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**PILING UP LOGS IN A BRAVE NEW WORLD:  
BRAZILIAN INVISIBILITY ABROAD AND THE GENESIS  
OF SHAKESPEARE'S THE TEMPEST**

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BRAZILIAN INVISIBILITY ABROAD AND THE GENESIS  
OF SHAKESPEARE'S THE TEMPEST**

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To my parents,  
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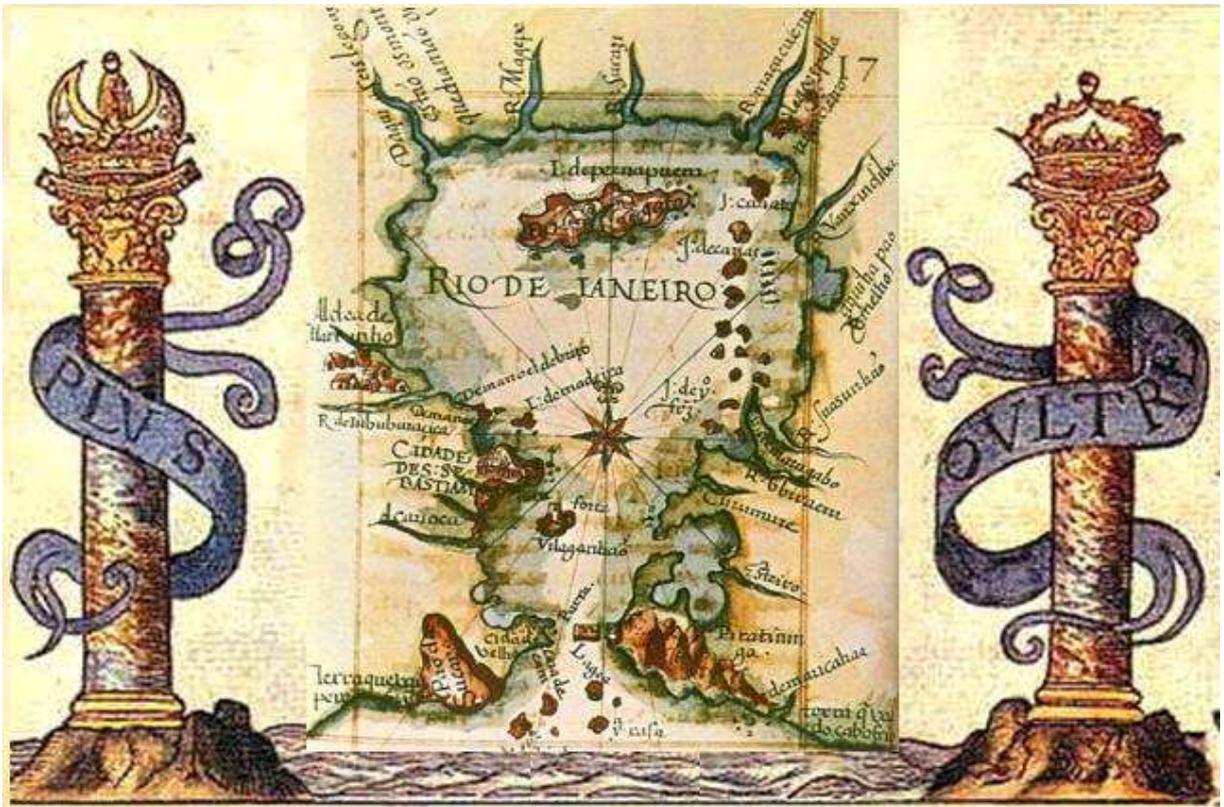
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Be subject to no sight but thine and mine, invisible  
To every eyeball else.

The Tempest, 1.2.302-303.

You do yet taste  
Some subtleties o' th' isle, that will not let you  
Believe things certain.

The Tempest, 5.1.123-125.

## RESUMO

O objetivo desta tese de doutorado é apresentar um mapeamento do texto de A Tempestade, de William Shakespeare, de modo a identificar trechos, desdobramentos do enredo e detalhes intrigantes que possam ser relacionados a uma possível fonte, ou possíveis fontes, a que Shakespeare possa ter tido acesso no processo de elaboração de sua peça, sobre as incursões no Norte da África e no Brasil de Nicolas Durand, Cavalheiro de Villegaignon. Proponho que a ilha de Próspero seja lida como um composto de elementos do Mediterrâneo e do Novo Mundo no qual informações sobre a vida de Villegaignon e sua presença em Argel e na França Antártica (atualmente Rio de Janeiro, Brasil) desempenham papel importante e ainda não completamente explorado pela crítica. Também aponto que o texto de A Tempestade mantém diálogo consistente com fatos biográficos, imagens, o simbolismo e a geografia relacionados à vida do Imperador Carlos V, e a identificação mais completa de Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon pode contribuir para tornar esse nível de referência mais evidente. Também discuto possíveis razões por que uma peça que possui tantos detalhes que se relacionam ao Imperador Carlos V nunca faz referência explícita a esta importante figura histórica. As razões pelas quais tais conexões permaneceram parcialmente despercebidas, ou pelo menos não totalmente exploradas, em um campo de estudo que produz tanto trabalho crítico e editorial como os estudos shakespearianos são apresentadas através do conceito de “invisibilidade brasileira no exterior”, conceito este que caracterizei e busquei formular como uma teoria de recepção cultural de produtos e referências brasileiros no exterior. Busquei ainda uma apresentação de elementos de estudos de fontes anteriores e da fortuna crítica sobre o tema que podem contribuir para uma discussão atualizada das práticas composicionais shakespearianas e de suas repercussões teóricas junto a diferentes vertentes dos estudos shakespearianos como prática de crítica literária. A essa discussão segue-se uma exploração crítica de como o interesse de Shakespeare e sua inquestionável dívida com o ensaio “Sobre os Canibais” de Montaigne poderia ter-se estendido a outros fatos da biografia de Villegaignon que muito provavelmente estavam à disposição do dramaturgo inglês. Minha leitura de A Tempestade foi baseada na única versão da peça de Shakespeare que tem autoridade, aquela publicada no Primeiro Fólho de 1623, e também em contribuições encontradas nas melhores edições críticas modernas da mesma.

## ABSTRACT

The aim of this doctoral thesis is to present a mapping of the text of William Shakespeare's The Tempest so as to establish textual passages, plot developments, and puzzling details that might be related to a possible source or sources on the North African and Brazilian exploits of Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon to which Shakespeare might have had access in the process of writing the play. I propose that Prospero's island is a composite of Mediterranean and New World elements in which information about the life of Villegaignon and his presence both in Algiers and in Antarctic France (nowadays Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) plays an important and as yet not fully explored role. I also claim that the text of The Tempest is consistently in dialogue with biographical facts, imagery, symbolism and the geography which relate to the life of The Emperor Charles V, and the full recognition of Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon may contribute to make this broader pattern clearer. I also discuss possible reasons why a play that has so many details that relate to The Emperor Charles V never explicitly refers to such an important historical figure. The discussion of reasons why these connections have remained partially unnoticed or at least not fully explored in a field that generates so much critical and editorial work such as Shakespeare Studies is perfected through a presentation of 'Brazilian invisibility abroad', a concept that I have characterised and tried to formulate into a theory of cultural reception of Brazilian cultural products and references abroad. I also presented elements found in previous source studies and the critical fortune of the subject which can contribute to an updated discussion of Shakespearian compositional practice and its theoretical repercussions in different approaches to Shakespeare Studies as literary critical practice. This is followed by an exploration of how Shakespeare's interest in and indisputable indebtedness to Montaigne's essay 'Of the Cannibals' could have extended to other facts of Villegaignon's biography that are very likely to have been available to the English playwright. I have based my reading of The Tempest in the only authoritative version of the text, that which was published in the 1623 First Folio, as well as in contributions found in the best modern scholarly editions of the play.

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## INTRODUCTION

The genesis of this doctoral thesis occurred in the period 1992-1996, when I was a research student at the Shakespeare Institute of the University of Birmingham. Located in Stratford-upon-Avon, England, and part of the Department of English of The University of Birmingham, the Shakespeare Institute is a centre for postgraduate study of William Shakespeare and his contemporaries, and of the drama of the English Renaissance. At the time I was involved in another research project, but as an overseas student and an alien in England, I became increasingly aware of a phenomenon which I now call 'Brazilian invisibility abroad' and which is a key element in the present study. Having had the opportunity to live abroad in a highly specialised academic environment for four years, I could witness this phenomenon in multiple ways and could eventually develop a working hypothesis the basic premise of which is simple: exceptions excluded (individuals who for one reason or another have a closer or stronger link to the country or its people), non-Brazilians (including academics) abroad hardly ever notice or retain the information about cultural references to Brazil or to Brazilians even when the reference is unequivocally made. In other words, it is as if we were physically or otherwise present but remained not visible to foreign audiences, readers or spectators.

In this thesis, my claim is that information that could have been available to William Shakespeare about Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon, a French military leader who became a New World explorer, can be a key to understanding a series of connections of Shakespeare's invention as he went about collecting data for and writing The Tempest sometime in the period between 1610 and 1611. As we are going to see in more detail later, one of the few known Shakespeare sources for The Tempest is John Florio's translation of Montaigne's essay 'Of the Cannibals' (or 'On Cannibals'), a text on the first page of which we can find a mention to Villegaignon and to 'that other world' which the French had called Antarctic France. Therefore, what Shakespeare (and the modern critic) could learn about the

Knight of Malta Villegaignon and his stay in Brazil can contribute to a better understanding of the genesis of The Tempest and therefore for developing insights into Shakespeare's creative process.

My research aims at performing a mapping of the text of The Tempest so as to establish elements in the text and plot which could arguably be related to sources on Villegaignon to which Shakespeare might have had access while composing the play. I have reasons to believe that Shakespeare knew who Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon was and he understood that there were facts in Villegaignon's biography which were important to his own King James of England. Villegaignon can also prove to be of interest in his connection to The Emperor Charles V, another historical figure whose role in the genesis of the play has not been fully explored by Shakespeare critics. The Emperor Charles V is not as invisible to critics of The Tempest as Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon is, but it is my understanding that making Villegaignon visible contributes to understand more fully Shakespeare's indebtedness to the biography, the imagery, and the geography of The Emperor Charles V. The investigation can contribute to our understanding of Shakespeare's practices as an author, both in terms of redefining the list of his sources, as well as establishing connections in regards to his use of these sources for his own authorial purposes, both aesthetic and political, since under this approach there may be more to be said about the way The Tempest relates to King James and the Jacobean court. I also try to systematise reasons why these connections could have remained partially unnoticed or at least not fully explored in a field of study that generates so much critical and editorial attention such as Shakespeare Studies. Part of the answer arguably lies in 'Brazilian invisibility abroad'. The references to Brazilian locations such as Antarctic France and particularly Villegaignon Island are either never fully recognised as being related to Brazil, or, when that happens to be the case, they are dismissed as not being as relevant to the eyes of the critic as other references that are equally made to geographical locations that are more central to English-speaking populations' experiences in the New World.

Since I understand that Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon is part of Shakespeare's concept also in his relationship to The Emperor Charles V, my study of The Tempest identifies certain textual passages, plot developments, and puzzling details which I believe may not be exclusively understood but may be better understood by this approximation which I suggest between facts in the biography of these two historical figures and the story which Shakespeare decides to tell. These features are explored in their possible

connections to the worlds of Villegaignon and Charles V. My claim is that they allow an approximation between the New World and the Old World elements in the play which a focus exclusively on the Caribbean or Virginian experiences in the New World does not entail as fully.

This work is organized in two volumes. My Volume 1 has the text of the doctoral thesis proper and Volume 2 has my Appendixes and Annexes. In my Chapter 1, entitled “‘This Thing of Darkness I Acknowledge Mine’”, or Something is Brazilian in the Genesis of Prospero’s Island’, I present in detail my case for the critics’ need to consider Villegaignon and Antarctic France when they look at Shakespeare’s The Tempest. In my Chapter 2, entitled ‘Brazilian Invisibility Abroad’, I present my main premise about Brazilian invisibility abroad and evidence in the form of examples which I believe are relevant to my overall discussion and which characterize Brazilian invisibility from the early modern age until the twentieth-first century. I also present a brief discussion of genetic criticism and other theoretical support which contribute to my analysis of Shakespeare’s compositional practice. In my Chapter 3, entitled ‘Plus Ultra, or This Island Is Full of Composites’, the different threads come together as I pursue an analysis of the elements in The Tempest which justify my thesis and explore examples which support my claims. In my Conclusion, I return to my initial ideas and try to indicate what could follow from the reception of the present work.

