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Contents

Special Essay:

1. New Evidence on William Shakeshafte and Edmund Campion 1
Glyn Parry

Theme Essays: Shakespeare and Asia

2. Imagining the East: Shakespeare's Asia 31
David Bevington

3. Alluding to Shakespeare in *L'Appartement*, *The King is Alive*, *Wicker Park*, *A Time to Love*, and *University of Laughs*: Digital Film, Asianization, and the Transnational Film Remake 49
Richard Burt

4. Shakespeare's Cultural Capital Made in China: From Pre-modern to Post-modern 87
Lingui Yang

5. The "Hamlet Complex" in China, 1903-1936 111
Andrew Shoenbaum

6. Shakespeare in China, before the People's Republic 139
Xianqiang Meng

7. Social Class and Class Struggle: Shakespeare in China in the 1950s and 1960s 175
Weimin Li

8. Locating Asian Shakespeares: An Aesthetics of Transculturation 197
Alexander C. Y. Huang

9. "Thou Orphans' Father Art": Shakespeare in Taiwanese and

Yue Operas 217

Bi-qi Beatrice Lei

10. Appropriating Theories in the Name of Shakespeare: The Case of Doctoral and MA Theses on Shakespeare by Taiwan Students 255

Chin-jung Chiu

11. The Uses of Multimedia Resources and Performance History in Teaching and Producing Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* at NTNU 277

Alan Ying-nan Lin

12. Glossing Shakespeare in Chinese Translation: Liang Shiqiu, Zhu Shenghao, and 暴風雨 (*The Tempest*) 291

Timothy Billings

13. Translating Shakespeare across Language and Culture: A Chinese Perspective 305

Chong Zhang

14. A Chinese Map of Translation of Shakespeare's Sonnets 323

Yimin Luo

15. Shakespeare and Class: *Othello* in Mainland Japan and Okinawa 347

Masae Suzuki

General Essays

16. A Movable Feast: The Liturgical Symbolism and Design of *The Tempest* 365

Roger Strittmatter and Lynne Kositsky

17. *Othello*, Genre, and Performance: an Approach to Teaching the Play 405

Michael J. Collins

18. The Tragic Historie of Hamlet: Staging the Naughty Quarto 417

David Richman

19. Shakespeare's Humanism: *Hamlet, King Lear*, and Sufism 439

Abdulla Al-Dabbagh

20. Shakespeare Supplemented 479

John Jowett

21. Looking for Shakespeare in *Edward III* 517

Marina Tarlinskaja

Notes on Contributors 563

List of Illustrations

Photograph 1: Huang Xianglian as Juliet. Courtesy courtesy of the Contemporary Legend Theatre.

Photograph 2: Huang Xianglian as Romeo. Courtesy of the Contemporary Legend Theatre.

Photograph 3: The erotic triangle of Jinlong, Qiusheng, and Xiulan. Courtesy of Ho-Lo Taiwanese Opera Troupe.

Photograph 4: The Prince's sword dance. Courtesy of Zhao Zhigang.

Photograph 5: Zhao Zhigang as Hamlet. Courtesy of the Contemporary Legend Theatre.

General Introduction

This volume has been a long time coming. It started as a panel at the MLA convention in 2004 – "Shakespeare and China" – organized by Douglas A. Brooks and Lingui Yang. After much thought, the scope was broadened to Shakespeare and Asia to better reflect the volume's contents. This issue is one in a series of three issues of *Shakespeare Yearbook* commissioned by Douglas A. Brooks before he died tragically. Forthcoming are *Shakespeare and Lacan* and *Shakespeare after 9/11*. This issue is dedicated to the memory of Professor Brooks, a brilliant scholar, inspiring teacher, amazing friend and mentor, whose humor, kindness, and enthusiasm touched many.

Thanks are due to the contributors for their patience; Jim Harner, Jean E. Howard, and Anne Lake Prescott for their wisdom and advice; Boat Charoensombud for his technical expertise; and to the English departments at Texas A&M University and Columbia University.

16. A Movable Feast: The Liturgical Symbolism and Design of *The Tempest*

Roger Stritmatter and Lynne Kositsky

Hamlet. Why did you laugh then, when I said "man delights not me"?

Rosencrantz. To think, my lord, if you delight not in man, what
Lenten entertainment the players shall receive from you….

It is no secret that the Christian liturgical cycle served as a ceremonial template for the symbolic and devotional life of early modern theatrical audiences, and that many early modern plays, like their medieval antecedents, correspondingly owe their form and symbolism to particular liturgical associations. Many decades ago Sir E. K. Chambers had already noted, citing Chris R. Hassel, a "persistent correlation between the dates of dramatic performance at Elizabeth's court and certain liturgical festivals in the English church year."[1] Plays were frequently chosen – and sometimes written – for specific liturgical contexts: in England, of 328 Elizabethan court performances from 1558 to 1603, 289 – 88 percent – occurred on one of seven major festival days.[2] Close study of the devotional patterns of the English church year, urged Hassel, would "establish a new and major context for the understanding of Renaissance drama"[3] A flood[4] of subsequent studies attests to the potential of such a perspective for transforming critical awareness of the design and symbolism of early modern drama.

Among the most prominent of the festivals, both in England and on the continent, was pagan Carnival, appropriated by the Catholic Church as a period of license immediately preceding Lent and was renamed Shrovetide. The name of the festival derives from the Middle English verb, *schriven,* referring to the

penitential practices preceding Lent;[5] however, consistent with its pagan roots, in popular practice Shrovetide was a season of indulgence and symbolic and actual rebellion,[6] a sanctioned compensation for, and release from, the approaching deprivations of Lent.

In both the pictorial and the literary arts, the paradox of Shrovetide, its unique fusion of libidinal excess and piety, is emblematized as the "Battle of Carnival and Lent,"[7] exemplified in Brueghel's painting of the same title, as well as in Naogeorgus' anti-papist lampoon, translated and published in English in 1570:

> Now when at length the pleasant time of Shrovetide comes in place,
> And cruel fasting dayes at hand approch with solemne grace:
> Then olde and yong are both as mad, as ghestes of *Bacchus* feast,
> And foure dayes long they tipple square, and feed and never reast. (O3v)
>
> [They] seeke their Shroftide Bachanal, still crying every where,
> Where are our feastes become? alas the cruell fastes appere.
> Some beare about a herring on a staffe, and lowde doe rore,
> Herrings, herrings, stincking herrings, puddings now no more.
> And hereto joyne they foolish playes, and doltish dogrell rimes.
> And what beside they can invent, belonging to the times. (P1r)[8]

Brothels and theatres were popular targets of Shrovetide iconoclasm. So much so that Chambers describes the latter as being "at the mercy of the traditional rowdiness of the prentices on Shrove Tuesday."[9] In London crowds of apprentices and other young men, typically drinking, masked, and costumed and led by the Shrovetide equivalent of the "master of 'merry disports' with his retinue of ragged revelers,''[10] raised havoc in the streets and sometimes rioted. In *Time Vindicated* (1622) Ben Jonson has Fame denounce "lawless Prentices, on Shrove Tuesday" who "compel the Time to serve their riot: /for drunken Wakes, and strutting Beare-baitings, that savour only of their own abuses."[11] In one 1618 account "bands of prentices, 3,000 or 4,000 strong….on Shrove Tuesday and 1 May [perform] outrages in all directions."[12] In 1630 "youths arm'd with cudgels,

stones, hammers, tules, trowels, and handsawes, put the Playhouses to the sack and Bawdyhouses to the spoyle,"[13] and on Shrove Tuesday, 1617, a crowd of apprentices sacked Christopher Beeston's Cockpit theatre on Drury Lane.[14]

By the Middle Ages, Shrovetide had attained a prominence matched only by Christmastide as an occasion for merry-making and theatrical indulgence. During the fifteenth century, the secular drama of Continental Europe was "chiefly represented by the Shrovetide play [Germ. *Fastnachtspiel*], which undoubtedly trace[d] its origin to the mummeries and the coarse fun-making indulged in on special occasions, notably on Shrove-Tuesday."[15] The theme of the conflict between Carnival and Lent appeared often in early modern theatre of Shrovetide, and sometimes of other festivals as well; François Laroque identifies the central tension of *Love's Labour's Lost* as "the long struggle between Carnival and the love-making that goes with it on the one hand, and on the other Lenten meditation and study," and declares that "oppositions of this kind…are the very substance of festive comedies such as Nashe's *Last Will and Testament*, [and] are certainly particularly used by Shakespeare in his earliest comedies."[16]

In England, as on the continent, Shrovetide became a favorite occasion for both playing and playmaking, and the list of early modern plays known or suspected to have definite Shrovetide associations includes many prominent titles: *Hamlet,*[17] *Staple of News*,[18] *Merchant of Venice,*[19] *As You Like It,*[20] *Sapho and Phao*,[21] *Love's Labour's Lost,*[22] and at least three other plays and eight masques.[23] In his study of the masques definitely produced at Shrovetide, Hassel finds an unusual "intensity and frequency of correlation" between theatrical forms and the "liturgical and sociological motifs" of the festival.[24] More specifically, "the tension between [the] interwoven if contradictory festival strands" of license and penitence was found prominently expressed in the Shrovetide productions; this tension would exert "a significant influence upon the Shrovetide entertainments at court."[25]

Throughout the early modern period, Shrovetide was inextricably bound to the annual cycle of religious sentiment and expression. By the age of Shakespeare, from a theatrical as well as a sacramental or popular perspective, the festival had come to mark a critical transition in the English calendar. During Lent secular plays, like marriages,[26] were proscribed by tradition. On Ash Wednesday, the public theatres fell silent,[27] and the populace was compelled to devote itself to penitence and other religious matters until after Easter.

