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Shakespeare's (Un)fortunate
Travellers:
Maritime Adventures across the
Genres

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INTRODUCTION

BY

CHRISTINA WALD AND FELIX SPRANG

Shakespeare's (Un)fortunate Travellers: Maritime Adventures across the Genres

From *The Comedy of Errors* to *The Tempest* Shakespearean drama is imbued with maritime adventure, drawing on the larger cultural appeal which oceanic spaces clearly held for early modern travellers. Maritime adventures both connect the homely land-locked places and potentially disrupt all man-made lines of cultural connection. Shipwreck is part of this wager, a necessary figure of the risks incurred through human efforts to shape and forge the future, frequently enacted on the stage. Plays such as *The Merchant of Venice*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Pericles* and, of course, *The Tempest* explicitly point to the dangers involved in seafaring, but the spectacle of risk also surfaces in the rhetoric of many other plays and, indeed, in many narratives and poems whenever navigation provides a repertoire of tropes.

Plots based on maritime adventure are by no means just confined to drama, but are frequently involved in tales and travelogues. Some of the most appealing scenes in prose narratives, such as the romances by Sidney and Greene, in fact are scenarios of shipwreck and have, among others, inspired Shakespeare when writing his plays. Biblical accounts like St Paul's shipwreck in the Acts or the tale of Jonah, too, serve as a further source of inspiration and of figurative meaning, manifest in poems such as Donne's *Hymn to Christ, at the Author's Last Going Into Germany* or in emblems such as Alciato's *Spes proxima*.

The papers in this volume address the question how maritime adventures travelled from the page to the stage and back to the page. What narrative devices, what rhetorical figures and what performative strategies are in each case used to represent the vast illimitable spaces and the terrors of the sea which, strictly speaking, always exceed representation? In what ways and with which terms is this problem of representation addressed in stories, plays or poems, in specific performances or screenings?

The contributions to this volume address these questions. Paul J.C.M. Franssen investigates colonial myth-building in fictional texts from the 20th century that present Shakespeare as a character engaged in colonial endeavours. Kirsten Sandrock explores generic features and traditional narratives in *The Tempest* arguing that travel narratives and reports of sea voyages had a decisive influence on the structure and theme of that play. Referring to these structural and thematic elements, she explores the boundary drawn between medieval and early modern culture. Thomas Kullmann scrutinizes humility as a human response to storms in the literal and metaphorical sense. He argues that humility brought about by a reflection of the sea is an integral part of

Renaissance culture at large and Shakespeare's plays in particular. Simonetta de Filippis traces the ideological as much as theatrical function of ships and shipwrecks on the Shakespearean stage. Looking in closer detail at *Pericles*, she examines the protagonist's quest as a search for his lost identity and as the result to come to terms with his 'secret wound' in the sense elaborated by Julia Kristeva. Ursula Kluwick looks at how early modern conceptions of the ocean are realigned in Iris Murdoch's prose adaption of *The Tempest*, *The Sea*, *The Sea*, and Derek Jarman's film *The Tempest*. Personal and social issues introduced by Murdoch and Jarman highlight that our fascination with the ocean is rooted in early modern conceptions of the sea as a remnant of pre-Creation chaos, as a zone with limited human control.

THE YOUNG MAN AND THE SEA: SHAKESPEARE'S HOPE OF A DRY DEATH

BY

PAUL J.C.M. FRANSSSEN

Maritime adventure is a frequent theme in Shakespeare's work; but it carries with it the dangers of shipwreck in strange places like Illyria, or, closer to home, in the Goodwins. Even those who avoid a watery grave may exit this life pursued by a bear on the notorious Bohemian seashore. Antony foolishly abandons the safety of the land to fight the sea battle of Actium, and never recovers. All too often, water spells danger to Shakespeare. One could read this in mimetic terms, as a reflection of the real dangers to seafarers at a time when ships regularly returned from voyages with decimated crews; or in terms of generic expectations, when the romances and comedies, in particular, speak of relatives divided by the sea, only to be miraculously reunited, or argosies presumed lost that are restored at the end.

Fictions of Shakespeare's life, which may be seen as an important cultural way of dealing with Shakespeare's meaning for a certain age, a certain nation, a certain author, are often based on the assumption that themes and events that figure largely in Shakespeare's works must have played a comparable role in his life. This often goes so far that plot elements of Shakespeare's works are projected into the gaps of his known biography. For instance, as many of his plays are set in Italy, there are fictions about him travelling to Italy, and witnessing scenes from his Italian plays there. Similarly, since Shakespeare wrote so much about love, stories of Shakespeare in Love have featured in plays, novels, and films from at least 1804 onwards. When it comes to sea travel, however, this is not so. Perhaps it is the fear of a watery grave, Gonzalo's prayer for "a dry death" (*Tempest* 1.2.60) in the midst of the tempest, that has given rise to the opposite motif: Shakespeare having a cat-like aversion to water. In Erica Jong's *Serenissima*, for instance, Shakespeare gets sea-sick crossing from Venice to main-land Italy (154). Anthony Burgess's Shakespeare, too, becomes violently seasick during a voyage to Spain (6). Wiser Shakespeares do not even leave the shore: in a satirical sketch by "A.P.H.," published in *Punch* in 1940, Shakespeare and his wife ponder the pros and cons of joining up with Drake to fight the Armada. Shakespeare likes the idea of gaining experience, something to write about; yet he hesitates, saying he would hate to deprive the world of his talents by drowning. Fortunately, his valour is not put to the test, as news is brought in that the Armada has already been defeated. In various ways, these fictions contrast the man of action and the intellectual. If the *Punch* sketch sees Shakespeare's hesitation as cowardice, and a sign of his inferiority to contemporaries like Drake, other authors are milder in their verdict, and see his talent as compensating for his lack of physical prowess.

A special form of this motif occurs in connection with one of the most daring sea-ventures of the period: the colonization of America. There, typically, Shakespeare looks on from the sidelines while others do the real exploring; yet, this is not seen as a weakness but as a way of saving Shakespeare for his real destiny, writing his plays, in particular that classic of colonial literature, *The Tempest*.

The history of associations between *The Tempest* and the New World has been traced by Peter Hulme, William H. Sherman, the Vaughans, and many others. It was Edmond Malone who first pointed out the Bermuda pamphlets dealing with the wreck of the Sea Venture as a possible source in 1808 (Vaughan and Vaughan, *Caliban* 119). By 1898, Sidney Lee and Rudyard Kipling concurred in identifying the Bermudas, a British colony some 1000 kilometres east of the American mainland, as the original of Prospero's island (Vaughan and Vaughan, *Caliban* 120, 123). Kipling had visited the Bermudas, and been struck by its resemblance to Prospero's island. In an article, he suggested that Shakespeare, who was not known to have travelled across the ocean himself, could have learned of the island from sailors (Kipling, "Tempest"). Much later, Kipling used his theory as the basis of a narrative poem, "The Coiner" (1931), in which an anonymous player, easily recognizable as Shakespeare, notes down the exaggerated tales of adventure he hears in a tavern from some sailors who had been shipwrecked on the island. He pays them handsomely for their mixture of lies and truth. The sailors think they have had the better of their unknown benefactor, as he paid them for a pack of lies; but Shakespeare tells them that he is a "coiner" who can turn their lead into gold, their experiences into art. Clearly, the sailors are naïve in believing they got the better of the deal: Kipling suggests that, much as these proto-imperial adventurers are to be admired for their courage, the raw material of their experience, like other colonial wares, can only get its true value when refined by a genius of Shakespeare's standing. In the imperial project, too, of which Kipling was the great propagandist, the pen is mightier than the sword.

In a similar vein, dramatist Clemence Dane imagines Shakespeare turning to his imperial destiny after his pursuit of love has proved fruitless. When Marlowe has died accidentally in a quarrel with Shakespeare over the fickle Dark Lady, Queen Elizabeth speaks to the chastened Bard of his destiny. At a time when British ships are going out to colonise the world and defy the might of Spain, England stands in need of a national poet, she tells him, someone who will unify the nation through his adventures of the mind:

I send my ships where never ships have sailed,
To break the barriers and make wide the ways
For the after world.
Send you your ships to the hidden lands of the soul,
To break the barriers and make plain the ways
Between man and man. Why else were we two born? (176)

If British authors like Kipling and Dane see Shakespeare as a spokesman for the British Empire, Americans gave this motif an inflection of their own, as Michael Bristol and others have argued. As in Germany, Shakespeare was also "nostrified" in nineteenth-century America, be it for different reasons. As Kim Sturgess argues, Shakespeare was exempt from American hostility to the mother country. He stood for

the Elizabethan spirit of adventure as well as the English language – supposedly preserved better in America than in Britain – that was needed to hold this nation of immigrants together (77-78). Also Shakespeare’s supposed democratic tendencies appealed to Americans. Finally, the doctrine of Manifest Destiny called for comparisons with the British Empire (102-03), so that gradually the initial hostility against the English gave way to the “Special Relationship,” galvanized by fighting on the same side in two World Wars. The Vaughans, too, speak of a “cultural and political rapprochement between England and the United States” at the turn of the century, as “the two English-speaking democracies discovered reasons for cooperation and mutual respect” (*Caliban*, 124-25). Whereas Britain needed an ally in a world of growing international competition, Americans of English descent became proud of their heritage under pressure of immigration from different parts of the world (125). This resulted in a transnational “virulent Anglo-Saxon racism” and a belief in “a common destiny of world leadership” (126).

In this context, it was attractive for Americans to find links, however tenuous, between Shakespeare’s work and the American colonies. As the Sea Venture had been wrecked on its way to the Virginia colony of Jamestown, and William Strachey’s famous account of their mishap on Bermuda went on to relate how most of the castaways reached the American continent after all, it was obvious to many Americans that *The Tempest* referred at least in part to Virginia, that Caliban was an American Indian (or a slave), and Prospero his colonial master (Vaughan and Vaughan, *Caliban*, 118-43). Apart from the works, any suggestion of a physical connection between Shakespeare and the future US territories was greeted with an avid gullibility. Sturgess mentions the rumour that one of Shakespeare’s pall-bearers lay buried in Fredericksburg, Virginia (152), and the myth that the Puritan scholar Cotton Mather had possessed a copy of the First Folio (123), which seems unlikely in view of Puritan anti-theatrical prejudice (see Vaughan and Vaughan, *American*, 13). Also, building on Shakespeare’s knowledge of the Strachey letter before it was published, Charles Mills Gayley argued in 1917 that Shakespeare had been intimately acquainted with the members of the Virginia Council, and shared their putative democratic tendencies (Bristol 137-38; Hackett 105). It is this desire to establish a personal link between Shakespeare and the American colonies that seems to underlie the American texts I will now focus on, which turn on the notion that Shakespeare was inspired by the colonial ventures of his age, and in a sense became an honorary American without ever setting foot in the New World himself.

One of the better-known examples of a fictional Shakespeare showing a personal interest in the American colonial ventures occurs in a brief scene in Paul Green’s “symphonic drama” *The Lost Colony*. The play is a veritable American institution: ever since 1937, except for the war years, it has been acted in an outdoor theatre on location at Roanoke Island, where it is also set. It tells of the earliest British settlement on the American mainland, which was begun by Sir Walter Raleigh, who is here represented as a great visionary; however, political obstacles at Court and the threat of the Armada held up supplies so long that when they finally arrived no settlers were to be found in the colony anymore; they had either moved elsewhere – this is the version of Green’s play – or been abducted or killed by the local American Indian tribes. Green

turns this story of defeat into an epic of endurance, in which the colonists, at the end of the play, abandon their settlement to hostile Spanish forces, and march off into the wilderness. The Roanoke colony is represented as an experiment in democracy and egalitarianism, in which the future self-image of the USA as the home of the free is adumbrated. Even the abandonment of the settlement is no defeat, but a triumph of the American spirit. Yet the play also contains elements that, to the modern reader, seem at odds with Paul Green's image as a liberal crusader against racial prejudice and religious bigotry: the insistent emphasis on the commonality of "race" that binds the English settlers to modern Americans seems to leave out the Portuguese pilot, the play's "notably foreign villain, Simon Fernando" (Sweigart-Gallagher 99), while the celebration of the Christian heritage may be broad enough to accommodate the Roman Catholic imagery of the Blessed Virgin (Green 118), but excludes the native American religion (Zogry).

Green's play, though fictional in details, tries to follow historical fact as much as possible. Among the wholly imaginary episodes, however, there is a cameo appearance of Shakespeare, ending in his decision not to join the colonists (54-55). When Raleigh is at Court, seeking support for his venture, he is approached by young William Shakespeare. He tells Raleigh that he is currently holding horses at the theatre to earn a living. He is a budding poet, but as no one in London likes his poems, he wants to join Raleigh's expedition. Raleigh, however, has heard Shakespeare praised by Sir Philip Sidney, and promises to "commend [him] to a friend – one with money" (55). The grateful poet then abandons his plans of joining the expedition. Shakespeare is a man of the people here, a poor struggling artist, but upwardly mobile, energetic, and determined to get ahead. If he had joined the colonists, his works might never have been written, or would have vanished without a trace along with the colony; it is precisely by staying at home and pursuing his own destiny that Shakespeare best serves the colonists' democratic cause. As Green commented afterwards, Shakespeare's fate is to found a true "people's theatre," a distant forebear of Green's own form of democratic, symphonic drama (144). As the Historian, the play's narrator, explains: "So Shakespeare did not go to Roanoke Island, but that his imagination travelled to the new land is shown in some of his plays of later years. Thus it was that the adventurous spirits of England were fired to Raleigh's dream" (55). What is implied here is that Shakespeare acted as a propagandist for settlement, and that his mental travels compensated for his physical absence from Roanoke.

Shakespeare's putative sympathy with the Roanoke colonists also emerges from Green's prefatory article, "The Beginning of the Lost Colony," which sheds light on the genesis of this episode in particular. When he first came to Roanoke in the 1930s to propose the plans to the locals, Green recounts, reactions had been lukewarm, until a Senator called Josiah William Bailey took the floor (149). Bailey supported the scheme, arguing that

Roanoke Island was the true inspiration for Shakespeare's play, *The Tempest*. [...] "When Shakespeare wrote 'Come unto these yellow sands,'" he said, "he had in mind the sands of Roanoke Island. No doubt about it. The tragedy of the lost colony that happened on this island inspired the pen of the immortal Shakespeare to write one of his finest and most imaginative plays. This is a sacred spot here. Let us put on a drama, our drama, here at this patriotic shrine

where those brave pioneers lived, struggled, suffered and died. Yes, let us tell their story to the world” (150).

This changed the atmosphere, and the production became a fact. The Senator’s nationalism which swayed the locals obviously had a regional component. When he claimed for a fact that Shakespeare “had in mind the sands of Roanoke Island,” he was either “mistaken” (Zogry 18), or overstating his case. Eric Cheyfitz (196) and the Vaughans (*Caliban* 43) suggest that *The Tempest* may have been informed by the Roanoke episode as well, but the colonial venture generally assumed to underlie Shakespeare’s play was that of Jamestown, and more in particular, the shipwreck of the Sea Venture at the Bermudas. Bermuda had, of course been the focus of Kipling’s and Lee’s theories, which is not surprising as it was part of the British Empire; analogously, it makes sense for a senator and a university professor based in North Carolina to link Shakespeare’s person to neighbouring Roanoke, rather than more distant Jamestown or, indeed, Bermuda.

Besides, Green’s conception of Shakespeare as the voice of Raleigh’s colonial ventures was clearly modelled on two plays by his mentor and colleague at Chapel Hill University, NC., Frederick Koch. Frederick Henry Koch (1877-1944), was one of the pioneers of the folk play, which, like Green’s later symphonic drama, aimed to present the concerns of the common people in a form that was accessible to those common people (Bliss). In an early effort to work “toward a democratization of the drama, an outflowering from the soil of our ‘brave new world,’ of an art truly of the people,” Koch directed a group of students at the University of North Dakota who collectively produced a “communal drama” for the Shakespeare tercentenary, entitled *Shakespeare the Playmaker* (Koch 8). He did not write a single word himself, as he explains in his preface; and by analogy, Shakespeare is represented “as the playmaker and poet of the people” (9), “the consummation of centuries of experimentation by the people, the fulfilment, after all the years, of the amateur spirit in England striving through generation after generation to perfect itself at length in his timeless poetry” (7). In the play itself, Shakespeare’s democratic credentials are stressed when he is called “the friend of common folk no less than a king’s favourite” (43). We first see him directing a group of bungling amateurs through a bathetic performance of *The Tragedy of Pyramus and Thisbe* before Queen Elizabeth, which gives him the idea for the fifth act of *The Midsummer Night’s Dream*. The American interest is clearest in the second part, which deals with the genesis of *The Tempest*. Shakespeare and Jonson have come to visit a country fair in Gravesend, a “little Kentish village on the Thames, twenty miles from London, where ships from foreign lands discharge their cargoes” (39). The Fair itself suggests the folksy element that inspires Shakespeare’s work, and many of its figures resemble Shakespearean characters like Poor Tom and Autolycus. Then a common sailor arrives and recounts his adventures in the New World. Looking for gold, he ended up in a bewitched land controlled by a demon (48-49). He has stolen a picture of the native god Piasa from the Indians, which he proudly displays. Jonson, arrogant as ever, suggests that Shakespeare put this “strange monster” into a play: “you with your disregard for proprieties would find him a rare hero” (49-50). The sailor’s story is strengthened by another group of mariners, including Sir Thomas Gates and William Strachey (50). They tell of being driven off course by a tempest, to

an island “of devils, fraught with unbelievable adventures, and peopled with inhuman shapes” (51). They take turns telling the tale of the shipwreck of the Sea Venture on the Bermuda coast, in a mishmash of phrases from the Strachey letter and *The Tempest* itself. The island is fertile, they say, and “full of noises” (54). “At times we felt peculiar cramps, as some elf did pinch us, but we could see nothing. It seemed some master spirit did rule the island” (54). Shakespeare asks about inhabitants other than spirits; Strachey speaks of “islanders, who, though they are of monstrous shape, yet, their manners are more gentle-kind, than of our human generation you shall find many” (54). They have brought two Indians with them, who perform a native dance, and clearly recognize their god Piasa (56). This leads Shakespeare to ruminate: “And so it is in truth a monster of the New World and no creature of a drunken sailor’s mind” (56). Thus, the Virginia expedition and the wreck of the Sea Venture are put forward as the sources for Shakespeare’s *Tempest*. The play ends with a performance of a condensed *Tempest*, with Shakespeare himself as Prospero.