My Volume 2 has eight appendixes and two annexes. My Appendix A (‘Shakespeare’s Works – A Chronology and Abbreviations’) is a table in which I give the chronology for the date of composition of Shakespeare’s works which I assume in my analysis as well as the abbreviations of the titles of Shakespeare’s works which I use whenever I find the need to do so in this thesis. My Appendix B (‘A List of Modern European Works Containing References to the Words Brazil, Brazils, Brazilian or Brazilians’) is a list of the most famous works in the Publicly-Accessible Collections of the University of Virginia Library Electronic Text Center which refer to Brazil. The list is not meant to be exhaustive but is illustrative of the fact that is part of my theory that Brazilian visibility does not necessarily preclude Brazilian invisibility. My Appendix C (‘Dom Pedro II of Brazil’s Dynastic Relations’) presents a series of tables which illustrate the royal European background and immediate family connections of Emperor Dom Pedro II of Brazil, of whose invisibility I treat in my Chapter 2. My Appendix D (‘Villegaignon’s Life’) presents in a single list the main dates and facts in the life of Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon as found in different sources about his life. My Appendix E (‘Villegaignon Bibliography up to 1611’) is a

non-exhaustive but representative annotated list of texts, biographical and otherwise, by and on Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon to versions of which Shakespeare might have had access in the process of creating the plot of The Tempest. My Appendix F ('The Emperor Charles V's Main Titles') is a table with the main titles The Emperor Charles V held at one point or other of his life. The table also includes information about who his predecessors and successors as holders of these titles were and what blood relationship to Charles V (if any) both predecessors and successors had, as well as dates of succession to and cession of the same titles. My Appendix G ('Ruler Lists') is a list of European and North African rulers of areas relevant to my analysis in the period 1492-1611, from the discovery of America to the date of composition of The Tempest. My Appendix H ('Complex Dynastic Relations') shows the complex, if distant, dynastic relations which link Frederick V, Elector Palatine of the Rhine and husband of the Princess Elizabeth Stuart and the Emperor Charles V. My Annex 1 is 'Where the Nuts Come From', an article which I wrote on the theme of Brazilian invisibility abroad and which originally appeared online in the year 2000. My Annex 2 includes Figures which I believe can greatly contribute to illustrate the points which I make in my thesis. This annex 2 is organized so that it can be read as an independent document but I believe it is more richly understood if it is read in connection to the discussion which I present in my Volume 1.

As a rule, foreign names which have an established English form are given in English. Exceptions are French rulers, whose names are usually given in French. Names without an established given form in English are usually given in their original form. I use forms of Arabic names which I have found in my sources and I try to use always the same form unless I am quoting from another source. In the case of Muley Hassan, Sultan or King of Tunis, I sometimes also use the early modern form Muleasses because that was the name found in Florio's translation of Montaigne and the name of the title character in John Mason's The Turk, or Muleasses the Turk (1607, published 1609 or 1610). I have tried to be consistent in the spelling forms which I adopt. I explain my reasons for adopting the spelling Villegaignon in my note 2 to my Chapter 1. I use the forms Ralegh for Raleigh in the case of the surname of the famous English pirate and Anna for Anne as the first name of King James's wife and queen because I was convinced by the arguments of those who adopt these forms over the more common modern forms. Naturally, I only use other forms in case I am quoting from someone who uses them.

Whenever possible I cite texts in the original not the modernised spelling because these forms would be the ones available to early modern readers. Although I am also reading the Folio text as reproduced in the second edition of The Norton First Folio Facsimile, I have chosen to quote the modern spelling in the case of Shakespeare's texts because of my decision to use Stephen Orgel's Oxford World's Classics/Oxford Shakespeare edition of The Tempest as my basic text for quotations from The Tempest and the second edition of the Complete Works Oxford Shakespeare edited by Stanley Wells et al. as my basic text for Shakespeare's other works. Accordingly, whenever I feel the need I indicate a difference between a Folio reading and the modernised text from which I am quoting.

The first time when I mention an early modern work, I usually give its full long title or a long abbreviated form of its full long title. Sometimes I also repeat this full long title more than once. My reason for this procedure is that I believe that in these titles we can learn more about the works' content and particularly have an insight into the early modern publishers' and readers' expectations about them. However, titles of works to which I refer frequently are given in a shorter form which in that case is my standard form.

Because I am many times bridging the gaps which may exist between Brazilian and non-Brazilian academic readers, whether or not the latter are what I call mainstream (English, American or European) readers, certain difficulties arise. In the thesis which follows, therefore, I try to write to an academic reader who may or may not be Brazilian and may or may not be as familiar with Shakespeare Studies as a Shakespearian scholar obviously is. Therefore, I many times find the need to explain to my non-Brazilian reader certain facts and details about Brazil which I would not need to explain to a Brazilian academic reader, just as there are circumstances and details which I decide to explain to my Brazilian academic reader which I might not have to explain to a Shakespearian scholar. These facts include details about the Portuguese Language, and the history and the geography of Brazil on the one hand; and details about the history of England and the circumstances of Shakespeare's early modern age on the other. Whenever possible (unless it is too important to the point which I am making), I avoid repeating details about which, in my opinion, both academic readers in Brazil and academic readers abroad could have information. However, I apologise to both types of readers and I hope that the information I provide, however obvious it may seem, does not prove too obtrusive to either group.

As authorised by the Programa de Pós-Graduação em Letras of the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, I have formatted this thesis, including my Selected List

of Works Consulted, in MLA documentation style as presented in Joseph Gibaldi's MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers (2003). The only exception is that the text of the thesis has not been double-spaced throughout, as prescribed by MLA documentation style (133), because my supervisor, Dr Sandra Sirangelo Maggio, was informed in early 2007 that even if the work was formatted in MLA documentation style the default setting of the text of the thesis should be 1.5 line spacing.

I add a Selected List of Works Consulted instead of a List of Works Cited for two reasons. First, it is a way which I have found to acknowledge that there were works which played a definite role in the genesis of this work although I do not quote from or even refer to all of them in my final text. Second, because this way I can contribute a list suggesting related readings in the field which I believe can benefit my readers. A similar preoccupation oriented my quotations, which I have deliberately kept longer at times because of my concern with documenting sources which may not be as easily accessible to my reader as they were to me.

As for my sources, I owe this thesis to two men with amazingly similar names. One is Shakespeare's friend and fellow actor in the King's Men, John Heminges. The other is Canada-born John Hemming, a former Director and Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society in London. Together with his fellow Henry Condell, John Heminges collected and published Shakespeare's First Folio, the first collected edition of plays by Shakespeare. The First Folio includes thirty-six plays and preserves the only surviving version of Shakespeare's The Tempest and of seventeen other of Shakespeare's plays which would have otherwise been irretrievably lost. Both actors had been mentioned by Shakespeare in his will, together with Richard Burbage, the greatest actor among the King's Men, as 'my ffellowes John Hemynge, Richard Burbage and Henry Cundell' (Campbell and Quinn 946). John Hemming is the author of Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians (1978), the first of three volumes which he dedicated to the history of native Brazilians. It was in Hemming's Red Gold where I first learned some fascinating details about Villegaignon's biography at about the same time as I was reading Montaigne's essay 'Of the Caniballes' in its entirety in Orgel's Oxford edition of The Tempest for the first time.

My basic volume for genetic criticism and the source to which I owe my decision to pursue a genetic study of a work of which I cannot establish a dossier was the collection of translations into English of French texts about genetic criticism which are found in the volume edited by Jed Deppman, Daniel Ferrer and Michael Groden under the title Genetic Criticism Texts and Avant-textes (2004), specially the articles by Pierre-Marc de Biasi and Jean-Michel

Rabaté. In my research, whenever possible I have chosen an English translation over a French original because I have only a working knowledge of the French Language and probably after this research my knowledge of early modern French is infinitely better than my knowledge of modern French.

My theory of Brazilian invisibility abroad as formulated in this work is my own but I owe convergent insights to my readings, and particularly to Maxine L Margolis's An Invisible Minority: Brazilians in New York City (1997) and Tunico Amancio's O Brasil dos gringos: imagens no cinema (2000).

Many works contributed so that I could reach my own conclusions about Shakespeare's readings or possible readings, starting with Michel de Montaigne's 'Of the Caniballes' as found in Florio's 1603 translation. Another fundamental work was Edward Arber's classic The first three English books on America (1885), which is now available online thanks to the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. The book was pivotal because it reproduces the narrative by Antonio Pigafetta included in Richard Eden's 1555 The decades of the newe worlde or West India, where I could confirm my hypothesis that there was Brazilian invisibility at operation not only when Shakespeare critics read Montaigne but also when they returned to some of the most famous among Shakespeare's likely sources for The Tempest. Other early modern texts which proved invaluable were Richard Hakluyt's The principall nauigations, voiages, and discoeries of the English nation (1598-1600), and the fourth volume of Samuel Johnson and William Oldys's The Harleian Miscelanny (1744-1746), in which they reproduced in 1744 the otherwise lost English version of 'A lamentable and piteous Treatise' by Syr Nycolas Uyllagon (1542). As will later become clear, other rewarding sources were Charles Lamb's 'Nugae Criticae: by the Author of Elia No II: On a Passage in The Tempest' (1823) and Giorgio Vasari's Le Vite de' Più Eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, et Scultori Italiani, da Cimabue Insino a' Tempi Nostri (1550), which I consulted in an Italian edition and in English translations.

I must acknowledge the deep impact which one particular set of books has had in my interest in the subject of Shakespeare and his sources in the last twenty years. That was Geoffrey Bullough's monument of scholarship, the eight-volume Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare (1957-75), which I first opened as an undergraduate when I first studied Macbeth in English. Bullough's work was again very important for this research, as he will probably remain for a long time for any serious study of Shakespeare and his sources. Stuart Gillespie's Shakespeare's Books: A Dictionary of Shakespeare Sources (2005) proved

particularly helpful in its information about later developments since the publication of Bullough's seminal volumes and in its bibliographical references. It also confirmed that the sources I suggest remain unlisted in a very thorough 528-page recently published dictionary of Shakespeare's sources. Other works to which I have many times returned were the critical apparatuses of the different editions of The Tempest in my Selected List of Works Consulted, Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells's Oxford Companion to Shakespeare (2001) and Stanley Wells and Lena Cowen Orlin's Shakespeare: An Oxford Guide (2002).

From my readings about The Tempest, I would like to acknowledge that besides the different editions, I profited considerably by those works by Jonathan Bate, Stephen Orgel, and Leah Marcus listed in my Selected List of Works Consulted. Other particularly useful works included Jean Howard and Marion O'Connor's Shakespeare Reproduced: The Text in History and Ideology (1987), Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman's The Tempest and its Travels (2000), David Scott Kastan's 'The Duke of Milan / And his Brave Son': Old Histories and New in The Tempest' (2003), Jeffrey Knapp's An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest (1992), Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin's Post-Colonial Shakespeares (1998), Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michelle Willems's Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time (1996), Patrick M. Murphy's The Tempest: Critical Essays (2001), Jürgen Pieters's 'Gazing at the Borders of The Tempest: Shakespeare, Greenblatt and de Certeau' (1997), Geraldo U. de Sousa's article 'Alien Habitats in The Tempest' (2001), Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan's Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History (1993) and Chantal Zabus's Tempests after Shakespeare (2002). For equally rich further criticism, I refer my reader to my Selected List of Works Consulted.

I had to read broadly about early modern history, but the two works which I consider my fundamental readings about the court politics of Shakespeare's time were David Bevington and Peter Holbrook's The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque (1998) and W. B. Patterson's King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom (2000).

In order to be able to make my claim, I had to learn more about Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon and about The Emperor Charles V, and in my case I started with the former and only later realised that the latter was probably a broader area of concern in which the former fitted. Learning more about Villegaignon meant learning also about André Thevet, Jean de Léry and, naturally, Antarctic France. I have already acknowledged the initial importance of John Hemming's Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians (1978), but I could only write this thesis after I read as much as I could which had been penned by André

Thevet and Jean de Léry in French or in English translation. In this process, I am also indebted to the notes and the Portuguese translation by André Thevet's Brazilian translator Eugênio Amado, particularly in solving a number of black letter cruces in my photocopy of the British Library's copy of The new Found worlde, or Antarctike, Thomas Hacket's 1568 translation of Thevet's Les singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amérique: & de plusieurs Terres & Isles decouvertes de nostre temps (1557). I also consulted the second French edition of Thevet's work from the moment I found it online, but my basic text for this thesis was Hacket's 1568 English version, assuming that the English version was a text which Shakespeare could have known and used. Jean de Léry's Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil autrement dite Amérique (1578), which I have many times consulted in the original French, I have read in English in Janet Whatley's modern translation, History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America Containing the Navigation and the Remarkable Things Seen on the Sea by the Author; the Behaviour of Villegagnon in That Country; the Customs and Strange Ways of Life of the American Savages; Together with the Description of Various Animals, Trees, Plants, and Other Singular Things Completely Unknown Here (1990). Equally important for my thesis were Whatley's 'Translator's Introduction', her notes and her annotated bibliography for her translation.

My basic Villegaignon biography was Vasco Mariz and Lucien Provençal's Villegaignon e a França Antártica: Uma reavaliação (2000), but Silvia Shannon's articles on Antarctic France were equally pertinent. I must acknowledge my debt to Frank Lestringant's O canibal: grandeza e decadência (1994, Portuguese translation 1997) and particularly his Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery (1991, English 1994), including its annotated bibliography, as well as his 1993 article 'The Philosopher's Breviary: Jean de Léry in the Enlightenment'. Finally, Cristina Oswald's bibliography proved fundamental at an early stage of my Villegaignon research and I profited considerably from the facts I learned in Stephen Greenblatt's Foreword to Frank Lestringant's Mapping the Renaissance World and in Roger Schlesinger's Portraits from the Age of Exploration (1993).

Once I realised that I had to become much better informed about different aspects of the multiple life of The Emperor Charles V, my main sources were Wim Blockmans's Emperor Charles V: 1500-1558 (2002), Henry Kamen's Philip of Spain (1998), Harald Kleinschmidt's Charles V: The World Emperor (2004), William S. Maltby's The Reign of

Charles V (2002) and Yona Pinson's 'Imperial Ideology in the Triumphal Entry into Lille of Charles V and the Crown Prince (1549)' (2001).