The Tempest as a Liturgical Play

The Tempest is not, of course, liturgical in the Medieval sense of a play designed to inculcate parishioners with the official Church doctrine and symbolism of the season. As Grace Hall emphasizes, the play enacts a burlesque parody of traditional religion. It draws on populist expectations and experiences of Carnival while at the same time confirms the deeper spiritual truths of Christian belief and practice:

> Drunk Caliban's High-day mocks a Christian ritual. All of the occupants of the "ship of souls" are immersed (baptized). A banquet, symbolizing communion, appears, but is not available to the "three men of sin." A wedding is performed. Caliban is taught a supreme lesson in mastership and becomes a candidate for "grace" – confirmation. A "holy" man and the king enter the magic circle to receive orders of a kind….Alonso undergoes a sea-change, a spiritual form of extreme unction. As penance, Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano trim Prospero's cell 'handsomely.'[28]

Both Grace Hall and R. Chris Hassel endorse the idea that the symbolism and action of *The Tempest* might reflect a particular liturgical context, but despite the considerable merits of their respective books they share the incorrect assumption that the relevant festival is Hallowmas, the date of the play's first recorded performance. Hassel, for instance, speculates that "the Hallowmas audience could have perceived that Prospero ideally exemplifies both the private and the public dimensions of [Hallowmas] commandments of the blessed as he

deals with Caliban's depraved troop and Alonso's with justice and mercy" and claims that "in [its] elaborate context of liturgical and sociological associations, *The Tempest* evidences a complex relationship to the festival."[29] Grace Hall tries to connect the play to the Hallowmas installation of the Lord of Misrule in the great houses of England, suggesting that "the custom can be applied to the play on several levels."[30]

Such theories have tended more to discredit the entire idea of the relevance of liturgical context to interpretation than to substantiate their own hypotheses. In an entire book focused on detailed study of the theological dimensions of *The Tempest*, Hall can write only two unconvincing pages on the play's liturgical context. In a book that brilliantly reveals the symbolic implications of the liturgical and sociological context of early English drama, Hassel's analysis of *The Tempest* is not only disappointingly brief, but wholly deficient in detail and textual resonance. No careful reader, no matter how sympathetic, can agree that he makes the case for an "elaborate context of liturgical and sociological associations" between play and hypothetical context.

The reason for these failures is not difficult to discern. Misplaced confidence in the completeness of the documentary record has led scholars down a dead-end path by initiating them into the assumption that *The Tempest*'s first recorded performance, 6 Nov. 1611, was its first *actual* performance. Anyone who has studied early modern theatrical records knows that this premise is a hazardous one.[31] In fact, as Penny McCarthy has recently emphasized, "there is no reason why Shakespeare's plays should have been originally written close to the first [documentary] record of their existence."[32] As we shall see, moreover, the Shrovetide dimensions of *The Tempest,* properly contextualized, are both more obvious and more profound than those of *Merchant of Venice* or *As You Like It.* Indeed, acknowledging the true liturgical context of the play provides a ready explanatory construct for many otherwise puzzling passages and opens fresh vistas on the play's genesis, structure, and symbolism.

Shipwreck and Tempest

A shipwreck precipitated by a tempest forms an apt prelude to a play written for special performance during an inversion festival. In Medieval iconography, the ship was a customary metaphor for both church and state, and it was the authority of these two institutions that was most jeopardized by the libidinous populism of the inversion festivals. Just as Shrovetide precipitates a symbolic conflict of authority on land, the storm provokes a conflict of authority on the ship: the king is over-ruled by the boatswain, but both king and boatswain are deposed when the ship goes down. This "who's in charge" theme permeates the play but is never resolved, since the magus Prospero, in the epilogue, transfers power to the audience when he begs them to decide his fate.

The simile of the tempest as a naturalized emblem of Shrovetide license appears in contemporary sources such as Naogeorgus' vivid account of German Shrovetide festivities: "with all their force throughout the streetes and marketplace they ron, / as if *some whirlewinde mad, or tempest great* from skies should come."[33] This carnival of the elements, orchestrated by Prospero, just as real storms were believed to be inflicted by God, precipitates Lenten penitence in the passengers: "the king and prince [are] at prayers. Let's assist them, for our case is as theirs" (1.1.46-47).[34] Penitence, and with it forgiveness, becomes a leitmotif of the play, culminating five acts later in Prospero's final appeal to the audience: "As you from crimes would pardon'd be, / Let your *indulgence* set me free" (epi. 19-20; our emphasis).

Indulgence is a double-edged word freighted with relevant liturgical ambiguity. In the sense of *license*, indulgence was a leading motif of Shrovetide festivities; Caliban's "work to rule" attitude and enthusiasm for drunken merriment express the popular view of the season as a time for escaping work and indulging the appetites. But *indulgence* also recalls the buying and selling of religious pardons, a controversial practice which, by the time of Martin Luther's defiance of the Church in 1517, had provoked one of the most inflammatory

theological disputes of the age. Lent, when the mind of the parishioner was focused on penitence and salvation, was for Catholics the prime season for trading in indulgences.

The patterned juxtaposition of license and contrition that François Laroque has identified as the festival pattern of numerous plays is prominently expressed in *The Tempest*, and is specifically related in the play to a Shrovetide festival context. Stephano, Trinculo and Caliban, celebrating Caliban's "High-day" with drinking, sacrilegious jesting, and a procession through the mire, exemplify the riotous indulgences of Carnival celebrants. Carnival love finds expression in the courtship of Miranda by Alonso's son Ferdinand. Most significantly, the play's plot even originates in Alonso's exploitation of Prospero's Lent-like retreat from worldly ambition, taking solace in meditation and "secret studies" (I.2.77). Throughout, the balanced juxtaposition of these two impulses constitutes a powerful integrating principle that accounts for much of the play's dramatic unity and force.

The Shrovetide Bestiary

At Shrovetide the beast became the symbol of man's own sinful nature, and like all Christian holy days the season possessed a characteristic bestiary, as described by Naogeorgus:

> Some like wilde beastes doe runne abrode in skinnes that diverse bee
>
> Arayde, and eke with lothesome shapes, that dreadfull are to see:
>
> They counterfet both Beares and Wolves, and Lions, fierce in sight,
>
> And raging Bulles. Some play the Cranes with wings & stilts upright.[35]
>
> Some like the filthie forme of Apes, and some like fooles are drest,

> Which best beseeme these Papists all, that thus keepe Bacchus
> feast.[36]

This pattern, like so many other Shrovetide motifs, is evident in extant dramas written for special performance during the festival. Aurelian Townshend's Shrovetide production *Tempe Restord* (1632) includes an episode of Circe transforming a young man into a lion, followed by an antimasque of Circe's other beasts, "Indians, and Barbarians, who naturally are bestiall, and other which are voluntaries, and but halfe transformed into beastes."[37] *Coelum Britannicum* (1634), another Shrovetide masque by Thomas Carew, includes an antimasque of "monstrous shapes…of Natural deformity."[38] Hassel illustrates the masque's Shrovetide character by remarking that "the familiar emblems of bestiality that have so often been paraded and shriven in the other Shrovetide masques"[39] appear as asterisms in Carew's work.

The Tempest, a play rich in animal symbolism with liturgical implications, follows this bestiary pattern. The *crowing* cock, which occurs in satiric form in Sebastian and Antonio's wager (2.1.27), and in lyric form in Ariel's song (1.2.385-386), would no doubt have been recognized by Shakespeare's contemporaries as a reference to Peter's denial of Jesus before the passion.[40] Ariel's disappearing banquet in Act 3 induces Sebastian to invoke two further emblems in the bestiary that share a special connection to the Lenten/Easter liturgy: "Now I will believe that there are unicorns; that in Arabia / There is one tree, the Phoenix throne; one Phoenix at this hour reigning there" (3.3.21-24).[41] The mythology, ostensibly fitted to the play's pagan otherworldliness, masks an esoteric Christian implication: the unicorn is a symbol of Christ and "the story of the Unicorn hunt has been read as an allegory of the Passion of Christ."[42]

As a prominent symbol of the Christian Passion the Phoenix is also a motif that corresponds to a liturgical festival that anticipates Easter:

> On the ninth day after [constructing its own funeral pyre], the bird rises from its own ashes. Our Lord Jesus Christ displays the features of this bird, saying: 'I have the power to lay down my life

> and to take it again' (see John, 10:18). If, therefore, the phoenix has the power to destroy and revive itself, why do fools grow angry at the word of God, who is the true son of God, who says: 'I have the power to lay down my life and to take it again'? For it is a fact that our Saviour descended from heaven; he filled his wings with the fragrance of the Old and New Testaments; he offered himself to God his father for our sake on the altar of the cross; and on the third day he rose again. [43]

Caliban, the "half fish, half man," "mooncalf," and "monster of the isle with four legs" (2.2.59), completes the Shrovetide tableau by serving as a symbolic mediation between man and beast, between Christ and the devil.[44] The character has recently been identified by Greenblatt and others as a personification of the European "wild man" or "Green man," a figure closely associated with Shrovetide festivities.[45] In the popular Shrovetide production *Orson and Valentine,*[46] as depicted by Breughel, the wild man (bearing an obvious symbolic kinship to Caliban) appears clothed in fish scales.

Among the most popular emblems of the season was Jack-a-Lent, a puppet made from a Leek and a Herring and set up on Ash Wednesday as a scapegoat for the deprivations experienced at Lent. Decorated with herrings, and pelted with missiles he became "both a manifest and a ubiquitous symbol of the long period of austerity and at the same operated as a kind of safety valve."[47] Caliban's likeness to this "ubiquitous" Lenten scapegoat, half man and half fish, hardly requires emphasis. On the other hand, Stephano and Trinculo's insistent labeling of Caliban as a "fish" – "legged like a man and his fins like arms" (2.2.30-31) also identifies him, paradoxically, with the figure of Christ in his most traditional and ubiquitous animal aspect.[48] In this reading, the "cannibal" Caliban becomes a dangerous jest on Christian religious practice as well as furnishing, in Christ's body, a symbolic complement to the wine of the Eucharist.

