mark* upon him' [1.1.28]) from the same passage of Eden's text, in which St. Elmo's fire is described as '*a token of drowning*' (217v; emphases supplied).

Gayley, Cawley, and Kathman all attempt to trace Ariel's phrase, 'flamed amazement', to Strachey's observation that St. Elmo's fire 'might have strucken amazement'⁶⁵ in the sailors. All fail to note that 'amazement', although merely a lexical flourish in Strachey, is a theme permeating Shakespeare's entire play and common in the contemporaneous discourse of the New World, expressing what A. Pagden has termed the 'vertiginous experience of being in a "new" world'⁶⁶ and Stephen Greenblatt describes as '*the decisive emotional and intellectual experience in the presence of radical difference*'⁶⁷ on both sides of the historic encounter between New and Old Worlds.⁶⁸ Eden's text, which often records the reciprocal 'amazement' of explorer and native when confronted by radical otherness, is a seminal text in this discourse of the exotic:

- the enemies beyng *amased* by reason of *this greate miracle* (74V)
- [they showed him things that] had further delited his mynd with the harmony of there musycall instruments ... they dysmyssed hym *halfe amased with to muche admiration* (122v)

- *he was greatly amased* and made signes holdynge uppe his hande to heaven, signyfinge therby that owre men came from thense (218v–219)
- *Whereat the kyng was greatly amased* (223V)

The theme, as we have discussed in detail in another context,⁶⁹ is also rooted in the play's mythopoeic structure and sources,⁷⁰ for as critics from Still to Mowat have recognized, *Tempest's* persistent imagery of *the maze* is drawn from the ancient tradition of Theseus and the Minotaur in the Cretan maze, as transmitted *in literature* through Ovid and Virgil and *in practice* through the contemplative observances of Christian penitents at such pilgrimage sites as Chartres Cathedral. In *Tempest* the theme reflects the *maze-like* confusion of shipwrecked voyagers treading a 'New World' labyrinth of magical signs. The 'torment, trouble, wonder, and *amazement*' (5.1.104–5) of the court party, wending its way through the island maze, all serve to dramatize the 'archetypal desires, states, and actions common to the experience of the Christian pilgrims'⁷¹ or Lenten penitents treading a maze. Perhaps Richard Eden's prominent mention in the 1555 preface to his *Decades*, of 'the Mazes cauled Labyrinthi ... of knottes inexplicable ... and diverse other such portentous inuentions ...', found an answering echo in an imagination already steeped in Virgil⁷² and Ovid, instilling the idea that the bewildering labyrinth of New World wilderness in the Americas constituted a macrocosm of the Old World ritual devices of Cretan legend and Chartres Cathedral.

Contrary to Malone's belief when he originated the theory of the Bermuda pamphlets' influence on *Tempest*, Bermuda was well known to both Spanish and English explorers long before 1609. In fact, the earliest published map of the islands appears in the first Latin edition (1511) of Martyr's book,⁷³ six years after Juan Bermudez discovered them, and Eden's 1555 translation of Oviedo calls Bermuda 'the furthesteste of all the Ilandes that are founde at thys daye in the worlde' (203v). This passage from Eden, as Frank Kermode implies, furnishes the epistemic context for Shakespeare's reference: 'Ariel, in mentioning the Bermudas, is merely *trying to emphasize how far away they were*'.⁷⁴ Tellingly, Tristan Marshall reaches the same conclusion: the passage is 'a contemporarily vivid point of reference to the Jacobean audience of the *distance* Ariel has traveled in the service of his master'.⁷⁵

Some 'natural history' details in *Tempest* may suggest Shakespeare's awareness of the early Virginia reports and narratives, or perhaps Gosnold's 1602 voyage to Cuttyhunk (Archer 1602),⁷⁶ May's December 1593 shipwreck in the Bermudas,⁷⁷ Fletcher's unpublished notebooks from Drake's 1577–80 circumnavigation of the globe,⁷⁸ or one of the narratives of Robert Dudley's 1594–95 voyage to the West Indies.⁷⁹ But we can find nothing of substance allegedly reproduced from Strachey that is not already present in Eden or these earlier sources. Many such details of Prospero's island, moreover, appear to originate in Eden's narrative, among them the *Tempest* leitmotif of woodcutting,⁸⁰ the infections from 'muddy and stynkyng marsshes',⁸¹ the idea of a wine cellar hidden in a rock, and Ariel's charge to 'do [Prospero] business in the veins of the earth',⁸² as well as numerous specific wildlife references.

Just like Prospero's island, Martyr's New World narrative as transcribed by Eden is a realm of miracles and magic. While Prospero wields magic power over the storm,⁸³ the colonizing Spaniards in Martyr's narrative bewilder the native population with superior technology that seems to imitate the destructive force of nature:

But when [the natives] hard the thunder of the gunnes, sawe the smoke, and smelte the savour of brimstone and fyer, *they supposed that thunderboultes and lyhtenynges had byn sent from god ...* (150v; emphasis added).

At length [the Spaniards] were enforced to shute of their biggest pieces of ordinaunce At the slaughter and terrible noyse wherof the barbarians beyng sore discomfited and shaken with feare, *thynkinge the same to be thunder and lyghteninge*, tourned their backes and fledde amayne (114v; emphasis added).

Many further elements of the fantastical *Tempest* landscape are furnished directly from Eden's translation of Martyr's narrative, in which the author promises that 'Yowe shall now therefore understand the illusions wherewith the people of the Ilande have byn seduced ...' (43), and depicts natives astonished by the musical wonders of the colonizers (Table 4).

Miraculous creation of islands

Ant: What impossible matter
will he make easy next?

Seb: I think he will *carry this
island home in his pocket*, and
give it *his son* for an apple.

Ant: And, sowing the kernels
of it in the sea, *bring forth
more islands!*

(2.1.89–94)

This Iaia, grevouslye takyng the death of *his
soonne*, after a fewe moonthes, came ageyne
to *the gourde: the whiche when he had
opened, there isshewed forth many great
whales and other monsters of the sea*: where
uppon he declared to suche as dwelt abowte
hym, that *the sea was enclosed in that gourde*.
... The whiche when they had taken in theyr
handes ... sodaynely let the gourd faule owte
of theyr handes: which being broken in the
faule of the sea forthwith brake owte at the
ryftes therof, and so fylled the vales, &
overflowed the playnes, that *only the
mountaynes were uncovered, whiche now
conteyne the Islandes* which are seene in those
coastes. And this is the opinion of theyr wyse
men as concernyng thoriginall of the sea.

(44v–45)

Roaring animals

Seb: Whiles we stood here
securing your repose,

Even now, we heard a hollow
burst of *bellowing*

Like bulls, or rather lions...

Ant: 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.

(2.1.311–17)

Owre men lodging in theyre houses,
harde in the nyght season horrible noyses
and *rorynges of wylde beastes in the
wooddes* which are full of exceeding
greate and high trees of sundry kindes.
But the beastes of these wooddes, are not
noysome to men.

(37v)

*Music in the wilderness is a
repeated theme in the play.*

Ariel sings...