I will return to the theme of my contribution to knowledge in my Conclusion. Meantime, I would like to say that I believe my thesis can be useful to Shakespeare Studies because of the insights on The Tempest which I try to offer. As for the theme of Brazilian invisibility abroad, I believe it can contribute to make Brazil more visible to Brazilians and non-Brazilians alike, whether or not my reader is a Shakespearian scholar. Although I am fully convinced of the critical soundness of the claims which I make, I have deliberately adopted tentative language in this thesis. This choice was due to the fact that I see the case which I make as an invitation to critical debate and I want to engage my reader as a reflexive force in my text just as I try to do with the criticism with which I engage in my own work.

In the next three chapters, I have set myself the daunting task of adding to hundreds of years of critical reception of one of the most famous works written by the most written about author in the world. Luckily, like Prospero, I was 'furnished' from 'mine own' and other libraries 'with volumes that | I prize above my dukedom'. As I invite my reader to travel to Prospero's island and see it with totally different eyes, I would like to quote from Caliban, who knows it much better than we can: 'Be not afeard, the isle is full of noises, | Sounds, and sweet airs, that give delight, and hurt not' (3.2.133-134).



Miranda was just calling a ‘New World’ was actually the ‘Old World’ from which she herself had originally come. But if Miranda’s New World is the world of Europe and Northern Africa, the better known, non-invisible locations in the play, the irony was certainly not lost on Shakespeare and on his audience that the New World itself was another world which had long been there and was only ‘new’ because it had until very recently been unknown (or invisible) to Europeans such as Prospero, most people on stage, and the members of Shakespeare’s audience at court, at the Blackfriars or at the great Globe itself. Subverting Shakespeare’s joke, I suggested then and suggest with this doctoral research that five hundred years on, the New World can sometimes remain amazingly new, if only ‘new to thee’, or to them, Europeans.

It is certain that in thinking about and writing The Tempest Shakespeare was influenced by contemporary narratives about the New World. However, the fact that the later English-speaking experience in America has been mostly a North American and Caribbean phenomenon has consequently led Anglo-American commentators on Shakespeare to concentrate on the Caribbean and the Virginia references in the play.

In the opening of The Tempest, a group of Europeans who are returning to Italy from a wedding feast in Tunis, in the North of Africa, are magically separated from the rest of their fleet and shipwrecked on a small island. That has led many commentators to think of Prospero’s island as being somewhere in the Mediterranean, and to think of Shakespeare’s scattered references to the New World as merely topical but not enough to make it possible for Prospero’s island to be somewhere in the Atlantic or in the Caribbean. However, I believe that we have enough evidence, including textual evidence, that Shakespeare’s geography in The Tempest, as in other works, was a far more complex construction.

A circumstance about The Tempest that has puzzled careful commentators for years is the reason why in Act 3, scene 1 of the play, Prospero should have Ferdinand bear and pile up thousands of logs, as the island where the story is set is most likely to be in the tropics or in another warmer climate. In other words, whether Prospero’s island be in the Mediterranean and somewhere near the North of Africa or in the Atlantic and therefore relatively near the ‘still-vexed Bermudas’ (1.2.229) Ariel refers to in the play, there seems to be no apparent reason why Prospero should need so many logs to keep Miranda and himself warm. It is true that when the audience is about to meet Caliban for the first time in Act 1, scene 2, Prospero tells Miranda that they need his slave because he ‘does make our fire, / Fetch in our wood, and serves in offices / That profit us’ (311-313). Shortly after that, when Prospero and Caliban

talk, Shakespeare does have the former send the latter to ‘fetch us in fuel’ (350), but Prospero adds, ‘and be quick’, which seems to indicate or at least imply that his task is of a shorter nature than the one he later sets on Ferdinand. The wood Prospero needs from Caliban could well be used for cooking or possibly Prospero’s magic art, but we are never told for what purpose Prospero needs Ferdinand to pile logs as part of an apparently endless task. On the other hand, neither Ferdinand, who has to bear the logs, nor Miranda, who is shocked at finding her newly found love ‘enjoined to pile’ them to the point of offering to help Ferdinand, seem to question the need.

## 1.2 - Montaigne, the Cannibals, Antarctic France and Villegaignon

This piling up of logs by Ferdinand is apparently one of those details which Shakespeare at times finds in one or more of his sources and although he does not make much of them, they survive into the final play as written. What if in one or more of Shakespeare’s sources reference were made to wood and logs? One of the few known sources which Shakespeare did use to write The Tempest, to the point of quoting it verbatim in the play, was John Florio’s translation of Michel Eyquem de Montaigne’s essay ‘Of the Caniballes’ (or ‘On Cannibals’), which Montaigne included in his Essais (‘Trials’). This point has not escaped critical attention. For example, Frank Kermode publishes extracts from this essay in his New Arden edition of the play (first published in 1954), and he even adds the detail that there is ‘in the British Museum a copy of this work which contains what may be a genuine signature of Shakespeare’ (T<sub>mp.</sub> 1996 145). Oxford Editor Stephen Orgel publishes the entire essay ‘Of the Cannibals’ as an appendix (Appendix D) to his 1987 edition of The Tempest (T<sub>mp.</sub> 1994). On the first page of the essay, we, like Shakespeare before us, learn that Montaigne has ‘had long time dwelling with [him] a man who for the space of ten or twelve years had dwelt in that other world which in our age was lately discovered in those parts where Villegaignon first landed and surnamed Antarctic France’ (T<sub>mp.</sub> 1994 227). From childhood, Brazilians learn the names Villegaignon and Antarctic France. Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon was a French coloniser who led the French eventually unsuccessful attempt to occupy the bay of Guanabara and found a French colony in Brazil. Certainly that explicit textual reference in Montaigne could not have escaped editor Stephen Orgel. It did not. The first note which he provides to appendix D, which is the modern spelling version of Florio’s translation of Montaigne’s essay, comes right after the Montaigne sentence which I have just quoted, and

Orgel duly informs his reader that ‘the landing was in Brazil in 1557.’ Orgel, along with many other mainstream critics, knows that among Shakespeare’s reading for The Tempest there is an essay by Montaigne from which Shakespeare deliberately quotes and which mentions Villegaignon<sup>2</sup> and Antarctic France by name. Curiously, though, and arguably because the reference is to a geographic location that suffers from invisibility, not much is made of it. Brazil and Antarctic France are practically never mentioned by Orgel in his introduction or by any other critic except in very broad comments of the kind we have just seen. Further evidence that not much was made of the reference can be found in the fact that Orgel informs his reader that the landing in Brazil was in 1557, whereas the original landing by Villegaignon occurred two years earlier, on Sunday, 10 November 1555. We can learn that from, among others, ‘that excellent learned man, master’ André Thevet, a Franciscan friar who travelled to the New World with Villegaignon, stayed in Antarctic France for about three months, left for Europe (according to his own testimony) on Friday, 31 January 1556, and published his description of their voyage as early as 1557 in a book called Singularitez de la France Antartique, autrement nommée Amérique: & de plusieurs Terres & Isles decouvertes de nostre temps. The information about the date (1555) has been available in English at least since 1568, the year when Thomas Hacket published in London a translation of Thevet’s Singularitez de la France Antartique under the title The new Found worlde, or Antarctike, wherein is contained wonderful and strange things, as well of humaine creatures, as Beastes, Fishes, Foules, and Serpents, Trees, Plants, Mines of Golde and Silver: garnished with many learned authorities, travailed and written in the French tong, by that excellent learned man, master Andrewe Thevet. And now newly translated into Englishe, wherein is reformed the errours of the auncient Cosmographers. Arguably not seeing the need to investigate the reference to Villegaignon and to Antarctic France in Montaigne’s essay in more detail, Orgel apparently mistakes the first with the second French landing in the area. The second French landing in that remote and little known land in America which the French decided to call ‘Antarctic France’ was indeed in 1557, or more precisely, on Sunday, 7 March 1557, but at that point Villegaignon had been in the New World for almost sixteen months. The second voyage eventually became more famous because it was the subject of Jean de Léry’s Histoire d’un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Léry, first published in Geneva in 1578, published in a Latin translation in 1592 (and possibly as early as 1583), and in an English translation (The Manners, Lawes and Customes of All Nations ...The Like Also out of the History of America, or Brasill, written by

John Leri) in 1611, the year Shakespeare is likely to have finished writing The Tempest.<sup>3</sup> Both Thevet and Léry are very likely sources that were available to Shakespeare and I will return to them particularly in Chapter 3.

Janet Whatley, the modern translator of Léry's work into English, is aware of points that the Histoire has in common with The Tempest, but her subjects in her introduction to her edition are Léry and Villegaignon, which means that major Shakespearian scholars remain uninformed about or unimpressed by references to Villegaignon or Antarctic France:

The plot of the Histoire invites a comparison with The Tempest; the exile from Europe voyages to the edge of the world; exiled even from Europe's colony of exiles, he flees into the very wilderness of a land already wild, there to encounter trustworthy forms of human goodness in its inhabitants. It is a rule of pastoral plots that you must stay in your place of exile only long enough for certain profound and beneficent transformations to take place; in this case, for Léry's bone-deep 'experience' of America. You must then return — to Milan and resume your dukedom, or to Geneva to take up your ministry — arriving back in Europe wracked and exhausted by tempests that are withal blessed (Whatley 1990 xxxvi).<sup>4</sup>

Another author who mentions Janet Whatley's point above and even sees and explores a few further parallels between Prospero's island and Antarctic France while discussing a different subject is Jürgen Pieters in his article 'Gazing at the Borders of The Tempest: Shakespeare, Greenblatt and de Certeau', published in Constellation Caliban: Figurations of a Character, a book edited by Nadia Lie and Theo D'haen in 1997. Brazilian invisibility seems to interfere and Jürgen mentions Villegaignon only once, although he suggests an approximation between Prospero and Jean de Léry as well as between Caliban and the Brazilian Tupinambás<sup>5</sup> (to which Jürgen refers in the Gallicised form Tupinambou) in an article which I fully recommend.

I see the effects of Brazilian invisibility at operation again in the 1999 edition of The Tempest which was published as part of the Arden Shakespeare Third Series, which as I write is still being published under the editorial responsibility of Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson, and David Scott Kastan. With their backgrounds in English (Virginia Mason Vaughan is a Professor of English at Clark University), and History (Alden T. Vaughan is a Professor Emeritus of History at Columbia University), the Third Series Arden editors of The Tempest inform their readers in their introduction that

To the extent that Caliban is in tune with nature and lord of the island until overthrown by Prospero and later corrupted by Stephano and Trinculo, Shakespeare may have borrowed from Montaigne's description of Brazilians, in John Florio's translation of 1603, who 'are yet neere their originall naturalitie. The lawes of nature do yet commaund them, which are but little bastardized by ours' (Temp. 2003 45).

On the next page of their introduction, they also include the picture of a 'tomb (1569) in Burford, Oxfordshire (25 miles from Stratford), of Edward Harman, a former barber to Henry VIII and local official, featuring four Brazilian Indians', but they add that 'Harman's connection to the New World is unclear, but the Indians may suggest his participation in overseas mercantile adventures'. Later, they add that 'In words that Shakespeare borrows almost verbatim for Gonzalo's explanation of how he would organize a colony on Prospero's island (2.1.148-65), Montaigne idealizes the indigenous culture of Brazil' (61). But this is all we ever get about Brazil in their edition. In a way that I would argue fully exemplifies Brazilian invisibility, the author mentioned before Montaigne on page 45 of the Vaughans' edition of The Tempest is no other than André Thevet, about whom the reader learns that

To the extent that Caliban is barbarous, lustful and prone to intoxication, Shakespeare may have mined sixteenth-century images both continental and English, such as André Thevet's description of American natives of the far north as 'wild and brutish people, without Fayth, without Lawe, without Religion, and without any civilitie: but living like brute beasts' (Thevet, 43).

What the Vaughans apparently do not know or do not seem to find it relevant enough to justify inclusion in their edition is the fact that this 'description of American natives of the far north' is not merely a description in another text by the same André Thevet who wrote Singularitez de la France Antartique. In fact, as we can learn in the list of Abbreviations and References to the 1999 edition of The Tempest, the quote from what in their Introduction the Vaughans merely refer to as 'Thevet' is from 'André Thevet, The New Found Worlde, or Antartike, trans. T. Hacket (London, 1568)' (357). In other words, Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan are inadvertently (or at least inexplicitly) quoting from Thevet's book about his journey with Villegaignon to that same land in the New World where Montaigne's cannibals lived, namely, Antarctic France, in what is nowadays Brazil.

A return to Hacket's 1568 translation of Thevet's book shows that less than a page above the passage quoted by the Vaughans, earlier in the same Chapter 27 from which the passage from Thevet's book was taken, Thevet has already informed his reader that

Nowe that I haue treated particularly of the places wheras we did most remaine after that we had takē land & chiefly of that wheras the Sieur of Villagagnon, doeth inhabite with other French men euen at this day. Likewise of this most notable riuer which we name Ianaria, the circumstances of the places, for that they lie in a land discovered and found out in our time, there resteth nowe to wrigth that, the which we have learned & knowne for the time that we remained ther. (Thevet 43r misfoliated 36r)<sup>6</sup>

In fact, in the passage from Chapter 27 of The New Found Worlde, or Antartike which the Vaughans quote in their introduction to The Tempest, Thevet is actually describing the natives of America who, according to his own words, live in the region near the brumal tropic and even further South: 'that parte which we have moste knowne and frequented, which lieth about the Tropike Brumall, and yet beyond that it hathe bene and is inhabited at this bay' (Thevet 43r misfoliated 36r).