The play's English utilitarian Trinculo has profit on this mind: he thinks of Caliban as a circus animal, exploitable for financial gain, and even considers importing him to England as a tobacco-store Indian. Sebastian agrees: "A plain

fish and, no doubt, marketable" (5.1.265).[49] But Caliban is not just a commodity, and in the end it is he, more than any other reveler, who articulates the play's moral when he repudiates his idolatry of Stephano and fulfills the Christian mandate of the Lenten season by promising to "seek for grace" (5.1.296).

The *Tempest* Masque

Not coincidentally, the masque was a special Court favorite at Shrovetide.[50] More than any other dramatic form, it mirrored the aesthetic of Shrovetide by disintegrating the conventional antithesis between audience and performer, enacting a scripted Carnival for a select group of participants. The association between the play and the festival of Shrovetide therefore goes very far to account for the widely acknowledged "direct and large influence" of the masque genre in "shaping *The Tempest.*"[51]

Prospero's *Tempest* masque reflects the play's original liturgical context by staging the war of Carnival and Lent in a mythological register: the Lenten sobriety of Iris' speech – with "cold nymphs chaste crowns…[the] dismissèd bachelor….[and] sea-marge, sterile and rocky hard" (4.1.66-69) – contrasts with the harvest abundance of Ceres' betrothal song, celebrating "Honour, riches, marriage blessing…Earth's increase, foison plenty, / barns and garners never empty" (106-111). The hymeneal theme is also a manifestation of the Shrovetide context; because festival excess originated in rites of fertility [52] and marriages were traditionally proscribed during Lent, Shrovetide was a popular time for marriages and marriage masques. Figure One, the title page of Ben Jonson's 1608 Shrovetide production celebrating the wedding of Viscount Haddington to Lady Elizabeth Ratcliffe, illustrates the traditional association.[53]

As Ernest Gilman has noticed, moreover, Prospero's masque – framed by the disruptive threat of "Caliban's antimasque conspiracy" [54] – inverts the Jonsonian ideal in which the anarchic impulses of the anti-masque are subordinated to the measured harmonies of the main production. In the *Tempest*

"anti-masque" the carefully scripted rhetoric of Prospero's dramatic tableau dissolves into a disorderly improvisation in which the revelers exemplify the antics of Shrovetide rioters who "runne about the streets attyrde like Monks, and some like kings/Accompanied with pompe and garde, and other stately things"[55] during the customary Shrovetide suspension of sumptuary laws.

Ariel's intervention of baiting the "rabble" (4.1.37) – the word has distinct association with the riots so familiar on Shrovetide and other festivals of inversion[56] – with "glistering apparel" perpetuates the theatrical metaphor by putting the elaborate costumes of the masque to the practical use of quelling the upstart revelers. The scene is an extravagant parody of the anti-theatrical iconoclasm of the Shrovetide apprentices, whose disruptive antics were accompanied by masque and costume. But instead of attacking the theatres, the revelers attempt to murder the theatrical magus, Prospero. Ultimately, however, normative values do triumph, if only through the ironic deployment of Prospero's theatrical gambit. The conspirators may "know what belongs to a frippery" (4.1.226), but the temptation of gaudy clothing proves irresistible; through an inversion ritual of theatrical dress-up, their *literal* ambition to kill Prospero and to establish themselves as rulers of the Island is subordinated to the immediate gratification of *acting* the part of Kings and Viceroys. Only the "natural man" Caliban remains undistracted by Prospero's theatrical mousetrap, able to recognize "trash" (4.1.225), and focused on the practical goals of the revolution.

A leading characteristic of Shrovetide productions mirrored in *The Tempest* is their tendency to assume the form of what John G. Demaray has termed "spectacles of strangeness."[57] Chapman's *The Memorable Maske of the two Honorable Houses or Inns of Court,* performed on Shrove Monday, 1613-14, illustrates this trend. Chapman projects the traditional festive dichotomy between license and restraint into a geopolitical, colonial context. In the main masque, a dozen courtly Indians, sumptuously costumed in "bawdricks of gold [and] about their neckes Ruffes of feathers spangled with pearle and silver,"[58] and styled as

"Princes" and "Knights," celebrate the union of England and Virginia. The antimasque is populated with grotesque baboons, "attir'd like fantasticall travailers, in Neopolitane sutes, and greate ruffes,"[59] which not only parody Spanish colonialism but enact a New World Shrovetide bacchanal. *Tempe Restord* also replicates the theme of new world strangeness, displaying an antimasque of "Indians, and Barbarians, who naturally are bestiall, and other which are voluntaries, and but halfe transformed into beastes."[60] Like these two Shrovetide masques, *The Tempest* stages a "spectacle of strangeness," framing its own classical Apollonian masque within a "brave new world" inhabited by the drunkard monster Caliban and conspiratorial Neapolitans – "attir'd" – in the words of Chapman's own Shrovetide production – "like fantasticall travailers."

***Tempest* Design**

Not only does *The Tempest* contain a masque and illustrate the themes characteristic of extant Shrovetide masques, but the play as a whole exhibits an impressionistic, masque-like design. Framing the meta-theatrical tableau of Prospero's wedding masque, as Mark Rose has discovered, are three sets of paired scenes, featuring the lovers and Prospero (1.2;4.1); the Court Party (2.1; 3.3); and the Revelers (2.2; 3.2), and together constituting "an extraordinary triple frame comprised of distinct character groups."[61] The Shrovetide associations of these scenes are as rich as those in the play's central masque tableau. In preparation for the play's Eastertide climax each of the three major groups of characters undergoes a ritual experience analogous to the socially disruptive practices of Shrovetide and the penitential mortifications of Lent: Ferdinand's rash love for Miranda is tested by the Lenten impositions of his prospective father-in-law; the Court Party descends into a state of political anarchy and potential regicide before Ariel, theatrically appointed in the form of an avenging harpy, confronts Alonso, Sebastian, and Antonio with their vices; and the revelers, Trinculo, Stephano, and

Caliban, in drunken pursuit of "the tune of our catch played by the picture of Nobody" (3.2.126-27), are baptized in a pool of horse-piss.

The closer we look, the more apparent it becomes that the opposition between Shrovetide and Lent that Laroque has identified as the festival pattern of many plays is quite literally *omnipresent* in the *Tempest.* It has been ignored only because the theme is incompatible with a Hallowmas production context. Even the conflict between the play's two leading emblematic characters, Prospero and Caliban, embodies the Shrovetide paradox. In his relations with Caliban (as well as Ferdinand) Prospero personifies Lenten restraint and sometimes repression. Whether Caliban is seen as the European view of the new world savage as found in early sixteenth-century Spanish travel narratives, or as an ancestral memory of Europe's own green man, it is clear that he in turn expresses the cacophonous music of Shrovetide rebellion, staging and satirizing the revolt of the apprentice mobs that so often disrupted public order during the season: "Ban, Ban, Ca-caliban, Has a New Master – Get a New Man!" (2.2.160-61).

Correspondingly, when Sebastian and Antonio exchange barbs with the sanguine Gonzalo in the curious scene (II.2) of the court party's landfall, Shrovetide supplies both the form and the content of the exchange. Commentators since Pope – who regarded it as composed of "impertinent matter" – have often puzzled over the scene's linguistic labyrinth. Gonzalo strikes the first festive note when he exhorts Alonso to "be merry" (2.1.1), despite the apparent loss of Alonso's son,[62] and later echoes the phrase in his irritable allusion to the "merry fooling" (2.1.174) of his interlocutors. Such language was characteristically associated with Shrovetide: "Tis merry in hall, when beards wag all / And welcome merry Shrovetide" (*2 Henry IV* 5.3.12).[63] After Alonso declines Gonzalo's advice to adopt a cheerful persona, Sebastian envisions his monarch as a Lenten faster, forced to eat "comfort like cold porridge" (2.1.10).

The scene is Shakespeare's comically erudite version of the popular medieval form of the seasonal *certamen* (debate).[64] Although a high literary

genealogy of the form goes back to the eclogues of Theocritus and Virgil, a parallel folk practice was indigenous to early modern Shrovetide. *Flyting*, a contest of insults similar to the modern African-American tradition of "playing the dozens," was a sport of the season, if we may trust the evidence of manuscripts surviving from both Sweden[65] and Mediterranean Europe,[66] which both connect the practice to Shrovetide.

The *flyting* continues when Sebastian and Antonio mock Gonzalo and Adrian as the "cock'' and "cockerel," and take wagers for the ensuing "cock fight." Cock fighting with its associated gambling was the traditional sport of Shrove Tuesday, when the custom was augmented by the brutal additions of cock thrashing[67] – a sport in which a cock was tied to a stake, while young men threw rocks or sticks at it – and cock throwing.[68] These rituals were justified by the belief that the cock was an emblem of parricide.[69]

The debated themes – entertainment/grief and dollar/dolour – again reflect the antithesis between Shrovetide abundance and Lenten paucity. *Dolour* recalls the *via dolorosa,* the path of Christ's passion recapitulated in the Stations of the Cross*,* another Lenten pilgrimage closely associated with the idea of the Christian labyrinth. The conclusion of the wager is a *tour de force* of *flyting* wit; instead of betting dollars or dolours, the two cynics wager *a laughter* (2.1.27-36). The unexpected word, punning on a clutch of eggs, [70] trumps the Shrovetide symbolism. It not only extends the cock/cockerel imagery, as critics have recognized, but also reconciles the contraries of Shrovetide and Lent in a Janus-faced metaphor that looks *back* to Egg Saturday[71] as well as *foreshadowing* the Christian epiphany at Easter.

But laughter in the mouth of a cynic soon turns to tragedy. Adrian and Antonio's jocular "cock-throwing" of Gonzalo reverts to parricide as soon as the other courtiers fall into a dead sleep and the rebels plot the murder of the King of Naples, the *father* of his people.