Later, Koch was to mine the early communal play for raw material for his pageant drama *Raleigh: The Sea Shepherd* (1920), be it with a difference: it is not the Virginia / Bermuda adventure that inspires *The Tempest*, but the Roanoke one of the 1580s. After moving from North Dakota to Chapel Hill, N.C., Koch began his play on Sir Walter Raleigh. The opening scenes are obviously modelled on the earlier communal drama: the first episode shows a festive review of the troops by Queen Elizabeth on the eve of the Armada, opened by a song from the communal play, whereas the second episode is set during a folk fair in honour of the raid on Cadiz in 1596. However, here it is in the first episode, set in 1588, that Shakespeare meets his first Indians, Raleigh’s “two rare monsters from Virginia” (34), and is deeply impressed by them. The Indians are identified as Wanchese and Manteo, who also feature in Green’s *Lost Colony*, and whose historical counterparts were brought from Roanoke (then a part of Virginia, though nowadays in North Carolina) to England by Barlow in 1584 (Vaughan, “Indian” 49-59; 51-52). Koch’s focus is on Raleigh, the visionary protagonist who foresees how his humble colony will one day grow into a mighty power, but Shakespeare is always there in the background, to spread Raleigh’s ideals by translating them into poetic form. The play’s second episode portrays “a colorful festival of the folk” (43), followed by the entrance of the heroes of Cadiz, including Raleigh and Essex. After describing the battle, Raleigh speaks of his colonial aspirations in Guiana (50). Shakespeare’s imagination is fired by Raleigh’s account of natives with their “eyes in their shoulders”:

What magic do these words contain! They sing
within me with sweet siren tones, of wanton
Cannibals that each other eat,
The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders. (52)

Raleigh comments: “Thus ever does our Will translate strange matters into rarest plays of fantasy.” He expounds his vision, foretells the ruin of the Spanish Empire, and asks:

Shall we not rear in its stead a fairer state, one not stained with helpless blood, nor cursed with crimes of direst cruelty? There shall we raise, instead, in fair America, beyond the western

verge, a greater State than any ever forged by Spanish bonds – a league of many peoples united all in English friendliness, of peoples come from many lands but speaking all one speech – our goodly mother tongue, and of one common heart of comradeship. I see on the far verge of that New Day a fairer El Dorado than ever Spaniard dreamed, a sunbright nation of immortal youth in fair America! (52-53)

Shakespeare responds to Raleigh's fervour:

I'll set it down – your vision – in a play – in verse immortal.
 O Wonder!
 How many goodly creatures are there here!
 How beauteous mankind is! O brave new world
 That has such people in't! (53)

In the next episode, we see Raleigh in prison in 1617. Shakespeare of course is dead by then, but Raleigh is reading a Quarto edition of *The Tempest* and ruminates:

He did not fail of his promise, Master Shakespeare. Here it is – his latest play, *The Tempest*. How pregnant are his words even yet – the lines of Miranda on the enchanted island when first she views the shipwrecked mariners. [...] So Shakespeare has immortalized in rarest verse my venture in the brave new world (61-62).

Raleigh may achieve nearly divine proportions in Koch's play, but Shakespeare is his prophet.

There are a number of reasons for the historically questionable link between Shakespeare and the Roanoke colony. Raleigh, the subject of Koch's play, was associated with Roanoke, not with Jamestown. In addition, for a professor working at the neighbouring university of North Carolina, with a particular interest in reaching the common people, some local pride may be forgivable. Yet more may be at stake: another professor at Chapel Hill, Edwin Greenlaw, wrote a preface to the play's published edition that suggests a southern inflection of what it is to be American, in opposition to the dominance of New England. The American nation has come to believe, Greenlaw argues, that the reality of its background

is to be found chiefly in the stern New England life with its pioneer hardships, its sermons three hours long, and the New England Primer. [...] But [this] is not the whole truth. The foundations of America are not to be found solely in the England of Cromwell, but also in the England of Elizabeth. So long as the New England tradition dominated American literature, American life [...], it was only natural that schoolboys and girls in other parts of the country as well as in the neighbourhood of Boston and New York should be brought up with such an imaginative background (14).

This heritage had much to offer that was positive, but it also contributed

certain Hebraic conceptions of nationality – an abiding consciousness of sin, a consciousness of being a peculiar people, set apart from all others under the special charge of God, while from this apartness and from the necessities of the long struggle there sprang a hatred of England that has lasted for generations. [...] The America of the last half century is far nearer the earlier English tradition than to the tradition of Cromwell's time. It is in the sense of adventure in modern life, in the romance of the conquest of far-flung prairies and of mountains made to yield their treasure, in the building of giant industries, in the color brought by emigrants from every

corner of the Old World, in the irrepressible confidence of youth finding it an easy leap to pluck honor from the pale-faced moon, that we find our thoughts of America today. And the first-beginnings of this multifarious life we find in the adventure, the romance, the daring accomplishment, the color, and the youth of Elizabethan England. Not in Cotton Mather's vast learning [...] do we come upon the sources of that which now seems most truly American; but in Shakespeare's England, and in the England of Drake and Gilbert and Walter Raleigh (14-15).

Shakespeare and his age, then, including Raleigh, serve as an alternative to the Pilgrim Fathers and their Puritan heritage. The play celebrates English courage and colourful folklore, and sees the Puritan heritage as dreary and anti-English. It also criticizes the exclusive stress on New England as the cultural centre of the USA. American identity is reimagined in the spirit of Sir Walter Raleigh and Shakespeare as based on democratic cultural diversity.

The Fair of the second episode, copied largely from the earlier play, here comes to symbolize that colourful English life, that diversity, that lust for adventure, which, if not positively anti-religious, is more secular in nature. A single Puritan is, in fact, to be seen on that Fair, but he is "somber," suggesting he is out of place. The Fair does not just express "nostalgia for 'Merry England,'" as Hackett suggests (105), but it looks forward, as so much else in Koch's England, to America as the merry market place of capitalist adventure, unfettered from Puritan shackles. Whatever one may think of Greenlaw and Koch's American patriotism, they are at least aware of the incompatibility of Cotton Mather and Shakespeare.

Koch's plays seem to have generated many of the ideas underlying Green's *Lost Colony*, such as the need for popular drama, religious inclusiveness, sympathy for the pluck of the English, and Sir Walter Raleigh's visionary schemes for colonization at Roanoke. Shakespeare's role in these plays is that of a poetic spokesman for values supposedly shared by England and America: Raleigh has the vision, Shakespeare translates this into a democratic language available to the common people, and the masses then act on these ideas, braving colonial hardships and shipwreck. In Koch's *The Sea Shepherd*, Raleigh dies a martyr to his cause, but others carry on his vision fired by Shakespeare's *Tempest*; in Green's *Lost Colony*, the Roanoke settlers march out of history, but in Shakespeare their spirit survives.

Elsewhere in the USA, the topos of Shakespeare's flirt with colonial adventure was given a philosophical inflection by Denton J. Snider (1841-1925). Snider, a Hegelian philosopher and prolific writer, was based in St Louis, Missouri (*Dict. Am. Biog.* 383-84). His works on Shakespeare, including critical commentaries as well as two works of fiction, have so far been largely neglected by critics, except for Ann Thompson. It is in his 1925 novel *The Rise of Young Shakespeare* that we find an episode remarkably similar to that in Green's *The Lost Colony*: Shakespeare thinks of joining the colonists, yet changes his mind. The backdrop to the plot is the Hegelian concept, in James A. Good's words, of the "inexorable march of history" (459); for Snider, Shakespeare is one of those "world-historical individuals, [...] selected by the World-Spirit to reveal and affect its current stage of development toward Absolute Knowing and freedom" (Good 452). In Snider's Hegelianism, the American concept of Manifest Destiny played an important role (Good 450), but American leadership was seen as the culmination of earlier dialectical developments in Western Europe: other nations,

which were seen as “backward races,” had to be educated to reach the same standard (Good 450).

Snider’s Shakespeare novel traces its subject’s growth from his humble beginnings as a printer’s apprentice to a consummate genius, described in barely veiled religious imagery. Not surprisingly, that march to greatness takes a dialectical form, in which Shakespeare repeatedly assimilates two contradictory impulses in himself or in his culture, and produces a synthesis in the form of a play. Each synthesis is then the starting point for a new dialectical triangle. In this respect, Marlowe is Shakespeare’s foil, as his genius fails to develop beyond a certain point, so that he is no more than a John the Baptist figure to Shakespeare (308). Shakespeare transcends his one-time mentor by synthesizing Marlowe’s native English strain with Florio’s Italian culture (277-78). Similarly, he synthesizes the Romantic and the Classical, the Celtic and the English, bookish knowledge and practical experience, the rough art of the theatre and refined poetry, the masculine and the feminine elements in himself, spiritual and worldly love, comedy and tragedy. In a series of dialectical oppositions resolved by his genius, the narrative builds up to a climax, in which Shakespeare’s admirers gather to praise him as a secular Christ who has overcome death and saved mankind through his suffering: “You have suffered vicariously in your life and writ for us all, not as Italian, or English, or Celtic, or even as European – so I here crown you *The Poet Universal*” (459).

That final step, of transcending the European, the culmination of the Hegelian process in Shakespeare’s own era, towards the truly universal, is adumbrated when Shakespeare looks towards the future, in contemplating the colonial ventures. There are two episodes where this theme is enounced most clearly. As a young man, in 1585, Shakespeare visits Drake’s ship *The Golden Hind* (94), which has been turned into a national shrine after its circumnavigation of the globe. He notices an American Indian sitting impassively on the quay, and studies this exotic figure attentively, gathering material for what, in the fullness of time, will be his Caliban (100). Shakespeare deliberates whether he should enlist with Raleigh, who is recruiting colonists for Virginia. In view of the timing and Raleigh’s involvement, it must be the ill-fated Roanoke venture that is alluded to here. However, Shakespeare decides against enlisting as his destiny lies elsewhere (100). Still, he at once grasps the importance of this project of establishing “our new nation beyond the seas” (99). Thus, Shakespeare’s own destiny to become the universal poet is weighed against the inchoate Manifest Destiny of the American nation, which he foresees; but he rightly takes the decision to concentrate on his own development first, as a prior step in the process of growing world consciousness that will culminate in the democratic principles of the United States.

In a later episode, Shakespeare returns from Italy by ship, and when he passes by Gibraltar he is once more reminded of the promise of the New World:

But as he sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar out of the limited one-wayed Mediterranean into the limitless all-wayed Atlantic, he seemed to be moving from the past to the future, from an old circumscribed culture to a new, earth-envirning civilization, from Italy the bounded to England the bound-overpassing, of which the young buoyant poet could not help dreaming himself the sovereign voice to all time. So his passage from the closed land-locked sea of antiquity to the

open land-encompassing ocean of modernity became to his exuberant imagination a symbol of his country's future, as well as of his own coming poetic fulfilment.

But a stroke of reaction he felt as his vessel rounded the Spanish Peninsula. He looked off toward that Latin nation which was contesting then with England for the possession, both spiritual and physical, of the new world-era just dawning, Transatlantic as well as European (402-03).

This passage, with its dialectical reconciliation of opposites, suggests the coincidence of cultural and political dominion ("both spiritual and physical"), and widens the issue from the transfer of power from the Mediterranean to the north-sea basin, to encompass the Transatlantic. In other words, Snider sees Shakespeare's England as the cradle of the USA when he speaks of "the new world-era just dawning, Transatlantic as well as European." The book is full of foreshadowings of this kind, not least in Shakespeare's awareness of his own destiny (33, 52-3, 454). As Shakespeare sees it, the future also requires a new world language: therefore he will no longer speak Italian to Florio, but make "a world-speech out of my hitherto confined Anglo-Saxon" (416).

For some American authors of the early twentieth century, then, Shakespeare was an honorary American without ever having set foot on American soil. Avoiding shipwreck, Indian arrows, or death by starvation enabled him to fulfil his own destiny, of spreading his egalitarian, democratic, and enlightened ideas, his visionary celebration of courage, folksiness, and free enterprise, and of assuring the dominance of the English language through his works: these contributed to the advances in the World Soul that, in the fullness of time, benefited America, and thus the world, far more than another anonymous grave somewhere near Roanoke would have done. Shakespeare's destiny, in this vision, is a prerequisite for the American Manifest Destiny. For Snider, at least, Shakespeare is the better proto-American the more he is a consummate European. Having absorbed and transcended all kinds of European influences, he becomes the truly universal poet.

The Shakespeare portrayed here is, of course, not our Shakespeare: he is not the impersonal seismograph recording competing discourses, nor the incisive deconstructor of colonial practices, nor the crypto-Catholic hiding behind his characters. But if this conception of Shakespeare as a proto-American, democratic promoter of the spirit of adventure and liberty seems naïve, we might do well to recollect that English authors like Kipling and Dane had indulged in similar fantasies of Shakespeare as the prophet of the imperial project, whose voyages to the "hidden lands of the soul" were the spiritual and intellectual equivalent of the ventures undertaken by those colonists who did risk actual shipwreck.

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Zusammenfassung

Obwohl in Shakespeares Bühnenstücken oft von Meeresreisen die Rede ist, wird dieses Thema in Fiktionen über Shakespeare kaum aufgegriffen. Shakespeare erscheint in diesen jedoch oft als historische Figur, die in seinen Werken koloniale Unternehmungen fördert, ohne sich daran selbst zu beteiligen. Dies ist nicht nur so in britischen Romanen und Stücken, sondern auch in U.S.-amerikanischen, wo Shakespeare gewürdigt wird, weil er die gemeinsamen Werte und die Sprache der angelsächsischen Mächte verkörpert. Wäre er selbst nach Amerika gereist, so mein Argument, dann hätten diese direkten Erfahrungen wahrscheinlich seine weitaus wichtigere intellektuelle Arbeit an der Mythenbildung der frühen Kolonialisierung gefährdet. In Bühnenstücken von Paul Green und Frederick Henry Koch und in einem Roman von Denton J. Snider finden sich entsprechende Beschreibungen von einem Shakespeare, der sich mit der Kolonialisierung Amerikas auseinandersetzt und sogar die Zukunft der amerikanischen Hegemonialmacht vorhersieht, ohne jedoch selbst daran teilzunehmen.

MEDIEVAL VS. EARLY MODERN: TRAVEL NARRATIVES AND OTHER GENRES IN *THE TEMPEST*

BY

KIRSTEN SANDROCK

The question of *The Tempest*'s genre is a much debated one. Although the First Folio of 1623 listed the play as a Shakespearean comedy, critics since then have contested this classification and considered a variety of alternative genres for the play, including pastoral drama, tragicomedy, and romance (Kermode liv-lxxi). I would like to suggest that *The Tempest* is shaped by all of these – and other – genres and, moreover, that the very diversity of intergeneric influences reflects the simultaneity of medieval and early modern elements in the text. Particular attention will be paid to how early modern travel narratives shape the play in a manner that marks a transition from medieval mythology to early modern philosophy. In addition, I will consider how the court masque in Act 4 blends early modern theatrical conventions with the structure of the medieval romance. *The Tempest* attests to the hybridity of developments in early modern genres, which were as much in transition as were early modern world-views and philosophies.

Medieval Traditions: The Chivalric Romance and Pastoral Elements

Due to the similarity of Shakespeare's play to the medieval tradition of the chivalric romance, which is chiefly characterized by the quest motif, medieval influences on the structure of *The Tempest* are of central importance. In late medieval and early modern literature, the quest motif of classical verse epics such as Homer's *Odyssey* or Virgil's *Aeneid* was used for the development of a new dramatic structure: the chivalric quests of the romance play. Frequently, the quest motif was fused with other genres, such as the pastoral tradition, as it is the case in both Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* and Edmund Spenser's *The Fairie Queene* (Kullmann 7). Both of these works are closely related to the structure of *The Tempest* as they blend the medieval romance tradition with pastoral elements to shape this new kind of play.

Pastoral drama first emerged as a distinct genre in Italy in the 15th and 16th centuries. Although it is, therefore, by the standards of contemporary periodization, an early modern genre, it is a perfect example of the transitory nature of generic motifs and conventions in the early modern period. Italian plays such as Torquato Tasso's *Aminta* (1573; first published 1580) or Battista Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* (1580-84; first published 1590) used the classical opposition of pastoral poetry – the country vs. the city/court – thus allowing an urban audience to take pleasure in the pastoral lifestyle of shepherds, maidens and other figures of the *locus amoenus* presented on the early modern stage. In England, plays such as John Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess*

(1608–9), Ben Jonson's unfinished *The Sad Shepherd* (c. 1637) or Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (c. 1600) and *The Winter's Tale* (c. 1610-11) adopted the conventions of the pastoral drama.

Critics like Frank Kermode have argued that *The Tempest*, too, should be read as a pastoral drama. Kermode claims that "*The Tempest* is a pastoral drama" because "it is concerned with the opposition of Nature and Art" (xxiv). Nature, in Kermode's interpretation, is mainly represented by Caliban, the "salvage and deformed slave" (xxxviii). Art, Kermode states, is chiefly represented by Prospero, "whose Art is to achieve supremacy over the natural world by holy magic" (xl). This leads Kermode to argue that the relationship between Caliban and Prospero is representative of the early modern tension between primitivism and civilization (xxxxiv-xxxv), which also embodies the central conflict of pastoral drama. Following this line of thought, *The Tempest* would necessarily also have to be read as a colonialist drama, in which the old, civilized world is shown to be superior to the new, still primitive world.

In recent years, this pastoral-colonialist interpretation of *The Tempest* has come under attack by critics who defy the binary interpretation of Caliban as artless slave and of Prospero as enlightened master (Vaughan/Vaughan 98-108). Rather than symbolizing an opposition between nature and art, postcolonial critics read Prospero and Caliban as representatives of the colonizer-colonized relationship, in which patterns of superiority and inferiority are not naturally given but culturally constructed. Postcolonial criticism thus shifts the critical appraisal of Prospero's apparent civilization to his role as an "imperialist," and an "arrogant [...] colonialist" (Vaughan/Vaughan 103). Caliban, in contrast, is "ennobled and to some extent empowered" in postcolonial readings because, as a "victim," he is seen as morally superior to Prospero (Vaughan/Vaughan 103). This rereading of *The Tempest* as a play that reflects imperialist ideologies takes much force out of Kermode's pastoral interpretation of the play. Although certain pastoral elements can undoubtedly still be identified in the play, the overall structure of *The Tempest* can no longer be explained with the simple opposition of art vs. nature or court vs. country. This is especially true when considering that some members of the apparently civilized faction in *The Tempest* are represented as morally inferior (Antonio and Alonso), and that they only achieve a morally superior position once they have undergone a quest in the tradition of the chivalric romance.

The classification of *The Tempest* as a romance goes back to Edward Dowden's *Shakespeare: A Critical Study of His Mind and Art* (1875). Following Dowden, *The Tempest* can be read as a quest narrative, in which the shipwrecked characters have to prove themselves in a series of adventures so as to eventually emerge as refined characters (Dowden 406-7). It is, of course, arguable whether or not Antonio and his followers really do achieve a morally superior position in the end. From all that we know of them they never reach the point at which they would deserve Miranda's praise of being "goodly creatures" of a "beauteous mankind" (5.1.182-3). Still, it is true that the play ends with Prospero's forgiveness of Alonso's and Antonio's deeds and, hence, with his acknowledgement of their apparent moral improvement.

The difference between the medieval quest motif and Shakespeare's use of it in *The Tempest* is that the shipwrecked characters undergo their quests involuntarily. They are

forced to come to the island by Prospero, who confronts the stranded figures with a series of mishaps that are meant to refine them. The quest motif in *The Tempest* is, therefore, not only a matter of moral improvement but also one of human power. Not God, but the exiled Duke of Milan is responsible for both the storm and the rescue of the sailors: “Prospero is the controlling magus who, because of his status as priest-king, is representative of the God, and because of his magical and healing powers, the Medicine-man” (Schorin 173). It is true that, according to early modern conceptions of magic, Prospero is not a black magician but “a theurgist, whose Art is to achieve supremacy over the natural world by holy magic” and to restore a “harmonic relationship of the elementary, celestial, and intellectual worlds” (Kermode xl). Prospero’s art thus reflects upon “Neo-Platonic mage studies” (Kermode xl), which became popular in early modern England through the works of Marsilio Ficino (Vaughan/Vaughan 62-63). But it is equally true that Prospero wishes to reinstate his human authority over his brother by proving to Antonio and his followers that he, Prospero, still holds a superior position over them. Thus, the quest motif in *The Tempest* does not simply advocate moral improvement. It also raises more sinister questions of power, revenge, and insurgency.