These natives do not therefore live in the far North, as the Vaughans seem to believe, possibly misled by the term 'Tropike Brumall'. If we check the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), we can learn that the English adjective brumal, like the French adjective brumal, means 'belonging to winter; winter-like, wintry'. Both words are derived from the Latin adjective brumalis, which also means 'belonging to winter' and originated from the Latin word bruma, which is likely a contraction of \*brevima, meaning 'shortest (day), winter'. The entry also includes a quote that makes reference to the 'brumal solstice', meaning the winter solstice. The 'brumal tropic' is therefore the 'winter tropic', or the tropic associated with the brumal or winter solstice. As Geoffrey Chaucer teaches us in Part 1, 17, 45-54 of his A Treatise on the Astrolabe, considered to be the oldest work in English describing a complex scientific instrument, in an astrolabe, the brumal (or winter) tropic actually represents the Tropic of Capricorn:

The widest of these 3 principale cercles is | clepid the cercle of Capricorne, by cause that | the heved of Capricorne turneth evermo consentrik | upon the same cercle. In the heved of | this forseide Capricorne is the grettist declinacioun | southward of the sonne, and therefore | it is clepid the solsticium of wynter. |

This signe of Capricorne is also clepid the | tropic of wynter, for than begynneth the sonne | to come ageyn to us-ward.

Chaucer's definition is confirmed by the OED, which informs us that Capricorn is the tenth of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, beginning at the most southerly point of the ecliptic or winter solstitial point, which the sun enters about the 21st December', and that the 'Tropic of Capricorn' is the 'southern Tropic forming a tangent to the ecliptic at the first point of Capricorn'. As the sun entered Capricorn for two thousand years at the beginning of winter in the Northern hemisphere, the Tropic of Capricorn was also called the Winter or Brumal Tropic.

Thevet himself refers to the Tropic of Capricorn as the Winter Tropic in his The New Found Worlde, or Antartike. For instance, in his Chapter 22, called 'Of the promentarie of good hope, and of many secrets observed in the same, likewise our Ariuall to the Indies, America, or Fraunce Antartike', Thevet informs his reader that

After that we have passed the Equinoctiall lyne, and the Ilande of S. Homer, following the coste of Ethiopia, the which is called India Meridionall, it behoved to follow our course evē to the Tropike of winter, about the which time we discovered the great & famous Promentarie of good hope, the which the pilots have named Lyon of the Sea, bicause that it is feared and redouted, being so great and dificil. (34r-34v)

Contrary to what we learn in the Introduction to the 1999 Arden edition of The Tempest, the brutish American natives in Thevet's narrative, like Montaigne's cannibals, live in South America, and more specifically in the land of Brazil. This is made clear once again in the beginning of Chapter 28, Thevet's next chapter, where he mentions one more time the natives' lack of religion and law and goes on to treat of their God Toupan and their belief in a semi-legendary 'Prophete' called Charaiba (43v) and the initial use by the natives of the term Carabes ('halfe Gods) for the White Europeans ('they esteemed them as Prophets and honoured them as Goddes' (44r). These native words are immediately recognisable to this day in Brazil as Old Tupi (Brazilian Indian) words for, respectively, the Tupi natives' thunder and lightning deity and for White Europeans. Because of his associations with thunder and lightning, Toupan (Modern Portuguese, Tupã) was the deity whose names the Jesuits adopted to translate their references to God the Father in their efforts to Christianise the natives on the Brazilian coast. As for the Old Tupi word kara'ib, it means both 'smart', 'wise', 'intelligent' and 'holy', or 'sacred'. Originally it was used by the speakers of Old Tupi to refer to their

enemies from the North in South America, the smart and extremely fierce Caribs (Portuguese Caraíbas), as well as to certain Indian elders among their own tribes (hence Thevet's reference to 'Prophets'). These Caribs from the North of Brazil spoke a Cariban language related to the language of the Caribbean Caribs.<sup>7</sup> When the Europeans arrived in Brazil, the word Charaiba became a natural choice of word to describe these other equally resourceful and fierce men who looked and behaved like demigods.

The OED entry 'Cannibal' has a long discussion of the term, where we can learn that Canibales was 'originally one of the forms of the ethnic name Carib or Caribes, a fierce nation of the West Indies, who are recorded to have been anthropophagi, and from whom the name was subsequently extended as a descriptive term'. Also according to the same OED entry, 'apparently . . . it was only foreigners who made a place name out of that of the people' and 'according to Oviedo's Hist. Gen. [Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra firme del mar océano] ii. Viii, Caribe signifies "brave and daring", with which Prof. [J. H.] Trumbull compares the Tupi caryba 'superior man', hero, vir'. The Tupi word which Trumbull and the OED reproduce as caryba is exactly the word to which Thevet refers with the terms Charaiba and Carabes.

The fact that the natives in this passage include the Brazilian cannibals becomes even more evident because Thevet himself also uses the word Canibals (with a single n and a single l in the English translation), and a side note to leaf 44 reads 'The Canibals are a people that lie with humane flesh' (44r). Although the Vaughans will tell you that Shakespeare's Caliban has many features in common with Thevet's natives, they will contribute to move the reference away from its original geographical location in what today is Brazil by calling them 'American natives of the far north', and they will not even mention the spelling of the word Canibals, which in its singular form is even closer to Caliban than the word as found in Montaigne (Caniballes) or in modern references (Cannibals). It goes without saying that spelling in the early modern period is very fluid, and authors would be excused to alter it according to their own whims or for many other reasons, but the fact remains that the singular form of the word as found in this passage in the 1568 English translation of Thevet's book is a perfect anagram for Caliban's name.

As we can see, in this particular case Brazilian invisibility originated as early as the sixteenth century. If in the original title of the book the reference to Brazil in the expression 'la France Antartique, autrement nommée Amérique' might have already been lost on non French readers and possibly even on French readers who might not have known whereabouts

in America ‘Antarctic France’ was, Brazilian invisibility was perpetuated in the title of the English translation of 1568, where ‘la France Antartique’ became ‘The new Found worlde, or Antarctike’. But that it still was a book about Antarctic France and the land where Villegaignon lived in America becomes clear to those who, like Shakespeare might have done, read past the title of the book in search of more details about the land where Villegaignon had lived among the cannibals.

Unfortunately this option is practically denied the readers of the 1999 Arden edition of The Tempest, because contrary to Orgel, who published the entire essay by Montaigne in his 1987 Oxford edition, the Third Series Arden editors publish only a selection from Montaigne’s essay ‘Of the Caniballes’, and Montaigne’s unequivocal first page textual reference to Villegaignon and Antarctic France gets edited out. That is not a really surprising decision, as neither name appears in the very thorough 16-column, 8-page-long index of names provided with the edition. Even to more recent editors who mention ‘Brazilian Indians’ four times in their text and in their index, Villegaignon and Antarctic France (i.e., Brazil) remain partially invisible. In leaving Montaigne’s reference to Villegaignon and to Antarctic France out of their extracts, the Third Series Arden editors are repeating the previous Arden edition (Kermode’s), which, as mentioned before, included shorter extracts from the essay but did not keep that reference either. Apparently, unless the essay is published in its entirety, Montaigne’s reference to Brazil and to Villegaignon remains invisible to Shakespeare scholars and their readers.

I will return to Villegaignon in Chapter 3. As for Antarctic France, it is enough to say at this point that, as many a Brazilian school child knows, and so does British anthropologist and historian John Hemming, the only ‘important commercial attraction in Brazil — and the origin of its name — was the magnificent great tree known as brazilwood.’ And Hemming also explains:

Ever since the twelfth century trees that yielded a red dye were known as brasile, from the Latin word for red. And a hardwood found in the new continent produced a powerful dye that ranged from maroon to ochre. This tree was therefore called pau do brasil, or brazilwood (Caesalpinia echinata). [...] Its logs were shipped back to Europe, where the hardwood was rasped into sawdust and soaked in water for a few weeks to form the red dye. The dye was not particularly stable, but reds were fashionable, especially at the French court,

and the profits from the brazilwood trade were attractive enough to justify the risks involved in the ocean crossing. (8)

Of the French in Brazil, Hemming informs that they ‘sent interpreters to live in the midst of the Indians — blond Normans who settled in the native villages and organised the gathering of logs for the next ship from France’ (10). This piece of information was equally available to Shakespeare, who was necessarily reading about Antarctic France whilst creating his island full of noises. This research will therefore try to analyse the effect of Brazilian invisibility in the interpretation of The Tempest and to study how much indebted to his possible readings about Villegaignon and Antarctic France Shakespeare could have been.

As far as we can tell, the first recorded performance of The Tempest was at King James’s court on 1 November 1611, when, according to a Page from The Book of Reuells for the Year 1611-1612, ‘By the Kings players: Hallomas Nyght [November 1] was presented att Whithall, before ye Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. A play called the Tempest.’ (Cf., among others, Law 152; Bender 200). Together with A Midsummer Night’s Dream, The Tempest has no main source for its main plot known to the critics, which means that considering Shakespeare’s compositional habits we could or arguably should still be source hunting. Known classical sources for localised references within the play include Ovid’s Metamorphoses, a Shakespeare favourite, and Virgil’s Aeneid, as Shakespeare incorporates references to Carthage and Queen Dido to a play where most of the characters are going back home from a visit to Tunis, which, like Carthage was, is in the North of Africa. Other possible minor sources, now usually referred to as the ‘Bermuda pamphlets’, are important in dating The Tempest, as the play is likely to be indebted to three texts which would only become available after the autumn of 1610. The first to be printed was Sylvester Jourdan’s A Discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the Ile of Divels, by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers and Captayne Newport, with divers others. This pamphlet was printed with a dedication dated 13 October 1610. Then there was the Council of Virginia’s A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia, with a Confutation of Such Scandalous Reports as Have Tended to the Disgrace of So Worthy an Enterprise, which was entered in the Stationer’s Register on 08 November 1610. Finally, there was William Strachey’s ‘A True Reportory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight; upon and from the Ilands of the Bermudas: his coming to Virginia, and the estate of that Colonie there, and after, under the government of the Lord La Warre’. A long letter written in Virginia and dated 15 July 1610, it was only published in Samuel Purchas’s Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes, containing a

History of the World in Sea Voyages and Land Travels (1625). However, it is believed that William Strachey's letter circulated in London among members of the Virginia Company in time for it to have been read by Shakespeare while he was writing The Tempest. Geoffrey Bullough, a major authority in Shakespeare sources, believes that Shakespeare may have read other similar accounts of the same shipwreck and has no doubt in affirming in his Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare that Shakespeare 'certainly drew on Strachey's account' (Bullough, 8: 239). Likewise, Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan confirm in Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History (1993) that 'scholars since 1892 have argued that Shakespeare must have read it in manuscript or possibly in a now lost published version' (40). Unfortunately, we can only speculate about how Shakespeare had access to a copy of Strachey's 'True Reportary'. If Shakespeare indeed read these three texts from late 1610 (and he probably did), in them he found the narrative of a much-discussed shipwreck in the West Indies on 29 July 1609.

Scholars have also identified other secondary sources among Shakespeare's reading about travel, exploration, and colonialism, among which they never fail to include Richard Eden's History of Travaile (1577) and Montaigne's essay 'Of the Caniballes'. It is believed that it was in Eden that Shakespeare found the name Setebos, the name of the god/devil worshipped by Caliban's mother Sycorax; whereas Montaigne has been repeatedly identified as the source for Gonzalo's idealised vision of a utopian commonwealth in Act 2, scene 1 of The Tempest since Edward Capell first wrote about it in Notes and Various Readings of Shakespeare (1780) (cf. Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan 1993 47). This essay I have mentioned before appears in Book I, Chapter 30, pp. 100-7 of Florio's translation of Montaigne, an edition that was published in 1603 and was probably available earlier to Shakespeare and others in manuscript form, as it could have influenced the genesis of Hamlet (supposedly written around 1600), among other plays. Accordingly, it is believed that the name Shakespeare gives Caliban is probably a play on the word Carib or on the word Cannibal, or maybe even on both. Based on this, critics suggest that Shakespeare probably read early accounts of European encounter with Caribbean natives, a conclusion inevitably reached at the expense of any further localised exploration of his main known source for his knowledge about New World cannibals. We have just seen, however, how both terms, Cannibal and Carib (or Charaiba), also have strong associations with Brazilian natives, and more specifically with the Tupinambás, the indigenous populations whom the Europeans encountered in the area that is nowadays Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

The term Antarctic France itself contributes to make Brazil invisible, because when we nowadays think of the term Antarctic, we think of our long-established, more localized meaning, i.e., ‘of or relating to the south polar region or Antarctica’ (Cf. The New Oxford Dictionary of English, 1998). The French who gave this name to the region they wanted to colonise near modern day Rio de Janeiro were using Antarctic in its broader, original meaning, which was ‘Southern’, from the Latin Antarticus or Antarcticus, and derived originally from the Greek ἀνταρτικός (antartikós, ‘opposite to the North’), an adjective originated from ἀντί (antí, ‘against’, ‘opposite’) plus αρτικός (artikós, ‘of the Bear’, or ‘Northern’). It was the antonym of αρτικός (‘Arctic’, or ‘Northern’), an adjective derived from ἄρκτος (arktos, ‘a bear’; or ‘Ursa Major’, ‘the constellation of the Bear’; or ‘the North’, ‘the region of the bear’). (Cf. ‘Antarctic’, OED and ἌΡΚΤΟΣ, Liddell and Scott’s Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon 117). Besides, from the perspective of early modern European navigators, explorers, and cosmographers, Southern Brazil is close enough to the Antarctic pole to justify the term Antarctic. Thus, while the OED registers the first English meaning as already being ‘opposite to the Arctic’, or ‘pertaining to the south polar regions’, the same first definition also includes the more general meaning, ‘southern’. Richard Eden himself, in a passage translated from Latin which I am going to mention again in my Chapter 3, writes about ‘the south pole or pole Antartyke’ (Arber 250).