Sex and Digestion

Sex and digestion were two dominant themes of the continental *fastnachtspiel,* both “bandied about all over Europe to the last shred of vulgarity”[72] and predictably both festival themes are prominent in *The Tempest*. Caliban’s predatory but procreative lust for Miranda – “would’t had been done” (1.2.349) – or promises to award her to Stephano – “she will become thy bed… / And bring thee forth brave brood” (3.2.96-97) – contrast with the lyrical, but masturbatory, imagery of

> ….broom groves,
> Whose shadow the dismissèd bachelor loves. (4.1.67)

A thread of bawdry runs through the play: the implied homoeroticism of Caliban and Trinculo under the gabardine receives repeated linguistic emphasis. Caliban is conceived as an erect “poor john” (2.2.27)[73]; Stephano asks Caliban to “bear [his] bottle” (2.2.152); responding to the image of Stephano as the man in the moon, Caliban declares “I have seen thee *in her*. I do adore thee. My mistress showed me thee, and thy dog, and *thy bush*” (2.2.118-19, emphasis supplied).

In the corresponding scene with Ferdinand and Miranda, this Shrovetide ribaldry is concealed behind the veil of romantic decorum and Lenten abstinence. But Ferdinand’s log carrying, a Lenten penitence imposed for his alleged rebellion, is also a Shrovetide joke on the male erection, as Miranda unconsciously acknowledges in her comical innocence: “If you’ll sit down, I’ll bear your logs the while” (3.1.24-25).

While the sexual imagery connects *The Tempest* with the *fastnachtspiel*, the themes of eating and digestion[74] confirm the link. Caliban, the play’s emblem of the appetitive impulse, announces the theme in one of his first lines: “I must eat my dinner” (1.2.332). Several of his subsequent speeches concern the obtaining of food on the island, but, like the question of authority, the issue of whether it provides Shrovetide abundance or Lenten dearth is never resolved. For his part, Prospero condemns Ferdinand to fast on the island’s Lenten fare: “Sea water shalt

thou drink. Thy food shall be / The fresh brook mussels, withered roots, and husks wherein the acorn cradled" (1.2.461-63); As previously mentioned, Trinculo, anatomizing his sensory responses to Caliban's "fish-like" smell, calls him a "poor-john" (2.2.26) – a salted fish emblematic of Lenten dietary prescriptions.

Within the court party, food is also a major topic of conversation, both literally and metaphorically. Alonso, for example, objects to Gonzalo's exhortations to Shrovetide cheerfulness, with a striking gustatory metaphor: "you *cram* these words into my ears against *the stomach* of my sense" (2.1.101-2, emphasis supplied). Among the courtiers, food becomes a subject for *flyting*. Expressing the Shrovetide optimism of nature's plenitude, Gonzalo expects that "nature should bring forth / Of its own kind all foison, all abundance / To feed my innocent people" (2.1.159-61); but Antonio, plotting the assassination of Alonso, ironically inverts Gonzalo's gustatory idealism in a series of food metaphors all illustrating the iniquity of his own nature: conscience shall be "candied" (2.1.276), Gonzalo is an "ancient morsel" (2.1.283) fit to be devoured, and the rest of the court party will "take suggestion as a cat laps milk" (2.1.285).

In his turn, Caliban regales the revelers with the wonders of the island, which recall Gonzalo's utopian vision of the new world as cornucopia:

> I'll show thee every fertile inch o'the isle….I'll show thee the best springs; I'll pluck thee berries; I'll fish for thee….bring thee where crabs grow….dig thee pig-nuts, / Show thee a jay's nest, and instruct thee how / to snare the nimble marmoset. I'll bring thee to clust'ring filberts….(2.2.125-148).

But after falling out with Trinculo, Caliban imitates Prospero's Lenten discipline of deprivation: "He shall drink nought but brine, for I'll not show him/Where the quick freshes are" (3.2.60-61).

Communion

Perhaps the most compelling instance of liturgical symbolism reflecting the conventions of the pre-Easter season is Ariel's appearing and disappearing

banquet (3.3), a literal "movable feast" (Shrovetide) followed by a period of abstinence (Lent). The scene's richly religious iconography is foreshadowed in Gonzalo's utopian perception that "our garments being, as they were drenched in the sea, hold notwithstanding their freshness and gloss, being rather new-dyed than stained with salt water" (2.1.63-66) and insistence that "our garments seem now as fresh as when we were at Tunis at the marriage of your daughter, who is now Queen" (2.1.97-99). This repeated invocation of the party's pristine garments is an early but definite indication that the communion service is imminent. The communicant, in the words of the 1559 Book of Common Prayer, should come "holy and clean to a most godly and heavenly feast, so that in no wise [he] come but *in the marriage garment,* required of God in Holy Scripture..."[75]

After the dancers bring on the banquet, an intriguing exchange between Francisco, Sebastian, and Alonso underscores the scene's liturgical implications:

> Fran. They vanished strangely.
> Seb. No matter, since
> They have left their viands behind, for we have stomachs.
> Will't please you taste of what is here?
> Alonso. Not I. (3.3.39-42)

Generically, *Viands,* from the French *la viande*, means food, including bread. To the early modern audience the entire episode would have evoked spontaneous reminiscence of the communion service, as Grace Hall has suggested.[76] The communion celebrates a "banquet of most heavenly food" while warning that those who receive dispensation without penitence do "nothing else but increase [their own] damnation." Alonso enacts the part of the communicant who "most unthankfully" refuses to attend the divine supper of communion:[77]

> Ye know how grievous and unkind a thing it is, when a man hath prepared a rich feast, decked his table with all kind of provision, so that there lacketh nothing but the guests to sit down, and yet they which be called without any cause most unthankfully refuse to come.…[78]

Like so many other symbolic elements of *The Tempest*, the strong emphasis on communion is a definite mark of the play's Shrovetide design. Not only is communion a recapitulation of the last supper and a commemoration of the resurrection of Christ, but participation in the rite was traditionally mandated during Lent, when parishioners were exhorted or even compelled to fulfill their religious observance.[79] While the court party is confronted with its sins, the revelers are lost in the labyrinth of Bacchic excess, another "indulgence" of Shrovetide that completes the parody of the communion. Stephano's wine bottle is both an ironic substitute for the Bible (he commands Caliban to "swear by" it (2.2.121) and a travesty of the offering of the wine (he asks Caliban to "bear my bottle" (2.2.1520) and "kiss the book" (2.2.127)) in the Eucharist.

Like the festival of Shrovetide itself, Prospero's feast is – quite literally – "movable." And when the banquet suddenly "vanishes" (3.3, s.d.) to signify the onset of Lent, Ariel appears dressed as the avenging harpy. His fiery denunciation of the courtiers imitates the brimstone sermons characteristic of the Lenten season[80] as well as following the pattern of the communion service:

> If any of [the partakers in communion] be an open and notorious evil liver, so that the congregation by him is offended, or have done any wrong to his neighbours by word or deed, the curate having knowledge thereof, shall call him, and advertise him, in any wise not to presume to the Lord's table, until he have openly declared him self to have truly repented and amended his former naughty life…[81]

Echoing the language of the communion, Ariel "calls and advertises" the "naughty lives" of Sebastian, Alonso, and Antonio: "you are three men of sin…" Standing on the table that once contained the vanished feast, he continues the *fastnachtspiel* emphasis on food and its digestion: "…whom the *never surfeited* sea / Hath caused to *belch* up you" (3.3.53-56: emphasis supplied). Eventually Prospero commends Ariel for this "devouring" (3.3.84) performance.[82]

The Tempest Labyrinth

Another powerful thematic connection between *The Tempest* and the practices of the Shrovetide season – the period from Shrovetide through Lent and Easter – is the play's iconography of the labyrinth. Treading the labyrinth was tradition during Lent, when the Christian penitent followed "the way,"[83] and this practice of using the labyrinth as a contemplative device, originating in very ancient times, still occurs in both pagan and Christian contexts throughout Europe and the near east, often at Lent.

Colin Still, writing about *The Tempest* as a mystery play, relates the role played by the maze in two ancient initiatory modes:

> While the Lesser Initiation was concerned with life and purgation from sin, the Greater Initiation was concerned with death and rebirth. For, as in the former, the aspirant trod the winding paths of an intricate maze that signified our mortal life, and came at last through repentance to that clarity of intellect which is self-finding and self-mastery, so in the latter he was deemed to go through the grave itself, that thereby he might come face to face with the Gods and learn the ultimate mysteries of existence…. [84]

The Christian maze or labyrinth[85] of the middle ages appears to have served an analogous ritual function. At least by the fifteenth century, walking the labyrinth replaced the Easter pilgrimage to Palestine for Christians unable to undertake the hazards and hardships of the actual journey (Catholic Bishops 1; Matthews 66-68).[86] The famous labyrinth at Chartres, originally constructed in the thirteenth century, even became known as the "chemin de Jerusalem"[87] or "chemin de paradis."'[88]

Arriving at the cathedral, the pilgrim entered the labyrinth and traced the route to the center rosette, pausing at each one of the fourteen labyrs, or turning points to pray ("sixth week").[89] The contemplative function of the maze as a device for inducing penitent reflection is illustrated in Figure 3, an emblem from Francis Quarles' influential *Emblems, divine and moral, together with Hieroglyphicks of the life of man* (1634), which pictures the world as a "Lab'rinth,

whose anfractious wayes, / Are all compos'd of rubs, and crook'd Meanders."[90] As well as replicating the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and representing the path of life, the Christian treading the labyrinth also recapitulated Christ's journey during the Passion. Reaching the center symbolized remission from sin, release from purgatory and, ultimately, salvation.