The consideration of the darker elements of the quest plot has led Kermode to refer to *The Tempest* as a “[r]omantic tragicomedy,” meaning that the play opposes more light-hearted “stories” taken “from a vast reservoir of primitive fiction” with tragic stories “concerning the status of human life in relation to nature, and the mercy of a providence which gives new life when the old is scarred by sin or lost in folly” (Kermode lxiii; lxi). The central conflict Kermode identifies for the romantic tragicomedy is similar to the one he previously identified for the pastoral tradition, namely the conflict between primitivism and civilization. Gerald Schorin corroborates this definition of *The Tempest* as a tragicomic romance by referring to the deep structure of the play. He states that “*The Tempest*’s plot is composed of various archetypal elements, ones dealing with usurpation in general and the killing of the king in particular” (172). Insightful as these readings of the play’s deep structure may be, I believe that there is more to the quest motif in *The Tempest* than can be explained conclusively by the opposition of primitivism and civilization or by references to archetypal elements. Shakespeare could have dealt with these issues without resorting to a quest narrative, yet he deliberately drew on the medieval tradition of the romance and fused it with the structure of a travel narrative. Hence, I would like to suggest that the quest motif in *The Tempest* cannot merely be read as an intrageneric element serving the plot, but that it must be understood in relation to the play’s intergeneric nature.

Early Modern Traditions: Travel Writing and the Court Masque

There is a generic propinquity between the medieval romance and early modern travel narratives that ranges from the representation of foreign settings and the protagonist’s encounter with strange creatures to the occurrence of seemingly supernatural events in unfamiliar places. Moreover, early modern travelogues frequently show a desire to educate their readers and to prove the benefits of travelling as an instrument for

edification – either for the state or for the individual¹ – in a similar manner as the medieval romance does. Thomas Kullmann furthermore illustrates that both medieval romances and early modern travel narratives follow a structure of loss and retrieval, departure and reunion as well as transgression and redemption, which leads to numerous parallels between Shakespeare’s plays that involve travelling and the travel motif in medieval romances (7). Kullmann argues that the cross-generic influences of the quest narrative on Shakespeare’s plays are more prominent than it has traditionally been conceded (8). If we accept that these cross-generic influences are important for Shakespeare’s dramatic oeuvre we can assume that early modern travelogues have decisively shaped the appropriation of the quest motif in *The Tempest*.

When the role of early modern travel narratives in relation to *The Tempest* was first discussed in the late nineteenth century, a critical debate arose whether or not such cross-generic influences could possibly have shaped Shakespeare’s play. The hesitancy was mostly grounded in references to the play’s setting on a Mediterranean island, whereas most voyages of discovery that contemporaneous travellers undertook explored the New World. Elmer Edgar Stoll hence doubted that *The Tempest* was in any way influenced by New World travelogues: “There is not a word in the *Tempest* about America or Virginia, colonies of colonizing, Indians or tomahawks, maize, mocking-birds, or tobacco. Nothing but the Bermudas, once barely mentioned as a faraway place, like Tokyo or Mandalay” (qtd. in Frey 30). However, Stoll ignores the fact that literature, as a rule, does not need to contain literal references to real-life events in order to reflect upon them thematically. This is particularly true for the early modern period, when real-life places were commonly changed to fictional or foreign settings so as to evade censorship laws. The point is, therefore, not how many place names or how much material from New World travelogues is quoted in Shakespeare’s play. The point is that the contents and ideas of these travelogues were, to use Mieke Bal’s term, “travelling concepts” (*Travelling Concepts*) in the early modern period. Stories of both old and New World travels were widely received in the early modern period. It is certainly possible that Shakespeare knew New World travellers in person, in particular William Strachey (Wright xi); but even if he did not know any early modern voyager in person, he had most likely heard about the Virginia Company’s flagship *Sea Venture*, which was shipwrecked during its voyage to Virginia in 1609.²

The *Sea Venture* was heading for the colony at Jamestown, New England, when a major storm arose a few days before it was supposed to land ashore (Strachey 4). On board of the *Sea Venture* were William Strachey and Sylvester Jourdain, both of whom wrote about the near shipwreck and the crew’s almost miraculous survival when finally anchoring off the coast of the Bermudas. Strachey reported these events in a letter to an anonymous lady entitled “A True Reportory of the Wreck and Redemption

¹ For a discussion of early modern travel writing as educational act see: Clare Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance*, 1-38; Melanie Ord, *Travel and Experience in Early Modern English Literature*, 5-32.

² In his article “Voyage to Tunis: New History and the Old World of *The Tempest*” Richard Wilson suggests that yet another form of early modern travelling influenced *The Tempest*, namely pirate ventures: “Prospero’s story has been idealized as a Virgilian epic, but belongs as much, it seems, to the genre of pirate adventure” (339).

of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, upon and from the Islands of the Bermudas; His Coming to Virginia and the Estate of that Colony Then and After, under the Government of the Lord La Warr, July 15, 1610, written by William Strachey, Esquire.” Jourdain recorded the shipwreck in his report *A Discovery of the Barmudas, Otherwise Called the Isle of Devils* (1610). It is generally assumed among Shakespeare scholars that Shakespeare knew at least one of these travel narratives, probably Strachey’s, and that he used it for his conception of *The Tempest*.³

There are a number of intertextual references that corroborate the influence of Strachey’s and Jourdain’s travel narratives on *The Tempest*.⁴ These references can be divided into two categories. First, there are verbatim references to the New World in *The Tempest*, including Ariel’s remark about the “still-vex’d Bermoothes” (1.2.229), Trinculo’s talk about “a dead Indian” (2.2.33), and Miranda’s famous exclamation “O brave new world / That has such people in ’t!” (5.1.182-83) (Frey 29; Kermode lxxx). Second, there is a group of structural and stylistic references that suggest an even closer connection between *The Tempest* and Strachey’s and Jourdain’s accounts. Robert R. Cawley lists among these structural and stylistic correspondences the “figure of contest between sea and sky,” the “desperation of crew and passengers,” the “Condition of ship,” the “Personnel, and relations between classes on board,” the descriptions of “Ariel and St. Elmo’s fire,” and the depiction of “Prospero and the safe landing” (691-699). Virginia and Alden Vaughan further add to this list “the seemingly miraculous survival of the mariners and passengers” as well as “their almost magical rejuvenation on the enchanted island’s bounteous flora and fauna, and their governance by a dominant and resourceful leader who overcame ‘divers mutinies’” (42). What most of these structural motifs have in common is that they probe the relationship between providence and human agency as well as the relationship between nature and divine intervention in a manner that resembles Strachey’s “A True Reportory.”

Throughout his depiction of the storm and the crew’s rescue, Strachey dwells on the question of divine fate vs. human agency. His account of the “dreadful storm” that “began to blow from out of northeast” recurrently refers to God and reveals his belief in divine fate (Strachey 4). Both the storm and the shipwreck are read as signs of God’s will. Strachey even uses the phrase “It pleased God to bring a greater affliction

² In their 2007 article, Roger Stritmatter and Lynne Kositsky repudiate the idea that Shakespeare could have used Strachey’s “A True Reportory” for *The Tempest*. They claim that Strachey’s letter was written in retrospect and that it was neither published nor circulated before its inclusion in Samuel Purchas’ edition *Hakluytus Posthumus; or, Purchas his Pilgrimes* printed in 1625 (447-472). Stritmatter’s and Kositsky’s argument has, however, subsequently been disclaimed by Alden T. Vaughan. In his 2010 article, Vaughan argues that Strachey’s account is more than likely to have circulated widely before its publication in 1625: “It is almost certain that two or more manuscript versions of Strachey’s letter circulated within the Company and, presumably, among some of its friends. That this document should pass from hand to hand was to be expected: Strachey had written a public, rather than a private, letter [...]” (256).

³ Critics have also identified references to other early modern travel narratives in *The Tempest*, such as the mention of the deity “Setebos” (1.2.375 and 5.1.261), which can be traced back to both Robert Eden’s *History of Travaile* (1577) and to “Francis Fletcher’s journal of Sir Francis Drake’s circumnavigation of 1577-80” (Vaughan/Vaughan 40-41).

yet upon us” when the sailors discover the “mighty leak” in the vessel (8). A little later in his report, Strachey shows a similarly fatalistic, though more optimistic belief that the unexpected discovery of land is also an act of divine intervention: “But see the goodness and sweet introduction of better hope by our merciful God given unto us: Sir George Somers, when no man dreamed of such happiness, had discovered and cried land” (15). Thus, both the wreckage and the crew’s salvation are interpreted as acts of divine providence. This is certainly not surprising for a traveller from the early modern period for whom the belief in an omnipotent God was unwavering. What is surprising is that the same situation of a shipwreck and the sailors’ rescue is adapted by Shakespeare in *The Tempest* in a manner that replaces God’s omnipotence with a belief in human agency.

It is significant that the shipwreck in *The Tempest* occurs before Prospero and his supernatural powers are conveyed to the audience. In the opening scene, the Master and the Boatswain give instructions to the sailors that probe the power of human agency vis-à-vis the forces of nature: “Take in the topsail. Tend to th’ master’s whistle. Blow till thou burst thy wind, if room enough!” (1.1.6-8); and later: “Down with the topmast! yare! lower, lower! Bring her to try with main-course” (1.1.34-35). The detailed nautical instructions and the use of vernacular language in this scene are indicative of Shakespeare’s fascination with the conditions of early modern travelling as they are reported in contemporaneous travel writing. Whereas medieval travelogues show a tendency towards sketchy and allegorical depictions of the act of travelling,⁵ early modern travel narratives give more particulars about events that occurred during the passage itself. Strachey’s account of the Sea Venture’s shipwreck thus demonstrates the growing importance of detailed descriptions in early modern travelogues, which is also reflected in *The Tempest*. Moreover, the opening scene indicates the growing belief in human agency, technology, and secularized knowledge during the early modern period, which is furthermore attested to by the appearance of Prospero on the scene.

The introduction of Prospero creates a tension between the realism of the opening scene and the celebration of magic in the subsequent course of events that reflects upon the larger cultural confrontation of medieval mysticism with the rise of scientific methods in the early modern period. Leo Salinger’s observation that “the shipwreck in *The Tempest* seems to the audience convincingly natural until they learn that real magic has produced it” (213) points to the intentionality with which this opposition between realism and magic is introduced into the play. With respect to conceptions of magic, the spheres of medieval and early modern knowledge coexist in the play in a manner that insinuates the transformation of different world-views in early modern England. Elizabeth Spiller argues in this respect that “the play [...] suggests reasons

⁴ See, for instance, the following passage from *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1357- 1371), in which details about the voyage are deliberately omitted – probably because the author did not know the names of the towns and cities himself: “But whoso will go to Babylon by another way, more short from the countries of the west that I have rehearsed before, or from other countries next to them - then men go by France, by Burgundy and by Lombardy. It needeth not to tell you the names of the cities, nor of the towns that be in that way, for the way is common, and it is known of many nations” (Mandeville, n.p.).

why the Renaissance conception of art as knowledge was ultimately displaced by a modern science of facts” (25). The figure of Prospero can be read as embodying this transition from medieval to early modern philosophies. On the one hand, he is well rehearsed in the old art of magic whereas, on the other hand, he personifies the new belief in human agency, as we shall see later on in this paper.

The setting of the island in *The Tempest* is another example of the coexistence of old and new forms of knowledge in the play. The drama is set in the Mediterranean, somewhere between Naples and Tunis. Yet, the geographical location of the island is “less important than the fact that it is nameless, uncharted and largely unexplored,” as Vaughan/Vaughan argue: “Our sojourn on this enchanted island is akin to a trip to a distant planet, where we find a world dramatically unlike our own” (4-5). This sense of travelling to the unknown when the story is actually set in the well-known Mediterranean Sea illustrates the fusion of old world and New World geographies in *The Tempest*. A similar strategy of blending familiar with unfamiliar places can be found in Strachey’s and Jourdain’s travel narratives. Both authors first evoke existing stereotypes about the Bermudas as the “Devil’s Islands” (Strachey 16) and as “the most dangerous, infortunate, and most forlorn place of the world” (Jourdain 109) only to counteract these stereotypes later by giving their own detailed accounts of the island on which they have been stranded. They stress the beauty and fruitfulness of the island, which “is in truth the richest, health-fullest, and pleasing land (the quantity and bigness thereof considered) and merely natural, as ever man set foot upon” (Jourdain 109). The travellers are eager to negate existing myths about witchcraft and sorcery on the island. Writes Strachey:

I hope to deliver the world from a foul and general error, it being counted of most that they can be no habitation for men but rather given over to devils and wicked spirits; whereas indeed we find them now by experience to be as habitable and commodious as most countries of the same climate and situation, insomuch as, if the entrance into them were as easy as the place itself is contenting, it had long ere this been inhabited as well as other islands. Thus shall we make it appear that Truth is the daughter of Time, and that men ought not to deny everything which is not subject to their own sense. (16)

What emerges in Strachey’s narrative is the desire to replace existing myths about the Bermudas with scientific truth. The travelogue seeks to assert the veracity of the eye-witness account and to participate in the slow but secure triumph of secular knowledge over mythical accounts in the early modern period – a triumph that resonates closely with the triumph of secular knowledge over mythology in the ending of *The Tempest*.

In the epilogue, Prospero renounces his supernatural powers and assures the audiences that “what strength I have’s mine own” (Epilogue.2). In so doing, Prospero rejects to play “the rôle of God” (Cawley 696) any longer, even if his magical powers previously helped him to restore his authority over his brother and, with it, the moral order of the play. *The Tempest* thus ends with a powerful endorsement of human agency over magical forces. This celebration of human agency is reinforced when Prospero asks the audience to “set [him] free” at the end of the play (Epilogue.20). He thereby bestows the foremost power onto the spectators and suggests a move away from old world mythologies to New World humanism. Following this line of thought,

I disagree with Kermode's argument that *The Tempest* "bears the marks of the application of an old learning to a new world" (xxxiv). Rather, I suggest that the play marks the transition from a medieval faith in divine determination to a growing reliance on secular knowledge. Early modern culture turned the *terra incognita* from a mythological place into an increasingly known and observable world. *The Tempest* points toward this transition of old world to New World philosophies and it does so, in part, through its intergeneric nature.

The transitory nature of both genres and world-views in *The Tempest* can also be witnessed in an analysis of the masque in Act 4. It is frequently suggested that Shakespeare wrote the betrothal masque in honour of Princess Elisabeth's wedding to Frederick Elector of Palatine in 1613. We know that *The Tempest* was performed on that occasion at the Palace of Whitehall and it is certainly possible that "the masque was [...] designed [...] to appeal to the king's supposed expert knowledge of magic and witchcraft, a knowledge displayed in the monarch's esoteric published work *Daemonologie, in the forme of a Dialogue* (1597)" (Demaray 30). But it is also possible, as Bevington argues, that Shakespeare wrote this masque for his audiences in London: "Shakespeare's play capitalizes on public sentiment about the wedding. It offers a wedding masque for those many persons who were not invited to the three costly, one-time masques staged at court for its own exclusive membership" (220). Whatever the case of the masque's *raison d'être* may be: it is clear that the masque in *The Tempest* differs from other early modern masques, such as Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* or *The Masque of Beauty*, because it is embedded into the dramatic structure of a quest narrative.

Whereas the plot of Shakespeare's masque is typical for a Renaissance play – featuring the Greek and Roman goddesses Iris, Ceres and Juno; the emphasis on stability, peace and fecundity in marriage; and the "cosmic union of earth and air, fire and water of earth" (Vaughan/Vaughan 70) – the structural incorporation of the masque into the play as a whole suggests that it is more than a mere celebration of the classical Golden Age. The masque takes place at an interim climax, when the amorous subplot between Miranda and Ferdinand is about to be resolved by means of their symbolic unification. The main plot of the medieval romance, however, remains yet unresolved. Antonio, Gonzalo, and Alonso continue to err across the island, and Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano are still plotting against Prospero. The latter forgets about these matters only temporarily while staging the masque for his daughter and his future son-in-law. But when the masque is about to reach its climax with the dance of the "Reapers" who "join the Nymphs," Prospero suddenly remembers the "foul conspiracy / Of the beast Caliban and his confederates" (4.1.138-140). He then ends the masque abruptly and chases the spirits off the stage, leaving Miranda and Ferdinand wondering what the "passion" might be "[t]hat works him strongly" (4.1.143-144). In order to explain the abruptness of the masque's ending, I suggest, we must return to the structure of the quest narrative of the play. The mode of the chivalric romance may be shortly suspended by the courtly masque, but it is never entirely offset by it. On the contrary, the hasty ending of the masque serves to emphasize the structure of the quest narrative by redirecting the focus unto the ongoing conspiracy against Prospero. We are reminded with urgency that the quest for

a morally superior order has not yet ended, and that the marriage alone – usually a perfect ending for an early modern comedy – cannot resolve the underlying conflict of the play. The masque is, then, another early modern genre that blends in perfectly with medieval traditions. It brings to the fore the simultaneity of old and new world-views and, with it, old and new literary genres.

In the end, then, I agree with Demaray that *The Tempest* must be read as a drama of “theatrical forms in transition” (xiv). The play’s intergeneric nature suggests the transition from medieval to early modern belief systems that were spurred, amongst others, by narratives of the New World. *The Tempest* thus illustrates how already existing world-views enter a hybrid fusion with new world-views, and how this hybridity is mirrored in the formal and structural nature on the textual level. This blend of medieval and early modern genres/world-views in *The Tempest* also forces us to question the ongoing division of medieval and early modern studies. While it is true that the early modern period saw developments of “catalytic importance” such as “the Reformation, the invention of the printing press, or the discovery and colonization of the so-called New World,” it is equally true that “the self-reinforcing confluence of these stories of modernization [...] has encouraged scholars – and particularly early modernists – to imagine historical change as rupture or revolution and therefore to disregard the implications of areas of overlap and continuity in their approach to historical explanations” (Perry/Watkins 9). *The Tempest* is a case in point for this confluence of medieval and early modern studies: it urges us to rethink conventional periodizations and to acknowledge cross-periodic influences rather than to artificially separate epochs that were closely connected. Clear-cut distinctions between medieval and early modern genres and world-views may be attractive to academic institutions, but they do not represent the early modern reality – especially not the fictional reality of *The Tempest*.

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Zusammenfassung

In diesem Artikel wird der intergenerische Charakter von *Der Sturm* als ein Ausdruck der Verschmelzung von mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Traditionen im Drama des ausgehenden siebzehnten Jahrhundert gelesen. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit wird den Genres der mittelalterlichen Romanze, der frühneuzeitlichen Reiseliteratur und dem höfischen Maskenspiel gewidmet, welche in ihrer strukturellen und thematischen Synthese Einsicht in das Zusammenspiel von mythologischen und wissenschaftlichen sowie religiösen und humanistischen Elementen in Shakespeares Stück geben. Es wird gezeigt, dass konventionelle Kategorisierungen von Genres und Epochen nicht ausreichen sondern dass sowohl epochenübergreifende als auch genreübergreifende Ansätze nötig sind, um dem transformativen Charakter von Shakespeares *Sturm* gerecht zu werden.

THE SEA AS AN EPIC SIGNIFIER

BY

THOMAS KULLMANN

When William Shakespeare, in the 1570s, attended Stratford Grammar School, we can be sure that Virgil's *Aeneid*, as the most eminent and most dignified of the classic Latin texts, formed one of the highlights of his course of studies. (Cf. Baldwin, esp. vol. 1, 122-124, 342-351, and Mack. 12-14) It is very likely that the class was told to start construing the text at the beginning of book I, with its famous first line "Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris ...". Aeneas, we are told, escaped from burning Troy to travel to Italy to become the founder of a settlement and ancestor to the founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus. The first sustained incident narrated by Virgil is the shipwreck of Aeneas in a tempest off the coast of Carthage (I, 29-183). The tempest is caused by the goddess Juno, who is still angry at the Trojans for the slight sustained through Paris, the Trojan prince who gave the golden apple to Venus, the goddess of love, rather than herself, the goddess of marriage. Juno asks Aeolus, the god of winds, to stir up the waters to destroy the fleet of Aeneas. After most of the ships are destroyed, Neptune, the god of the sea, becomes aware of what happened; as he sympathizes with the Trojan hero he calms the seas and allows Aeneas and some of his followers to reach the African shore.