Culturally prone to focus on Virginia and the Caribbean, mainstream commentators fail to investigate about Antarctic France and therefore never learn that Antarctic France centred around Fort Coligny, a fortress built on a small island at the mouth of Guanabara Bay. Nowadays known as ‘Ilha de Villegaignon’ (‘Villegaignon Island’), this small island in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil can find echoes in Prospero’s island. In fact, in the introduction to his recent fiction book about Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon, Serge Elmalan, a French journalist who lived in Brazil, mentions briefly that Villegaignon’s universe inspired Shakespeare. The book is available in English translation, but it is a retelling of Villegaignon’s life, and no systematic study of all the possible connections to be found in The Tempest has yet come out.

But just as Ferdinand is piling up logs like the French who lived among Montaigne’s Tupinambá cannibals, a closer look at some of the other puzzling details to be found in the play can be equally illuminating to the reader. Shakespeare is usually far from accurate in his knowledge about history and geography, but overall there must be a method in this madness. I can mention here Caliban’s mother Sycorax, who is already dead when Prospero and Miranda

first come to the island. The play specifically tells us she is originally from Argier (nowadays, Algiers) and that she was left on the island by sailors, a piece of information that should arguably keep critics close to the North of Africa in their attempts at determining the location of Prospero's island. But we learn from Caliban that her god was Setebos, a name which is to be found in accounts of Magellan's voyage of circumnavigation of the world as that of a 'great devil' of the Patagonians. The question then becomes: why should an African witch worship a Patagonian devil? If we do not reduce to a soon to be forgotten minimum the fact that Shakespeare is also reading about what we now call South America for his research about The Tempest, then his inclusion of a reference to a Patagonian devil in his play becomes infinitely less far-fetched.

What about the topicality of the play and its effect on the King? At a time when actors were required by law to be members of a company and the company had to secure the patronage and authorisation of a baron of the realm or a personage of greater degree before they could act, since letter patents of May 19 1603 (one of King James's first official acts as King of England), Shakespeare's company had become 'The Kings Maiesties Seruants', or The King's Men. The Revels Accounts for the period 1603-1616 indicate that The King's Men performed 177 times at court, an average of twelve performances a year (Halliday 118).

Shakespeare could apparently please King James with a play like Macbeth, which is set in King James's homeland and where Shakespeare explores some of the king's favourite topics in a sensational story which involves the virtuous Banquo, one of the King's legendary ancestors. In the Scottish tragedy, Macbeth reigns with a barren sceptre, whereas Banquo's line stretches to the Stuarts down to King James and beyond. On the other hand, The Tempest was apparently popular at court, specially if we consider that two years after its first performances there it was played for the royal family again in 1613, during the formidable celebrations of King James's daughter Princess Elizabeth's wedding to Frederick, the Elector Palatine (an event that could mirror both the wedding of Princess Claribel of Naples that has already taken place in Tunis and the promised wedding of Miranda and Ferdinand in the play). Many of the play's themes (love, fertility, forgiveness, reconciliation) are good enough for a wedding performance. But why should the play be particularly popular with King James? In his introduction to his New Arden edition of the play, Frank Kermode states that there is 'no evidence that The Tempest was regarded as any more important or appropriate than the other plays performed during the season of expensive celebrations, and none that it was used to signalise some specific event. Nevertheless, there is much modern support for the view that

Shakespeare's play was altered for this performance' (xxii). It could be argued that the King could see himself in the figure of Prospero, as King James wrote books and liked to think of himself as an intellectual (he was, after all, the 'wisest fool in Christendom'). I support this idea myself, and it in no way contradicts the point which I am trying to make. Yet the play is about a group of continental Europeans who are returning home after a royal wedding in Tunis and are shipwrecked on an island which relates somehow to the New World, none of which situations seem to be particularly close to King James's heart. Maybe they do not have to be. But what about Villegaignon?

We know that Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon reached the island where Montaigne's cannibals lived on 10 November 1555 and that to colonise that area was his own idea. But other details about his biography are equally fascinating and rewarding. Before moving to the New World, Villegaignon had studied theology and law at the Sorbonne at the same time as Calvin. Then, as Vice-Admiral of Brittany, Villegaignon had quarrelled with the governor of the city of Brest only to see the King of France, Henri II, side against him. On the other hand, Villegaignon was also a fine swordsman who had fought in Italy, Hungary and in the Emperor Charles V's expedition against the North African Pirate-States and his attack on Algiers. Could Shakespeare have known that? I believe that he could, and that he actually did.

At this point one is entitled to ask why Shakespeare should be at all concerned with Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon. One possible answer is because his most famous exploit in a very eventful life had been to organise a mission to spirit the five-year-old child Mary Queen of Scots out of Scotland in 1548 for betrothal to Francis II of France. The only legitimate child of James V of Scotland, who died immediately after her birth, Mary Stuart was a 9-month-and-two-day old baby when she was crowned Queen of Scotland at Stirling Castle. The granddaughter of Margaret Tudor, she was also in line for the throne of England right after the children of Henry VIII's. Had Villegaignon not succeeded in his 1548 mission, Mary might well not have lived to become, 19 years later, the mother of King James VI of Scotland and I of England. Finally, as I will also show in Chapter 3, Villegaignon's own narrative of his presence in The Emperor Charles V's failed expedition against Algiers had turned him into a European best-selling author before he went to America, and his presence in the New World made him a favourite target of numerous Protestant (mostly Calvinist) attacks in the continent which had to be answered again and again by Villegaignon and others for many years to come.

I find it difficult to believe that Shakespeare did not know who Villegaignon was when he read his name in Montaigne's Essays, and I intend to argue in this study and particularly in

Chapter 3 that he did. Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon famously saved the life of a young girl who lived to be King James's mother, fought in Prospero's Italy, fought in Sycorax's Algiers, was briefly in Claribel's Tunis, and lived for a time on a small island in the region where Montaigne's cannibals were found, an island that he had the idea of colonising himself. As for the circumstances of the move there, Villegaignon decided to retire to the New World after the King of France sided with the Governor of Brest against him. In The Tempest, the action behind the main plot of the play originates after Prospero, as Duke of Milan, sees Alonso, King of Naples, side with his brother Antonio against him. As I intend to show in Chapter 3, even the titles Duke of Milan and King of Naples are connected to Villegaignon's life and his exploits in Italy and in Northern Africa.

With all those details piling up like logs of brazilwood on Villegaignon's island, the case is made for pursuing an analysis of how, as a historical figure that was very famous in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Europe, Villegaignon could relate to King James and to Shakespeare's Prospero, who is the far from controversial hero of the play, the leader of the island, and an intellectual. I believe that although he has remained most of the time invisible to mainstream scholars and their readers, Villegaignon was an important element in Shakespeare's creation of The Tempest and he can be a key to give us a new insight into Shakespeare's compositional practices and to help us better understand some of the questions that have puzzled critics for a long time.

I would like to suggest that we look at Villegaignon as one invisible piece in a puzzle and the act of making him more visible a contribution to make us see a larger pattern behind Shakespeare's The Tempest. In other words, I will suggest that Villegaignon is one element that, though present, remains invisible in a mosaic which is itself, as I hope to illustrate, sometimes spotted or briefly alluded to, but which has remained for the last four hundred years only partially visible to readers and critics alike. As for Shakespeare's contemporary and modern audiences watching the play, in the analysis that follows I will also attempt a discussion of possible reasons why the text of the play as found in its only surviving and therefore its only authoritative version, the one published in the First Folio of 1623, has also contributed to this invisibility.

Pursuing a deeper analysis of Shakespeare's indebtedness to his readings about Villegaignon, this line of research could provide interesting answers to some questions that remain unanswered about The Tempest and maybe give us more insight into Shakespeare's compositional practices. In this study, I hope to establish that information that could be

available to Shakespeare about Villegaignon can be a key to understanding a series of connections of Shakespeare's invention as he went about collecting data for and writing his new play.

However, before I do that in Chapter 3, I intend to look in more detail at the phenomenon of Brazilian invisibility abroad, because it is an important part of my argument that one of the main reasons why Villegaignon has remained invisible for so long is that he did not go to Bermuda, or Canada, or Virginia. Instead, the area of the New World to which he came is an area that has long suffered from invisibility, and sometimes still remains invisible, as I intend to show in Chapter 2.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Unless otherwise stated, all quotations from The Tempest are taken from Shakespeare, William, The Tempest, ed. Stephen Orgel, Oxford World's Classics; The Oxford Shakespeare, gen. ed. Stanley Wells (Oxford: OUP, 1994) and all quotations to other plays by Shakespeare are taken from Shakespeare, William, William Shakespeare: The Complete Works, 2nd ed., gen. ed. Stanley Wells et al. (Oxford: Clarendon, 2005). When I quote from editorial matter from Orgel's edition I use the abbreviation Tmp. 1994.

<sup>2</sup>About the spelling of the name Villegaignon, his biographers Vasco Mariz and Lucien Provençal explain (37) that the form Villegaignon, with an i before the second g appears in a facsimile signature given by Artur Heulhard in his 1897 biography, Villegagnon, roi d'Amérique, un homme de mer au XVIème siècle, and that the same form is found in Villegaignon's letters and his Latin works. This is true of the letter to the Duke of Guise now in the collection of the Rio de Janeiro Naval Museum reproduced by Mariz and Provençal themselves. On the other hand, Villegaignon's main biographers (Heulhard included) have chosen the form Villegagnon, without the second i, which Mariz and Provençal explain they do to follow their example. Mariz and Provençal suggest that both forms are correct, but the earlier form (without the second i) was dropped in French at some time because of the way the word is pronounced. My conclusion based on my own research is that both (and other) forms are found in the early modern period; nowadays Villegagnon is the established modern form in French; and Villegaignon, the older form, the established form in English. Likewise, English writers who use the form Villegagnon apparently do so because they choose to adopt the modern French form. As for Brazilian practice, both forms are found in Portuguese. Because it is the favoured form in English, the one arguably adopted by Villegaignon himself, and the form Shakespeare found in Florio's 1603 translation of Montaigne, we shall use Villegaignon with the second i unless we are directly quoting from someone who uses the other form.

<sup>3</sup>My assumed chronology of Shakespeare's works and the common abbreviations of their titles used as necessary in this work can be found in my Appendix A.

<sup>4</sup>Whatley returns to the topic in an article (Whatley 1994), but her focus is again on Jean de Léry and more than ten years after publication Shakespeare editions continue not to mention Antarctic France let alone Villegaignon.

<sup>5</sup>The term Tupinambá is used to describe a warlike Old Tupi-speaking nation of naked nomadic hunter-gatherers or primitive farmers who in the sixteenth century lived largely along the Atlantic coast of Brazil from the mouth of the Amazon River to Southern São Paulo in what nowadays Brazilians call the Sudeste, or the Brazilian Southeast). These Tupinambá natives had invaded this vast coastal area in a large migration wave which probably originated in the Paraguay basin shortly before the first European contacts in the New World, after which they had divided into a series of subtribes, which was the condition under which the first Europeans to arrive in the region first found them. John Hemming informs that

These tribes were often at war with one another, bitterly divided by ancient vendettas; but their language and customs were so similar at the time of the conquest that they must have separated only recently. They called anyone who did not speak their language ‘Tapuia’ — ‘people of strange tone’ — and there were still many pockets of Tapuia who had not yet been driven from the coastal forests or were living a short distance inland (Hemming 24).

In the Rio de Janeiro coast (Guanabara Bay and beyond), there was a large tribe of Tupinambás. These natives are many times referred to by the general term Tupinambá, but sometimes, and more specifically, they are called the Tamoio tribe or simply the Tamoios.

<sup>6</sup>The 1568 English translation of The new Found worlde, or Antarctike is foliated, that is, every leaf (or every other page) is given a number. The British Library copy I have consulted is misfoliated exactly at this point, and what reads as leaf 36 should be leaf 43.

<sup>7</sup>In her book American Indian Languages: The Historical Linguistics of Native America (1997), Lyle Campbell attests to contacts between Brazilian Tupinambás and speakers of Cariban languages. She indicates that in ‘lowland South America, a number of loans have been identified between Tupí-Guaraní and some Cariban languages of the northern Amazonian area, and Língua Geral has contributed several loans to many of these same Cariban languages’ (13). Língua Geral is the general term for two diverse varieties of Old Tupi once they became the lingua franca in the North and on the coast of Brazil. Campbell lists the following as examples of loan words between Tupinambá and Cariban speakers which survived in European languages: ‘Tupinambá kwati, Galibí kuasi ‘coatimundi’; Tupinambá naná, Galibí (and others) nana ‘pineapple’ (cf. ananas for ‘pineapple’ in several European languages); and Tupinambá pirãy, Galibí pirai ‘piranha’ (13). The Galibí are an extinct Cariban-speaking people in Northern South America and the Caribbean. Scholars believe that they were the same as the Caribbean Caribs or were somewhat related to them.