This pattern of peripatic salvation is duplicated in *The Tempest*.[91] The pilgrimage through Prospero's maze of illusions not only forms a microcosm of the larger "life" journey to Tunis and back to Naples and Milan but also symbolizes redemption through death and rebirth. Indeed, according to several leading critics, the maze is one of the *Tempest*'s primal metaphors. To Barbara Mowat the metaphor is deeply rooted in the play's classical sources as well as pivotal to its action and symbolism: "Prospero is the creator of *the maze in which the other characters find themselves*…. Gonzalo's 'Here's a maze trod indeed…'…picks up suggestively Ovid's description of that most infamous of mazes, created by Daedalus to enclose the Minotaur…."[92] Indeed, the maze not only constitutes the primary symbol of Prospero's magic, but is also the foundation of *The Tempest*'s aesthetic design, explaining many curious elements of plot and language. According to Vaughan and Vaughan, the metaphor saturates and determines much of the play's action, which largely consists of circumscribed

> geographic movement writ small. The first four acts conclude with an invitation to move on: 'Come, follow' (1.2.502); 'Lead the way' (2.2.183); 'follow, I pray you' (3.3.110); 'follow me and do me service' (4.1.266)….The characters perambulate in small groups from one part of the island to another; only at Prospero's final invitation, 'Please you, draw near' (5.1.319), do they join in one place. Although *their physical and psychological journeys through the island's maze* have ended, the play concludes with plans for a sea journey back to Milan…[93]

Each of the play's three shipwrecked parties wanders in Prospero's maze until reunited with the other two in the fifth act. In Act 2, Ariel leaves Ferdinand "cooling the air with sighs" and – as if implicated in a maze – "in *an odd angle* of

the isle, sitting / his arms in this sad *knot*"[94] (1.2.22-24, emphasis ours). In the court party, the maze references are less camouflaged. By the third act, the wearied Gonzalo announces,

> By'r lakin, I can go no further, sir;
> My old bones ache: *here's a maze trod, indeed,*
> Through *furth-rights and meanders*![95]
> (3.3.1)

By the fifth act, as the pilgrims approach Prospero's cell, at last nearing the sacred center of the labyrinth, Gonzalo's weariness is transfigured into the promise of new life, inspiring a benediction for Miranda and Ferdinand in which the maze symbolism resurfaces: "Look down, you gods, / And on this couple drop a blessed crown; / For it is you that have chalked forth the way" (5.1. 201-3). David Lindley glosses the phrase "chalking forth the way" as "marked out 'as a course to be followed' (OED Chalk v 4c)."[96] More specifically, the image invoked is that of a divinely sanctioned maze, marked out in chalk, as English turf mazes had been since time immemorial.

The treading of the maze has brought Alonso face to face with his wronged nemesis Prospero, led the revelers through the baptism of a horse-piss swamp, and yoked Ferdinand and Miranda in a betrothal that prefigures the sacrament of marriage and the reunion of two competing dynasties. Educated Elizabethans would have recognized Alonso's descending crown, recalling Prospero's "most auspicious star" (1.2.182), as an appropriate allusion to the *Corona Borealis*, otherwise know as Ariadne's crown. The constellation, which closely circles the polestar and "zenith" (1.2.181) of the northern hemisphere, was named after the legend of Theseus' escape from the labyrinth. No wonder that Alonso moralizes: "This is as *strange* a *maze* as e'er men trod" (5.1.241-244: emphasis supplied).[97]

Wonder is an appropriate response to the illusory "subtleties"[98] of Prospero's labyrinth, as well as the prerequisite to self-revelation: a maze induces a-maze-ment,[99] and as the court party and the revelers wend their way toward

Prospero's cell, the symbolic center of both island and island maze, each character enters a world of illusions that expresses his own subjectivity and nature. As James Walter has eloquently summarized, "The figures that establish the setting, oppositions of characters, and progression of plot in *The Tempest* make visible certain archetypal desires, states, and actions common to the experience of Christian pilgrims."[100]

Into the medieval fabric of labyrinth initiation symbolism Shakespeare has woven the emergent historical theme of New World exploration,[101] conflating Mediterranean and New World topographies as well as mapping the Lenten theme of ritual pilgrimage onto the historical paradigm of New World exploration and colonization. The confused wandering of *Tempest* characters through the Old-New World maze of Prospero's island explicitly recalls the missionary rhetoric of Peter Martyr, who justifies Christian New World evangelism as an antidote to "the illusions wherewith the people of the Ilande have byn seduced after the errours of the owlde gentilitie, and wandered in the ignorance and blyndenes of humane nature corrupted by the disobedience of owr first parentes, which hath remained in all nations…" (43).[102]

The physical perambulations are thus only the outward manifestation of a psychological journey of "torment, trouble, wonder and *amazement*" (5.1.104-5). As Gonzalo's synopsis unfolds, the "metaphor of unclarity"[103]– the maze – yields the rich fruit of self-knowledge:

> O, rejoice beyond a common joy, and set it down
> With gold on lasting pillars: in one voyage
> Did Claribel her husband find at Tunis;
> And Ferdinand, her brother, found a wife
> Where he himself was lost; Prospero his dukedom
> In a poor island; and all of us ourselves
> When no man was his own. (5.1.206-13)

Tempus and *Kairos*

Stephen Sohmer has noted Shakespeare's propensity for "calendrical

design," and in *The Tempest* this focus on the ritual divisions of time as a method of dramatic exposition is not only embedded in the etymology of "tempest,"[104] but is a structurally conspicuous reminder of the play's liturgical origins and symbolism, as three revealing examples illustrate. Prospero's ominous temporal emphasis in the words, "The hour's now come; / the very minute bids thee ope thine ear; / Obey, and be attentive" (1.2.36-38), echoes Christ's phrase on the cross – "the hour is come" (John 17.1 etc.)[105] – and alerts the listener to the play's religious and allegorical dimensions. As Grace Hall has observed,[106] the emphatic focus on *now* anticipates a hierophantic climax: sailors restored to life, the union of Miranda and Ferdinand, the rebirth of the revelers, the restoration of Prospero's Dukedom, and, above all, the symbolic action of Ariel's release from Prospero's bondage, an act which recapitulates Christ's release of his spirit to God in the crucifixion.

It is customarily believed that *The Tempest* adheres to the unities of time and place. Yet when Prospero *twice* declares that the elapsed time between the play's second scene and Ariel's release is actually "two days" (1.2.299; 1.2.419-20),[107] his words – once again – recall the gospel episode of the passion, which would have been on the minds of all Christian parishioners on the eve of Lent, when Jesus declares that his own crucifixion is imminent: "Ye know that *after two days* is the Passover, and the son of man is betrayed to be crucified" (Matt. 26:2).[108]

Prospero invokes a third temporal marker underscoring the play's liturgical symbolism when he announces that the time of Ariel's release will be at "six" (I.2.240); the marker is repeated later by Ariel as "the sixth hour, at which time my Lord, you said our work should cease" (V.1.4-5). In ancient and medieval traditions of liturgical time, the *hora sexta*, "sixth hour" or *sext,* corresponded to the modern twelve o'clock, usually mid-day. In pre-Christian times, this hour was already considered the most propitious time for prayer. In the Christian calendar, however, it came to have a particular significance during Lent.

Originally the Lenten fast was broken after Vespers in the evening, but the strictness of the practice was relaxed until, by the time of Charlemagne in the 8th century ("Lent"), the fast was often broken at *nones* in the mid-afternoon. At an even later period, *nones* – the root of our modern English word, noon – itself slipped back to the position of the *sexta hora*, and both the breaking of the Lenten fast and Vespers became offices of mid-day. Most significantly, as Grace Hall has observed (162), the Christian sixth hour was also the traditional moment of the crucifixion ("sext").[109] Thus, three major temporal markers of *The Tempest* manifestly connect the play to its original Shrovetide context and anticipate the rites of Easter.

Anticipations of Easter

The Phoenix (3.3.21-24) is an emblem for the play's larger, context-dependent theme of death and resurrection. As such, it illustrates a fundamental metaphysical principle of *The Tempest*'s symbolic design: the elaborate interweaving of Christian and Pagan symbolism, through which many ostensibly Pagan motifs and metaphors contain concealed Christian counterparts and vice versa. Perhaps for the reasons examined by Anthony Gash, critics have been slow to comprehend the play's relentless syncretism and have suppressed "the convergence of Christian theology with the terms in which Bakhtin describes the logic of carnival."[110] But if we return to the early modern frame of reference we can easily see that the interpenetration of Christian and pagan symbolic schema must have been unavoidable. Long before the advent of Christianity the motif of resurrection had been a characteristic theme of the Carnival season, celebrated in the fool, a figure traditionally subjected to a mock execution and resurrection/rebirth. With the spread of the Christian faith, the fool also came to prefigure the Christian cycle of death and resurrection, soon to be enacted at Easter.

Unsurprisingly, then, this syncretic Lenten theme is central to *The Tempest*,[111] in which it is manifested in many curious and particular modes. The most obvious instance involves Prospero, whose position as Duke of Milan is usurped, and who is exiled and thought dead, but who reveals himself and is ultimately promised restoration of his Dukedom by a repentant Alonso. The master, boatswain, and crew sleep through the action but are awakened at the end; Ferdinand and Alonso each think the other dead, but are reciprocally "resurrected" when they at last behold each other alive; the three revelers descend into the "filthy mantled pool" and are reborn in a parody of baptism.[112] All the characters on the ship are drowned in the "dire spectacle of the wrack" (I.2) but are reborn after a baptism "full fathom five." Even the failed murders of Alonso and Gonzalo by Sebastian and Antonio, and Prospero by the revelers, are in retrospect variants of the mock execution and resurrection theme.

Recapitulation: Our Revels Now Are Ended

To a certain extent it could be argued that the correspondences between the festival patterns documented in this essay and *The Tempest* would be suited to any number of liturgical occasions. According to François Laroque, for example, the theme of the clash of contraries is found in many Elizabethan dramas and even constitutes "the very substance of festive comedies."[113] But many aspects of the symbolic design identified in this essay – the oscillating pattern of Lenten penitence and Shrovetide excess, the metaphor of the labyrinth, the recurrent imagery of food and digestion, or the scenes of Shrovetide anti-theatricality, match no festival occasion *except* Shrovetide, and efforts to associate the play with other festival occasions, such as Hallowmas, have failed.