After mastering the intricacies of Latin grammatical forms and sentence structure, the Stratford Grammar School teacher would probably ask his students: 'And what, do you think, does the poet intend to tell us?'. Students will have been well aware that ancient classical texts, like the Bible, are supposed to provide moral lessons. (Cf. Mack, 14-24) The practice of interpreting implied a search for analogies between the story narrated and the life and conditions of life of the reader. The particular attraction of classical texts lay in their pagan origins, so that the moral lesson reached should dispense with the Christian God altogether. While in a Christian context the lesson taught by a shipwreck would be to pray to and trust in God in adversity, the 'pagan' interpretation would probably be in line with Stoic philosophy: Like Aeneas we should be aware of our limitations and our inability to fight against the inevitable; and like Aeneas we are called upon to suffer and endure the strokes of fortune calmly, to persevere in our tasks and never to give up hope, as we might survive tempests and other misfortunes. In the long run, these misfortunes could even turn out to be beneficial. The sea and its dangers, I should like to argue, was introduced to English schoolboys as a fitting image of the human condition in general. The changeful course of our lives is represented by the image of a voyage at sea. Our attitude with respect to this changefulness, according to both Stoic and Christian teaching, should first and foremost be one of patience and humility.

Shakespeare's acquaintance with the Virgilian passage becomes obvious time and again. In *Henry VI, Part 2*, Queen Margaret reminds the King of the "awkward wind" which "nigh wrack'd" (3.2.82f.)¹ her ship when she crossed the Channel to become Queen of England. Following Virgil, Margaret ascribes the tempestuous wind to Aeolus, the wind god, to whom she compares her husband:

Yet Aeolus would not be a murtherer,
But left that hateful office unto thee.
The pretty vaulting sea refus'd to drown me,
Knowing that thou wouldst have me drown'd on shore
With tears as salt as sea, through thy unkindness:
The splitting rocks cow'r'd in the sinking sands,
And would not dash me with their ragged sides,
Because thy flinty heart, more hard than they,
Might in thy palace perish [Margaret]. (3.2.92-100)

Margaret goes on to compare herself to Dido, the Queen of Carthage, who gave shelter to Aeneas after the shipwreck and fell in love with him, only to be abandoned by him in the consequence. To Suffolk she ascribes the role of Ascanius, Aeneas's little son in whose shape Cupid bewitched Dido (3.2.114-121). Margaret's speech testifies to the presence of Aeneas's voyage in the Elizabethan cultural consciousness as well as to the practice of interpreting this voyage allegorically, of looking for parallels between this voyage and troubling incidents in individual lives.

Shakespeare also refers to Aeneas's voyage in *The Comedy of Errors*, where Egeon repeats Aeneas's word to Dido (1.1.31f.) and *The Tempest*, where Gonzalo points out that Tunis was Carthage (2.1.84).² In this paper, however, I should like to draw particular attention not to plots but to images, i. e. metaphors or similes, in which the sea functions as a "vehicle",³ even if they do not contain any direct reference to the *Aeneid* or any other particular literary tempest.

Most often, the sea occurs as an image of immeasurable quantity. In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Valentine, in love with Silvia, considers himself

as rich in having such a jewel
As twenty seas, if all their sand were pearl,
The water nectar, and the rocks pure gold. (2.4.169-171).

After Valentine's banishment, Silvia's "heart" is "as full of sorrows as the sea of sands" (4.3.32f.). Juliet describes her love for Romeo like this: "My bounty is as boundless as the sea/ My love as deep" (2.2.133f.). In *Much Ado About Nothing* Leonato complains that his daughter Hero is so tainted by her apparent crime that "the wide sea/ Hath drops too few to wash her clean again" (4.1.140f.). After the murder of

¹ Words and passages from Shakespeare are quoted according to *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997.

² On issues of intertextuality involved cf. Kullmann 2004, 77-88.

³ On the history of this term in the context of sixteenth- and twentieth-century theories of imagery cf. McDonald, 59f. On twentieth-century theories of metaphor as applied to Shakespeare cf. also Thompson and Thompson.

Duncan Macbeth realizes that “all great Neptune’s ocean” cannot clean his hand, rather his hand will “the multitudinous seas incarnadine” (2.2.57-59).

The image of quantity is often connected to the concept of an irrational force. Antonio in *Twelfth Night* personifies the sea, claiming to have rescued Sebastian “from the rude sea’s enrag’d and foamy mouth” (5.1.78). In personifying natural forces as being ‘enraged’ Shakespeare follows the *Aeneid*, where the winds are “furentes” (I, 51), “indignantēs” (I, 55), whose “irae” need to be mollified (I, 57). In *The Taming of the Shrew* Petruchio proposes to marry a wealthy lady even if she were “as rough/ As are the swelling Adriatic seas” (1.2.73f.). Quite often, a human mind beset by passions is compared to the tempestuous sea. Aaron in *Titus Andronicus* announces that if he is opposed “the ocean swells not so as Aaron storms” (4.2.139). In *Richard II*, the king refers to “the low’ring tempest” of Mowbray’s and Bolingbroke’s “home-bred hate” (1.3.187). Titus Andronicus compares his passionate grief about his daughter to the ‘sea waxing mad’ (3.1.222). Queen Gertrude refers to Hamlet as “mad as the sea and wind when both contend/ Which is the mightier” (4.1.7f.). Cordelia states that her father is “as mad as the vexed sea” (4.4.2). In *Richard III*, Clarence in the Tower suffers from a nightmare, which he describes as “the tempest to my soul” (1.4.44).

In two comparisons the sea is referred to as “deaf” (*King John*, 2.1.451; *Richard II*, 1.1.19). This image obviously refers to human inability to influence the sea, which does not ‘listen’ to entreaties and expostulations. If somebody, like Mowbray and Bolingbroke in *Richard II*, is “deaf as the sea”, they are impervious to reasoning. The sea also becomes a metonymy for chance or fortune. When Falstaff proposes his scheme of a highway robbery to Prince Hal, -he ironically suggests that they are “men of good government, being govern’d, as the sea is, by our noble and chaste mistress the moon, under whose countenance we steal” (*Henry IV, Part I*, 1.2.27-29); Prince Hal retorts that “the fortune of us that are the moon’s men doth ebb and flow like the sea, being govern’d, as the sea is, by the moon” (1.2.31-33). In *Macbeth* Ross remarks to Lady Macduff that we “float upon a wild and violent sea/ Each way, and move” (4.2.21f.), implying both the dangers resulting from Macbeth’s cruelty and his inability to decide if he is still loyal to Macbeth or not.

The sea becomes an image of irresistible power – In *Henry VI, Part 3* King Edward compares “my sea” to King Henry’s “fount which makes small brooks to flow” (4.8.54f.). Queen Margaret later calls him a “ruthless sea” (5.4.25). Orsino describes his love as being “as hungry as the sea” (*Twelfth Night*, 2.4.100) and Pericles after recognizing his daughter is overwhelmed by a “sea of joys” (5.1.192) - as well as an image of human fallibility: After having fashioned himself as a ‘questant’ and a ‘pilgrim’ Bassanio finally realises that his condition as a wooer of Portia is that of a voyager who must be aware of the dangers involved in this mode of transport: “ornament is but the guiled shore/ To a most dangerous sea” (3.2.97f.). At the beginning of *Henry IV, Part 2* Lord Bardolph reminds his fellow rebels that they “ventured on such dangerous seas/ That if we wrought out life ’twas ten to one [...] And since we are o’erset, venture again” (1.2.181-185).

Given the sea’s powers it is certainly presumptuous to try to manipulate its features. In *Romeo and Juliet*, Capulet compares his daughter’s agitation to the sea, soon to be followed by the calm of her marriage to Count Paris:

In one little body
 Thou counterfeit'st a bark, a sea, a wind:
 For still thy eyes, which I may call the sea,
 Do ebb and flow with tears; the bark thy body is,
 Sailing in this salt flood; the winds, thy sighs,
 Who, raging with the tears, and they with them,
 Without a sudden calm, will overset
 Thy tempest-tossed body. How now, wife?
 Have you delivered to her our decree? (3.5.130-138)

Capulet's amateurish attempt at allegory is indicative of his lack of understanding for his daughter. It is true, that she is 'at sea', but the analogy goes much further than is warranted by the comparison of her tears to salt water.

In *Julius Caesar* Brutus after having killed Caesar and fled from Rome is aware of being subject to fortune, but he still thinks he can manipulate it. Against Cassius's advice he decides to attack Octavius's and Antony's forces at Philippi, expressing his decision by a sea image:

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
 Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
 Omitted, all the voyage of their life
 Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
 On such a full sea are we now afloat,
 And we must take the current when it serves,
 Or lose our ventures. (4.3.218-224)

You cannot trust the benevolence of currents, though. Inadvertently Brutus reveals what is perhaps the central motive of his intervention in Roman history: it was his ambition to be afloat on a "full sea" rather than "bound in shallows and in miseries". Being at sea makes him 'great' but renders him a prey to fortune.

The choice of image can reveal more than the speaker intends. If images are given an application which does not quite fit their intrinsic significance, they obviously show a misconception on the part of the speaker. Instances of mixed metaphors are particularly revealing. When Agamemnon in *Troilus and Cressida* tries to blame the disorganized state of his troops on fortune, he refers to "the wind and tempest of her frown", which is obviously overdoing the imagery and thereby rendering it meaningless. The phenomenon of mixed metaphors is found in Nestor's ensuing speech to an extent which is even more striking. Taking up Agamemnon's idea that true virtue emerges in adverse fortune, Nestor proceeds to add some metaphorical flourish:

In the reproof of chance
 Lies the true proof of men: the sea being smooth,
 How many shallow bauble boats dare sail
 Upon her [patient] breast, making their way
 With those of nobler bulk!
 But let the ruffian Boreas once enrage
 The gentle Thetis, and anon behold

The strong-ribb'd bark through liquid mountains cut,
 Bounding between the two moist elements
 Like Perseus' horse. Where's then the saucy boat
 Whose weak untimber'd sides but even now
 Corrivall'd greatness? Either to harbor fled,
 Or made a toast for Neptune. Even so
 Doth valor's show and valor's worth divide
 In storms of fortune; for in her ray and brightness
 The herd hath more annoyance by the breeze
 Than by the tiger; but when the splitting wind
 Makes flexible the knees of knotted oaks,
 And flies fled under shade, why then the thing of courage,
 As rous'd with rage, with rage doth sympathize,
 And, with an accent tun'd in self-same key,
 Retires to chiding fortune. (1.3.33-54)

Nestor's grandiloquence cannot gloss over the inadequacy of the Greek warriors who because of their petty squabbles, their lack of determination and their inability to agree on a course of action fail to bring the Trojan War to a conclusion. The emptiness of Nestor's speech is revealed by the indiscriminate heaping of incompatible images. While the sea is an established image for "chance" or "fortune", the "true proof of man" lies in bearing with fortune patiently rather than in 'reproving' it. While it is good to have a strong-built ship, it is rather misleading to consider this ship to be an image for 'greatness'. Perseus might be able to drive his horses through the sea like a mettlesome knight, but ordinary mortals cannot. Even less can the quality of the ship be paralleled with the absence or presence of valour: it is impossible to fight a storm by means of human warfare, the less so if courage is accompanied by "rage". Patience, not passion, allows Aeneas to reach Carthage. It is certainly not surprising that Nestor's heap of images is not followed by any practical suggestion.

Hamlet also mixes up the images of fighting and seafaring, and, as with Agamemnon, the referent is "outrageous fortune":

Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
 The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
 Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
 And by opposing, end them. (3.1.56-59)

If the enmity of fortune really manifested itself in slings and arrows, it would be an easy matter to oppose it by taking up arms. Unfortunately, however, his troubles are not mere childish disturbances, but amount to a sea. Hamlet cannot take up arms against it any more than Aeneas, and it is certainly nobler to endure tempests patiently. Or is it slings and arrows after all? In this case endurance might perhaps not be noble. The mixing of the images and the chiasmic structure of the alternatives reveal the extent of Hamlet's dilemma. Is the sea of troubles part of Hamlet's own mind, a tempest in his soul as with Clarence? In this case taking up arms against it will naturally amount to suicide, which Hamlet discusses in the next lines: "To die, to sleep" etc. (3.1.59ff.).

Neither suicide nor chivalric action, however, seems to fit into Shakespeare's concept of resisting outrageous fortune. I should like to argue that *Hamlet* aligns itself

with many other plays which show a general scepticism with regard to using force to redress wrongs. At the beginning of *Hamlet*, the guard's attempt to strike at the ghost with a partisan (a long-handed spear, 1.1.140) appears preposterous, as ridiculous as the idea of taking up arms to fight the sea.

Unlike Hamlet and unlike Agamemnon, Othello appears to be well-equipped to endure both real and metaphorical tempests. When he arrives at Cyprus after witnessing the dispersal of the Turkish fleet, he addresses Desdemona:

O my soul's joy!
 If after every tempest come such calms,
 May the winds blow till they have waken'd death!
 And let the laboring bark climb hills of seas
 Olympus-high, and duck again as low
 As hell's from heaven! If it were now to die
 'Twere now to be most happy; for I fear
 My soul hath her content so absolute
 That not another comfort like to this
 Succeeds in unknown fate. (2.1.184-193)

Othello considers himself an expert in braving tempests, and so far he has obviously been rewarded for his capacities of endurance. His attitude with regard to the tempests of fortune, however, seems to be informed by pride rather than humility. Othello is aware of being dependent on fortune, but his fatalism appears overdone. He neither refers to any continuing efforts of his own nor expresses any hope or thankfulness for the mercy of some higher power. The tempest image now takes on another connotation, that of heroic grandeur. Othello's heroism does not offer him means of resistance to private and unheroic adversity, i. e. to the petty and despicable emotion of sexual jealousy. It is the slings and arrows of fortune rather than the sea of troubles which lead to his downfall.

The *Othello* passage exemplifies Shakespeare's technique of juxtaposing 'real' voyages, tempests and shipwrecks with their metaphorical connotations. (Cf. Knight 1953, esp. 18, 169, 194, 217; Clemen 183; Kullmann 1989, 242f) We also find this technique in *The Comedy of Errors*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Twelfth Night*, *Pericles*, *The Winter's Tale* and, of course, *The Tempest*. After Egeus has told the Duke about his misfortunes at sea, we encounter his son who compares himself to a "drop of water,/ That in the ocean seeks another drop" (1.2.35f.). In *The Merchant of Venice*, Antonio's pronouncement that all his fortunes are "at sea" (1.1.177) is both literally and metaphorically true. The metaphorical meaning gives to the story its general application, and we realise that the plot constitutes an "expanded metaphor". (Knight 1949, 15; cf. Knight 1953, 217)

It is in the comedies and romances that we meet voyagers, literal and metaphorical, who meet storms of fortune with the correct spirit of patience, endurance and humility. To them, as to Viola in *Twelfth Night*, the sea stops raging: "Tempests are kind, and salt waves fresh in love" (3.4.384).

We see that in the work of Shakespeare the sea and the dangers of voyaging form a major source of figurative language. One cluster of images concerns the similarity of tears and sighs on one hand and salt water and winds on the other. This image cluster,

common in Italian love poetry, as in Petrarca's sonnets and canzones (*Canzoniere*, 17, 66, 135, 189, 235, 237, 332, 359), is rather used ironically, as by Capulet who applies it to his daughter's feelings which he does not take seriously.

Another cluster of images concerns vastness of the sea, and, in particular, the quantity of tiny parts which make up a vast whole, the grains of sands at the bottom and the shore of the sea, or the drops of water. This image cluster obviously derives from Biblical images which emphasize the smallness of the individual, thereby enjoining humility. The image of the tides, of "ebb and flow", to denote both changeability and regularity, might be added as characteristically Shakespearean.

The predominant image cluster, however, defines the sea as a dangerous place for voyagers, or even as a person characterized by irrational passion, by rage and ire, and by impulses violent and destructive. It is this image cluster which I would like to classify as 'epic', with book I of the *Aeneid* as the prime pre-text. This image can work in two ways: Quite often the image can be applied to the mind of a person who has lost his or her ability to think rationally, to control their passions. King Lear refers to the "tempest" in his "mind" (3.4.12); like the tempest at sea, his mind needs calming down before things can turn back to normal, before the natural order is restored. The other sort of image involves the opposition of a voyager and the tempestuous sea; with the sea standing for 'the other', forces which are inimical and incalculable, deaf to entreaties and not amenable to reason, impervious to any attempt at force. Without human intervention, however, these tempests are liable to subside and to allow the traveller to reach his destination safely. The construction of the other as the sea of course implies a certain construction of the 'self', a concept of the human condition. The individual who metaphorically confronts the sea is constructed as rational and endowed with wide but limited perception. In order to master 'the other' he or she needs to be patient and skilful; they should be prepared to endure inexplicable calamities calmly, so as not to 'assist the storm' by becoming passionate themselves, in order perhaps to be rewarded by prosperous winds after the cessation of the tempest. Life is envisaged as a voyage, with limited human control as to where we are going, a voyage which involves both danger and hope. The sea imagery thus becomes a literary shorthand code for a world picture informed by Stoic philosophy, slightly tempered by the idea of a prosperous conclusion which through one's own perseverance as well as the mercy of some divine power might be reached at the end, an idea found in Virgil's *Aeneid*, as well as, of course, in Christianity. (Cf. Kullmann 1995, 210-220)

We realize that meaning is produced by the complex intertextual pattern evoked by the sea imagery; and we can also see that 'real' voyages – as undertaken by Shakespeare's contemporaries – are of little significance within this intertextual pattern.⁴ To Shakespeare, as well as to most of his spectators and readers, maritime adventures were exclusively textual ones.⁵ I should like to argue that in Shakespeare

⁴ This was first noted by Caroline Spurgeon (24-26, 47f.) in the context of biographical speculation.

⁵ Two exceptions which involve a reference to contemporary voyages of trade rather confirm this rule: Falstaff in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and Troilus in *Troilus and Cressida* use "India" as a metaphor for the sexual exploits they envisage: Concerning Mistress Ford and Mistress Page, Falstaff announces that "they shall be my East and West Indies, and I will trade to them both" (1.3.71f.). Troilus remarks that Cressida's "bed is India, there she lies, a pearl" (1.1.100). The

both literal and metaphorical references to the sea mainly follow the epic discourse in evoking the notions of human exposedness and dignity inherent in the classical shipwreck story, as well as the discourse about the human condition connected to these notions. This picture, and discourse, of the human predicament contrasts with another one current in the Elizabethan age: that of chivalrous valour which enables a knight to reach his goal by fighting. As can be seen from many of his plays like *Twelfth Night*, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* (and as I have argued elsewhere; cf. Kullmann 1989, 244-251; and Kullmann 1995, 139-141) Shakespeare seems to regard chivalrous valour with the utmost suspicion. The sea imagery which derives from the epic genre obviously serves to promote a discursive change from chivalrous self-assertiveness to a more complex concept of humanity.

It may appear paradoxical that the Renaissance, sometimes hailed as the age of the discovery of the world and man, should promote a concept of human nature which emphasizes man's smallness rather than greatness and exhorts us to be humble rather than proud. I should like to argue, however, that the epic imagery used by Shakespeare is part of the Renaissance project of human self-discovery. It is through being aware of the storms of fortune that we, in the words of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, can assert our "human dignity" and ultimately reach our full potential as humans.