## CHAPTER 2: Brazilian Invisibility Abroad

In this chapter, I discuss the phenomenon of Brazilian invisibility abroad. I had the opportunity to write about this subject before in a short online article which is no longer available on the net. The article, which I reproduce as Annex 1 of this work, was titled ‘Where the Nuts Come From’, and I will come back to some of its main cultural and academic implications as part of my discussion in this chapter. As for the term ‘Brazilian invisibility’, the only author to have used it before that I am aware of is Maxine Margolis, who, in her book *An Invisible Minority: Brazilians in New York City* (1997), characterises Brazilians as a truly invisible minority in the city of New York, a phenomenon which she attributes among other causes to Americans’ confusion about who Brazilians are and what language they speak. Margolis’s reference may be more localised but, as I intend to demonstrate later, I believe her findings can also contribute to an understanding of this phenomenon.

In order to characterise the phenomenon of Brazilian invisibility abroad, I present a few early modern instances of Brazilian invisibility before and at the time of William Shakespeare, and I attempt to indicate that being aware of some of these instances may even contribute to our reading of details in Shakespeare’s works. I discuss these instances as part of my argument that a similar phenomenon characterised by the presence of invisible or partially invisible references may have affected or may still be affecting our reading of *The Tempest*, a claim that I will explore in Chapter 3 of this work. I also discuss the evolution of the terms *America* and *Americans* in European languages and specifically in English, and how the shifts in reference that can be historically identified in documents of the period may have contributed to the phenomenon of Brazilian invisibility from the early ages of European exploration of what was then known as ‘the New World’. I then discuss some later instances of Brazilian invisibility that can illustrate the continuation of the phenomenon into the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The fact that Brazil is a location that remains

sometimes fully and at best partially invisible to English speakers could contribute to characterise why some of the possible references to a location or to historical figures which relate to Brazil could have arguably remained invisible to critics for almost four hundred years since they were first the subject of Shakespeare's attention as a reader of multiple sources for his stories, then as a contriver of theatrical plots, and finally as a writer of theatrical pieces to entertain elite audiences at court and at the Blackfriars and more popular audiences at the Globe. Finally, I conclude the chapter with certain theoretical considerations that may illuminate the approach that we use in the analysis that will follow in Chapter 3.

## 2.1 - Brazilian Invisibility in the Early Modern Age

### 2.1.1 - A Brazilian King in King Henry VIII's Court

Nobody knows the name of the first recorded Brazilian visitor to England<sup>1</sup>. This may sound like a contradictory statement, as I refer to the first recorded visit. Indeed, we know who the visitor was, where and roughly for how long he stayed in England, as well as what happened to him after his visit. But we do not have his impressions of the trip, and neither do we know his name. The story is short and worth retelling, as found in 'A Voyage to Brasill, made by the Worshipfull M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, Father to Sir Iohn Haukins Knight now liuing, in the yeere 1530', a narrative included in Richard Hakluyt's The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation, a book published in London in 1589. William Hawkins, a distinguished sea captain at the time of King Henry VIII ('a man for his wisdome, valure, experience, and skill in sea causes much esteemed'), and the first of a family of important sea captains and merchants at the service of English interests, made three voyages to Brazil in the 1530's. When he arrived in the coast of Brazil, Master William 'used there such discretion, and behaved himself so wisely with those sauage people, that he grew with great familiaritie and friendship with them'. Therefore, in Hawkins' second voyage to Brazil, 'one of the sauage kings of the Countrey of Brasill was contented to take shippe with him, and to be transported hither into England' (Hakluyt 520).

The tale is best told in Hakluyt's own words, and it continues thus:

whereunto M. Hawkins agreed, leaving behind in the Countrey as a pledge to his safetie and returne again, one Martin Cockeran of Plimmouth. This Brasilian king being arrived [in 1531]<sup>2</sup>, was brought up to London, and



PORTER                      What should you do, but knock 'em down by th' dozens?  
Is this Moorfields to muster in? Or have we some strange Indian with the great  
tool come to court, the women so besiege us? Bless me, what a fry of  
fornication is at door! On my Christian conscience, this one christening will  
beget a thousand. Here will be father, godfather, and all together. (5.3.28-37)

About the possible identity of this 'strange Indian with the great tool', R. A. Foakes informs, in a note to line 33 in the New Arden Shakespeare edition of Henry VIII first published in 1957, that many Indians

were brought back from America and exhibited in England, cf. the similar reference in Tr., II, ii, 34; the colonization of Virginia (Jamestown was founded in 1608) was very much in the news in 1612, when a lottery was held for it, and 1613, and there seems to be no specific allusion here to a particular man (169).

It is a well-known fact that in Shakespeare's works there are many instances of topical and other allusions that we would now characterise as anachronistic. Admittedly, not all the references in this and in many other passages in Shakespeare are fully clear to Shakespeare commentators, and some of them may forever remain impossible to annotate in an entirely satisfactory way unless more evidence from the early modern age is found. I would suggest, however, that most of the Indians who were 'brought back from America and exhibited in England' did not come to King Henry VIII's court and were not in England in time for it to be possible for them to be recalled by one of the King's porters shortly before Elizabeth's christening. Both circumstances nicely fit the Brazilian king in Hakluyt's narrative. They arguably fit no other native American, specially when we learn from Alden T. Vaughan in his 'Trinculo's Indian: American Natives in Shakespeare's England', which is Chapter 5 of Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman's The Tempest and its Travels (2000), that besides three men from 'northern North America' presented to King Henry VIII's father Henry VII circa 1501 and this Brazilian king, '[n]o other American natives are known to have reached England before the 1570's' (50). Besides, the other character's (the Man's) next line could suggest further connections in Shakespeare's mind to that part of the world from which the Brazilian king had sprung: 'There is a fellow somewhat near the door, he should be a brazier by his face, for, o' my conscience, twenty of the dog-days now reign in's nose; all that stand about him are under the line — they need no other penance' (5.3.38-42). The choice of imagery here

is suggestive of voyages to South America, for ‘to be under the line’, could mean ‘to be under the equator,’ as we can learn in Foakes’s note to line 42.<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, if the Indian come to court somewhat relates to the Brazilian king who visited England eighty-two years before All Is True was written in 1613, we have at least one instance of Brazilian invisibility in the works of Shakespeare published in the First Folio of 1623. Either because the reference was already invisible in his source, in which case the author had no choice and is merely reproducing it, or because he did not feel the need to make the reference and deliberately chose to omit it, and he is consequently producing it, the fact remains that a possible reference to Brazil is never made explicit to Shakespeare’s audience. Although I have no reason to question the identity of William Shakespeare of Stratford-upon-Avon as the author of the plays<sup>6</sup>, I deliberately use the term ‘the author’ here because his collaborator, John Fletcher, may have written the passage in question.

I consider this poor ‘Brazilian king’, who died at sea, reportedly a victim of the ‘change of air, and alteration of diet’, symbolic of Brazilian invisibility abroad. Described by the narrator and presented to Henry VIII and to his court as a king, he was recognized as someone important at least in his own land, and he certainly made a certain impact at least when those who met him in England first met him or heard about him. However, this impact was short-lived, and the interest soon waned and was not enough for anyone to have learned or at least to have recorded his name. Curiously, even if the memory of this visit could have survived in London in stories about the reign of King Henry VIII, so much that it was included by Richard Hakluyt in his 1589 volume, Shakespearian scholars will symptomatically again focus on Virginia when they discuss the story’s topicality at the time of King James when it was written and presented. But both Shakespeare and his audience know that we are about to witness the christening of the future Queen Elizabeth, and the ‘strange Indian with the great tool’ is an American but he is not a Virginian.

### 2.1.2 – Brazilian Invisibility Abroad: the Main Premise

At the risk of being criticized for my decision, I deliberately repeat verbatim here the basic premise of my theory of Brazilian invisibility abroad as found in my Introduction above. I could have rephrased it, but as it is my belief that because it refers to the reception of Brazil and Brazilians abroad, it might have already been lost at least on the minds of non-Brazilian readers, I think that it should be repeated exactly as before. The premise is that — exceptions

excluded (individuals who for one reason or another have a closer or stronger link to the country or its people) — non-Brazilians (including academics) abroad hardly ever notice or retain the information about cultural references to Brazil or to Brazilians even when the reference is unequivocally made. In other words, it is as if we were physically or otherwise present but remained not visible to foreign audiences, readers or spectators.

In my presentation of the phenomenon of Brazilian invisibility abroad I do not intend to produce an exhaustive list of cases but I choose to concentrate on a few examples that I consider symptomatic, specially because I also know I run the risk of impinging on the anecdotal, as many Brazilians know of instances when non-Brazilians reportedly express their belief, for instance, that Brazilians speak Spanish and not Portuguese or that the capital of Brazil still is Rio de Janeiro or (to Brazilians' greater horror), Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina. I will relate a few anecdotes in the discussion that follows, but it is my intention to keep them to a necessary minimum which I consider enough to characterise the phenomenon and some of the multiple ways it manifests itself abroad.

At the time I wrote 'Where the Nuts Come From,' (Annex 1 of this work), I was already fully aware of the phenomenon of Brazilian invisibility abroad, but the way I used to formulate it meant that what Brazil or Brazilians lacked abroad was visibility. Only later did it dawn on me that Brazil or Brazilians may indeed many times lack visibility, but even when we are made visible, non-Brazilians do not notice us the way we would expect them to do. That is why the notion of Brazilian invisibility better characterizes the phenomenon as I now understand it.

In a 1995 article published in the Rio de Janeiro daily O Globo, João Ubaldo Ribeiro, one of the best contemporary Brazilian writers of fiction, had this to say about Brazil's image abroad:

as a rule, nobody thinks about Brazil or worries about Brazil or even knows anything about Brazil. Stopped on the street to say something about Brazil, a common American would find it hard to say four or five words. Coffee, carnival, Pelay [English pronunciation of the nickname of Brazilian soccer star Pelé], South America, Buenos Aires [the capital of Argentina], if so much. Older Americans, Carmen Miranda, the Brazilian Bombshell. They don't remember, for example, that the World Cup was there, and even less so that the champion was Brazil.<sup>7</sup>

What particularly aggravates João Ubaldo's claim that Americans no longer remember that the FIFA World Cup was in the United States or that Brazil won it is the fact that he is writing in April 1995, whereas the final he mentions was less than a year before, on 17 July 1994. João Ubaldo is unmistakably registering his own feelings about Brazilian invisibility abroad, although he is an author who has at least three books which have been published in English translation on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>8</sup> Ironically, João Ubaldo Ribeiro has himself already contributed to Brazilian Invisibility abroad, because the original Portuguese title of one of his novels was Viva o povo brasileiro (literally, 'Long Live the Brazilian People'), whereas the title of the published translation into English by João Ubaldo himself erases any reference to Brazil. If that was already the case with the original English title of the novel, Long Live the People (published once by Faber and Faber in 1988), it happened again in the choice of the by now standard title in English, An Invincible Memory, the name under which the novel was eventually published both in the United Kingdom and in the United States. Admittedly, as the title 'Long Live the Brazilian People' necessarily does not carry the same associations abroad as it does in Brazil, that alone would possibly be a good reason to alter the title, even if there were no other marketing considerations involved. But the fact remains that besides being the creator of brilliant prose fiction in Portuguese, João Ubaldo Ribeiro has already produced Brazilian invisibility abroad.

Before I discuss some of the different ways Brazilian invisibility operates, I believe it will be useful to see how dictionaries define invisibility in general terms and what ideas in their definition can contribute to the present discussion. According to Webster's Third New International Dictionary, Unabridged (2002), invisibility is defined as 1: the quality or state of being invisible', as well as '2: something that is invisible'. We must therefore come to what it means to be 'invisible'. The same dictionary defines invisible as:

1 a : incapable of being seen through lack of physical substance : not perceptible by vision : INTANGIBLE, UNSEEN <another thriller about an invisible man> <an angel and a high-frequency wave are equally invisible to the mass of mankind -- Lewis Mumford>; specifically : not appearing in published financial statements <invisible assets and liabilities> b : of or relating to service or capital transactions not reflected in statistics of foreign trade <the nation's greatest invisible export, tourism -- T.H.Fielding> <a bit of unconscious humor is the listing of movies among invisible imports -- George Soule> <Ireland's trade deficit was met by invisible items, including immigrant

remittances -- Alzada Comstock> 2 : inaccessible to view : out of sight : HIDDEN <invisible hinge> <in stormy weather the seaman's compass takes the place of invisible stars> <the world's largest and finest private or public assemblage of French art ... is now invisible in the attic of the Hermitage -- Janet Flanner> 3 : of such small size or unobtrusive quality as to be hardly noticeable : IMPERCEPTIBLE, INCONSPICUOUS <invisible hair net> <invisible plaid> <the translation is almost invisible -- Stuart Preston>

According to the same dictionary, intangible is '1 : incapable of being touched or perceived by touch : not tangible : IMPALPABLE, IMPERCEPTIBLE <that more subtle and intangible thing, the soul -- John Buchan> <the intangible constituent of energy -- James Jeans>', and also '2 : incapable of being defined or determined with certainty or precision : VAGUE, ELUSIVE <with an intangible feeling of impending disaster -- Guy Fowler> <this menace from the North was intangible and evasive -- John Buchan>'. As for unseen, it is defined as '1 a obsolete : not hitherto seen or known : UNFAMILIAR b : SIGHT 1 <an unseen translation>' and '2 : not seen or perceived : INVISIBLE <unseen natural resources> <the visible incarnation of that unseen ideal -- Oscar Wilde>'. The adjective hidden means not only '1 : being out of sight or off the beaten track : CONCEALED <pulling a hidden switch -- D. J. Ingle> <a hidden Broadway restaurant -- Scott Fitzgerald>', and '2 : UNEXPLAINED, UNDISCLOSED, OBSCURE, SECRET <rendering ... apparent that which is hidden -- Matthew Arnold> <rid your mind of any hidden hates or grudges -- W.J.Reilly>; specifically : not shown in the accounts or not shown on the books under the usual heading <hidden assets>', but also '3 : obscured by something that makes recognition difficult : covered up <hidden vowel> <clouds race across the hidden moon> <hidden transfers of dollars, the largest item being the estimated \$125 million spent by United States troops in Germany -- Americana Annual>'. As for imperceptible, it obviously means 'not perceptible: a : not capable of being perceived by a sense or of affecting a sense <color is imperceptible to the touch> <made an almost imperceptible gesture of assent> b : not capable of being perceived or discriminated mentally <the difference between the two propositions was imperceptible to him> c : extremely slight, gradual, or subtle <saw him grow up by imperceptible gradations>'. Finally, inconspicuous is defined as: '1 obsolete : INVISIBLE 2 obsolete : not obvious to the mental eye : INDISCERNIBLE, IMPERCEPTIBLE 3 : not readily noticeable : hardly discernible : not prominent or striking'.