Fer: 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. (1.2.388–90)

And when [the natives] yet drewe nerer to
the shippe, and harde *the noyse of the
fluites, shalmes, & drums*, they were
wonderfully *astonyed* at the *sweete
harmony* therof.

(26v–27)⁸⁴

Alon: What *harmony* is this?
My good friends, hark!

Gonz: Marvellous *sweet music!* (3.3.18–19)

At 3.2.124 Ariel plays the tune on a *tabor and pipe (drum and flute)* and Caliban shouts 'that's not the tune!'

Europeans as gods with supernatural powers

Cal: ...I prithee *be my god.* (2.2.146)

In so muche that *they take [the Spaniards] for goddess*, at whose coommaundement leaves doo disclose suche thynges as they thyncke most hyd and secrete. (135)

Shortly after a greate multitude of them came runnyng to the shore to beholde this new nation, *whom they thought to have discended from heaven.* (2v)

Spirit Dogs used to attack revelers
A noise of hunters heard. Enter divers Spirits, in shape of *dogs and hounds*, and *hunt them about*, PROSPERO and ARIEL setting them on. (4.1.SD)

The Spaniardes use the helpe of *dogges* in their warres ageynst the naked people whom they *invade as fiercely and ravenyngely as if they were wylde boares or hartes.* (90)

Tall tales of travelers

Gonz: *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. (3.3.27–34)

For who will beleve that men are found with only one legge. Or with such such <fe>ete (illegible) whose shadowe covereth theyr bodies? Or men of a cubite heyght, and other such lyke, being rather monsters then men?

(216)

Table 4: The Subtleties of the Isle.

<p><i>Tempest: New World as a 'Golden Age'</i></p> <p>Gonz: And were I king on't, what would I do? ...</p> <p>I' the commonwealth I would by contraries Execute all things; for no kind of traffic <i>Would I admit; no name of magistrate; Letters should not be known; riches, poverty, And use of service, none; contract, succession,</i></p> <p>Bourn, bound of land, <i>tith, vineyard,</i> none;</p> <p>No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil; <i>No occupation; all men idle, all;</i></p> <p>And women too, but innocent and pure;</p> <p>No sovereignty, - ...</p> <p><i>All things in common</i> nature should produce <i>Without sweat</i> or endeavour; treason, felony,</p> <p>Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine,</p> <p>Would I not have; but nature should bring forth,</p> <p>Of it own kind, <i>all foison, all abundance,</i></p> <p>To feed my <i>innocent people</i> ...</p> <p>I would with such perfection govern, sir, <i>To excel the golden age.</i> (2.1.146-68)</p>	<p><i>Eden: New World as a 'Golden Age'</i></p> <p>They seeeme to lyve in <i>that Goulden worlde</i> of the whiche owlde writers speak so much (8).</p> <p>A fewe things contente them ... <i>a fewe clothes serve the naked: weights and measures are not needefull</i> to such as can not skill of crafte and deceyte and <i>have not the use of pestiferous money,</i> the seede of innumerable myschefes. So that if we shall not be ashamed to confesse the truthe, they seeme to lyve in <i>that golden worlde</i> of the which owlde writers speake so much: wherin men <i>lyved simple and innocently without inforcement of lawes, without quarrelling Judges</i> and libelles, content onley to satisfie nature ... (8).</p> <p>For it is certeyne, that amonge them, <i>the lande is as common</i> as the sonne and water: And that Myne and Thyne (the seedes of all myscheefe) have no place with them. They are contente with soo lyttle, that in soo large a cuntry, they <i>have rather superfluitie then scarcenes.</i> So that (as wee have sayde before) they seeme to lyve in <i>the goulden worlde, without toyle,</i> lyvinge in open gardens, not intrinched with dykes, dyvyded with hedges, or defended with waulles. They deale trewly one with another, <i>without lawes, without bookes, and without judges</i> (17v).</p>	<p><i>Montaigne: Des Cannibales (Borrowing from Eden)</i></p> <p>It is a nation, would I answer Plato, that <i>hath no kind of Trafficke, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superiorities; no use of service, of riches, or of povertie; no contracts, no successions, no partitions, no occupation but idle;</i> no respect of kindred, but <i>common,</i> no apparell but naturall, <i>no manuring of lands,</i> no use of wine, corne, or mettle.</p> <p>The very words that import lying, falsehood, treason, dissimulation, covetousness, envie, detraction, and pardon were never heard of amongst them.</p>
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Table 5: Influence of Peter Martyr on Montaigne and Shakespeare.

Eden's translation of the Iberian travel narratives not only supplies a linguistic foreground for Shakespeare's work but is also the demonstrable source of conceptions which *Tempest* subverts through parody. The traditional source for Gonzalo's idealistic 'golden world' primitivism (2.1.148–68) is a well-known passage in Montaigne's 'Des Cannibales' (1580, Eng. Trans. f.p. 1603). Comparison with Eden, however, illustrates another vector of influence: Montaigne's own source is Martyr, and while Montaigne's influence is more direct and conspicuous, Shakespeare seems to recall both texts when praising the 'golden world' of the Americas, reproduced as Table 5.

Indeed, it is evident that Shakespeare's Gonzalo parodies the verbose idealism of his namesake, Gonzalo Oviedo,⁸⁵ as reproduced in Eden's 1555 translation. The resemblance in linguistic pattern between Gonzalo's effusive panegyric to the fecundity of the island (2.1.37–159) and Oviedo's confidence that 'nature of her selfe bringethe furth such abundance' is unmistakable in the passages reproduced in Table 6; they find no corresponding parallel in Montaigne and instead signal Shakespeare's clear intent to parody Gonzalo Oviedo's text in the persona of 'Gonzalo'.

Gonz: *Had I plantation
of this isle, my lord ...
I'th' commonwealth I
would by contraries
Execute all things ... but
nature should bring
forth of its own kind, all
foison, all abundance ...*
(2.1.144–64)

Seb: *Yet he would be
king on't.*
(2.1.157)

*If any one Prince had no more signiores then
only this Ilande, it shuld in shorte tyme bee
suche as not to give place eyther to Sicilie or
Englande: wheras even at this present there is
nothyng wherefore it shulde malice their
prosperitie not being inferioure to them in any
filicite that in maner the heavens can graunte to
any land In this Ilande, nature of her selfe
bringethe furth such abundance of cotton that
if it were wrought and maynteyned there shuld
be more and better then in any parte of the
world Cassia ... increaseath so muche that it
is a marvelous thyng to consider ... and such
sedes, settes, or plantes, as are broughte out of
Spaine and planted in this ilande, becommme
much better, bygger, and of greater increase
then they are in any parte of owre Europe ...
(Oviedo in Eden 210v).*

Table 6: Gonzalo's Golden Age is a Parody of Gonzalo Oviedo's idealism.

To reread *Tempest* through the lens of Richard Eden's 1555 translation of the Iberian travel narratives is to confirm the relevance of the New World zeitgeist as a factor shaping the play's conception and imagery and to rediscover a play that is not only rooted in a Mediterranean setting rich in literary and historical precedent but also engaged in the contemporary early modern discourse of exploration and colonialism. Contrary to popular belief, however, this zeitgeist did not originate in the Jacobean Bermuda pamphlets, but was substantially a product of Eden's 1555 translation, and works such as those of Hakluyt and the early Virginia explorers that appeared in print before the end of the reign of Elizabeth I.