Our essay has shown, on the contrary, that reassessing *The Tempest* as a Shrovetide drama illuminates many particular details of the play's symbolism and design. The consequentiality of our thesis may perhaps best be underscored with one final example. For more than two centuries, the retrospective tone of the

concluding two scenes of *The Tempest* has commonly been interpreted in a biographical context. Even scholars reluctant to engage in the "biographical heresy" have often been unable to resist the temptation of conceiving Prospero as a projection of the author's own persona, and the play as his "farewell" to the stage. The tradition goes back at least to the Augustan age,[114] and since the nineteenth century has seemed to verify the commonly accepted 1611 date for the play's composition.

Although we have no particular reason to contest the biographical implications of an authorial Prospero, focus on the original context reveals a more objective register of meaning that would have been accessible to an early modern audience adapted to the seasonal cycle of theatrical performance. Shrove Tuesday was "the last taste of Christmastide,"[115] "a final explosion of riotous misrule just before the somber restraints of Lent."[116] Each year at Shrovetide the winter cycle of dramatic entertainment, which had buoyed spirits across the land since before Christmas, came to an abrupt halt. In such a context, *The Tempest*'s original Shrovetide audience would surely have recognized Prospero's announcement, "our revels now are ended" (4.1.148), as announcing the denouement of the Christmas revels' season. Secular plays, along with other sensuous indulgences, were replaced by the somber rituals of Lent, Prospero's actors reduced to "spirits…melted into thin air" as the "insubstantial pageant" (4.1.150). Unweaving his spell, Prospero leaves "not a racke'' – not even the staged *shipwreck*[117] – "behind" (4.1.156) as he completes the theatrical season and inaugurates the deprivations of Lent. It is difficult to imagine a more apt illustration of Shakespeare's uncanny genius for dramatic timing.

Although the chaos of carnival imbues *The Tempest* with its characteristic formlessness, so that its representations of Shrovetide, Lent and Easter vie with one another through successive scenes, the play also maps the stations of Christian devotion in a linear fashion. It moves from the Shrovetide revelry of Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban – mirrored in the murderous rebellion of

Sebastian and Antonio – through the Lenten imposition of the disappearing banquet, the repentance of Alonso and Caliban, and the "recalled to life" reunion of Alonso and Ferdinand. Prospero has plunged the shipwrecked parties into a maze, inducing in them the state of penitent wonder that is the purpose of Lenten discipline: "They being penitent, / The sole drift of my purpose doth extend / Not a frown further. Go, release them, Ariel" (5.1.28-30).

Given the liturgical context, it seems only logical that *The Tempest*'s sixth hour climax, when Prospero separates from Ariel, replicates the crucifixion; in the epilogue Prospero appears as the high priest of Lent[118] who has forgiven others their sins but requires reciprocal forgiveness. When he begs the audience for redemption, his words – "release me from my bands / With the help of your good hands" (ep. 9-10) – recall the gospel of Luke: "Father, into thine hands I commend my spirit" (23.46). Only in this case, in a very Old Testament – and Brechtian – turn, it is into the hands and the hearts of *the audience* that Prospero commends his spirit.

Evidence adduced in the present essay shows that both the symbolism and design of *The Tempest* are explicable on the premise that the play was written for Shrovetide performance. Indeed, so rich and detailed are the associations between Shrovetide and Lenten practices and the design of Shakespeare's play that it may safely be concluded that it was in fact written, as R. Christopher Hassel has said of Jonson's epiphany masques and *Twelfth Night,* "with the major outlines of the festival season firmly in mind."[119]

Notes

[1]R. Chris Hassel, *Renaissance Drama and the English Church Year* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 1.

[2]Ibid., 3.

[3] Hassel, *Church Year*, p. 3.

[4] See, for instance, in addition to Hassel's *Church Year*; François Laroque, *Shakespeare's Festive World: Elizabethan Seasonal Entertainment and the Professional Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 1991); Steve Sohmer, "12 of June 1599: Opening Day at Shakespeare's Globe," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 3.1 (1997): 1.1-46. http://www.shu.ac.uk/emls/03-1/sohmjuli.html; Molly Carter, "Who is Jack a Lent? Personifications of Shrovetide and Lent in 16th and 17th Century England" Presented at the International Ethnological Conference on the Ritual Year, March 20-24, 2004. Abstract at: http://www.geocities.com/studjumalti/ ritual_year_conference_abstracts.htm; Juliet Dusinberre, "Pancakes and a Date for *As You Like It*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 54. 4 (2004): 371-405; and Steve Roth, "Hamlet as The Christmas Prince: Certain Speculations on *Hamlet*, the Calendar, Revels, and Misrule," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 7.3 (January, 2002): 5.1-89 http://www.shu.ac.uk/emls/07-3/2RothHam.htm.

[5] Shriving was an intrinsically reciprocal religious rite, meaning both to hear or to receive confession *and* to give or receive absolution.

[6] As Stephen Roth, "Christmas Prince," notes, "Shrovetide was intimately related to rebellion – both in fact and in 'act.'"

[7] Hassel, *Church Year*, 118.

[8] That these excesses did not disappear with the advent of Protestantism is witnessed by many accounts, among them, Henri Misson de Valbourg's 1698 eyewitness account of the Carnivalesque atmosphere of London on Shrove Tuesday, quoted in François Laroque, *Shakespeare's Festive World*, 100:

> I have sometimes met in the streets of London a woman carrying a figure of straw…preceded by a drum, and followed by a mob, making a most grating noise with tongs, gridirons, frying-pans and saucepans.

[9] E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923)1: 265.

[10] Hassel, *Church Year*, 122.

[11] C.H. Herford, and Evelyn Simpson (eds). *Ben Jonson* 11 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941) 7:633.

[12] Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, 1.265, n. 1.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, 1.256, n. 1.

[15] The tradition of Shrovetide dramatic performance was particularly strong in Germany. Most extant *Fastnachtspiel* manuscripts are anonymous productions of the fifteenth century, but the genre achieved its greatest success at the hands of Hans Sachs (1494-1576), Macropedius (1487-1558, North Brabant), and Jakob Ayrer (1543-1605, Nuremburg), the later of whom "blended the tradition of the Shrovetide play with the innovations of the English Comedians in his dramatic works" ("German Baroque Literature," *The Literary Encyclopedia* http://www.litencyc.com/php/stopics.php?rec=true&UID=1332. Accessed December 27, 2005.

[16] Laroque, *Festive World*, 203.

[17]Roth, "Christmas Prince."

[18] Divra Rowland Kifer, "*A Staple of News*: Jonson's Festive Comedy," *Studies in English Literature*, 1500-1900 12.2 (1972): 329-344.

[19] Alvin Kernan. *Shakespeare, the King's Playwright* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Hassel, *Church Year*, 116-118.

[20] Juliet Dusinberre, "Pancakes and a Date for *As You Like It*." *The Merchant of Venice*, in particular, has received frequent attention for its Shrovetide associations, in part because it was performed twice during Shrovetide, 1605. Kernan suggests that *Merchant's* masquing episodes were recognized by the royal audience as dramatic representations of Shrovetide revelry (70). In *Merchant* "the imperfect blending of this paradoxical [Lenten] half of the Shrovetide perspective among the Christian and romantic characters of the play" becomes the factor "that separates them from all of Shakespeare's other major comic characters and…invites the ironic perspective to coexist with the romantic one" (Hassel, *Church Year*, 117).

[21] Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, 4; 100.

[22] Laroque, *Festive World*, 203.

[23] Hassel, *Church Year*, 114.

[24] Ibid., 112.

[25] Ibid.

[26] "Banns of Marriage," *Catholic Encyclopedia Online*; Cressy, David. "The Seasonality of Marriage in Old and New England," *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 16.1 (1985), 1.

[27] Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages. Volume Three: Plays and Their Makers to 1576* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981); Gerald Eades Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage: Plays and Playwrights.* 7 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956). According to Wickham, "the idea of Lent, as a period of obligatory abstinence and penitential reflection in preparation for the rejoicing of Easter, militated positively against any form of display or festive celebration" (24). By the Elizabethan period, however, the traditional prohibition was weakening, and Lenten plays had to be formally prohibited by Act of the Privy Council March 13, 1578/79. Bentley (7: 1) notes that the proscription was reinforced inconsistently, and by 1615 was noticeably weakened through the use of dispensations, paid to the Master of the Revels, allowing performance during Lent except for Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sermon-Days. But even through the reigns of James and Charles I Lent remained a low water mark in the annual production cycle, and "the London theatres were not open for business as usual during the weeks before Easter" (7:2 2).

[28] Grace Hall, *The Tempest as Mystery Play: Uncovering Religious Sources of Shakespeare's Most Spiritual Play* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., 1999), 29.

[29] Hassel, *Church Year*, 170.

[30] Hall, *Mystery Play*, 31.

[31] Not only is it the case that, in principle, the survival of evidence is an exception to the general rule that evidence is lost over time, but in practice literary historians are aware that early modern theatrical records, partly for well-known reasons, are notoriously incomplete.

[32] Penny McCarthy, "Some Quises and Quems: Shakespeare's True Debt to Nashe,"" *Shakespeare Yearbook* 14 (2005), 176.

[33] Thomas Naogeorgus, *The Popish Kingdome, or reigne of Antichrist, by T. Naogeorgus, englyshed by B. Googe.* (The Spiritual Husbandry) (London: H. Denham for R. Watkins, 1570). STC 15011. P1r, emphasis supplied.

[34] All quotations from *The Tempest* come from the Arden edition, edited by Virginia Mason and Alden T. Vaughan (London: Thompson Learning, 1999).