According to the way I now understand the phenomenon, in situations like the ones discussed above, Brazilian invisibility may operate on three levels: production, reproduction and perpetuation. Authors produce Brazilian invisibility when they at first hand fail to make references to Brazil where they could or arguably should have made it. Likewise, audiences and readers produce invisibility when they fail to recognize or to recall the references to Brazil they have seen or read. Authors, audiences and readers reproduce Brazilian invisibility when they quote from those who first produced it without realizing or making it explicit that the reference is missing. Finally, all of them can also perpetuate Brazilian invisibility as the process gets repeated again and again over time.

### 2.1.3 – The First Example

The earliest instance I know of Brazilian invisibility abroad predates the visit of the Brazilian king to the court of King Henry, the Eighth of that name. It is a woodcut printed in Nürnberg, Germany, ca. 1505, a copy of which is now in the British Museum (Annex 2, Fig. 1). The image reproduces a cannibal feast in America in which not only men, but also cannibal women and even little cannibal children take part, while two Portuguese caravels can be seen at sea in the background. The woodcut is one of the most famous early images of New World cannibals, and although the natives depicted are Brazilian Indians, most modern authors who reproduce the image do not know or do not find it relevant to add that the natives represented in it are Brazilian cannibals. This is the case with Shakespeare critic and The Tempest editor Stephen Orgel, who in the 1987 Oxford edition we have mentioned before not only reproduces the woodcut on page 34 under the caption ‘American natives, woodcut from a German broadsheet, c. 1505,’ but also dedicates a paragraph to it in his introduction exactly when he is making the point that certain ‘elements in [The Tempest] relate to a New-World topos persisting from the earlier accounts until well into the seventeenth century’ (33). Orgel also adds the following translation of the original German caption:

The people are naked, handsome, brown, well-built; their heads, necks, arms, genitals, feet of both women and men are lightly covered with feathers. The men also have many precious stones on their faces and chests. No one owns anything, but all things are common property. And the men have as wives those that please them, whether mothers, sister or other. They also eat each other,

even those who are slain, and hang their flesh in smoke. They live one hundred and fifty years, and have no government (33).

Both the woodcut and its caption merit inclusion in the Oxford edition. Accordingly, even though the names of the authors of the anonymous engraving and broadsheet are nowadays unknown to us and likely to remain so, the nationality of the European author of the image and the provenance of the accompanying text (the fact that it is a German woodcut with a caption in German) are deemed relevant and worth a mention. However, the fact that the American Indians depicted are Brazilian is not, and the information is not made available to the Oxford Shakespeare Tempest readers, be they Shakespeare specialists or not. In his 1978 book Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians, John Hemming publishes the same woodcut and describes it as ‘the oldest known woodcut of Brazilian Indians,’ adding the information that it was made ‘probably to illustrate . . . Vespucci’s voyage of 1501-1502’. That Hemming should include this piece of information is not surprising, as Hemming is publishing the woodcut in a book about the history of Brazilian Indians. To most other purposes, however, these cannibals remain merely ‘American natives,’ and I would suggest they could be classified as typical ‘first generation invisible Brazilians’.

#### 2.1.4 – The Term America in Early Modern England

Another classical instance of Brazilian invisibility was the result of what happened in the naming of the New World as America. Nowadays, when most native speakers of English and possibly most non-native speakers of the language hear the terms (1) America, (2) the West Indies, and (3) Brazil, they think first of (1) the country in North America officially called the United States of America, (2) the islands of the Caribbean or the Antilles, and (3) the country in South America now officially called the Federative Republic of Brazil. However, this has not always been so even in the context of the English language, a fact that may not be enough to prevent us sometimes from thinking geographically in fully anachronistic ways and giving geographic names the more familiar referents that we now associate with them instead of the different referents which they used to have in the past.

As far as we can tell today, the first time the word America was used in writing in English was in a text published ca. 1511<sup>9</sup> by Antwerp printer Jan van Doesborch called ‘Of the newe landes founde by the messengers of the kynge of portyngale named Emanuel’, a short narrative which is reproduced by Edward Arber in his classic 1885 edition, The first

three English books on America. The only leaf of this early 16<sup>th</sup>-century text which relates to America describes in just over four hundred words a voyage to a ‘land [that] is not now known for there have no masters written thereof’ supposedly made in 1496 by men under the service of King Manuel the Fortunate of Portugal. The form of the word is probably a compositor’s mistake, for the new land is called Armenica instead of America. I believe this to be a fragmented description of a late 15<sup>th</sup>-century or (if the narrative is misdated, as it is also possible) an early 16<sup>th</sup>-century landing in Brazil. The text bears remarkable similarities to the German caption for that 1505 woodcut from a German broadsheet we have mentioned before, and I believe it could be derived from a description of the same voyage to Brazil to which the German broadsheet refers, which, as we saw before, was possibly Vespucci’s. Even if this passage did not refer to Brazil, America (Armenica) would still unmistakably be the name of a part of the New World to which the Portuguese are going. The relevant passage is the following:

there we at ye laste went a lande but that lande is not nowe knowen for there haue no masters wryten therof nor it knowethe and it is named Armenica | there we sawe meny wonders of beestes and fowles yat we haue neuer seen before | the people of this lande have no kynge nor lorde nor theyr god But all thinges is commune | this people goeth all naked But the men and women haue on theyr heed | necke | Armes | Knees | and fete all with feders bounden for there bewtynes and fayrenes These folke lyuen lyke bestes without any resonables and the wymen be also as common. And the men hath conuersacyon with the wymen | who that they ben or who they first mete | is she his syster | his mother | his daughter | or any other kindred. And the wymen be very hote and disposed to lecherdness. And they ete also on[e] a nother. The man etethe his wife his chylderne | as we also haue seen and they hange also the bodyes of persons fleeshe in the smoke | as men do with vs swynes fleshe. And that lande is right full of folk | for they live commonly. Iii. C. [300] yere and more as with sykenesse they dye nat | they take much fysshe for they can goen vnder the water and fe[t]che so the fishes out of the water. And they were also on[e] vpon a nother | for the olde men brynge the yonge men therto | that they gather a great company therto of towe partyes | and come the on[e] ayene the other to the feld or bateyll | and flee on[e] the other with great hepes. And nowe holdeth the fylde | they take the other prisoners. And they brynge them to deth and ete them

| and as the deed is eten then sley them the rest. And they been than eten also | or otherwise lyue they longer tymes and many yere more than other people for they haue costely spyces and rotes | where they them selfe recouer with | and hele them as they be seke. (Arber xxvii).

The references are again to Brazil or at least to South America in the second and the third book in English to use the word America, both of which are also reproduced by Arber and are two English translations by Richard Eden of Latin works by German professor of theology and Hebrew Sebastian Münster and Italian historian and royal chronicler Pietro Martire D'Anghiera (Peter Martyr D'Anghera). The works are, respectively, Richard Eden's 1553 translation of Sebastian Münster's Cosmographia (1544), published under the title A Treatyse of the newe India with other newe founde landes and Ilandes, aswell eastwarde as westwarde, as they are knowen and founde in these our dayes, after the description of Sebastian Munster in his booke of universall Cosmographie: wherin the diligent may see the good successe and rewarde of noble and honeste enterprises, by the which not only worldly ryches are obtained, but also God is glorified, and the Christian fayth enlarged; and Eden's 1555 translation of Peter Martyr D'Anghera's De Orbe Novo Petri Martyris ab Angleria, mediolanensis protonotarii Cæsaris senatoris Decades (1530), which became The decades of the newe worlde or West India conteyning the nauigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large landes and Ilandes lately founde in the west Ocean, perteynyng to the inheritaunce of the kinges of Spayne. In which the diligent reader may not only consyder what commoditie may hereby chaunce to the hole Christian world in tyme to come, but also learne many secretes touchyng the lande, the sea, and the starres, very necessarie to be knowe to al such as shal attempte any nauigations, or otherwise haue delite to beholde the strange and woonderful woorkes of God and nature. Written in the Latine tounge by Peter Martyr of Angleria, and translated into Englysshe by Rycharde Eden.

The first time the word America is used in A Treatyse of the newe India (1533) is in Richard Eden's epistle, 'Rycharde Eden to the Reader,' where America is the continent in the New World to which we nowadays refer by using the name South America, but it could arguably be somewhere else in the Americas:

Nowe therefore to returne home from these farre countreys, and to speake somewhat of this viage which oure countreymenne, haue attempted to sayle into the Easte partes, by the coastes of Norway, Lappia, and Finamrchia, and so by the narrowe tracte of the Sea by the coastes of Grouelande, into the frosen

sea, called Mare Congelatum, and so forth to Cathay (yf any suche passage may be found) which onely doubteth doeth at this daye discourage many faynte hearted men, speciallye because in the moste parte of Globes and Mappes they see the continente or fyrme land, extended euen to the North Pole without any such passage. Which thing ought to moue no man greatly, forasmuch as the most parte of Globes and mappes are made after Ptolomeus Tables: Who, albeit he was an excellent man, yet were there many thinges hyd from his knowledge, as not sufficientely tryed or searched at those daies, as manifestly appeareth in that he knew nothing of America with the hole fyrme lande adherent thereunto, which is now found to be fourth parte of the earth. (Arber 8)

The fact that America is South America and clearly not North America is made explicit the second time the word is used in the text, in a description of the circumstances of Magellan's first circumnavigation of the globe:

For it was not yet knowen, whether that great region of America, (whiche they [the Spaniards] call the fyrme or maine lande) dyd separte the Weste sea from the East : But it was founde that that fyrme lande extended from the West to the South. And that also towarde the Northe partes were found two other regions, whereof the one is called Regio Baccalearum, and the other Terra Florida: which, if they were adherent to the sayde fyrme land, there could be no passage by the Weste seas into the East India, forasmuch as ther was not yet founde any strayghte of the sea, wherby any enteraunce mighte be open into the East. In this meane while, the kyng of Spayne beyng elected Emperoure, prepared a nauie of fyue shippes, ouer the whiche he appointed one Magellanus to be captayne, commaunding him that he should sayle towarde the coastes of the sayd fyrme land, dyrectinge his viage by the south partes thereof, untyl he had eyther found the ende of the same, or elles some streyghte wherby he mighte passe to those odoriferous Ilandes of Molucca, so famously spoken of for the great abundaunce of swete faouours and spices founde therein (Arber 32).

Here as in the next and final appearance of the word, America is obviously South America, or 'the continent or firm land' which is found near the Strait of Magellan:

And the other [ship of Spain] by the greate mayne South sea, to the coastes of that continent or fyrme land whereof we haue spoken here before. It shall suffyce that we haue hetherto declared of the naucacions which the Spanyards

attempted by the Weste to sayle into the Easte, by the strayghte of Magellanus, shere the passage by Sea is open into the Easte, by the continente or fyrme lande of the newe worlde, called America. Nowe therefore lette vs retourne to the other Nauigacions of Columbus, otherwyse called the Admyrall, who long beefore was the first fynder of the new Ilandes, and of the sayde mayne or fyrme land, and yet founde not that strayght or narrow sea, by the which Magellanus sayled from the West into the East. (Arber 35)

In Richard Eden's Decades of the New World or West India (1555), a translation of Peter Martyr D'Anghera's De Orbe Novo, the first time we find the word America is in Section V, 'Other notable thynges as touchyng the Indies'. On page 315, in the section entitled 'Of Peru,' we learn that 'The Prouince cauled Peru was also named noua Castilia by them that fyrste founde it. This region is the west parte of America' (Arber 343). Likewise, in Section VII, 'The first two Vyages out of England into Guinea', and more specifically on page 356, in the section that describes 'The Second Vyage to Guinea,' we learn that 'On the west side of these regions towarde the Ocean, is the cape or point cauled Cabouerde or Caput viride (that is) the greene cape, to the whiche the Portugales fyrst directe theyr course when they sayle to America or the land of Brasile' (Arber 385).

I have already mentioned Richard Eden in Chapter 1 and I shall return to Eden's 1555 translation and these and other passages in his book in Chapter 3, as it is known that a version of this text, and particularly of section III, 'A discovrse of the vyage made by the Spanyardes rounde abowte the worlde,' by Antonio Pygafetta, was not unknown to Shakespeare, as it was his likely source for the name of Caliban mother's Sycorax's god Setebos.