It is evident that on close comparative inspection the alleged influence of the Bermuda pamphlets on Shakespeare's imaginative conception evaporates, leaving 'not a wrack behind'. Together with Shakespeare's own earlier work⁸⁶ and Erasmus/Ariosto (see Appendix A), *Decades of the Newe Worlde* can account for every alleged influence of significance found in Strachey or the other Bermuda narratives,⁸⁷ most often with greater plausibility. On the other hand, many clear parallels between Shakespeare and Eden cannot be duplicated at all in *True Reportory* or the other Bermuda pamphlets, suggesting that Shakespeare read Eden rather than Strachey. Indeed, both Eden's ethos and his language irradiate the Shakespearean canon, leaving a detectable imprint on several plays⁸⁸ and an indelible one on *Tempest*. Given the historical significance of Martyr's work,⁸⁹ this is hardly surprising. *De Orbe Novo* was not merely the first of many books of its kind; it was also the first to coin and popularize Miranda's phrase, 'New World', the first to publicize the voyages and discoveries of Christopher Columbus, and the first to evoke the 'golden age' utopianism of America's native cultures, and the horrible rumours of Cannibalism, for a European readership avid for tales of New World discovery.

Even more important, as Francis Augustus MacNutt has noted in a passage that could well apply to Shakespeare's treatment of New World themes in *Tempest*, it was one of those rare works which captures a historical moment of profound and enduring consequence: 'Where others beheld but a novel and exciting incident in the history of navigation, with all but prophetic forecast [he] divined an event of unique and far-reaching importance'.⁹⁰ Like Eden, Shakespeare brings Mediterranean Europe with him in writing about America, revealing a 'brave New World' that replicates not only literal but moral topography,

containing the sins and redemptions of the old one. Indeed, as Charles Frey has noted, the *Tempest*'s ironic detachment from colonizing values invites 'representatives of the Old World' to see themselves through 'New World eyes' (cited in MacNutt 40). There can be no doubt that Martyr's narrative, found in Eden's 1555 translation, contains – as does Montaigne's 'des Cannibales' – the seeds of Shakespeare's skepticism, and shares with *Tempest* this ethnological aesthetic, which is absent in the Bermuda tracts of 1610–25.

In the wake of the postmodern interrogation of the colonial enterprise, Martyr's work has been condemned for its concealed assumptions about an indigenous people who are 'present but almost invisible, simply ornamenting a landscape';⁹¹ however, a close reading of Martyr's text reveals many pages devoted to the variety of New World custom, mythology, religious practice, and government, and much that is vital to the ethos he records can be detected in Shakespeare's play: the fear or amazement with which natives greeted the wondrous 'magical' technologies of the colonizers; the colonial enslavement of native populations under Spanish dominion and their impulse for freedom; the conundrums of language difference and the search for shared meaning; the colonizers' quest for 'scarce' resources to harvest from the landscape and their recurrent schismatic and conspiratorial impulses; and, above all, the shrewd humanistic perception that the 'new' world was after all kindred to the 'old'.

That Shakespeare apparently consulted not only Richard Eden's influential translations (and possibly the same works in Latin), but also other literature of the early voyages, might be concluded from a synoptic parallel that is too striking to exclude, even though it is not found in Eden's work or any other known early modern English source. In Ferdinand Columbus' account of his father's voyages, first published in Italian in 1571, occurs a passage that not only describes Prospero's magic power over the storm (otherwise without precedent in any known source), but even anticipates the precise rationale for the exercise of his art: '[Columbus's] enemies might well blame him, by saying that he had raised this storm by magic art *to be revenged on Bovadilla and the rest of his enemies . . .*'.⁹² But Shakespeare apparently found the antidote to Prospero's stormy rage in Eden, in the moral articulated by Peter Martyr's native sage, speaking to Columbus:

I have been advertised (moste mighty prince) that you have of late with greate power subdued many landes and Regions hitherto unkowne to you: and have browght no little feare upon all the people and inhabitantes

of the same *If therefore you acknowledge your selfe to bee mortall,* and consider that every man shall receive condigne rewarde or punyshement for such thinges as he hath done in this life, *you wyle wrongefully hurt no man* (17; emphasis supplied).

Surely, here is the ‘New World’ seed – echoing the sermon on the mount and Ecclesiasticus 28.1–5⁹³ – of Ariel’s climactic challenge to Prospero’s ‘colonial’ authority:

Ariel. Your charm so strongly works ‘em
That if you now beheld them your affections
Would become tender.
Pros. Dost thou think so, spirit?
Ariel. *Mine would, sir; were I human.*

(5.1.17–19: emphasis supplied)

Appendix A: Comparison of the pattern of shipwreck events in Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*, Erasmus ‘*Naufragium*’, and Strachey’s *True Reportory*

N.B. Only the most important parallels are noted.

Because the Harington translation (1591) is very different from the original Italian and does not contain all the incidents in the storm ‘cluster’, we rely instead on the Barbara Reynolds’ translation. Many, but not all, of the incidents of the storm are derived by Ariosto and Erasmus from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, and/or Virgil’s *Aeneid*.

<i>Tempest</i>	Ariosto, Reynolds translation ⁹⁴	Erasmus, 1606 translation ⁹⁵	Strachey's <i>True Reportory</i>
<p>Talks of the sea's 'roar':</p> <p>'The sky it seems would pour down stinking pitch, / But that the Sea, mounting to th' welkins cheek, / Dashes the fire out' (1.2.1-5)</p>	<p>Loud thunder followed lightning instantly, Which cracked its fierce refulgence from on high And wielded fire-pronged brands to split the sky ... The sea below, the heavens overhead, The wind and storm combine to howl and roar. And night, its arms extending more and more, Within its dark embrace the angry sea Has plunged in deep invisibility. The violent weather worsened all that night, As dark as Hades and as black as pitch. It harder blows when day. Returns; for still the dark obscures their course, And still the gloom's more night than light of day. (XVIII, 141-45)</p>	<p>About mid-night the tempest began to increase more and more. Those mountains are but hillocks in comparison to the Waves of the Sea: so often as we were heaved up with them, we might have touched the moon with our fingers; so often as we went down again, it seemed unto us as though the earth had opened, and we had been going directly to hell. (GLV)</p>	<p>'roaring' of the storm 'beat[ing] all light from heaven; which like an hell of darknesse turned blacke upon us The sea swelled above the clouds, which gave battel unto heaven'. (6-7)</p>
<p>A plague upon this howling; they are louder than the weather, or our office. (1.1.36-37).</p>	<p>His shouts, his signals are to no avail. And noises louder than his words assail The air as voices of the crew unite To mourn their fate in a concerted wail, While crashing waves together join their might. (XLI, 11)</p>	<p>I heard one ... promise St Christopher, a wax candle as big as himself ... and this he cried out as loud as every he could, for fear he should not be heard, and this he often repeated ... (G3)</p>	<p>Our clamours dround in the windes, and the windes in thunder. Prayers might well be in the heart and lips, but drowned in the outcries of the officers. (7)</p>
<p>The ship is 'as leaky as an unstanched wench' (1.1.47-48)</p>	<p>And hostile water rushes through inside [the ship]. (XLI, 14)</p>	<p>The Ship, which was now torne and rent, and leaking on every side ... (g4)</p>	<p>in the beginning of the storme we had received likewise a mighty leake. (8)</p>