[35] Is this reference to a survival of the very ancient "Crane Dance," also known as the "Troy Dance," which since pre-Platonic days had been closely associated with the labyrinth and its Trojan roots? (See W.H. Matthews, *Mazes and Labyrinths: Their History and Development* (1922) [New York: Dover, 1970], 158-162).

[36] Neogeorgus, *Popish Kingdome*, O4r.

[37] Townsend, Aurelian. *Tempe Restord. A Masque Presented by the Queen and Fourteen Ladies, to the King's Majesty at Whitehall, on Shrove-Tuesday, 1631* (London: Printed by A.M. for Robert Allet and George Baker, 1631), Bi r.

[38] Carew, Thomas. *Coelum Brittanicum. A Masque at White-Hall in the Banquetting-House on Shrove-Tuesdeay Night, the 18th of February, 1633* (London: Printed for Thomas Walkley, 1634),Cir.

[39] Hassel, *Church Year*, 132.

[40] The peacock (4.1.74) would have signified immortality and Christ in the resurrection, the dove (4.1.94) the holy ghost, especially in representations of the baptism of Christ; and the lion, implicit in Ariel's name, Jesus himself.

[41] Incidentally, the passage suggests that Queen Elizabeth was alive when this play was written: her association with the Phoenix is too well known to require detailed exposition. As early as 1574 medallions were struck bearing her image on one side and the phoenix on the other, and in 1575 she sat for the "Phoenix portrait" by Nicholas Hilliard wearing one. Jonson's *Chloridia,* a 1630 Shrovetide masque, also features Juno and Iris as prominent characters. We pursue the question of *Tempest* chronology in detail in Stritmatter and Kositsky, "An Elizabethan *Tempest*," forthcoming in *The Shakespeare Yearbook*.

[42] Lucia Impelluso, *Nature and Its Symbols*, trans. Stephen Sartarelli (The J. Paul Getty Museum: Los Angeles, 2004), 368, 372.

[43] The Aberdeen Bestiary, http://www.mythfolklore.net/medieval_latin/08_physiologus/supp/phoenix.htm. Accessed June 16, 2006.

[44] In Shakespeare's pagan pretext, the myth of Theseus in the labyrinth, a monster plays a critical role. Not surprisingly, several species of monster including "dewlapped bulls" and "men whose heads stood in their breasts" (3.3.45-47) – together suggesting the emblem of the minotaur – assume a role in the play's cosmic landscape.

[45] In England the Green Man's official day of celebration was St. George's Day, 23 April, but one of his early appearances in the opening days of spring fell on Shrovetide.

[46] Laroque, *Festive World*, 295.

[47]Ibid., 104.

[48] It has sometimes mistakenly been supposed that the symbolism of Christ as *'ιχθυς*, a commonplace of ancient symbolism, did not survive into the Renaissance. The iconographic evidence, however, proves the durability and continuity of the symbolic association. (See Impelluso, 344-45)

[49] In one of Shakespeare's ultimate ironies, it is the Europeans, rather than the "sauvage" Caliban, who cannot refrain from imagining other humans as food.

[50] Shrovetide was one of six festival holidays that "would have been incomplete without masquing and disguising" (Felix E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama, 1558-164*. [New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1908], 97).

[51] C.L. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1959), 129 n. 9. It has sometimes been supposed that the masque is an afterthought, added to *The Tempest* to honor an aristocratic marriage. The symmetrical placement of the scene as the play's "crucial emblematic tableau" (Rose 173), framed on each side by four equivalent and rhythmically juxtaposed scenes, contradicts this hypothesis; the masque is both a structural and a thematic focal point, and its imagery serves to underscore the play's liturgical context.

[52] "At Shrovetide, but especially on Shrove Tuesday, everyone must dance, if the flax, the vegetables and the corn are to thrive" (James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 8. 326).

[53] Like the *Tempest* masque, Jonson's Shrovetide play anticipates a harvest: "in nine moones, there may be borne / A babe, to uphold the fame / Of Radcliffes blood and Ramsey's name" (Herford and Simpson 7: 263).

[54] Ernst Gilman, "'All Eyes': Prospero's Inverted Masque," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33.2 (Summer 1980), 228.

[55] Naogeorgus, *Popish Kingdome*, O4r.

[56] Laroque, *Festive World*, 98.

[57] John G. Demaray, *Shakespeare and the Spectacles of Strangeness: The Tempest and the Transformation of Renaissance Theatrical Forms* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1998), 7.

[58] George Chapman, *The memorable maske of the two honorable houses or Innes of Court; the Middle Temple, and Lyncolns Inne*. (London: G. Eld, 1613). STC 4981, A2.

[59] Ibid., Av.

[60] Ibid., Bi r.

[61] Barber, 173.

[62] Alonso's loss may be seen to prefigure the loss of the son of God at Easter.

[63] The association is an early modern commonplace. The prologue to *Staple of News,* a play thought to have been written for Shrovetide, emphasizes the connection between the festival and "merrymaking": "*I am* Mirth, *the Daughter of* Christmas, *and Spirit of* Shrovetide. *They say,* It's merry when Gossips meet; *I hope your Play will be a merry one!"* (Herford and Simpson, 6: 279, emphasis original).

[64] A literary type most familiar to scholars through *Conflictus veris et Hiemis,* attributed to the 8th century Englishman Alcuin.

[65] Lief Søndergaard & Thomas Pettitt, "*The Flyting of Yule and Lent*: A Medieval Swedish Shrovetide Interlude," in *The Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages,* ed. Clifford Davidson. (Brooklyn: AMS, 2005). 297-307.

[66] A.P. Campbell, "A Debate Between Shrovetide and Lent," *Bulletin Du Conge, Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (Leiden: Brill, 1977) 115-123.

[67] Bat-fowling, a mode of catching birds at night by holding a torch and beating the bush until the birds flew into the light and were caught with nets, is a kind of primal cock-thrashing and therefore also corresponds to the pattern of Shrovetide symbolism.

[68] From the start the exchange among the four courtiers continues the predominant theme of festival contraries:

> *Seb*. Look, he's winding up the watch of his wit,
> By and by it will strike.
> *Gonz*. [to Alonso] Sir—
> *Seb*. One: tell.
> *Gonz.* When every grief is entertained
> That's offered, comes to the entertainer—
> *Seb.* A dollar.
> *Gonz.* Dolour comes to him indeed. You have spoken truer than you
> purposed. (2.1.12-20)

[69] Wagner, Leopold. "Secular Observances," in *Manners, Customs, and Observances.* 1894. http://www.sacred-texts.com/etc/mco/ml13.htm

[70] *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971) 1.1579.

[71] The Saturday before Shrove Tuesday, named after the practice of consuming as many eggs as possible before the prohibitions of Lent.

[72] Martha Fletcher Bellinger, "Moralities, Farces and Interludes of the Middle Ages," in *A Short History of the Drama* (New York: Henry Holt, 1927), 138-44.

[73] "'Tis well thou art not fish; if thou hadst, thou hadst been poor John. Draw thy tool; here comes two of the house of the Montagues" (*Romeo and Juliet* 1.1.19).

[74] At Shrovetide households customarily used up all their rich foodstuffs, including eggs, fat, and cream, in one last Rabelaisian fling. After Lent began, together with these rich foods, meat was proscribed.

[75] "The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion as Written in the Book of Common Prayer, being the 1604 Edition." Accessed online at http://www.oremus.org/ (emphasis ours).

[76] Hall, *Mystery Play*, 29. The table is left onstage throughout Ariel's speech and is only removed by the spirit dancers after he vanishes in a clap of thunder, a feature which underlines the liturgical character of the entire episode by recalling doctrinal debates over the communion table, which after the 1552 Prayer book was, under Edward VII and Elizabeth, substituted for the altar.

[77] Alternatively, *viands* can mean "meat," in which case the scene acquires a religious meaning specifically suited to a play staged on the eve of Lent: Alonso will not break the Lenten fast triggered by Ferdinand's death to consume forbidden food.

[78] "Order for the Administration."

[79] Johann Heinrich Kurtz, *Church History* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1889), 2:111.

[80] See, for example, John Donne's 3 March 1619 Whitehall sermon: "since the woe in this Text is not S. John wo? His iterated, his multiplied wo*, Vae, vae, vae habitantibus terram*, a woe of desolation upon the whole world…" (See George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, eds. *The Sermons of John Donne.* 10 vols. [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955] 2. 349).

[81] "Order for the Administration."

[82] Sebastian's gratuitous emphasis on anatomy in the same scene – for "we have stomachs" – also recalls the sensuous indulgences of the *fastnachtspiel*.

[83] The Christian liturgical association between the maze and Lent endures, and modern contemplative works, both Protestant and Catholic, still stress it: "The journeys of Lent and of life are seldom straight roads; usually they are like complicated mazes or labyrinths. While we often can feel lost along the complex twisting patterns of the labyrinth path, traveling the maze of the Way is the greatest of all adventures" (Edward Hays, *The Labyrinth Cross of Lent* [Ave Maria Press, 1994], as excerpted at http://www.homilies.com/index_homilies_daily.htm).

[84] Colin Still. *Shakespeare's Mystery Play: A Study of the Tempest* (London: Cecil Palmer, 1921), 58.

[85] The modern practice is to distinguish sharply between mazes and labyrinths, but this distinction is anachronistic for the early modern period, as Charles Chiasson clarifies, "Doob underscores the discrepancy between the 'multicursal' labyrinth of the literary tradition, with its numerous points of choice between two of more paths that may lead nowhere, and the 'unicursal' model of the visual arts, a single winding path that leads inevitably to the center, without any internal choices. Since this distinction goes virtually unnoticed by classical and medieval writers, Doob proposes an inclusive pre-Renaissance model of the labyrinth that defines the maze as a complex artistic structure with a circuitous design that may imprison or enlighten the maze-walker as it prevents or controls access to the good or evil that lies at its center." See "Review of *The Idea of the Maze from Classical Antiquity through the Middle Ages,*" *Phoenix* 48.1 (1994): 83-85; 84. (Rev. of Penelope Reed Doob, *The Idea of the Labyrinth from Classical Antiquity Through the Middle Ages* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990.])