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comparison to trading voyages, however, does not provide sympathy with their predicament but renders the two unconvincing lovers ridiculous. When real trade is involved, as in *The Merchant of Venice*, it lends itself to traditional imagery: Antonio becomes a prey to fortune, just like Aeneas and other epic travellers.

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Zusammenfassung

Für Shakespeare und die meisten seiner Zeitgenossen waren maritime Abenteuer eng verknüpft mit einer Schriftkultur, die ihre Wurzeln in der Antike hat. Zweifellos haben elisabethanische Reiseberichte die Fantasie von Autoren wie Sidney, Greene oder Shakespeare beflügelt, entscheidend für literarische Seestücke waren jedoch vor allem antike Vorlagen. Einer der zentralen Textpassagen in dieser Tradition ist Vergils Beschreibung des Schiffbruchs, den Aeneas vor der Küste Karthagos erleidet (*Aeneis*; I, 29-183). Es ist davon auszugehen, dass Shakespeare das kanonische Lehrgedicht als Schuljunge kennenlernte. Shakespeares Werke zeugen jedenfalls von einer Bekanntheit dieser Passage, beispielsweise in *2 Henry VI* (3.2.81-118), in *The Comedy of Errors*, wenn Egeon die an Dido gerichteten Worte des Aeneas wiedergibt (1.1.32f.) und in *The Tempest*, wenn Gonzalo erläutert, Tunis sei Karthago (2.1.84). Elisabethanische Autoren nutzen Vergils Geschichte als Exemplum der *condition humana*. In meinem Beitrag untersuche ich die Seemetaphorik im Werk Shakespeares und zeige auf, dass die See sowohl für eine unkontrollierbare Gewalt steht – Orsino beschreibt seine Liebe als “as hungry as the sea” (*Twelfth Night*, 2.4.101), Pericles überwältigt eine “sea of joys” (5.1.198), als er seine Tochter erkennt – als auch für die Fehlbarkeit des Menschen – Bassanio kommt zu der Erkenntnis, dass er als Portias Freier auch ein Seereisender ist: “ornament is but the guiled shore/ To a most dangerous sea” (3.2.97f.). Besonders deutlich wird diese ambivalente Metaphorik in Hamlets Überlegung, es sei ‘noble in the mind’ “to take arms against a sea of troubles” (3.1.59), eine Vorstellung, die ebenso absurd ist wie der Versuch, einen Geist mit einer Streitaxt schlagen zu wollen (1.1.143). Shakespeares Seemetaphorik, die sich auf Vergils Epos stützt, deutet somit auf einen Diskurswandel, in dem Vorstellungen von Ritterlichkeit einem komplexeren Verständnis der *conditio humana* weichen.

SHIPWRECKS AND LOST IDENTITIES IN SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS: THE CASE OF *PERICLES*

BY

SIMONETTA DE FILIPPIS

1. *The Elizabethan Sea*

During the sixteenth century after the discovery and exploration of new lands and with the consequential development of trade and navigation, the sea acquires an increasing importance in social, economic, and military enterprises. It opens new perspectives and meanings, encouraging travelling and offering powerful experiences in the confrontation with otherness and, as a consequence, in the meditation on personal identity. Indeed, this is the time when a new politics of the sea marks the very beginning of those phenomena and concepts such as empire, colonialism, cultural encounters, economic exchanges and globalisation, which are all central in our contemporary debate.

The wide presence of the sea in the literature of the time raises many questions: has the Elizabethan sea to be considered an ideological space or a material place in our critical discourse? How influential is the presence of the sea in the Shakespearean theatre as a theatrical space, as an expression of a specific poetics, as a characterising element of a particular genre, as a symbol of the new cultural atmosphere?

Indeed, the sea with its endless movement and unpredictable changes becomes a great metaphor of the mobility and fluidity of the time, of the uncertainties and loss of steady references in the major aspects of the social, political as well as religious life, and of the need to take quest journeys in order to redefine man's identity that, at the time, had been called into question so profoundly. The sea with its changeable nature, source of material richness and of devastating losses, major means towards the enlargement of horizons and increase of knowledge on the one hand, often dramatic space of tragedy on the other, vividly reflects the sense of confusion of the time, becoming a mirror of man's identity loss and a stage for a new identity quest.

Storms and shipwrecks are frequent "headline news" at the time, with which the English population is forced to become familiar; it is not unexpected, then, to find them in literary and dramatic works where they often appear as powerful moments of trials and misfortunes in the hero's quest journey.

In the Shakespearean theatre with its capacity to mirror true life and human feelings, the sea is often chosen as a privileged locus where shipwrecks take place, and where the ship recurs as a predominant element, whether it is on or off stage, in the theatrical action or in the narration of its characters. The sea is often connoted as an element of separation or reunion, symbol of grief and joy, of death and life.

Indeed, several ships plough tempestuous waves in a significant number of Shakespearean plays, reaching remote places such as Egypt, Greece, Italy, Denmark, France, and so on, facing danger and suffering shipwrecks, urged by an aim of conquest and economic acquisition and often determined by the need of individual quests to achieve self-awareness and to recover lost identities.

2. *The Sea as Stage: Ships and Shipwrecks in the Shakespearean Theatre*

The Comedy of Errors and *Twelfth Night* open with the narration of a remote and a recent shipwreck during which, in both cases, twin brothers are separated.

In the first comedy old Egeon movingly describes a remote shipwreck which had caused the splitting of his family, and had left him with only one of his twin sons and one of the twin servants:

A league from Epidamnum had we sailed
 Before the always wind-obeying deep
 Gave any tragic instance of our harm.
 But longer did we not retain much hope,
 [...]
 We were encountered by a mighty rock,
 Which being violently borne upon,
 Our helpful ship was splitted in the midst;
 So that in this unjust divorce of us
 Fortune had left to both of us alike
 What to delight in, what to sorrow for. (1.1.63-66, 102-107)

The identities of the twin brothers are consequently halved until, through new sea-journeys, those identities can be reunited in a deeper awareness and recomposed stronger than ever. The difficulty of the protagonist's quest of his lost half is fully conveyed in the touching, significant words that Antipholus of Syracuse pronounces at his arrival on Ephesus, an explicit indication that the philosophical-existential discourse of the identity quest pervades the whole text and is constantly implied in the more evident comic discourse:

I to the world am like a drop of water
 That in the ocean seeks another drop,
 Who, falling there to find his fellow forth,
 Unseen, inquisitive, confound himself.
 So I, to find a mother and a brother,
 In quest of them unhappy, lose myself. (1.2.33-40)¹

These words are rounded off in the final cue in which Dromio of Ephesus celebrates his recovered identity through the reunion with his own twin-brother: "Methinks you are my glass and not my brother. / [...] / We came into the world like brother and brother, / And now let's go hand in hand, not one before another" (5.1.417, 424-

¹ This speech has also an important theatrical function, with its pre-Hamletic tone, leading the play from the tragic beginning of Egeon's death sentence to the comic body of the "comedy of errors."

25). The opening of *Twelfth Night* shows the results of a tragic shipwreck, as the castaway Viola finds herself alone and desperate in an unknown place. The Captain tries to comfort her with words that also have a “scenic” function for their powerful evocation of an off-stage theatrical action, thus projecting the images of that action onto the stage of the spectator’s mind:

[...] after our ship did split,
 [...] I saw your brother,
 [...] bind himself [...]
 To a strong mast that lived upon the sea,
 Where like Arion on the dolphin’s back,
 I saw him hold acquaintance with the waves
 So long as I could see. (1.2.8-16)

Viola, a stranger in an unknown place and afraid of the risks connected to her gender, changes her identity into that of a young man until Sebastian, her brother, unexpectedly appears towards the end of the play, restoring Viola/Cesario to her female identity and contributing to the happy ending of the love story of the comedy. Indeed, this play also develops as a ‘comedy of errors’ based, as it is, on disguised and mistaken identities, complicated by a gender confusion, which leads to the questioning of one’s own essence:

OLIVIA. Stay:
 I prithee tell me what thou think’st of me.
 VIOLA. That you do think you are not what you are.
 OLIVIA. If I think so, I think the same of you.
 VIOLA. Then think you right, I am not what I am.
 OLIVIA. I would you were as I would have you be.
 VIOLA. Would it be better, madam, than I am?
 I wish it might, for now I am your fool. (3.1.135-142)

In these two early comedies, therefore, the presence of the sea is partly ideological in its representation of the sense of identity loss and the consequent need for a quest, but it is also connected to the romance genre, largely characterised by sea travels and shipwrecks which cause the separation and later reunion of family members.

In *The Merchant of Venice* the sea, implicitly present in connection with the sea city of Venice, is evoked as a material place of trade and navigation. Indeed, Antonio’s ships are all engaged in trade enterprises and, at the beginning, this seems to be the reason of his melancholy:

SALERIO. Your mind is tossing on the ocean,
 There where your argosies with portly sail,
 [...]
 Do overpeer the petty traffickers
 That curtsy to them, do them reverence,
 As they fly by them with their woven wings. (1.1.8-14)

Later on in the play those ships seem to be lost – “Antonio hath a ship of rich lading wrecked on the narrow seas,” Salerio says (3.1.2-4) – just as their owner also appears to be lost– “The Duke cannot deny the course of law” (3.3.26); however, later, when

Antonio is saved from the deathly bond agreed upon with Shylock thanks to Portia's ability and boldness, Antonio's ships are miraculously recovered as Portia announces: "Unseal this letter soon, / There you shall find three of your argosies / Are richly come to harbour suddenly" (5.1.275-77). Ships are also war machines, as in *Henry V* where the King, with the help of Chorus, sails from Southampton to take his soldiers (and his audience) to France:

The King is set from London, and the scene
Is now transported, gentles, to Southampton.
There is the playhouse now, there must you sit,
And thence to France shall we convey you safe
And bring you back, charming the narrow seas
To give you gentle pass; [...] (Chorus 2.0.34-39)

War ships form the Turkish fleet which, in *Othello*, is wiped out by a providential storm before they reach Cyprus – "News, lords, your wars are done: / The desperate tempest hath so bang'd the Turk, / That their designment halts: another ship, of Venice, / Hath seen a grievous wrack and sufferance / On most part of the fleet" (2.1.20-24) – whereas the ships "of love" carrying the two protagonists are not damaged by the fury of thesea, as Cassio says:

Tempests themselves, high seas, and howling winds,
[...] do omit
Their common natures, letting go safely by
The divine Desdemona. (2.1.68-73)²

The public and military conflict between Turks and Venetians, which the spectators expected to be the core of the dramatic action, is thus rapidly (and implausibly) resolved by natural events; the play can thus concentrate on the private sphere and the inner struggles of the protagonists, on Othello's tormented passion and on Iago's dark plots, so as to investigate the individual's psyche and lead the spectator to observe his or her own passions and psyche through the theatrical mirror.

In *Antony and Cleopatra* Egyptian and Roman ships confront each other in sea battles, though they remain in the background in respect to the love-ship which leads Antony into Cleopatra's arms, and later takes him away from her, and then joins them again up to death and beyond death. The ship becomes the symbol of the journey of passion, a dimension which is underlined by Enobarbus in his description of the two protagonists' first encounter on the river Cydnus:

When she first met Mark Antony, she purs'd up his heart upon the
river of Cydnus. [...]
The barge she sat in, like a burnish'd throne
Burn'd on the water: the poop was beaten gold;

² Othello, at his arrival in Cyprus, speaks lines that will later appear sadly ironical: "O my soul's joy, / If after every tempest come such calmness, / May the winds blow, till they have waken'd death, / And let the labouring bark climb hills of seas, / Olympus-high, and duck again as low / As hell's from heaven" (2.1.184-189).

Purple the sails, and so perfumed that
 The winds were love-sick with them; the oars were silver,
 Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
 The water which they beat to follow faster,
 As amorous of their strokes. For her own person,
 It beggar'd all description: [...]
 Her gentlewomen, like the Nereides,
 So many mermaids, tended her i' the eyes,
 And made their bends adornings. At the helm
 A seeming mermaid steers: the silken tackle
 Swell with the touches of those flower-soft hands,
 That yarely frame the office. From the barge
 A strange invisible perfume hits the sense
 Of the adjacent wharfs. [...] (2.2.186-187, 191-198, 206-213)

Cleopatra appears on her ship in all her beauty, and the ship itself is here identified with the Queen of Egypt, both wonderfully seductive in their rich ornaments and enchanting as sirens. Antony, since that first fatal moment, can only follow Cleopatra until his final perdition. He has become oblivious of those warlike values which had once supported and led him towards his great military victories and is totally lost in the spell of a passion which is stronger than his own honour:

SCARUS. She once being loof'd,
 The noble ruin of her magic, Antony,
 Claps on his sea-wing, and (like a doting mallard)
 Leaving the fight in heighth, flies after her:
 I never saw an action of such shame;
 Experience, manhood, honour, ne'er before
 Did violate so itself. (3.10.18-24)

Antony is aware that he is in a state of absolute subjection, and, when accusing Cleopatra, he refers to her again with a simile which reiterates the identification of the queen with her ship:

Egypt, thou knew'st too well,
 My heart was to thy rudder tied by the strings,
 And thou shouldst tow me after. [...] You did know
 How much you were my conqueror, and that
 My sword, made weak by my affection, would
 Obey it on all cause. (3.11.56-58, 65-68)

The ship of love thus becomes the ship of death, the place in which *Eros* and *Thanatos* find their meeting point, as Cleopatra declares when, preparing herself for death, she chooses to wear those regal robes in which she had appeared to Antony at their first encounter on the river Cydnus, in order to renew that moment and join her lover in death and beyond death:

Now, Charmian!
 Show me, my women, like a queen: go fetch
 My best attires: I am again for Cydnus,
 To meet Mark Antony. (5.2.225-228)

The ship as a deliberate death instrument appears in *Hamlet*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*, taking the protagonists to their supposed fatal destinations and endangering their lives in the perils of the sea.

Hamlet takes, unawares, a journey towards death on the Danish ship which sails towards the court of England, but he is unexpectedly rescued by a pirate ship and is thus able to return to Denmark, as the young Prince himself explains in a letter to Horatio:

Ere we were two days old at sea, a pirate of very warlike appointment gave us chase. Finding ourselves too slow of sail, we put on a compelled valour, and in the grapple I boarded them. On the instant they got clear of our ship, so I alone became their prisoner. They have dealt with me like thieves of mercy.

(4.6.13-19)

A similar crossing is that of the Sicilian ship in *The Winter's Tale*, which reaches the shores of Bohemia (a land here fantastically placed on the sea), where the newborn Perdita is abandoned to certain death as commanded by the insane will of King Leontes, totally clouded by his unjustified jealousy. The infant is eventually found and rescued by the loving hands of a good Shepherd, whereas the ship that had carried out its infamous, deathly mission is destroyed with all its crew in a shipwreck, which takes place off stage and is described by a clown, a powerless observer from the shore:

O, the most piteous cry of the poor souls! sometimes to see 'em, and not to see 'em: now the ship boring the moon with her main-mast, and anon swallowed with yest and froth, as you 'd thrust a cork into a hogs-head. [...] how the poor souls roared, and the sea mocked them: (3.3.86-90, 96)

In *The Tempest* the battered ship which had taken Prospero and Miranda away from Milan was also meant to be a death instrument – “A rotten carcass of a butt, not rigg'd, / Nor tackle, sail, nor mast; the very rats / Instinctively have quit it” (1.2.146-48) – but, as Prospero himself narrates, they eventually landed on the island safely.

Whereas this ship is only briefly described and left to the audience's imagination, another much bigger and more solid ship – the ship of the King of Naples – appears at the very opening of the play before the astonished and moved spectators, and becomes the stage for a highly dramatic action: a ship in peril on a tempestuous sea that the boatswain tries to steer in vain – “Down with the topmast! Yare! Lower, lower! Bring her to try with main-course [...]. Lay her a-hold, a-hold! Set her two courses; off to sea again; lay her off” (1.1.34-35, 49-50) – and is not able to save from shipwreck.

Usually a play opens with a classic prologue or with a quiet introductory action, generally a dialogue where indications of places, times, and characters can be easily offered to the spectators in order to give them the basic elements to find their way about the plot. Why, then, the choice in *The Tempest* of such a strong action for an opening scene which was difficult to stage, and at the risk of creating confusion in the audience? It seems to me that this is a revealing element of Shakespeare's drive to try out ever new theatrical experiments:

The spectacular opening scene is theatrical in the extreme – shouted language that creates with extraordinary precision the impression of a ship about to be dashed on to a lee shore, the movement of actors' bodies and noisy sound effects that both construct the stage as a windswept and moving deck. (O'Connell 226)

The tempest and the shipwreck are only partially presented on stage in the opening scene; indeed, the audience can only hear the voices of mariners from within (“‘Mercy on us!’ / ‘We split, we split!’ — ‘Farewell, my wife and children!’/ ‘Farewell, brother!’ — ‘We split, we split, we split!’” 1.1.59-61) but do not watch the actual shipwreck. Shakespeare, however, very cleverly completes the picture by describing different moments of the shipwreck later through the words of several characters from different points of view, and giving particulars of the rescue of single characters. The first character to give the audience details of the shipwreck is Miranda in the opening speech of the following scene; her narration gives the perspective of an observer from the shore, starting with the description of the tempestuous natural elements and then focusing on the people and the “brave vessel” “dashed all to pieces” (1.2.1, 13). Prospero immediately reassures Miranda and the spectators that the shipwreck is only a theatrical illusion staged by his magic, that “[t]here is no harm done” and that “there is no soul — / No, not so much perdition as an hair / Betid to any creature in the vessel” (1.2.14, 29-31). The second description is offered by Ariel from an inner perspective; indeed, he is the real author of the staging of the shipwreck as he “boarded the king’s ship” and “flam’d amazement,” making everybody mad with terror, but he specifies that “Not a hair perish’d” and that the King’s ship is “safely in harbour”(1.2.195, 226). Another brief reference to the shipwreck is in Ferdinand’s words when he considers how he was drawn by music while “Sitting on a bank, / Weeping again the King my father’s wrack” (1.2.392-393). In Act II the shipwrecked King and his court comment on the miracle of their preservation and on the strange circumstance of their garments which are strangely in a better state than before the shipwreck. Another detail of the shipwreck is narrated in this scene by Francisco who, trying to comfort the King, suggests that his son Ferdinand might have survived as he saw him “beat the surges under him, / And ride upon their backs” (2.1.110-111). Stephano and Trinculo describe the way they escaped in 2.2, the former finding his safety “upon a butt of sack, which the sailors heaved o’erboard” (l 123-124), the latter just swimming “ashore, [...] like a duck” (129). News of the regal ship are given at the end by the boatswain who announces in the final scene of the play: “[...] our ship — / Which, but three glasses since, we gave out split — / Is tight and yare and bravely rigg’d, as when / We first put out to sea” (5.1.222-224). That ship, perfectly recovered, will sail again to take the young loving couple to the kingdom of Naples. It will also allow Prospero’s return to “his” Milan with the essential help from the audience: “*Gentle breath of yours my sails / Must fill, or else my project fails, / Which was to please*”(EPILOGUE, 11-13).

In all these plays the sea seems to represent both an ideological and a theatrical space: indeed, it can be read as a great metaphor of the new cultural atmosphere, of the uncertainty and mutability of the time, as well as a theatrical device, widely used to get the action underway. Moreover, as it is typical of the romance genre, the sea often determines the separation of family members and the consequent quest journey which,

on a superficial level of narration, is meant to lead to the final reunion after a long span of time; however, this journey often turns into a psychological trial, a passage rite through which the hero is enabled to recover his true identity. The story of *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* is a perfect paradigm of this critical path.

3. *Pericles's Journey*³

The ships and tempests discussed above are mainly recalled in diegetic moments, with the exception of *Antony and Cleopatra* and *The Tempest*. In *Pericles* tempests and shipwrecks, in their function of powerful trials of the hero's strength of mind, are presented on stage through different theatrical solutions.