<i>Tempest</i>	Ariosto, Reynolds translation ⁹⁴	Erasmus, 1606 translation ⁹⁵	Strachey's <i>True Reportory</i>
We split, we split! (1.1.61). ⁼	The ship in many parts is gaping wide ... (XLI, 13) Rose <i>translates this as</i> O'erstrained, the vessel splits.	and the master, fearing lest it would be split all in pieces, he bound it together with cables. (G3v)	there was not a moment in which the sodaine splitting, or instant oversetting of the Shippe was not expected. (8)
His complexion is perfect gallows. (1.1.27–29).	The helmsman, sicklied with the pallid cast of terror ... (XLI, 10) The helmsman, pale with terror ... (XLI, 17)	Adolph: At length the Maister of the ship came unto us very pale. Anto: That paleness doth presage some great evil. (Gr)	No parallel
Down with the topmast! (1.1.34)	The captain, in a plight so merciless, Unships the mainmast to relieve the stress. (XIX, 48)	When he had so said, he commanded al the ropes to be cut, and the main-maste to be sawen down close by the boxe wherein it stood, and together with the saile-yardes to be cast overboord into the sea. (G2v)	we ... had now purposed to have cut down the Maine Mast. (12)
I escap'd upon a butt of sack which the sailors heav'd o'erboard. (2.2.121–22)	Boxes and bales, all cargo and all weight Go overboard ... From every storeroom every precious crate Of merchandise is given to the waves ... (XIX, 49) Rigging and spars and superstructures crash Beneath the elements' hostility, And what remains the sailors hew and slash and To lighten ship, and cast into the sea. (XIX, 44)	But first (quoth [the master]) the ship must be disburdened. The truth prevailed, many vessels were thrown over into the sea, full of rich merchandise. [An] ambassador to the King of the Scots ... had a chest full of plate, gold rings, cloth, and silk apparel. [The master continues] It is not fit that all we should be in danger for the saving of thy chest ... so the Italian lost his goods ... (G2)	'threw over-boord much luggage ... and staved many a Butt of Beere, Hogsheads of Oyle, Syder, Wine, and Vinegar, and heaved away all our Ordnance on the Starboord side'. (12)

<i>Tempest</i>	Ariosto, Reynolds translation ⁹⁴	Erasmus, 1606 translation ⁹⁵	Strachey's <i>True Reportory</i>
<p>I boarded the King's ship; now on the beak, Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin, I flam'd amazement. Sometimes I'd divide, And burn in many places; on the topmast, The yards and boresprit, would I flame distinctly, Then meet and join. Jove's lightning, the precursors O' th' dreadful thunder-claps, more momentary And sight-outrunning were not. (1.2.196–203)</p>	<p>When on the prow they saw St. Elmo's fire. Their jury rig and sail it glowed upon, Instead of on a mast, for there was none. When they beheld that miracle of light, The grateful sailors fell upon their knees ... (XIX, 50–51)</p>	<p>And in the top of the mast stood one of the mariners in the basket ... looking about to see if he could spie any land: fast by this man began to stand a certain round thing like a ball of fire, which (when it appeareth alone) is to the shipmen a most fearful sign of hard success, but when two of them appear together, that is a sign of a prosperous voyage. These apparitions were called in old time Castor and Pollux By and by the fiery globe sliding down by the ropes, tumbled itself until it came to the master of the ship ... it having stayed there a while, it rolled itself along the brimmes of the ship, and falling from thence down into the middle roomes, it vanished away ... (G1–G1v)</p>	<p>Sir George Somers ... had an apparition of a little round light, like a faint Starre, trembling, and streaming along with a sparkeling blaze, halfe the height upon the Maine Mast, and shooting sometimes from Shroud to Shroud, tempting to settle as it were upon any of the foure Shrouds ... running sometimes along the Maine-yard to the very end, and then returning ... but upon a sodaine, towards the morning watch, they lost the sight of it, and knew not which way it made Could it have served us now miraculously to have taken our height by, it might have stricken amazement (11–12)</p>

Notes

1. David Lindley, *The Tempest. The New Cambridge Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 25.
2. Lindley op. cit., 45.
3. Meredith Anne Skura, 'Discourse and the Individual: The Case of Colonialism in *The Tempest*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 40:1 (Spring 1989): 42–69, 47.
4. Jerry Brotton, "'This Tunis, Sir, was Carthage": Contesting Colonialism in *The Tempest*', in *Post-Colonial Shakespeares*, ed. Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (London: Routledge, 1998), 23–42; 24.
5. Barbara Fuchs, 'Conquering Islands: Contextualizing *The Tempest*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 48:1 (Spring 1997): 45–62; 46.
6. David Scott Wilson-Okamura, 'Virgilian Models of Colonization in Shakespeare's *Tempest*', *ELH* 70 (2003): 709–737; 709.
7. Edmund Malone, *Account of the Incidents from which The Title and Part of the Story of Shakespeare's Tempest Were derived: and its True Date Ascertained*, 1808; Furness, Horace Howard, *The Tempest: A New Variorum Edition Shakespeare* (New York: Dover, 1964 reprint of 1892 edn); Morton Luce, ed., *The Arden Shakespeare: The Tempest* (London: Methuen, 1902); C. M. Gayley, *Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America* (1917); R. R. Cawley, 'Shakespeare's Use of the Voyagers in *The Tempest*', *PMLA* XLI (1926): 688–726; David Kathman, 'Dating *The Tempest*' n.d. *The Shakespeare Authorship Page* <<http://shakespeareauthorship.com/tempest.html>> Last accessed 1 July 2009.
8. Sylvester Jourdain, *A Discovery of the Bermudas*, otherwise called the Ile of Divels. (London: J. Windet, sold to R. Barnes, 1610). (Reg. 13 Oct 1610). STC #14816. Reprinted in Louis. B Wright, *The True Reportory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates* (f.p. 1625), By William Strachey (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1964).
9. Anon, *A True declaration of the estate of the colonie in Virginia* (London, 1610). STC # 24833.
10. William Strachey, "A True Reportory of the Wreck and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight," in *A Voyage to Virginia in 1609*, ed. Louis B. Wright. (Charlottesville, VA: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1965).
11. The traditional Americanist use of the Bermuda pamphlets rests on a double misconception. Contrary to Malone's belief, Bermuda was well-known to both Spanish and English explorers long before 1609. The 1593 shipwreck of Henry May 'upon the isle of Bermuda', printed in Hakluyt's 1599 volume of *Principall Navigations* (Sir William Foster, ed., 'A briefe note of a voyage to the East Indies, begun the 10 of April 1591 ... by Henry May, who, in his returne homeward by the West Indies, suffred shipwracke upon the isle of Bermuda ...' in *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies 1591–1603*. [London: Hakluyt Society. 1940, 22–30]) made the region notorious in England. As early as 1595, in the popular account of Sir Walter Raleigh, the islands acquired a reputation as a 'perilous and fearful place', and 'the sea about the Bermudas [as] a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and storms' (Walter Alexander Raleigh, 'The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century', in Hakluyt, 1598–1600, 12 [Glasgow, 1903–5], 10–11). Intriguingly, a map of the islands was printed as early as 1511, in the first Latin edition of Martyr's *De Orbe Novo*, six years after Juan Bermudez discovered them. A second misconception is the confusing but widely held notion that somehow the action of *The Tempest* takes place on or

near the Bermudas. This borders on impossibility, as several critics have noted. In fact, of course, the play's action takes place *anywhere but* the Bermudas: most obviously, as many recent critics (see, for example, Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman, *The Tempest and Its Travels* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000)) have argued, a Mediterranean location.