[86] But see Doob, *Labyrinth*, for the view that this is a late and misleading interpretation.

[87] "Road to Jerusalem.''

[88] "Road of Paradise." – See also "Labyrinth" *Catholic Encyclopedia. New Advent.* http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08728b.htm. Accessed 14 Jan. 2006 – which corroborates the devotional nature of the labyrinth: "labyrinths were supposed to have originated in a symbolical allusion to the Holy City, and certain prayers and devotions doubtless accompanied the perambulation of their intricate mazes."

[89] In critical respects, the Christian labyrinth of the Middle Ages appears to prefigure the Stations of the Cross. Although the Stations were not established until later, both practices were traditional at Lent. The fourteen labyrs of the Medieval labyrinth are replicated in the fourteen Stations of the Cross. Like walking the labyrinth, visiting the Stations of the Cross came to replace the Easter pilgrimage to Palestine for Christians unable to undertake the hazards and hardships of the actual journey (Catholic Bishops, "Stations of the Cross: The Labyrinth," *New American Bible, Unites States Conference of Catholic Bishops*. 2003. http://www.labyrinths.org/resources/ stationscross05.pdf. Accessed 16 June 2006; see also, Matthews, 66-68). Indulgences are also closely associated with the Stations, which had originated as "special stopping-places with indulgences attached" and later became formalized. (See "Way of the Cross," *Catholic Encyclopedia.* http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/ 5569a.htm. Accessed 14 Jan. 2006).

[90] Quarles, Francis. *Emblems, divine and moral, together with Hieroglyphicks of the life of man / written by Francis Quarles*. (Savoy: Printed by J. Nutt, and sold by E. Nutt, 17--?) Preface dated 1634. Accessed 15 July, at Penn State University Libraries Emblem Book Archive, http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/quarltoc. htm, 189.

[91] The association between Shrovetide and the labyrinth is conventional in early modern drama and would have been readily recognized by Shakespeare's audience. Daedalus even appears as the narrative voice of Jonson's Shrovetide masque, *For the Honour of Wales*, constructing a knot so cunningly interwoven that "ev'n th'observer scarce may know / Which lines are pleasure's and which are not" (225-27) and R. Chris Hassel calls him the "most important interpreter of the Shrovetide festivities" (132), one who "understands [the paradoxical merging of pleasure and virtue] better than any… subsequent interpreters of this Shrovetide tradition" (129).

[92] Barbara Mowat, "*The Tempest*: A Modern Perspective," in *The Tempest*, ed. Barbara Mowat and Paul Werstine (New York: Washington Square Press, 1994), 196 (emphasis ours). David Lindley's New Cambridge edition (*The Tempest* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002]), illustrates the significance of the maze metaphor in the play with an emblem from Francis Quarles.

[93] Introduction, in *The Tempest*, ed. Virginia Mason Vaughn and Alden T. Vaughan (London: Thompson Learning, 1999), 17 (emphasis ours).

[94] In 1350, Higden, monk of Chester wrote "Rosamund was the fayre daughter of Walter, Lord Clifford, concubine of Henry II, and poisoned by Queen Eleanor, AD 1177. Henry made for her a house of wonderful working, so that no man or woman might come to her. This house was named Labyrinthus, and was wrought like upon a knot in a garden called a maze. But the queen came to her by a clue of a thredde, and so dealt with her that she lived not long after.

> And peg thee in his knotty entrails till (1.2.347)
> If thou dost break her virgin knot before (4.1.17)

[95] These terms apparently refer to the straight (forthright) and curved (meandering) elements of the traditional Church labyrinth. Their use in this context underscores the vitality of the maze as *Tempest* metaphor.

[96] Lindley, *Tempest*, 210.

[97] This spiritual journey of the court party is shadowed by the drunken perambulations of the revelers Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo, whose wandering through den and mire follows the same pattern of "geographic movement writ small"(Vaughan and Vaughan, 17).

[98] The early modern connotations of the Prospero's word for the island's illusions, *subtleties* ("you do but taste some subtleties of the island"), are both more intellectual and more morally ambiguous than currently, and are specifically applied, for instance, in Jerome Cardano's *De Subtilate,* to the use of mechanical contrivances designed for creating illusions, consistent with OED 4. "… A cunning or crafty scheme, an artifice, dodge" (II: 3132).

[99] In the early modern lexicon the negative polarity of *amazement* predominated, as in OED 1. "Causing distraction, consternation, confusion, dismay; stupefying, terrifying, dreadful."

[100] Walter, James. "From Tempest to Epilogue: Augustine's Allegory in Shakespeare's Drama," *PMLA* 98.1 (1983), 62.

[101] See Roger Stritmatter and Lynne Kositsky for details, "'O Brave New World': *The Tempest* and *De Orbe Novo,"* Forthcoming in *Critical Scrutiny*.

[102] Eden, Rycharde. *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India by Pietro Martire d' Anghiera (f.p. 1555).* Readex Microprint. 1966. In the preface to *Decades*, Eden glosses the New World project with a typological precedent from Isaiah 66: "Of them that shall be saved, I wyl sende sum to the gentyles in the sea, into Aphrike ande Libia, Italie, and Grecia, and into the Ilandes a farre of, to them that have not harde of me, and have not seene my glory"(civ).

[103] Aercke, Kristiaan P. "'An Odd Angle of the Isle': Teaching the Courtly Art of *The Tempest*," in *The Tempest and Other Late Romances*, ed. Maurice Hunt (New York: Modern Language Association, 2001), 149.

[104] *Tempest* is closely cognate with words for time in several indo-European languages. Etymology online derives it from "O.Fr. t*empeste* (11c.), from V.L. **tempesta* from L. *tempestas* (gen. *tempestatis*) "storm, weather, season," also "commotion, disturbance," related to *tempus* "time, season," stating that "sense evolution is from "period of time" to "period of weather," to "bad weather" to "storm." Words for "weather" were originally words for "time" in languages from Russia to Brittany" (http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=tempest&searchmode=none, accessed 9-12-07).

[105] John 17:1: "These words spake Jesus, and lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, Father*, the hour is come*; glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee." The phrase is a refrain in the New Testament, viz: Mark 14 .41: "And he came the third time, and said unto them, Sleep henceforth, and take your rest: it is enough: the hour is come: behold, the Son of man is delivered into the hands of sinners." John 7:30: "Then they sought to take him: but no man laid hands on him, because *his hour was not yet come*." John 8:20: "These words spake Jesus in the treasury, as he taught in the temple: and no man laid hands on him; for *his hour was not yet come*." John 13:1: "Now before the feast of the passover, when Jesus knew that *his hour was come* that he

should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end." All Biblical quotations are from the 1599 Geneva Bible.

[106] Hall, *Mystery Play*, 161-62.

[107] As Tom Driver – "The Shakespearian Clock: Time and the Vision of Reality in *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Tempest*," *Shakespeare Quarterly,* 15.4 (1964): 363-370 – notes, there are definite further indications that the unity of time has not been observed in the play, for instance Ferdinand's remark "'Tis fresh morning with me when you are by at night"(III.1.34-45), which makes no sense if their acquaintance is less than a day old (366).

[108] All quotations are from the Geneva Bible, modern spelling text.

[109] Matt. "Now from the sixth hour was there darkness over all the land, unto the ninth hour."

[110] Gash, Antony. "Shakespeare, Carnival and the Sacred*: The Winter's Tale* and *Measure for Measure*," in Knowles, 177.

[111] Cf. the peculiar debate over Tunis as a resurrection of Carthage (2.1.76-86).

[112] Baptism of new Christians was customary at Lent, a theme particularly evident in the comic fate of the revelers, and so Ariel describes the revelers as so "red hot with drinking" that they are transformed at the sound of his tabor into "unbacked colts" – a popular emblem of lust – which he leaves "dancing up to th' chins" (4.1.171; 176; 183) in the mire. This submersion in the pool parodies the play's shipwreck scene, and the Christian sacrament of baptism, a practice mocked in popular rituals of Shrovetide:

> Some others beare upon a staffe their fellowes horsed hie,
> And carie them unto some ponde, or running river nie,
> That what so of their foolish feast, doth in them yet remayne,
> May underneth the floud be plungde, and wash't away againe.
> (Naogeorgus P1r)

[113] Laroque, *Festive World*, 203.

[114] See, e.g. Chetwood, W.R. *The Life and Writings of Ben Jonson* (Dublin, 1756; 1970 Garland Press Reprint, New York).

[115] Hassel, *Church Year*, 112.

[116] Ibid., 113.

[117] See Furness (212-17) for a summary of the intense nineteenth-century debate on this topic. Dyce (cited in Horace Howard Furness, *The Tempest: A New Variorum Edition* [New York: Dover Press, 1964], which is a reprint of the J. B. Lippincott & Co. edition of 1892.) illustrates numerous parallels from seventeenth-century texts spelling "rack/e" for "wrack/e." It would seem that the twentieth-century tendency to emphasize the meteorological meaning diminishes the word's poignant aesthetic implications.

[118] The idea of the high priest, a mediator between god and man who, like Prospero experiences the frailties of the flesh ("One of their kind, that relish all as sharply, / Passion as they…" [5.1.23]) yet remains free from sin, is critical to the doctrines of Lent. *The Catechism of the Catholic Church* states, "'For we have not a high priest who is unable to sympathize with our weaknesses,

but one who in every respect has been tested as we are, yet without sinning' [Heb. 4:15]. By the solemn forty days of Lent the Church unites herself each year to the mystery of Jesus in the desert." (*Catechism of the Catholic Church*. Second Edition. http://www.scborromeo.org/ccc/p122a3p3.htm#540. Accessed 14 July 2006, 540).

[119] Hassel, *Church Year*, 126.