The first occurrence is at the very opening of Act II in which the ancient poet Gower, in the function of the Chorus, offers a vivid and detailed narration of a terrible shipwreck:

[...] the wind begins to blow;
 Thunder above and deeps below
 Makes such unquiet that the ship
 Should house him safe is wracked and split,
 And he, good prince, having all lost,
 By waves from coast to coast is tossed.
 All perishen of man, of pelf,
 Ne aught escapend but himself;
 Till Fortune, tired with doing bad,
 Threw him ashore, to give him glad.
 And here he comes. What shall be next,
 Pardon old Gower – this longs the text. (2.2.29-40)

Pericles, then, appears on stage “wet” at the opening of 2.1, thus showing to the audience the results of an off-scene shipwreck, a misfortune which has, at this stage, the function of a first trial, leaving Pericles totally dispossessed of men and property.

Act III also opens with a long narration by Gower which includes a brief reference to another frightful tempest, a much more devastating trial as Pericles is deprived of his beloved wife Thaisa in this second tempest:

[...] the grisled north
 Disgorges such a tempest forth
 That, as a duck for lives that dive,
 So up and down the poor ship drives.
 The lady shrieks and, well-a-neighbor,
 Does fall in travail with her fear.
 And what ensues in this fell storm
 Shall for itself itself perform.
 I will relate, action may
 Conveniently the rest convey,
 Which might not what by me is told.

³ Parts of this section are discussed in de Filippis, “A Stranger in the Mirror.”

In your imagination hold
 This stage the ship, upon whose deck
 The sea-tossed Pericles appears to speak. (3.3.47-60)

This speech contains significant theatrical elements as it underlines the function of the ship as stage and emphasises the more vivid quality of theatrical action in comparison with narration. Indeed, Scene 1 stages the proper tempest, showing Pericles “a-shipboard” in the middle of the storm, invoking the gods against thunder and the fury of thesea. The audience can watch the mariners trying to steer the ship and finally requesting Pericles to throw Thaisa’s body overboard as the wind and the sea “will not lie till the ship be cleared of the dead” (3.1.48-49).

A third metaphorical tempest occurs in Act IV. Gower informs the audience that Pericles “[i]s now again thwarting the wayward seas” (4.4.10) to reach the place where he can get his daughter back, only to discover that there is no more than a tomb. Made distraught by grief, “He puts on sackcloth, and to sea. He bears / A tempest which his mortal vessel tears, / And yet he rides it out” (4.4.29-31). Pericles is now confronted with the inner tempest of his feelings, a final and most difficult trial which he seems about to fail were it not for the new strength and life he gets from his recovered daughter in the final recognition scene, which takes place, symbolically, on Pericles’s ship.

Indeed, the ship in *Pericles* is not only the instrument of the protagonist’s many journeys, but it holds several symbolic meanings and often becomes totally identifiable with the stage itself. This is one of the experimental aspects of *Pericles*, a play which marks the shift from the tragic writing to the new form of romance, a genre mainly connected to narrative and that, in its application to the theatre form, represents a new challenge for Shakespeare who needs to try different paths and find new dramatic solutions.

Shakespeare initially resumes and develops the story which had only been partly used in the opening scene of *The Comedy of Errors* as Egeon’s narration of past events, and moves from the narrative genre to the dramatic action extending Egeon’s short tale into full three acts. In fact, after Scene 1 Egeon leaves the stage to the protagonists of the proper comedy to re-appear only in the concluding scene, and contribute to the final happy ending of the entire play. Pericles, by contrast, plays all his story before the audience, moving on his ship to and fro between several islands, facing ever new life-testing adventures in a difficult, uneven but formative journey.

Pericles’s story is as painful an odyssey as that of Ulysses: the hero’s endless crossing the waves and facing the tempestuous sea of his own mind and heart cause him painful suffering, but these hard trials to which he is subjected in order to strengthen his moral vigour enable him to recover his lost identity, achieve a deeper self-awareness and knowledge of the world, and, in the end be rewarded with the reunion of his family.

Pericles’s inner journey starts with a confrontation with one of the most essential aspects of human life: sexuality. The Prince of Tyre is attracted to Antioch by the rumour of the beauty of the king’s daughter and is ready to put his life at risk in order to obtain her in marriage. The exclusively physical attraction towards the young Princess emerges clearly in the words he speaks when he first sees her:

Her face the book of praises, where is read
 Nothing but curious pleasures [...]
 You gods that made me man, and sway in love,
 That have inflamed desire in my breast
 To taste the fruit of yon celestial tree
 Or die in the adventure, be my helps,
 As I am son and servant to your will,
 To compass such a boundless happiness! (1.1.16-17, 20-25)

Not only does Pericles desire his Eve, but, both in words and actions, he sounds rather blasphemous as he invokes the gods' support for an enterprise which implies putting at risk such a precious and sacred gift as life in order to taste the forbidden fruit. The explicit reference to the forbidden "fruit" of the original sin that he desires "to taste" in order to enjoy "curious pleasures" and a "boundless happiness" – a lexicon accurately chosen in order to emphasise the sinful nature of Pericles's desire – strongly links Pericles to sexual guilt; somehow, his words are a declaration of guilt from the very beginning, and all his subsequent pains can be explained as a consequence of that original sexual sin which has led to the loss of his peace of mind and his identity.

Pericles soon confronts himself with one of the most ancient and untouchable taboos connected with the sphere of sexuality: incest; aware not only of the terrible guilt of Antiochus and his daughter but also of his own sinful feelings, he withdraws in horror and tries to distance himself from his own desire:

Fair glass of light, I lov'd you, and could still,
 Were not this glorious casket stor'd with ill.
 But I must tell you, now my thoughts revolt;
 For he's no man on whom perfections wait
 That, knowing sin within, will touch the gate. (1.1.77-81)

Pericles has unveiled the terrible truth and, like Oedipus, he now has to confront his own unconscious in order to disclose the truth of his own hidden self and face his feelings of an "uncanny" likeness to Antiochus.

Freud discusses several possible causes from which the "uncanny" emerges and these causes seem to be reflected, in many respects, in the relationship between Pericles and Antiochus, such as the phenomenon of the double:

those motifs that produce an uncanny effect [...] involve the idea of the 'double' (the *Doppelgänger*), in all its nuances and manifestations – that is to say, the appearance of persons who have to be regarded as identical because they look alike. [...] Moreover, a person may identify himself with another and so become unsure of his true self; or he may substitute the other's self for his own. The self may thus be duplicated, divided and interchanged. Finally there is the constant recurrence of the same thing, the repetition of the same facial features, the same characters, the same destinies, the same misdeeds, even the same names, through successive generations. (141-142)

Antiochus is the mirror of otherness and of Pericles's unconscious at the same time, a mirror that forces Pericles to question his own identity and become "stranger to himself." As Julia Kristeva says:

the foreigner's face forces us to display the secret manner in which we face the world, stare into all our faces [...]. Furthermore, the face that is so *other* bears the mark of a crossed threshold that irremediably imprints itself as peacefulness or anxiety. (3-4)⁴

Pericles has gone beyond that threshold, an act which causes him anxiety and creates a need to sound his own unconscious. As Oedipus flees from the horror of incest, rejecting his own children and demanding that the name of his burial place be kept secret, so horrified Pericles flees from Antioch and begins his wanderings on the sea of his inner tempest:

what Pericles experiences in Antioch is not just a quick, horrified glance at somebody else's sin, but an initial encounter with sexuality itself, including his own sexuality, an encounter that leaves him repelled and shaken [...]. [T]he scene in Antioch is the hero's sexual initiation, one that goes badly because his first encounter is with the dark side of sexuality. (Leggatt 169-170)

The opening scene, therefore, has the function of a primal scene and establishes Pericles's sense of guilt which forces him to his endless wandering:

Gower remembers, and recounts the story, Pericles re-enacts it, and in the re-enacting itself, *en abyme*, is a compulsive repetition. What Antiochus thus triggers in Pericles, by way of condensations of primary-process fantasy, is, we intuit, a repetition of himself, an unconscious recognition. Antiochus is his uncanny double, and the progress of the play is the haunting of Pericles by the Antiochus in himself, the incest fear which he must repress and from which he must flee. (Nevo 69)⁵

At the opening of the following scene, back in his own kingdom, Tyre, Pericles pursues a physical and moral solitude and begins to question himself:

Why should this change of thoughts,
The sad companion, dull-ey'd melancholy,
Be my so us'd a guest, as not an hour
In the day's glorious walk or peaceful night,
The tomb where grief should sleep, can breed me quiet? (1.2.2-6)

Melancholy and anxiety force Pericles to look into the depths of his soul and mind. The only comfort comes from Helicanus's wise advice to "go travel for a while" (1.2.106), and thus he begins his penitential journey.

Pericles's first destination is Tharsus where the city and its population have been debilitated by a devastating famine. Explicitly comparing himself to Ulysses, Pericles reverses the myth of the Trojan horse and presents himself as a stranger whose ships, full of food, are bringing life and hope:

We have heard your miseries as far as Tyre

⁴ While commenting on Aeschylus's *The Danaïd*, Kristeva writes: "The incestuous man was able to solve the Sphinx's riddles [...] Oedipus wanted to know, even though it would cost him plenty, including his eyes" (43). The similarity between Pericles and Oedipus in this perspective is self-evident.

⁵ Nevo states that Pericles will always be "death-driven" and that this "Periclean fantasy," (69) along with his consequential need for self-punishment can explain Pericles's sad musing and his decision to run away from Tyre.

And seen the desolation of your streets;
 Nor come we to add sorrow to your tears,
 But to relieve them of their heavy load;
 And these our ships you happily may think
 Are like the Trojan horse, was stuff'd within
 With bloody veins expecting overthrow,
 Are stored with corn to make your needy bread,
 And give them life whom hunger starved half dead. (1.4.88-96)

After a short period at Tharsus, Pericles is forced to leave again because he is informed that Antiochus is still after his life; however, his real drive to keep on wandering seems to come from deep down, connected as it is to his sense of guilt. As Kristeva suggests, “[a] secret wound, often unknown to himself, drives the foreigner to wandering” (5).

It is in Act II that Pericles's strength of mind is tried in a similar way to Ulysses in the *Odyssey*. Indeed, in a disastrous shipwreck he loses everything and finds himself alone on the coast of Pentapolis. The scene opens showing a shipwrecked Pericles alone, considering man's impotence compared to the forces of nature:

Yet cease your ire, you angry stars of heaven!
 Wind, rain, and thunder, remember earthly man
 Is but a substance that must yield to you,
 And I, as fits my nature, do obey you. (2.1.1-4)

Pericles can only bend to the gods' will and acknowledge his own weakness. A total stranger to the place, he is at a complete loss and does not even know where he is. Talking to the fishermen who help him, he tries to define an identity which is indefinable, introducing himself as “A man whom both the waters and the wind, / In that vast tennis-court, hath made the ball / For them to play upon [...]” (2.1.59-61), and describing his inner confusion:

What I have been I have forgot to know;
 But what I am, want teaches me to think on:
 A man throng'd up with cold. My veins are chill,
 And have no more of life than may suffice
 To give my tongue that heat to ask your help; (2.1.71-75)

When his armour is fished out, Pericles thanks Fortune and speaks lines in which the cathartic function of the sea is made explicit:

It [Pericles's armour] kept where I kept, I so dearly loved it,
 Till the rough seas, that spares not any man,
 Took it in rage, though calmed hath given't again. (2.1.131-133)

The sea that punishes and repays, that takes and gives back allows Pericles to get his armour back and wear it in the tournament in which he obtains Thaisa's hand. This time, then, the gods themselves restore the badges of knighthood to him and support the hero in an honourable enterprise. In the challenge to win the daughter of Antiochus, a cruel and wicked king, the suitor had to solve a riddle, and thus faced a situation of ambiguity; this time, by contrast, he can offer a limpid and open demonstration of his own courage and worth as is proper for a true hero/knight.

Pericles arrives at king Simonides's court as a perfect stranger revealing his identity to no-one, because he still needs to re-define it to himself in the first place. A stranger to himself and to everybody else, Pericles seizes the opportunity of the tourney to recover his identity as a prince, an immaculate hero, a guiltless suitor.

The happy ending of Act II, marked by the wedding with Thaisa, seems to suggest that Pericles has completed his process of self-awareness with the full recovery of his integrity and identity. He is now a member of the royal family and no longer plays the role of a stranger. However, when in his opening speech of Act III Gower informs the audience that Pericles receives a letter from Tyre requesting his return to his role as prince of that kingdom,⁶ Simonides's and Thaisa's surprised reaction in discovering that Pericles is a prince leaves the audience just as surprised. Why is Pericles still keeping his lineage secret even after his wedding and now that his wife is pregnant? Why has he revealed only his name and place of origin, when these elements could have laid the trail for Antiochus's revenge, the official reason for Pericles's wanderings, and the only reasonable justification for keeping his identity secret? One can conclude that the objective danger, Antiochus's revenge, is not the only true reason for Pericles's silence. A possible answer to this puzzling question lies in the reading of his "odyssey" as a journey in search of that identity which was shattered after being mirrored in the evil of Antiochus, and the fragments of which still need to be reassembled. Pericles is still in the process of recovering himself but his identity is not fully rebuilt and he therefore cannot define himself fully. It is evident that not even his marriage to Thaisa has quietened his anxieties and he cannot yet say who he is.⁷

But the hero's trials are not over, and the happy moment of the wedding is only a positive sign on a path whose end is still far off. In Act III Pericles's ship becomes the stage of his tragedy: the return journey to Tyre is interrupted by a terrible storm during which Thaisa dies while giving birth to her child called Marina "for she was born at sea" (3.3.13). The ship becomes at the same time cradle and grave, a stage on which both comedy and tragedy are played in a mixture which perfectly mirrors the happiness and sadness of true life. Pericles consents humbly to the mariners'

⁶ The letter informs Pericles that Antiochus and his daughter are dead, killed by "a fire from heaven" (2.4.9), so he is no more danger from that quarter.

⁷ Like Ulysses', Pericles's journey will end when he goes back home, "a journey back to the self, as with Ulysses (who, in spite of meanderings, came back to his homeland) [...]" (Kristeva 43). Pericles's misfortunes after his wedding are discussed by Ruth Nevo in psychological terms: "if, at a level more covert, the sea is a displaced signifier of the maternal oceanic, then Pericles's tale is very easily retold [...]. Pericles travels out and away and back. He cannot escape, cannot cut the umbilical cord, and cannot resolve the later Oedipal guilt. The sea is indeed his beloved enemy, as his sun-father is his envied and hostile rival. Antiochus represents at the outset the threatening father-figure, and whatever person Pericles seeks is a symbolic personage representing the mother, lost and forbidden. It is therefore always by the incest fear that he is haunted. Derivatives of these primal constellations erupt in language and situations throughout: the very name he gives his daughter is the name of the sea" ("The Perils of Pericles" 78-79). This reading recalls Freudian concepts; more specifically, Nevo quotes Lacan's statement: "the displacement of the signifier determines the subjects in their acts, in their destiny, in their refusals, in their blindnesses, in their end and in their fate" (ibid.)

superstitious request to throw Thaisa's body overboard,⁸ and then sails towards Tharsus where the newborn baby is placed in the care of Cleon and his wife Dionyza. The ship that had once brought life to Tharsus with its precious load of supplies brings now another precious life which will eventually play a fundamental role in the completion of Pericles's journey and in his rebirth. When leaving Tharsus, Pericles goes off the stage bent by sorrow but resigned to endurance,⁹ and returns to Tyre where he remains for several years as Prince of that kingdom. Yet, as a man, no longer a husband or a father, he continues to suffer from a divided and confused identity.

A question always posed is why Pericles lets fourteen years go by before returning to Tharsus to be reunited with his daughter (cf. 5.3.8), just when Marina is "a wench full-grown, / Even ripe for marriage rite" (4.16-17).¹⁰ Some critics suggest that Pericles decides to keep Marina at distance for fear of falling into the sin of incest:

[...] Pericles' desire to leave Marina in Tharsus and his determination not to cut his hair till she is married [...] may suggest a desire to submit to an ordeal and a period of separation till his daughter is safely out of his reach. (Leggatt 173)¹¹

The recovery of Thaisa, belched forth from the sea, is a rebirth fantasy in the text [...] but in the progress of the fable her loss at sea represents regression in Pericles. As his abandonment of his baby daughter to the care of others also indicates, he is still not enfranchised, not ready to accept fatherhood, still haunted by the spectre of incest. (Nevo 80)

This, however, does not explain why he looks for her just when she is at the age in which she is most at risk in that sense. My feeling is that incest is the haunting shadow which keeps pursuing Pericles as "a secret wound" which "drives the foreigner to wandering"; in order to close his wound, he needs to confront himself with danger at its greatest. Pericles needs to work out his mourning in isolation for a very long period, spending his time in contrition and purification; only when he feels ready and purified, does he go in search of Marina in order to verify the strength of his integrity in a confrontation with his daughter as a young woman.

Like her father, Marina – who ends up living in Mytilene after a number of misfortunes – has revealed her identity to no-one, though probably making her social status known would have saved her many pains.¹² Again, one asks: why does she say nothing? Perhaps Marina, rather than a "stranger to herself," is a stranger to a place –

⁸ The coffin, tossed by the waves, reaches the shores of Ephesus where Thaisa is revived by Cerimon, thanks to his medical ability and the power of music, and is eventually taken to Diana's temple as a Vestal where she remains for years, before the final recognition scene at the end of the play.

⁹ "We cannot but obey / The powers above us. Could I rage and roar / As doth the sea she [Thaisa] lies in, yet the end / Must be as 'tis" (3.3.9-12).

¹⁰ Indeed, Gower is here referring to Philoten, Cleon's and Dionyza's daughter, and Marina's peer.

¹¹ Leggatt refers to 3.3, particularly to ll. 27-30: "Till she be married, madam, / By bright Diana, whom we honour, all / Unscissor'd shall this hair of mine remain, / Though I show ill in't."

¹² In Act IV the focus moves to Marina, a beautiful fourteen-year old girl whom the envious Dyoniza cruelly attempts to murder with the help of a hired killer; the foul murder, however, is averted by the arrival of pirates, who kidnap the young girl, and sail towards Mytilene where they sell her to a brothel-keeper.

Mytilene and its sins – that does not suit a character who, as in an ancient morality, seems to represent the perfection of virtue. In this respect, she also functions as a mirror: a stranger at Tharsus, she forces Dionyza to show her evil side; a stranger at Mytilene, she questions the sexual customs of the place.

Marina, though tried in her virtue and strength of mind in the extreme situation of living in a place which is dedicated to the practice of prostitution, manages to keep her honour intact. She thus becomes a symbol of chastity and virtue and establishing an evident symmetric opposition with Antiochus's daughter, emblem of lust and sin. The theme of sexuality is then not only the initial conflictual element which gets the dramatic action underway, but is a central theme in the whole play. Marina, in her battle against sinful sexuality, becomes the protagonist of the second part of *Pericles*, taking the place of her father who still needs time to purify himself from his initial sin.