12. Frank Kermode, *The Arden Shakespeare: The Tempest*. (London: Methuen, 1954; 1983), xxviii. Kermode deserves credit for doing more than anyone since Furness to promote a more balanced and accurate assessment of the importance of Eden's work as a Shakespearean influence. His list of Eden motifs in *Tempest*, if not exhaustive, is certainly impressive: 'the identification of the West Indies with Atlantis, the belief of the natives that the voyagers had descended from heaven; the elaborate description of 'the golden worlde', with land 'as common as sunne and water', and the natives knowing no difference between 'Mine' and 'Thine'; the 'horrible roings of the wild beastes in the woodes'. But he could also have found here pugnacious and terrible bats, compared to 'ravenous harpies'; the Spanish custom of hunting natives with dogs; a Carthage in the New World to remind him of older colonial adventures; and an account of the manner in which natives 'were wonderfully astonied at the sweete harmony' of music' (xxxii–xxxiii).

13. Hallet Smith, *Shakespeare's Romances: A Study of Some Ways of the Imagination*. (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1972), 140. Charles H. Frey ('The *Tempest* and the New World', *SQ*, 30 [1979], 29–41), writing a few years later sympathetically summarizes Smith's comprehensive argument as one in which 'Richard Eden's accounts of the explorations by Magellan and others tell of St. Elmo's fires in ship's rigging, Indians who die before their captors can exhibit them in Europe, Caliban-like natives who seek for grace, Utopian, golden world innocence, strange roaring sounds heard in woods, dogs used to pursue natives, natives interested in music, mutinies suppressed, and so on' (31).

14. Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, *The Arden Shakespeare: The Tempest* (London: Thomson Learning, 1999), 40; our emphasis.

15. John Wylie, 'New and Old Worlds: *The Tempest* and early colonial discourse', *Social & Cultural Geography* 1:1 (2000): 45–63; 54.

16. Wilson-Okamura op. cit., 716.

17. Michael Neil, 'Noises, – Sounds, and sweet airs': The Burden of Shakespeare's *Tempest*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 59 (2008): 36–59; fn 25, 46.

18. Vaughan op. cit., 273.

19. Alden Vaughan, 'William Strachey's *True Reportory: A Closer Look at the Evidence*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, (Fall 2008): 245–73. Vaughan's conclusion that 'Malone and Luce were correct' is puzzling in view of the fact that Malone never did endorse the view which Vaughan attributes to him, that the Strachey 'letter' influenced Shakespeare's play. As is well known, on the contrary, Malone endorsed the by now long discredited view that it was the 1610 Jourdain pamphlet that had influenced Shakespeare. See Roger Stritmatter and Lynne Kositsky, 'Shakespeare and the Voyagers Revisited', *Review of English Studies*, New Series 58: 236 (September 2007): 448–49, esp. fns 2 and 4, for a detailed analysis of the early history of the debate.

20. Arthur Kinney, 'Revisiting *The Tempest*', *Modern Philology*, 93 (1995): 161–77. When Hakluyt died in 1616, according to George Bruner Parks, 'Hakluyt's widow or son, [Samuel Purchas] obtained Hakluyt's papers. The manuscripts became the nucleus of a new work' (*Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyagers*, American Geographical Society, 1928), 224. In Volume I of *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625), Purchas states in his 'Note To The Reader': 'The authors follow; such as have no letter annexed are mine; such as have H added,

I borrowed from Master Hakluyt's papers ...'. Since Strachey's *True Reportory* has an 'H' appended to it, it is believed to have been among Hakluyt's papers at the time of his death.

21. Ivor Noel Hume, 'William Strachey's Unrecorded First Draft of his *Sea Venture* Saga', *Avon Chronicles* 6 (2001), 57–87, reports on a nineteenth-century copy of what appears to be an earlier draft of Strachey's 'True Reportory', found in 1983 in a trunk belonging to the Tucker family of Bermuda. Almost 20,000 words shorter than 'True Reportory', the draft contains no salutation to an excellent lady, its point of view is somewhat different, and many of the sources used to construct the more literary 'True Reportory' are absent. For these and other reasons, we believe that if any draft of Strachey's went back to England in July 1610, it would have been the version described in Hume's article.

22. Stritmatter, Roger and Lynne Kositsky. 'Shakespeare and the Voyagers Revisited.' *Review of English Studies*, 58: 236, 447–472

23. Roger Stritmatter and Lynne Kositsky, 'A Note on the Undocumented Influence of Erasmus' "Naufragium" and Richard Eden's 1555 *Decades of the New World* on Shakespeare's *Tempest*', 6 Feb. 2005 *The Shakespeare Fellowship Online*. <<http://www.shakespearefellowship.org/virtualclassroom/tempest/kositsky-stritmatter%20Tempest%20Table.htm>> Last accessed 1 June 2009.

24. Roger Stritmatter and Lynne Kositsky, 'A Movable Feast: *The Tempest* as Shrovetide Revelry', forthcoming in *The Shakespeare Yearbook*.

25. Florence Ada Kirk, *The Faithful Shepherdess by John Fletcher: A Critical Edition* (New York: Garland, 1980).

26. William Alexander, *The Tragedie of Darius* (Amsterdam: Da Capo Press Reprint, 1971).

27. Albert Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: An Account of English Actors in Germany and the Netherlands, and of the Plays Performed by Them During the Same Period* (Weisbaden: Unverädrerter Neudruck der Ausgabe, 1865).

28. Roger Stritmatter and Lynne Kositsky, 'An Elizabethan *Tempest*', forthcoming in *The Shakespeare Yearbook*. In another work ('*The Spanish Maze* and the Date of *The Tempest*', *The Oxfordian*, 2007) we also suggest that *The Tempest* might well have been known under the alternative title of *The Tragidye of the Spanish Maze*, a play performed at court, along with seven other Shakespearean plays and several by Chapman, Jonson, and Heywood, at Shrovetide, 1605 (see E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1923), vol. IV: 119–120, and Peter Cunningham, *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I* (The Shakespeare Society, 1842). The argument for an early *Tempest* does not, however, depend upon this conjecture.

29. All quotations are from Rycharde Eden, *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India by Pietro Martire d' Anghiera* (f.p. 1555) (Readex Microprint, 1966).

30. R. Willes, *The history of travayle in the West and East Indies*. Done into Englyshe by R. Eden. Newly set in order, augmented, and finished by R. Willes (London: R. Jugge, 1577). STC # 649.

31. Margaret Tudeau-Clayton, *Jonson, Shakespeare, and Early Modern Virgil* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1998).

32. A. C. Brinton, 'The Ships of Columbus in Brant's Virgil', *Art and Archeology* 26 (1928): 83–86; 94.

33. Ruth Mortimer, 'Vergil in the Light of the Sixteenth Century: Selected Illustrations', *Vergil at 2000: Commemorative Essays on the Poet and His Influence*. Ed. John D. Bernard, *AMS Ars Poetica* 3 (New York: AMS, 1986), 159–84; 160.

34. Wilson Okamura op. cit., 711.

35. Ibid.

36. This immensely popular book went through numerous sixteenth century editions, including the – for our purposes – critical 1587 Parisian issue dedicated to the '*illustri et magannimo viro Gualtero Ralegho*' under the title *De Orbe Novo Petri Martyris Anglerii mediolanensis, protonotarii et Caroli quinti Senatoris, decades octo, diligente temporum observatione et utilissimis annotationibus illustratæ, suoque nitore restitæ labore et industria Richardi Hakluyti Oxoniensis, Angli*. As an apprentice work of the most important of all chroniclers of early modern English voyages Richard Hakluyt, dedicated to the most important explorer of the 1580s Sir Walter Raleigh and reproducing all eight decades as compared to Eden's three, the edition illustrates the central role that Martyr's work continued to exercise over the imagination of English explorers long after the 1555 and 1577 English editions. For a useful, if possibly not exhaustive bibliography, see Francis Augustus Macnutt, *De Orbe Novo, Volume 1 (of 2) The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr D'Anghera, Translated from the Latin with Notes and Introduction*. In Two volumes. Project Gutenberg e-text. Release Date: May 24, 2004 [EBook #12425], <<http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/1/2/4/2/12425/12425-h/12425-h.htm>>. Last accessed 1 July 2009.

37. See the jocular exchange (2.1.70–105) between Gonzalo, Antonio, and Adrian, with its iterated references to Carthage and Dido.

38. Conceived as a series of letters to Martyr's friend and patron Ascanio Sforza, brother to Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan (MacNutt 8), and afterwards also written to Cardinal Lodovike of Aragon, nephew of Ferdinand II of Aragon and III of Naples, and dedicated to Charles V, Martyr's work swiftly became an early European classic through numerous imprints and translations, including that prepared and first published in 1555 by Richard Eden, a close friend and confidante of Sir Thomas Smith.

39. George Bruner Parks. *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*. New York: American Geographical Society, 1928, 21.

40. Parks op. cit., 23.

41. Charles Frey describes the history of this significant footnote in the history of Shakespearean scholarship: 'What scholar first connected Shakespeare's "Setebos" to the Patagonians remains a mystery. Richard Farmer cites Eden in correspondent's notes to the Johnson-Steevens editions of *The Tempest* (2nd ed., 1778) but mentions others who made the connection of Setebos and Patagonia through sources (non-Elizabethan) other than Eden. Farmer does not mention Setebos in his famous *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 1767)' (Frey 29, fn. 2).

42. All *Tempest* references are to the 1999 Arden edition, Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, *The Tempest* (London: Thomson Learning, 1999).

43. Furness (1964; 1892). Furness, who is followed by every other commentator in identifying the 1577 book as the source of 'Setebos' as well as the other shared motifs, was apparently unaware that the passages also occurred earlier in the 1555 edition of Eden's work. Almost every subsequent critic who has mentioned Eden has followed him in alluding only to the second edition, no doubt partly because of the chronological implications of admitting the existence of an influential *Tempest* source of such an early date.

44. Furness op. cit., 77.

45. Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1993); Leonard Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis & the Pursuit of Paganism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

46. Q reads 'scamels', but this is often thought to be a corruption of *Seamewes*, a word found in Strachey and often said to be derived from it.

47. Ariel leads Trinculo and Stephano through 'Tooth'd briers, sharp furzes, pricking goss, and thorns' into 'th' filthy-mantled pool' (4.1.180–82)

48. C.f. 'Though this island seem to be desert ... Uninhabitable, and almost inaccessible ... It must needs be of subtle, tender, and delicate temperance' (2.1.35–43).

49. Stephano's 'cellar is in a rock by th' / sea-side where my wine is hid' (2.2.131–32).

50. It must be this precedent argument by Furness which inspires Gayley, after devoting three and a half pages to the alleged influence of *True Reportory* names on *Tempest*, to conclude, paradoxically, that 'whether Shakespeare borrowed names from Strachey or not, to make an argument out of it would be precious and inconsequential. We have already sufficient evidence that he knew his Strachey from first page to last' (65).

51. See esp. Gayley, op. cit. Cawley, op. cit., and Kathman op. cit.

52. Since Halliwell (cited in Furness 1892, 343) scholars have acknowledged the probable influence on Shakespeare of Thomas's *Historye of Italye* (1561), which narrates the rise and fall of Prospero Adorno, Lieutenant to the Duke of Milan. By the assistance of Ferdinando, King of Naples, Adorno was made Duke 'absolutely' (Furness 343) over Milan but later deposed by Antony Adorno. The same dynastic struggles, viewed from a different perspective, are intrinsic to Eden's narrative of New World exploration. They were a repeated pattern in the unstable Milanese politics of the late fifteenth century, in which the dynasties of Aragon and Angevin, and their local proxies, vied for control of the kingdom of Naples and its neighbouring dependencies to the north, including Milan and Genoa. From 1450 onwards the leading aristocratic faction in Milan, which both the Spanish and the French powers sought to reduce to clientage, was the brilliant and cultivated, but also sometimes brutal and corrupt, Sforza dynasty.

53. Francesco, like Shakespeare's Prospero, "himself may seem to have had a taste for the studies in which Prospero was so accomplished and adept..." (Rev. Joseph Hunter, *Disquisition on the Scene, Origin, Date & etc. of Shakespeare's Tempest* (1839: 110) as well as the dedicatee of Girolamo Visconti's famous treatise on witchcraft *Magistri Hyeronimi Vicecomitis Lamiarum* (1490).

54. Shakespeare might also have read about the internecine quarrels of the Sforza dynasty in Geoffrey Fenton's popular translation of Guiccardini's *Historia d' Italia* (1579, 1599, 1617). The topic became a popular subject in drama, with three plays based on Ludovico Sforza's life before Massinger's 1623 *Duke of Millaine*.

55. It is difficult to overstate the historical importance of the dispute between Ludovico and his nephew Gian and his Aragonese backers for control of Milan. Ludovico's invitation for French intervention precipitated the 'Italian wars' and Charles VIII's brief conquest of Naples after he entered Italy in 1494.

56. Inacus Lopez Mendocius, the Viceroy of Granata, to whom the chapter is dedicated.

57. 'Fer. Yes, faith, and all his lords; the Duke of Milan, / And his brave son being twain' (1.2.436–37).