Meanwhile Pericles, back on stage, is informed of his daughter's death; he gives himself up to despair and sorrow,¹³ and sails to roam aimlessly till "driven before the winds, he is arrived / Here where his daughter dwells; and on this coast / Suppose him now at anchor" (5.14-16).¹⁴ The moving recognition scene between father and daughter takes place on Pericles's ship which becomes explicitly the stage of the theatrical action:

GOWER. In your supposing once more put your sight;
Of heavy Pericles, think this his bark;
Where what is done in action, more if might,
Shall be discovered. Please you sit and hark. (5. 21-24)

Pericles, shattered by grief, seems to have lost interest in life and his very senses remain inert: he cannot speak, does not react, and eats only "to prorogue his grief" (5.1.24). However, Marina's words gradually bring him back to life, reconstructing past events and, in fact, restoring his identity:

[...] She speaks,
My lord, that maybe hath endured a grief
Might equal yours, if both were justly weighed.
Though wayward fortune did malign my state,
My derivation was from ancestors
Who stood equivalent with mighty kings.
But time hath rooted out my parentage [...]. (5.1.83-89)

The reiteration of the term "equal" establishes a sort of identification between father and daughter, confirming that Marina's story mirrors, to a certain extent, that of Pericles, and that her misfortunes are meant to complete Pericles's penitential journey. Indeed, father and daughter act out one single vicissitude, one single course that Shakespeare splits in two characters, a distinct innovation of the romance tradition which generally focuses on one single hero, though assisted by other characters. The

¹³ "GOWER. [...] Pericles, in sorrow all devoured, / With sighs shot through, and biggest tears o'ershowered, / Leaves Tharsus and again embarks. He swears / Never to wash his face, nor cut his hairs. / He puts on sackcloth, and to sea. He bears / A tempest, which his mortal vessel tears, / And yet he rides it out" (4.4.25-31).

¹⁴ Gower's theatrical function is discussed in de Filippis, "*Teatro come sperimentazione*", 73-92.

doubling of the protagonist seems to stress the impossibility, or at least the difficulty, for the hero of the ancient world to find his own defined identity in the new world, a world which needs to be re-built by the young generation. Pericles and Marina, therefore, do not fight against external monsters but are confronted with their own phantoms, the fears and hidden desires which belong to all human beings: from the first, unconscious incest desire, to the conflict between virtue and sin, life and death, faith and disbelief.

Compared to the young heroines of Shakespeare's other romances – Imogen in *Cymbeline*, Perdita in *The Winter's Tale*, and Miranda in *The Tempest* – Marina is the only female character who knows perfectly well who she is and who her parents are; she never disguises herself either by crossing gender, or by assuming a different identity, but remains solidly herself all the time, only choosing to keep her identity secret in order to prevent it from being stained by having her name spoken in a place of sin. Indeed, her name will be pronounced like a liberation only at the end during the touching recognition between father and daughter which takes place, not by accident, at sea with its cathartic value and symbolic meaning of re-birth (Marina, born on the sea, is now, in a way, newly christened). Pericles, in turn, can now reveal his own identity “in a scene that depends on establishing true names and true identities” (Leggatt 168).

Reborn to new life, however, Pericles's words sound rather ambiguous – “O, come hither, / Thou that beget'st him that did thee beget;” (5.1.194-195) – as they partly echo the words of the initial riddle – “He's father, son, and husband mild; / I mother, wife, and yet his child” (1.69-70) – in what may seem a “repetition compulsion” of those incestuous ambiguities which had made him lose his self. After posing a number of questions to the young woman and having regained his certainties, free at last from his obsession, Pericles can finally say: “I am Pericles of Tyre” (1.204). A stranger in the many places of his wanderings, Pericles can put an end to his quest in a place/non-place, on a ship highly symbolic of the tempests that his soul has wrestled with before reaching the tranquil harbour of self-awareness.

The last stage of Pericles's pilgrimage is Ephesus. Here Pericles becomes the narrator of his tribulations and this time does not hesitate in declaring “I here confess myself the king of Tyre” (5.3.2), thus confirming his recovered identity and allowing recognition and reconciliation with his wife.¹⁵ Embracing Thaisa again after their long separation, Pericles says: “O come, be buried / A second time within these arms” (5.3.43-44), a metaphorical burial celebrating the resurrection and re-birth of many recovered identities: Pericles as father and husband, Thaisa as mother and wife, Marina as daughter. They can all return now to their “promised land,” no longer strangers in foreign places, no longer strangers to themselves.

In a world which, since the beginning of the 16th century, has undergone a series of significant changes drastically modifying man's structures of feeling and calling into question the previous vision of the world and many fundamental aspects of life, the

¹⁵ Thaisa has retreated from life into Diana's temple, never trying to search for her husband and child. Her behaviour opens new questions; a possible explanation is that disappearing from the scene and devoting herself to chastity, she allows Pericles to pursue his search and to find her at the end of his journey as virtuous as ever.

new modern man's search for identity is a pivotal issue of that time and Shakespeare reflects it in a considerable number of plays, beginning with *The Comedy of Errors*, one of his very first comedies. The presentation of man's difficulty in a world in which the old values and dogmas have been lost, in which everything seems evanescent and unstable, is mirrored in the use of theatre itself with its wide-ranging use of metaphors and symbols, and through the many experimental choices Shakespeare adopts. In the opening scene of *The Tempest* the ship represents an explicit metonymy for the stage where the new protagonists of the English society – the ascending middle-class of merchants and navigators – face a declining aristocracy. In *Pericles*, the ship becomes again an emblem for the stage, while shipwrecks as mirrors of man's uncertainties and frailty lead the hero to the questioning of his own identity.

In many plays, then, Shakespeare's ship with its real and symbolic journeys carries heroes and spectators over the tempestuous sea of human passions; but it is also a vivid icon of its time, both in reference to the wide commercial and maritime development of the period, and as a symbol of movement and fluidity in that climate of uncertainty and constant transformation which characterises baroque culture in the early 17th century. Finally, the Shakespearean ship becomes a metaphor of life and theatre, the real and symbolic stage of the Shakespearean world.

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Zusammenfassung

Schiffe und Schiffbrüche durchziehen Shakespeares Dramen, in denen das Meer zum ideologischen Ort wird, der metaphorisch die Veränderungen der Epoche repräsentiert. Zugleich ist das Meer ein theatraler Ort, der die Handlung befördert, und ein wichtiges Gattungselement der Romanze, in der die Suche des Helden oft zu einem psychischen Prüfungs- und Reifeprozess wird: der Held entdeckt seine wahre Identität oder gewinnt sie zurück. *Pericles* entspricht diesem Paradigma; die Suche des Protagonisten wird hier diskutiert als Konsequenz einer 'geheimen Wunde' (Kristeva), die zurückgeht auf seine Begegnung mit der Inzestsünde einer Vaterfigur, die ihm entspricht, wie der Artikel mit Referenz auf Freuds Doppelgänger-Theorie argumentiert. Pericles lange physische und psychische Reise repräsentiert die schmerzhafteste Suche nach seiner verlorenen Identität und den Versuch, sich von dem Schatten der Sünde zu befreien.

THE TEMPEST RE-ENVISIONED: ENCOUNTERS WITH THE SEA
IN IRIS MURDOCH AND DEREK JARMAN

BY

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Shakespeare's *The Tempest* famously opens with a scene of storm at sea and with eventual shipwreck. And even though the storm is soon revealed to be mere illusion and, as a result, harmless, what the play thus articulates at its very beginning is a vision of a hostile sea which is, emphatically, not humanity's natural element. The storm might well be a product of Prospero's art, and the shipwreck nothing but a magic trick. However, the play creates the illusion of a physical experience of the storm for both the characters in the play and the audience. While we see the characters battle against the storm with all their might, being physically drenched in the process (see Arden SD 1.1.49), and while they also have to fight against the storm acoustically, in order not to be drowned by the "*tempestuous noise of thunder and lightning*" (Arden 1.0.1), we are, in watching the storm scene in the theatre, similarly subjected to a very physical experience in which the clamour of the storm firmly establishes its sensory reality. Indeed, in the theatre, the opening tempest is a cacophony of sound, created through the mates' dialogue as much as through stage machinery such as, in the early modern playhouse, musical instruments, sea machines and wind machines (see Arden 1.0.1n and Cambridge 1.0.1n). The modes of showing and telling are fused here as the storm is "shown" less through the actual action on stage than through the manner in which the characters speak. As Neill reminds us, "[e]arly modern playgoers, after all, went to 'hear' a play rather than to see it; they were 'auditors' or 'audience' before they were 'spectators'" (36-37). The "soundtrack" (50) of *The Tempest*, he contends, is part of its insistence "on the superiority of the aural tradition" (36), and, indeed, the representation of the sea in the play draws much of its effect from the manner in which Shakespeare handles sound. Rather than narrating the storm, the characters on board the ship produce storm and shipwreck in their poetic language; the boatswain's sibilant speeches, for instance, do not merely suggest the hissing of the wind, but acoustically create it for the audience, as in his reaction to Gonzalo's appeal for him to "be patient" (Arden 1.1.15):

BOATSWAIN. When the sea is! Hence. What cares these roarers for the name of king? To cabin! Silence! Trouble us not. (1.1.16-18)

The proliferation of alveolar fricatives, especially in combination with velar plosives, renders this speech not only descriptive but constitutive, as the storm emerges directly from the boatswain's words as an aural rather than a visual presence. Prospero, still hidden from the audience, is not the only conjurer in this scene.

Focussing on the dramatic contrast between action and narration, as well as between present and past, Tribble claims that "[s]eldom in Shakespeare are two so disparate

scenes juxtaposed as 1.1 and 1.2” (155), but there are, in fact, important structural echoes between the two. Miranda’s first speech in scene 2, which directly follows the shipwreck, exists on a continuum of showing and telling similar to the one established in scene 1:

MIRANDA. If by your art, my dearest father, you have
 Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them.
 The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch
 But that the sea, mounting to th’welkin’s cheek,
 Dashes the fire out. O, I have suffered
 With those that I saw suffer – a brave vessel
 (Who had no doubt some noble creature in her)
 Dashed all to pieces – o, the cry did knock
 Against my very heart! Poor souls, they perished.
 Had I been any god of power, I would
 Have sunk the sea within the earth or ere
 It should the good ship so have swallowed and
 The fraughting souls within her. (1.2.1-13)

Miranda’s initial appeal to her father suggests that the storm is still raging. And in her speech, of course, it does. Again we have a proliferation of alveolar fricatives, now combined mainly with bilabial plosives, whenever Miranda refers to the sea and ship, and again rhetorical devices help create the sound of the hissing storm. According to Lindley, Miranda’s speech here is “a rhetorical set-piece, with many literary precedents, designed verbally to recreate a picture of the storm and to register the reaction of pity” (Cambridge 1.2.1-13n). But Miranda’s words do not only “recreate a *picture*” of the storm; rather, they signal, indeed they perform, the undiminished potency of the storm, rendering its continued ferocity acoustically tangible for the audience.

The picture of the sea that emerges from these sibilant renditions of the tempestuous ocean is overwhelmingly negative. The sea is hostile, it is dangerous, and it is, above all, repulsive. It is illuminating to look at how this impression is evoked, however. The opening scene of the play, interestingly, contains hardly any direct allusions to the sea as such. We are aboard a ship, of course, and the characters’ exclamations are full of nautical references. This is to be expected, as the threat of shipwreck naturally governs the scene, and the storm at sea necessitates particular forms of behaviour. But even though we are very much made aware of the maritime context and the nautical state of emergency, the sea itself is peculiarly elusive; indeed, in the master and boatswain’s initial duologue, as well as in the boatswain’s taunting address of the wind (Arden 1.1.6-7) and subsequent commands to his sailors (1.1.43-44), it is the proximity of the land rather than the sea which is most problematic – as Mentz observes, “[o]n the open sea, land represents danger” (12). The mariners’ immediate task hence consists in trying to increase the distance between ship and coast rather than to seek out safe land, as the uninitiated might expect. And yet, despite this enforced manoeuvre and despite the lack of direct references to the sea, its negative presence is tangible. The danger of drowning is repeatedly conjured up (1.1.25-26, 1.1.33-34, 1.1.39, 1.1.40, 1.1.49-52), as is the possibility and eventual certainty of sinking (1.1.34, 1.1.55). As such, the sea

is constantly presented as a watery grave ready to receive the crew and passengers of the ship:

GONZALO. Now would I give a thousand furlongs of sea for an acre of barren ground – long heath, brown furze, anything. The wills above be done, but I would fain die a dry death. (1.1.56-58)

As Gonzalo's words, which close scene 1, suggest, it is less the proximity of death as such than more specifically the prospect of death by drowning which is so disturbing. Faced with the imminent threat of a watery death, Gonzalo can at least pretend to himself that "a dry death" would be far less frightening. The vision of giving up his body to "a thousand furlongs of sea," however, is horrifying. In fact, "anything," even the least attractive and most barren patch of dry ground, would be more welcome to Gonzalo than to be swallowed by this immense body of water, and lost within the vastness of the ocean. The sea is, above all, a frightening "nonplace" (Balasopoulos 131) which can swallow human subjects without leaving a trace. Even though all those believed to be lost at sea will eventually be miraculously resurrected in *The Tempest*, the threat of fatal disorientation looms over all endeavours. The fact that the sea only exists as noise in this first scene of the play metaphorically strengthens its elusive but simultaneously – and literally – overwhelming presence.

If such indirect allusions to the sea emphasise its link with perdition and death, the more direct references metaphorically align it with unruliness and chaos. When Gonzalo exhorts the boatswain to "be patient" (1.1.14), he replies that he will be so "[w]hen the sea is," (1.1.15) hence personifying the sea and characterising it as deficient in the virtues of patience and temperance. And when he apostrophises the tempestuous waves as "roarers" (1.1.17), the boatswain continues this personification, conjuring up a vision of the waves as an "unruly" (1.1.17n) and "disorderly" (Cambridge 1.1.15n) mob which chaotically and subversively challenges the king's power. As Lindley suggests, this activates a set of correspondences between nature and humanity, implying that there is "a metaphoric link between the chaos in nature and the upsetting of hierarchy in the Boatswain's speeches" (Cambridge 1.1.15n). In this sense, the sea is dangerous precisely because in addition to revealing the precariousness of human life as such, it poses a threat to the status quo, unsettling social hierarchies by instituting a different chain of authority. The boatswain's challenges to kingly authority are possible because the state of emergency renders a strict adherence to nautical ritual and expertise indispensable, and compels even the king to submit to this altered chain of command. Despite the fact that common sense would dictate that the courtly passengers subordinate themselves to the boatswain's expertise, however, their reactions show how perverse and truly shocking his speeches seem in the context of early modern hierarchy. Indeed, the boatswain is exceptionally blunt in revealing the boundaries (and above all the uselessness) of the courtiers' authority aboard the ship and in highlighting his own supremacy in this particular heterotopic context instead. The lack of grace of his claim to authority cannot but antagonise the king's entourage, for it is far too supportive of the subversion the storm has unleashed.

In this respect, Balasopoulus's reminder of the historical connections between the gradual disintegration of feudal society with the "oceanic turn" towards "the planet's nonterrestrial space" (140) in the fifteenth century is significant, as it links the incipient age of overseas explorations and expansions to a larger historical trajectory and to wider social changes. Up to the late fifteenth century, socio-economic and political power in Europe mainly relied on land as a real and figurative basis of legitimisation: "Its immobility made it an apt symbolic embodiment of the principles that were most vital to the preservation and reproduction of the feudal social order: moral constancy, hierarchical fixity," and a celebration of stability (Balasopoulus 140).

With the rise of an increasingly marine and non-terrestrial topography, the blank "nonplace" of the ocean that came to fill more and more cartographic space in representations of the earth was symbolically connected to the prospect of an authorial void. In this context, Balasopoulus also points to Columbus's systematic falsification of the account of sea miles travelled per day in his logbook as a means of allaying his crew's fear and of preventing unrest during his first voyage (140-141). The "vacuum" (141) presented by the uncharted ocean was too profoundly unsettling.

In scene 1 of *The Tempest*, then, and despite the little actual reference that is made to the sea, the danger which it poses is rendered tangible through the – social, as well as existential – effects of the storm. The sea has a decidedly negative effect, both in the imagined destruction it appears to cause, as well as in its challenge to authority, which becomes all the more incisive due to its dramatic positioning in the exposition of the play. The play opens with hierarchical chaos, and the question of social, and in particular regal and feudal, order is something that the text remains concerned with throughout.¹

Given that the threat to the rightful and divinely given social structure is metaphorically rendered through the opening storm at sea, it is fully in tune with the iconography of the play that the scene in which Prospero relates to Miranda and the audience how his own rights and position have been usurped opens with a negative vision of the sea as well. While I have suggested above that the rhetorical devices in Miranda's speech produce and thus "show" us the storm, Miranda, in "telling" us about the shipwreck from her more spatially distant perspective, also reveals much about early modern attitudes towards the sea: she depicts the "wild waters" in a "roar," hence linking her perception of the ocean with the boatswain's by stressing its unruliness. Indeed, her own behaviour also echoes the disregard of hierarchical relations highlighted as so disturbing in scene 1. As James suggests, the feelings of sympathy Miranda expresses in her opening words become "the grounds for dissent, however painful, from her father's will," causing her "to ally herself with the shipwrecked men instead of her father, who has, as she suspects, conjured the storm" (361).² The confusion of the elements which she highlights in her speech continues

¹ As Magnusson points out, Prospero's first extended monologue, in which he relates the circumstances of his deposition to Miranda, is syntactically and rhetorically chaotic (55-56). This stylistic incoherence can be related to the general atmosphere of chaos that the raging of the tempest has unleashed.

² James further proposes that Miranda's "protest sets the precedent for the scene's successive troublemakers, the plaintive Ariel and cursing Caliban" (368).

this association with unruliness, suggesting that neither the sky nor the sea remain within their natural boundaries during the storm (Arden 1.2.2-5). Miranda's representation of the tempest here is by no means extraordinary within its early modern context. Rather, as Lindley observes, the "conflict and disorderly mingling of the elements of air, fire and water is a standard topos of storm descriptions" (Cambridge 1.2.4-5n). But Miranda's speech is illuminating precisely because it is so typical of early modern perceptions of the sea. According to Corbin, the sea was for centuries regarded as a remnant of the state of chaos in which the universe originally existed, and thus as implicitly threatening to the order of God's Creation:

This unconquerable element was evidence that Creation remained unfinished. The ocean was the remnant of that undifferentiated primordial substance on which form had to be imposed so that it might become part of Creation. This realm of the unfinished, a vibrating, vague expression of chaos, symbolized the disorder that preceded civilization. (2)

This view of the sea, which persisted well into the seventeenth century, is easily detected in Miranda's description of the tempestuous ocean, which juxtaposes the "noble creature" (Arden 1.2.7) and "fraughting souls" (1.2.13) aboard the "brave vessel" (1.2.6) with the "wild" (1.2. 2) and unruly sea. In fact, so repulsive is the sea to Miranda that she "would / Have sunk the sea within the earth or ere / It should the good ship so have swallowed" (1.2.10-12). The sea here takes the shape of a wild beast, of a Leviathan, and Miranda's impulse is to deny its existence or, at least, to lock it within firm boundaries – "within the earth" itself – in order to remove its repulsive watery mass from her sight. This impulse is metaphorically connected with a perception of the sea already present in the Book of Genesis. As Corbin observes in commenting on the associations of the sea with "the unknowable" and the "frightful" in the Bible: "There is no sea in the Garden of Eden. There is no place in the enclosed landscape of Paradise for the watery horizon whose surface extends as far as the eye can see" (2). Whether it is locked out or locked in, the sea needs to be contained; in the context of the early modern world picture until well into the seventeenth century, its unfathomable vastness is too disturbing to be contemplated. In fact, later in the seventeenth century, the sea was re-envisioned as a remnant of the deluge rather than of the state before Creation, and it was hence re-interpreted as a painful reminder of humanity's, and, indeed, Nature's, fall (Corbin 3-6). Treatises such as Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth*, reprinted throughout the 1680s and 1690s, argued that the sea did not even exist before the Flood, but was the literal residue of the retreated waters (Kolter 75-78). While the antediluvian earth was a perfect sphere, mountains, river- and ocean-beds bore witness to the scarring of the globe during the Flood, and hence were regarded as the result of humanity's sins and punishment (Corbin 3-4). Whether or not this interpretation was already active as a competing discourse to challenge views of the sea as the remnant of pre-Creation chaos in the early seventeenth century and hence available to Shakespeare, both views of the sea are fundamentally negative. As a remainder of something outside God's Creation, or as a visible reminder of the earth's lost perfection, the sea in the early modern period and until its retrieval by the Romantics in the eighteenth century was regarded as repulsive. Despite the importance of ocean travel for trade and the expansion of imperial power, documents expressing early modern disgust with and fear of the sea abound (see, for

instance, material quoted in Balasopoulus 139). Miranda's desire to banish the sea to the centre of the earth in order to deflate its dangerous influence would have been recognisably in tune with the sentiments of a contemporary audience.