58. The *Tempest* motif of sleep doubtless has multiple sources, of inspiration, among them, as Anne Pasternak Slater has argued, Isaiah XXIX. See her 'Variations within a Source: From Isaiah XXIX to *The Tempest*', *Shakespeare Survey* 25 (1972): 125–35.

59. Tristan Marshall, 'The *Tempest* and the British Imperium in 1611', *The Historical Journal*, 41:2 (Jun. 1998): 375–400, 383. Negative images of the New World natives were inhibited to promote settlement, and Virginia Company reports portrayed them as a noble

race of enlightened beings, typically attributing conflict not to the aggression of natives but to the bad practices of the English: 'the poore Indians by wrongs and injuries were made our enemies', writes Robert Johnson in the second part of *Nova Britannia* (1612). Only before 1591 was the popular English conception of the New World native dominated by negative sentiment. There are some dissonant notes: *True Declaration* refers to Powhatan as a 'greedy Vulture' who, 'boyling with desire of revenge ... invited Captaine Ratcliffe, and about thirty others to trade for Corne, and under the colour of fairest friendship ... brought them within the compasse of his ambush, whereby they were cruelly murdered, and massacred' (30). Nevertheless, there is no doubt that such representations were generally discouraged by the Virginia Company during the Jacobean period; in the theatre, particularly, the image of the noble native, so conducive to the purposes of the Company, was especially prominent.

60. Lindley op. cit., 31.

61. Harold Francis Watson, *The Sailor in English Fiction and Drama* (New York: AMS Press, 1966. Originally published 1931), 76–77.

62. Michael Neil, "'Noises, / Sounds, and sweet airs": The Burden of Shakespeare's *Tempest*'. *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59.1 (2008), 36–59, 46 n. 25.

63. Strachey made frequent use of numerous sources in constructing his works – Eden, de Ulloa, etc., sometimes with attribution, but often by excerpting large chunks written by other authors without attribution and passing them off as his own work. For a summary of Strachey's copying habits in *History of Travaile and Lawes*, see S. G Culliford, *William Strachey, 1572–1621* (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1965). Contrary to Alden Vaughan's claim (268–69), the case for Strachey's plagiaristic habits is overwhelmingly established in the secondary literature. Some of the extensive testimony to Strachey's habit of composing by copying the work of other writers with minor modifications is summarized in Roger Stritmatter and Lynne Kositsky, 'Shakespeare and the Voyagers', 453–57.

64. Pygafetta's references in Eden to Saynt Helen, Saynt Nicholas, and Saynt Clare (St. Elmo's Fire):

For there appeared in theyr shyppes certeyne flames of fyre burnynge very cleare, which they caul Saynt Helen and Saynt Nicholas. These appeared as though they had byn upon the masts of the shyppes, in such clearnesse that they tooke away theyr sight. I have here thought good to saye sumewhat of these straunge fyers which sum ignorant folkes thynke to bee spirites or such other phantasies wheras they are but natural thunges procedyng of naturall causes. Of the kynde of trewe fyre, is the fyre baul or starre commonly called Saynt Helen which is sumetyme seene abowe the mastes of shyppes and is a token of downyng (217v–218).

Here were they in great dangiour by tempest. But as soone as the three fyers cauled saynte Helen, saynte Nucolas, and saynt Clare, appered upon the cabells of the shyppes, suddenly the tempeste and furye of the wyndes ceased (218v).

As they were enteringe into the porte, there arose a boysterous and darke tempeste which ceased as soone as the fiers of the three sayntes (wherof we have spoken before) appeared upon the cabells (228).

65. Wright op. cit., 13.

66. A. Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World* (New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press, 1993), 24.

67. Stephen Greentblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 14, 54; our emphasis.

68. We are indebted to John Wylie's perceptive analysis (59–60) of the relevance of these analytic categories. In the *Tempest*, 'Known and rehearsed paradisiacal motifs are transformed by the presence of radical "otherness" into a deliberately unresolved "wonder"' (60); John Wylie, 'New and Old Worlds: The *Tempest* and early colonial discourse', *Social & Cultural Geography* 1:1 (2000): 45–63.

69. Roger Stritmatter and Lynne Kositsky, 'A Movable Feast: The *Tempest* as Shrovetide Revelry' Forthcoming in *The Shakespeare Yearbook*.

70. Roger Stritmatter and Lynne Kositsky, 'An Elizabethan *Tempest*'. Unpublished manuscript.

71. James Walter, 'From *Tempest* to Epilogue: Augustine's Allegory in Shakespeare's Drama', *PMLA* 98:1 (Jan. 1983): 60–76, 62.

72. Donna B Hamilton, *Virgil and The Tempest: The Politics of Imitation* (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1990).

73. Martyr's *Opera Legatio Babylonica Oceani Decas Poemata Epigrammata*, published by Jacob Cromberger in 1511, which contains the first decade of the work subsequently published as *De Orbe Novo* c. 1516.

74. Frank Kermode, *The Age of Shakespeare*. (New York: The Modern Library, 2003), 192–93.

75. Tristan Marshall. 'The *Tempest* and the British imperium in 1611.' *Historical Journal* XLI, 2: 375–400, 380.

76. Virginia' (1602). Electronic text reprinted by Virtual Jamestown, <<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbin/jamestown-browse?id=J1005>>. Last accessed 1 July 2009. Not in STC.

77. Sir Henry May, 'A briefe note of a voyage to the East Indies, begun the 10 of April 1591', in *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies 1591–1603* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1940), 22–30. May's account contains numerous elements that may have influenced *Tempest*: a ship 'taken with an extreame tempest or huricano' (22); a company which 'began to be in a mutiny' and 'conspired to take away the Frenchman's pinnesse' (26); and especially sailors who 'after they had their wine, careless of their charge which they tooke in hand, being as it were drunken, through their negligence a number of good men were cast away' (28). The latter is by far the closest parallel we have found in the travel literature of the period to Antonio's complaint that 'we are merely cheated of our lives by drunkards (1.1.56).

78. Charles Frey, 'The *Tempest* and the New World', in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 30: 1 (Winter, 1979), 29–41.

79. George F. Warner, *The Voyage of Robert Dudley, Afterwards Styled Earl of Warwick and Leicester and Duke of Northumberland to the West Indies, 1594–95, Narrated by Capt. Wyatt, By Himself, and by Abram Kendall, Master* (Nendeln/Liechtenstein: 1967: Kraus reprint of the 1899 Hakluyt Society Edition).

80. *In the meane tyme the woode was cuttynge* (sic) and the barrells fylling... (15v). They fownde the woodes, entered into them, and *felled the high and precious trees*, whiche were to that day, untouched (23).

81. Viz., 'The place is also contagious by the nature of the soyle, by reason it is compassed aboute with muddy and stynkyng marsshes, *theinfection* wherof is not a lyttle

increased by *the heate*' (121v). Cf. Cal. All the *infections* that the *sun* sucks up From bogs, fens, flats, on Prosper fall, and make him By inch-meal a disease! (2.2.4–6)

82. They deputed to that labour a multitude of bowght servauntes, whiche *searchynge the vaynes of metals* in diverse places, and *percyng the earth* dyvers wayes ... brought furthe the greate plentie of golde and sylver. (biii)

83. *Pros.* I did say so, / When *first I raised the tempest* (5.1.5–6).