Charles Arrowby in Iris Murdoch's 1978 novel *The Sea, The Sea* clings to a very different view of the sea. Charles is Murdoch's powerless Prospero and the narrator of her novel, a famous but recently retired director who has left the world of the theatre behind in order to retreat to the seclusion of the northern English coast. The novel relates his experiences during this period of voluntary exile, and focuses on his mounting obsession with Hartely, his first love, whom he recognises in the village. Convinced that she must be profoundly unhappy with her husband and just as eager to be reunited as he is himself, Charles eventually abducts and imprisons Hartley. Matters are complicated by the appearance of many of the prime players in Charles's life: former colleagues and friends, lovers, and his cousin James gradually gather in his house and interrupt his planned solitude. Eventually, Charles is persuaded to release Hartley, and after a climactic day, on which Charles is almost murdered and Hartley's adopted son Titus dies, the group disperses, with Charles himself returning to London as well.

Just like Prospero relates his – or rather their – past to Miranda, so Charles also delves into the past. While Prospero wants to regain his rightful position, though, and while his retrospective speech of act 1 hence has a clearly defined purpose, constituted not merely by the desire to rectify, but also by the classical comic trajectory of social re-integration, Charles's aim is more self-centred. He wants to write his memoir, but this memoir quickly turns into a diary, and hence into a dialogue which Charles leads only with himself. Where Prospero seeks community, Charles's project remains profoundly egotistic; as Zabrus observes, the diary form provides "the ideal medium for his narcissism" (229). I will return to the aspect of community below. What is significant for the moment is that Charles negotiates his identity in relation to the sea more than to other characters, and that he structures his narrative around a few pivotal events, most of which crucially involve the sea: his initial sighting of a sea monster, which casts suspicion on his narrative reliability, as well as on the ontological status of his tale; his abduction of Hartley; his attempted murder in the sea; and Titus's drowning.

Like Shakespeare's seafarers, though in quite a different manner, Charles seeks out the sea. But while for Shakespeare's characters the sea is a means to an end, a hostile expanse which needs to be traversed so that lands and riches can be gained and journeys accomplished, Charles is attracted to the sea per se. The proximity of the sea is what first leads him to his solitary abode on the north coast of England. And it is also the sea that provides his main pleasure while his retreat from the world is still undisrupted. Charles obviously clings to a vision of the sea which is informed by prevalent contemporary twentieth-century perceptions of the sea as a pleasure zone, a realm which caters to the human desires for recreation and regeneration, and which provides release from the ordinary and mundane cares of the everyday. Hence Charles stresses the beneficial influence of the sea and dwells extensively on the pleasure he derives from his engagement with the ocean. He spends a significant amount of his time gazing at and contemplating the sea, he writes about it, and he swims in it.

Despite the taunts of the locals, who regard the sea in quite a different light and despise Charles for his touristy approach to the seaside, Charles, then, views the sea purely in terms of enjoyment and amusement, and he thrives on its vicinity. At least, this is what he tells his readers, and, through the diary form, himself. But telling and showing, in Charles's narrative, do not necessarily coincide, nor does the same story emerge from both modes of representation. Indeed, as the narrative progresses, it gradually becomes clear that what Charles tells us about the sea is filtered through his anxiety to exclude less beneficent aspects of his engagement with the sea. It is precisely this anxiety, however, combined with the persistent endeavours by this modern-day Prospero to dominate and shape the story, which eventually expose what Charles is desperate to conceal. Charles's all-too excessive insistence on his natural affinity with the sea cannot, ultimately, fail to show what lies beneath: a deep-set discomfort with the element he perversely claims as his own (Murdoch 4), even though his wilful ignorance of its dangers causes a number of precarious situations and almost costs him his life when he nearly drowns (4-5, 15-16, 364-66; see also below). Beneath the complacent surface of appreciations of the sea as a pleasure zone typical of twentieth-century culture, much older and more unsettling visions of the sea are ready to break forth.

The following description of the sea points towards the presence of two opposed narratives which characterise Charles's engagement with his maritime environment:

I am a skilful fearless swimmer and I am not afraid of rough water. Today the sea was gentle compared with the antipodean oceans where I have sported like a dolphin. My problem was almost a technical one. Even though the swell was fairly mild I had a ridiculous amount of difficulty getting back onto the rocks again. The 'cliff' was a little too steep, the ledges a little too narrow. The gentle waves teased me, lifting me up towards the rock face, then plucking me away. My fingers, questing for a crevice, were again and again pulled off. Becoming tired, I swam around trying other places where the sea was running restlessly in and out, but the difficulty was greater since there was deep water below me and even if the rocks were less sheer they were smoother or slippery with weed and I could not hold on. At last I managed to climb up my cliff, clinging with fingers and toes, then kneeling sideways upon a ledge. When I reached the top and lay panting in the sun I found that my hands and knees were bleeding. (4-5)

Clearly, Charles here seeks to veil what this episode shows despite his efforts to suppress it: that the sea, no matter how he wants to celebrate its gentleness, remains profoundly dangerous. As the above shows, contact with the sea is potentially destructive, and even though Charles tries to ignore what Shakespeare's mariners are painfully aware of, the sea undermines the narrative of harmonious interaction which he seeks to construct. Eager to downplay the precariousness of his encounter with the sea, Charles stresses his own expertise in dealing with even "rough water" and ridicules the difficulties he experiences in trying to regain firm ground as a small "technical" hitch, insisting on the essential tranquillity of the sea. And when the sea refuses to let him go, he translates the movement of the waves, which, as the end of the passage reveals, is not only unpleasant but dangerous, into an almost erotic playfulness. The continued motion of the sea thwarts Charles's efforts to grab the rocks, and exposes the extent to which he is in the power of the element which he purports to master. But in describing the waves as gently teasing, Charles employs a

self-assuring interpretative strategy which allows him to actively ignore or refigure indications which the reader recognises as clearly pointing to quite a different version of events. In fact, the very same manoeuvre he uses in his representation of the sea will later help Charles support his own misreading of Hartley's repeated rejection of him in a more flattering, though directly opposed manner, and as an invitation.

Charles's attempts to depict himself as a master of the waves can be directly related to his identification with Shakespeare's Prospero: as scene 1.2 of *The Tempest* reveals, Prospero is, in fact, able to command the waters of the ocean. By contrast, Charles's repeated and increasingly destructive encounters with the sea suggest that his own role is much closer to that of the mariners in Shakespeare's play, for whom even land is a dangerous realm once they have entrusted their lives to the sea. In the version of events which Charles tells and wants us to accept, the sea is his "natural element." However, what we glimpse through the fissures in the narrative texture he weaves is quite a different story, a story in which contact with the sea challenges Charles's body and mind in their imagined sovereignty and coherence. In attempting to disguise, Charles inadvertently shows us his physical and mental incompetence all the more clearly.

Not only does Charles try to represent his repeated failures to conquer the sea in harmonious and positive terms; confrontation with the hostile sea frequently eludes representation as such and becomes unspeakable. This is a manoeuvre the novel introduces already at its very beginning. The narrative voice starts with a poetic description of the sea as it "lies before" Charles (Murdoch 1), but abandons this depiction after a mere third of a page. The narrative suddenly just stops, and the novel indicates a hiatus in narration through a gap between two paragraphs. This is how Charles re-commences:

I had written the above, destined to be the opening paragraph of my memoirs, when something happened which was so extraordinary and so horrible that I cannot bring myself to describe it even now after an interval of time and although a possible, though not totally reassuring, explanation has occurred to me. Perhaps I shall feel calmer and more clear-headed after yet another interval. (1)

After another hiatus, the narrative continues, but we do not learn more about the event which is "so extraordinary and so horrible" until later, when Charles professes to have seen what he fears might be a sea monster. Contrary to Prospero, Charles is no magician; indeed, he does not even wield linguistic sorcery enough to couch his experience in a plausible or persuasive form, and so the traumatic event eludes narrativisation. The genre of the novel might offer more room for description, but in Charles's case, confrontation with a hostile sea causes words to dry up. The appearance of this – real or imagined – sea monster remains a disruptive factor in the novel, and resists inclusion into any stable narrative form. This is also true of the other, even more traumatic, encounters with the sea in the novel: Peregrine's attempted

murder of Charles, and Titus's drowning. In neither of these cases can narration or narrativisation provide relief.³

This is partly due to the absence of shared speech in *The Sea, The Sea*. While Shakespeare's play is firmly centred on Prospero, but still allows other characters to articulate themselves, Charles completely suppresses competing narratives. As Zabus points out, "throughout the middle part of the book called "History," Charles's voice has obliterated other voices: those of Hartley, Lizzie, Gilbert, Ben, which have all been hypocritically reduced to 'gabbling' [...]" (230). Genre here significantly facilitates Charles's egocentrism. As the autodiegetic narrator of a novel, he holds the narrative threads firmly in hand and is not dependent on the inclusion of other perspectives.⁴ By contrast, as a dramatic hero, and as the scheming centre of *The Tempest* in particular, Prospero depends on interaction with other characters, and interaction in drama, naturally, depends on the sharing of dialogue to a much greater extent than interaction in fiction. While Charles can engage with others but still deprive them of narrative expression, the generic rules of an early modern play such as *The Tempest* ensure that dialogue is a shared affair. Indeed, even where Prospero dominates the dialogue, he mostly speaks in the presence of and often directly to other characters, and is thus influenced by a particular audience. Charles, by contrast, does not speak but writes, and as I have already established, he mainly appears to be writing to himself. As Katherine Weese has pointed out, "[t]hroughout the first section of the novel, Charles exhibits an extraordinary self-consciousness about his writing, calling it a diary, a chronicle, and a memoir" (635). It is only in the course of writing that he comes to see the text he is producing as a novel, and thus as intended – at least potentially – for a wider audience (635). In fact, Tucker proposes that the generic shifts of Charles's writing reflect his "personal obsessions" (393). This suggests that the very fact that Charles's narrative starts out "as diary and memoir, changes into a novel and back into a memoir" is itself an effect of the peculiar combination of egomania and very limited self-awareness which shapes his character (393). Also, Charles's specific aim in going to Shruff End, of course, is "to withdraw from the world he has known" and to "become a hermit" (Weese 634-5). Evidently, writing, in *The Sea, The Sea*, is not a shared act, and Charles is loath to give up narrative control to even the slightest degree. Thus the difference in trajectory between Shakespeare's play and Murdoch's novel is startling. While Prospero "figures himself as the sole retainer of the past," the play also challenges this view, particularly through the figure of Caliban (Tribble 156). Ultimately, *The Tempest* is concerned with the role, and indeed with the affirmation, of community, as expressed most forcefully in Prospero's final promise to disclose his history to his former enemies, Alonso and his companions (Arden 5.1.301-319). By contrast, Murdoch's narrator remains caught up in his solitude even when he is surrounded by other characters. From a memoir, a genre which rests by definition on

³ In fact, the dangers of the coastal environment are not defused until the very end of Charles's sojourn in the north. In this final littoral scene, Charles sees four seals who appear as "beneficent beings come to visit ... and bless" him (476).

⁴ Charles also suppresses the fact that, as Tucker notes, his cousin James is "another Prospero figure" in the novel (380).

the impulse to share one's past with others, his narrative swiftly develops into a diary, a genre defined by quite the opposite goal, the exclusion of others and the forestalling of participation.

Given Charles's self-centred narrative trajectory, as well as his egotistic manoeuvres, it is not surprising that in *The Sea, The Sea*, encounters with the sea are solitary. The sea has to be faced alone, though not always by choice. In the case of his nude swimming early in the novel, Charles relishes the sense of isolation and privacy this activity imparts to him, but when he is pushed into "Minn's Cauldron" (Murdoch 364), he experiences quite a different sensation, and is swallowed by the profound helplessness and hopelessness of solitude. He is, eventually, saved by his cousin, but his surrogate son, Titus, is less lucky and drowns a few pages later (387). When left to battle a hostile sea by themselves, these human characters stand little chance, and the importance of community is highlighted only by its absence.

In *The Tempest*, the social aspect of the encounter with the sea is highly prominent from the start. The scene of shipwreck is determined by interaction, and tension between characters develops from conflicting ideas of what the notion of community entails, particularly as far as the role and stability of hierarchy are concerned. As already suggested, the opening scene of *The Tempest* readily highlights this; in addition, it also emphasises the importance of community through the manner in which the characters' verbal interaction produces the storm, as discussed above. Indeed, the communal component of shipwreck partly defuses its existential horror, as it endows the spectacle of death on sea with a stable framework. Derek Jarman's 1979 film adaptation of *The Tempest* emphasises this aspect of communal strength in its engagement with the masque. As Ellis argues, Jarman's treatment of the masque focuses on the notions of order and disorder so central to the early modern masque, and stretches from the opening scene of the storm (according to Ellis, a version of the early modern antimasque) to the famously camp finale, in which the threats of storm and shipwreck are ultimately deflated (273-4). By replacing the masque from act 4 of *The Tempest* with a wedding celebration, Jarman's film includes a much wider audience, for his adaptation of "the masque is staged not just for Ferdinand and Miranda but, rather, for the whole community assembled at the end of the film (which now includes Caliban and the other rebels, who react with pleasure to the spectacle)" (276). The storm which raged in the opening scene of the play is now conjured up in quite a different manner, and by a different conjurer altogether, in the form of the jazz song "Stormy Weather" performed by Elizabeth Welch. Thus Jarman highlights the artifice of the storm and simultaneously stresses the importance of community. The scene is dominated by sailors in white suits, forming rows through which Welch passes as she is singing. The social context and the iconography which Jarman activates here are, thus, obviously maritime. But from an existential struggle, the scene has now shifted to a lavish celebration in which playful eroticism in the form of gently swaying sailors' bodies has superseded the anxiety of impending death. In the same vein, the cacophony of the storm has yielded to the harmony of music, and in this tame context, the tempest has been deflated so that what is left is "stormy weather" and harmonically pleasing if languid complaints about the fact that "it's raining all the time." What Jarman highlights in the camp aesthetics and voluptuously baroque display of this

scene is that the storm can only be contained once it has been refigured as unashamedly hyper-artificial. The primitiveness of the landscape of Jarman's bleak and tempestuous coast is firmly excluded by the very exuberance of spectacle inside Prospero's not so "poor cell" (Arden 1.2.20). Still, this landscape exists, and Prospero's absence from the wedding (which Ellis ignores) and his lonely re-appearance in the final scene of the film, which is set in darkness, suggest that the "ideological community" brought about "by the political reconciliations" (Ellis 276) is, perhaps, more fragile than the communal celebration of Miranda and Ferdinand's wedding indicates. Indeed, in an alternative reading of the film, MacCabe contends that Jarman's adaptation is centrally concerned with "Prospero's reign of terror" (506).⁵

Corbin has demonstrated how appreciations of the sea in Western cultures have shifted since the eighteenth century, providing us with a much more positive iconography of the sea through its re-inscription and concomitant re-evaluation as a pleasure zone. While I agree with this view, I would argue that we can only lose by choosing to ignore the persistence of older, pre-eighteenth-century perceptions of the sea, which continue to encode the sea in a manner which differs markedly from its association with recreation, enjoyment, a positive physicality, and, ultimately, pleasure. Texts such as Murdoch's *The Sea, The Sea* essentially re-create a pre-touristic representation of the ocean, which interferes with the more harmonious depictions of the sea typical of twentieth-century sources. In a similar vein, Jarman's film can only depict the sea in positive terms when it is multiply inflected in art and artifice. Thus both Murdoch and Jarman's renditions of the sea point to the persistence of a tradition of perceiving the ocean in which it emerges less as a pleasure zone than as a realm decidedly outside human control. Indeed, I would suggest that the continued availability of this conception of the sea, in conjunction with the currently increasing cultural preoccupation with environmental change, may well be indicative of re-conceptualisations of the sea as such. This is also borne out by the manner in which postcolonial studies has transformed critical appreciations of maritime history. Even if refashioned by postmodernism, the currents of the early modern ocean still play in our minds.

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⁵ Aebischer links references to "state terror and establishment power" (283) to Jarman's "preposterous contemporary Jacobean aesthetic" (302).

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Zusammenfassung

Shakespeares *Sturm* führt das Meer gleich zu Beginn als gefährlich und menschenfeindlich vor und ist so typisch frühneuzeitlichen Repräsentationsformen verhaftet. Allerdings bietet *Der Sturm* auch – teilweise gattungsspezifisch geprägte – Möglichkeiten, die Gefahren des Meeres zu entschärfen. Die Konfrontation mit der See ist hier innerhalb einer Gemeinschaft inszeniert, und der anfängliche Schiffbruch stellt sich als Illusion heraus. Im Gegensatz dazu stellt Iris Murdochs Prosaadaption des *Sturms*, *The Sea, The Sea*, ihren Protagonisten dem Meer allein gegenüber. Existentielle und fatale Begegnungen mit dem Ozean zerstören hier die viel beschworene Harmonie des positiv konnotierten Küstenaufenthalts. In Derek Jarmans Verfilmung *The Tempest* wiederum ist eine nicht negativ besetzte Meeresdarstellung nur als ironisch gebrochene hyperkünstliche Geste möglich. Im Gegensatz zu gängigen historischen Abrissen können solch postmoderne Brechungen des frühneuzeitlichen Ozeans als eine Rekonzeptualisierung der See im ausgehenden 20. Jahrhundert gedeutet werden.

CALL FOR STATEMENTS—*SHAKESPEARE SEMINAR AT THE
SHAKESPEARE-TAGE 2012*

**Believing in Shakespeare:
Faith and Doubt on the Elizabethan Stage**

Shakespeare's plays were conceived and first performed in a climate of religious and political change, when private beliefs always had a public dimension and when religious allegiance had literally become a matter of life and death for many men and women. Our seminar aims at re-assessing the roles of faith and doubt in the public arena of the Shakespearean stage. We are not interested in once again examining the question of Shakespeare's own precise religious denomination, but rather would like to enquire into the configurations of belief on the Elizabethan stage: Do the plays by Shakespeare and his contemporaries support religious devotion or do they invite distrust and scepticism? How can faith be established, how can it be perceived and proven, when does it have to be revised or even recalled? Do the plays themselves on a metatheatrical level require faith, as Paulina famously demands in *The Winter's Tale*, and how do we have to differentiate between religious belief and the suspension of disbelief in the playhouse? In which ways do the plays relate to topical religious debates? Which stance do they take towards more universal metaphysical questions? And how do they envision non-Christian religion, which stance do they for example take towards Jewish and Muslim beliefs?

Our seminar plans to address these and related questions with a panel of six papers during the annual conference of the German Shakespeare Association, *Shakespeare-Tage* (20-22 April 2012 in Bochum, Germany), which will focus on "Faith and Doubt in Shakespeare's Plays". As critical input for the discussion and provocation for debate, panelists are invited to give short statements (of no more than 15 minutes) presenting concrete case studies, concise examples and strong views on the topic. Please send your proposals (abstracts of 300 words) and all further questions by **15 November 2011** to the seminar convenors:

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