84. In a recent analysis ('Old World Sources for Ariel in *The Tempest*,' *Notes and Queries* 2008 (55: 2), 208–213), David McInnis points out that the 1553 edition of Munster's *Cosmography*, as translated – interestingly, from our perspective, by none other than Richard Eden – recounts an experience of 'ventriloquizing spirits' that comes very close to Ariel's unearthly music: 'you shall heare in the ayre, the sound of Tabers and other instruments, to putte the travellers in feare' (McInnis 212). We agree that this is strikingly close to *Tempest* 3.1.136–37 and must have been among the sources that Shakespeare recalled during composition.

85. The literary archetype of this familiar topos of a lost 'golden world' is Ovid (book I), but it seems clear that Montaigne was also influenced by Oviedo's treatment of the theme when he wrote 'On Cannibals'.

86. Numerous elements allegedly derived from Strachey (Cawley; Kathman) actually occur in Shakespearean plays known to be written long before 1609. Kathman, for example, would derive the phrase 'play the men' from Strachey: 'Strachey says that 'Our Governour was ... both by his speech and authoritie heartening every man unto his labour' (10); as soon as he appears, King Alonso says, 'Good boatswain, have care. Where's the Master? Play the men' (1.1.9–10). Unfortunately for Kathman's theory, the idiomatic phrase, ultimately 'derived' – if one can use such a concept in this instance – from the Bible (*Gen.* and most Tudor trans., 2 *Sam.* 13.28; *Gen.* only, 1 *Sam.* 4.9; 2, AV only, *Sam.* 1.12), also occurs in one of the earliest plays of the Shakespearean canon: 'When they shall hear how *we have play'd the men*' (*I Henry the Sixth*, 1.1.17). Kathman regularly trivializes or even ignores the previous occurrence of lexemes when arguing for Strachey's influence, asserting for example that the occurrence of 'hoodwink' (4.1.206) in *Tempest* is 'one of three [uses]' in the canon, or that 'bosky' (4.1.81) constitutes 'Shakespeare's only use of this word' or that 'glut' (1.1.60) is 'the only appearance of the word ... in Shakespeare', thereby implying that the usage must be derived from Strachey. This final statement seems doubtful. What lexicographical justification can support the inference that 'glutted' (*I Henry IV*, 3.2.85) is not the same word as 'glut' (*Tempest* 1.1.60)? More significantly, our results show that Kathman's methods are inconsistent. When there is little or no warrant for previous Shakespearean usage, he cites this as significant, but when the evidence points in a contrary direction, he passes it by in silence. For a fuller survey, please see Stritmatter and Kositsky (2005).

87. And perhaps one or two items, e.g. 'berries in water' and oak trees, both of which can be found in Thomas Hariot's *A briefe and true report OF 1585*, (as reprinted at Virtual Jamestown) <<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbin/jamestown-browse?id=J1009>> Last accessed 1 July 2009.

88. In *As You Like It*, Arden, recalling Eden's narrative of America, is both a 'golden world' (1.1) and a 'desert inaccessible' (2.2). Othello's tale of 'portance in my travellers historie, wherein of antars vast and deserts idle, rough quarries, rocks, hills, whose head touch heaven ... and of the Canibals that each others eat, the anthropophagi, and men whose heads grew beneath their shoulders' (1.3.163–68) is as reminiscent in its own way of Eden, who uses the word 'anthropophagi' as well as 'Canibal', as it is of Pliny or Mandeville.

Anon, 'Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*', *The Explicator* 37 (1979), also detects the possible influence of Eden in *Merchant of Venice*, *Lear* and *Troilus and Cressida*. Shakespeare's use of the term 'Huricano', a native-American word introduced into England by Eden's book, in both *King Lear* (3.2.2) and *Troilus and Cressida* (5.2.193), further testifies to the impression the text left on him. Cf other miscellaneous parallels, cumulatively impressive: *Lear*: 'you fen-sucked fogs, drawn by the powerful sun' (2.4.162); Eden 122v–123; *Antony and Cleopatra*: 'Our sever'd navy too / have knit again, and fleet, threatening most sealike' (3.13.206); Eden 217 verso; *Winter's Tale*: 'the climate's delicate, the air most sweet, / fertile the isle' (3.1.1–2) Eden: 'one day allured by the pleasantness of the place, and sweet savours which breathed from the land to the ships, they went aland' (30v). *MND*: 'I'll follow you, I'll lead you about around through bog, through bush, through brake, through briar' (3.1.98–99); Eden 99v, 33v–34.

89. Francis Augustus MacNutt, *De Orbe Novo, Volume 1 (of 2) The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr D'Anghera, Translated from the Latin with Notes and Introduction*. In two volumes. Project Gutenberg e-text. Release Date: 24 May 2004 [EBook #12425] <<http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/1/2/4/2/12425/12425-h/12425-h.htm>>. Last accessed 1 July 2009. Educated as a humanist, Martyr was a fluent scholar of rhetoric and letters, as familiar with Ovid, Virgil, and Livy as he was with the momentous navigations and geopolitical controversies of his own age. A Lombard intellectual who, when he lectured on Juvenal's second satire at the University of Salamanca he held four thousand students and faculty 'spellbound under the charm of his eloquence', Martyr had mastered Latin prose as a living language, cultivating a style 'vigorous, terse, vitalized' (MacNutt 28) and been praised by contemporaries as the best poet among the Italians in Spain (29).

90. MacNutt op. cit., 26.

91. 'Viewers and the Viewed', *The Cultures and History of the Americas: The Jay I. Kislak Collection at the Library of Congress*, 8 <www.kislakfoundation.org/pdf/CR01.pdf>. Last accessed 1 July 2009.

92. Robert Kerr, *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, Arranged in Systematic Order* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1824), 193; our emphasis. The work is in extant in two early Italian publications: Ferdinand Columbus, *Historie de S. D. Fernando Colombo nelle quali s'ha particolare e vera relazione della vita e de' fatti dell' Ammiraglio D. Christoforo Colombo suo Padre ... 1571*; Ulloa, De, Alonso, *Historia Dell Almirante don Cristobal Colon* (Venice, 1571).

93. See Roger Stritmatter, 'Ecclesiasticus 28.2–5: A Biblical Source for Ariel's Doctrine of Mercy', (*Notes and Queries* 2009 56(1): 67–70).

94. Barbara Reynolds, *Orlando Furioso: A Romantic Epic by Ludovico Ariosto*. Translated with an Introduction by Barbara Reynolds. In Two Books (London: Penguin Books, 1977).

95. Craig R Thompson, 'The Shipwreck'. Translation of Erasmus Desiderius 1523 *Two Colloquies of Erasmus*, The Library of Liberal Arts. 1957. Posted by Eric J. Carlson to University website for course in The Reformation. <http://homepages.gac.edu/~ecarlson/Reformation/ERASMUS_Colloquies.htm> Last accessed 1 July 2009.