In fact, that America in English was South America and many times Brazil from the time of Doesborch's text (the first known printed reference) until at least the time of Eden's mid-century translations should not be at all surprising. As most people know, Columbus referred to the part of the brave New World where he had landed on October 12, 1492 as The Indies, since that was where he believed he had arrived. In fact, as Jacques Boudet attests in her 1983 Chronologie universelle, even long after the name America had been suggested by Martin Waldseemüller in 1507 and accepted by other cartographers such as Mercator (who used it for the first time in 1538), 'the Spaniards [continued] calling [the New World] the Indies, [and] distinguishing between the West Indies (Antilles and America) and the East Indies (India and Indonesia)' (389)<sup>10</sup>. Of the Spaniards, as late as 1854, C. Edwards Lester could still say, in the fifth edition of his book The Life and Voyages of Americus Vesputius,

that they, ‘to this day, entertain a sort of horror of the word America, almost invariably speaking of the New World or the Indies’ (251). In fact, even those Spaniards who considered an alternative to the name Indies or West Indies still did not favour America. Lester himself mentions that some ‘Spaniards ... once proposed to call this country [America?] Fer-Isabellica, from the sovereigns under whose auspices it was discovered’ (Lester 251). Lester also comments, in a note on the same page, that other Spaniards had ‘proposed to call [the New World] Orbis Carolinus, as a compliment to the Emperor Charles V’ (Lester 251 note 2).

As for the Portuguese, as Brazilians learn at school, they first called the section of the New World which Pedro Álvares Cabral and his fleet first saw on April 22, 1500 Ilha de Vera Cruz (‘Island of the True Cross’), because they believed that the land they had reached was in fact an island. Later, when they realized that an island it was not, the Portuguese renamed it Terra de Santa Cruz (‘Land of the Holy Cross’), or in Latin, Terra Sanctae Crucis, a name that also appears in many early maps of the New World. Another common name at the time for the area to which the Portuguese were entitled in the New World under the terms of the Tordesillas Treaty of 1494 (Figs. 2, 3 and 7)<sup>11</sup> was Terra Papagalli (‘Land of the Parrots’) because of the abundance of colourful, beautiful parrots in the newfound land that today we know as Brazil. Shortly after that, as brazilwood actually became, as we have briefly seen in Chapter 1, the land’s first commodity, the very trade-oriented Portuguese started to call Brazil Terra do Pau-Brasil or Terra do Brasil (‘Land of Brazilwood’ or ‘Land of Brazil’), or in Latin Terra Brasilis, Terra Brasili or Brasilia.

Enter German cartographer Martin Waldseemüller or Waltzeemüller, a monk in the St. Dié monastery in Lorraine, France, who, as all cartographers at the time, was then also widely known by his Latin names Hylacomylus or Ilaconilus. Waldseemüller is credited with being the first person to suggest that the name America should be given to the New World and the first cartographer to use the name America in a map. Waldseemüller’s 1507 world map, Universalis cosmographia secundum Ptholomaei traditionem et Americi Vespucii alioru[m]que lustrationes (Fig. 4), was produced in St Dié together with a world globe and published to accompany Waldseemüller’s own Cosmographiae introductio cum quibusdam geometriae ac astronomiae principiis ad eam rem necessaries. It was destined to become forever famous not only as the map that ‘bestowed the name America on the new world for the first time’ (Whitfield 48), but also the first map ‘to depict a separate Western Hemisphere and the first map to depict the Pacific Ocean as a separate body of water’ (News from the Library of Congress [20]01-093). Waldseemüller explains the reason for his suggestion in his

1507 Cosmographiae introductio: ‘And since Europe and Asia were named after women, I see no reason why not to call this latest discovery Amerige, or America, according to the ingenious sagacious man who discovered it.’<sup>12</sup>

A look at the map or one of its many later copies<sup>13</sup> reveals that, curiously but not surprisingly if one considers the areas visited by Amerigo Vespucci in his voyages, the part of the Americas Waldseemüller chose to write the word America is in South America, in what today is Brazilian territory (Fig. 5). The point is discussed at length by C. Edwards Lester in his Life and Voyages of Americus Vespuccius:

The name [America] does not seem to have come into general use until after the middle of the sixteenth century; but it is occasionally met with before that time; ... But what deserves to be particularly noticed is the remarkable fact, that the name was not originally applied to the whole continent, but only to that part of it which is now denominated Brazil. This can be made to appear by the most ample testimony.’ (Lester 251)

And Lester adds, ‘In most of the maps published between 1510 and 1570 America is applied in the limited sense we have stated [i.e., to Brazil]’ (Lester 251) (Cf. my Figs. 8 and 9). Among other examples, Lester mentions Münster’s Cosmographia, and his Novis Orbis map (Fig. 10). Sebastian Münster’s 1552 map of the New World shows both North and South America, but it is in the map of South America that we can read, ‘Novus Orbis: Novainsula Atlantica quam uocant Brasilij & Americam’ (‘The New World: New Atlantic island which is called [island] of Brazil and America’). The map also shows the land of the Canibali, which is in the North of Brazil, and the Regio Gigantum (Land of the Giants) made famous by narratives of Magellan’s circumnavigation of the world. ‘The map was originally published in Münster’s edition of Ptolemy’s Geographia (Basle, 1540) as “Novae Insulae, XVII Nova Tabula”— and in Münster’s Cosmographia in 1544. Cosmographia was one of the most influential works on geography in the mid-sixteenth century; it was translated into five languages and published in forty different editions. Münster’s map was the most widely circulated New World map of its time’ (Alderman Library, University of Virginia site).

According to Lester, the ‘present use of the term seems to have been established soon after this time [1550]: for Ortelius, in his Theatrum [sic] Orbis Terrarum, applies the words America and Bresilia as we do now, and delineates the geography of this continent with tolerable accuracy’. When Lester says ‘applies the words ... as we do now’, he means Ortelius uses America to refer to the whole New World and Bresilia to refer to Brazil. This is made

clear if we look at Flemish cartographer Abraham Ortelius' maps of the world, or Typus Orbis Terrarum (Fig. 11) and of America, or Americae sive Novi Orbis nova descriptio ('Description of America or of the New World', Figs. 12, 13, 14 and 15), both published in his Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570). Ortelius' atlas is really important because it 'long remained [the] basis for geographic works' (Webster's NBD 748). Around 1570, therefore, America was already being used to refer to the entire New World, and the term America sive India Nova ('America or the New India') could already be found in North America to the detriment of South America, and Brazil started to become less visible as a necessary consequence. However, it is important to realize that although the term America sive India Nova was then placed in an area that we nowadays would identify as being part of both Canada and the United States, at the time that area was still part of the vast Spanish dominions in America.

In fact, we can read in Lester that it is only at his time (middle nineteenth century) that America is finally coming to mean the United States. The American author finishes his discussion by quoting an article in the April 1821 edition of The North American Review:

But the hand of chance has an influence so predominant in the assignment of honours by the world, that we can hardly feel surprised at the neglect of Columbus and the Cabots, to the exclusive distinction of Vespucci. The fortune of the name of America itself is not a little singular, as an instance of the mutation of human affairs; which, having been first given to a single province, next spread over to the whole southern continent, then passed on to the northern, and now, from being the appellation of the whole New World, it seems about to be confined by foreign nations at least to our own youthful and aspiring republic' (339-340 qtd in Lester 255).

The fact that Waldseemüller chose to pay homage to Vespucci by naming what is modern day Brazil and that the name which he chose eventually became the name by which the world came to know first South America, then the three Americas and eventually, in a limited sense, the United States of America naturally happened by chance. But I would argue that it certainly contributes not a little to Brazilian invisibility, as many references made to Brazil in the early 1500's and for many years to come have today lost the referent that they were meant to have and can be generalized and read as references to the New World in general or to any areas of the New World other than Brazil. This is not to suggest that many of the names used in naming the geography of the New World before they became eventually

fixed were not fluid and did not — to a degree at least — represent loose references from the moment they were first adopted. This fluidity is indeed part of the phenomenon, because it is exactly due to it that those references which might have been unequivocally made once can be many times misread and contribute to make Brazil invisible to later readers.

A fact that certainly contributed to Brazilian invisibility at that time was the fact that the most famous model of the American Indian originated in Brazil, a phenomenon which started with the publication of that German woodcut from the early 1500's which I have presented as the first example of Brazilian invisibility abroad. This is Janet Whatley, the modern translator into English of Jean de Léry's History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America:

Of all the New World peoples encountered by Europeans in the sixteenth century, the Tupinamba entered the most freely into the European imagination. They were to be given memorable literary form by Montaigne: they are the 'Cannibals' of his famous essay (for which Léry was probably an important source). In fact, they were the all-purpose allegorical figure of 'America' for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The figure found in innumerable paintings, frescos, and friezes, with plumed skirt and headdress, carrying a wooden sword with a disk-shaped head: that figure is a stylized Tupinamba Indian (Whatley 1990 xxiv).

In fact, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, even the European descriptions of native North Americans were influenced by what was known and available about Brazilian natives, a phenomenon to which W. C. Sturtevant and others have referred as the 'Tubinambization' of North America (Cf. Feest 610; Mason 151-152). If Brazilians were widely used to represent America in general including North America, it is not difficult to understand how increasingly those who kept having access to these representations started to see just the American rather than the specifically Brazilian element in them.

Another example of Brazilian invisibility abroad in a discussion of this moment in the early history of America is to be found in Harald Kleinschmidt's discussion of the naming of America in his book Charles V: The World Emperor (2004). As he discusses the use of different terms for the New World, Kleinschmidt dedicates a total five pages (43-48) and eight notes (30-37) to the subject in a book that was published already in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. As it would be expected, Kleinschmidt acknowledges Waldseemüller's role in what he calls the 'process of renaming the Terra Sanctae Crucis into America' (46), he mentions the 'voyage

conducted by Alvares Cabral in 1500’, and we even learn that ‘Vespucci was a member of Cabral’s crew’ (44). But we never learn that Terra Sanctae Crucis was originally the Portuguese designation for Brazil or that this 1500 voyage was exactly the voyage to India (the East Indies) on the way to which Pedro Álvares Cabral claimed Brazil for the Portuguese crown. Admittedly, these are very well known facts, but Brazil remains invisible in the passage.

Accordingly, when Kleinschmidt informs his reader that in a letter by Vespucci addressed to the Medici in Florence, the Italian navigator ‘described aspects of the coastlines of what is north-east South America in present geography’ we do not learn from Kleinschmidt’s expression that ‘north-east South America in present geography’ is again Brazil. Kleinschmidt’s brief but very illuminating discussion of the different names for the New World, what they represented and how they kept changing at the time include the Latin terms orbis novus, mundus novus, terra, terra firma, continens, terrae, terrae firmae, continentes, Terra Sanctae Crucis, terra incognita, Americi terram siue Americam, America, AMERICA VEL BRASILIA SIVE PAPAGALLI TERRA. But except for this latter reference in Latin (‘Brasilia’) in a single note, Kleinschmidt’s reader never reads the word Brazil in his entire book, in any of his notes, or even in his 24-page index, where the reference made is to ‘South America, in early sixteenth-century cartography’. One may argue that to refer to Brazil in this discussion would bear on the anachronistic in a biography of the Emperor Charles V, but I wonder if the modern name of the country would not have been mentioned at least once if the region to which the area first called Terra Sanctae Crucis nowadays referred was, for instance, somewhere in the United States.

As for the word American, a look at the OED reveals that the earliest recorded use in English of the term is as an adjective. The OED gives the word’s original meaning as ‘belonging to the continent of America’, a use first made in 1589 by Joshua Sylvester in his Du Bartas his divine weekes and workes, I, iii. This was a series of translations produced by Sylvester in the period 1591-1608 of the poetry of French Huguenot writer Guillaume de Salluste, Sieur Du Bartas. As for the second, and by now more familiar meaning of the adjective, ‘belonging to the British colonies in North America (obs.)’ or ‘belonging to the United States,’ it is recorded by the OED as being first used only in Nathaniel Ward’s The Simple Cobbler of Aggawam in America (1647).

The OED also indicates that as a noun, American originally meant ‘an aborigine of the American continent’. The earliest occurrence of the noun with this meaning recorded by the



Chapter 1 above, where the editors of the Arden Shakespeare Third Series The Tempest refer to and quote ‘André Thevet’s description of American natives of the far north’ in spite of the fact that what Thevet is describing are in fact native Brazilians who live near the Tropic of Capricorn.

## 2.2 – Brazilian Invisibility from the Eighteenth Century Onwards

### 2.2.1 - Brazilian Invisibility in the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries

Brazilian invisibility in 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>- century texts is important for the case we are making. However, we are describing a phenomenon that has continued to the present day. I intend to buttress my case for Brazilian invisibility by appealing to the memory of readers of canonical works of literature mainly but not exclusively in English by referring briefly to specific references to Brazil or Brazilians in certain works which, though unequivocally made, may well not be remembered by those who have read the works themselves. I believe this can contribute to make the case that Brazil does not merely lack visibility, but many times people who see references to Brazil typically do not notice them or do not remember them shortly after the reference is made. My choice of canonical works is because they are more likely to have been read by my readers who arguably will not remember they have come across such references to Brazil when they made these readings.

I therefore start with a quotation from one such book:

We had a very good Voyage to the Brasils, and I arriv’d in the Bay de Todos los Santos, or All-Saints Bay, in about Twenty-two Days after. And now I was once more deliver’d from the most miserable of all Conditions of life; and what to do next with my self I was to consider (29).

This is the main character and first person narrator in a book that features Brazil prominently, namely, Daniel Defoe’s 1719 novel Robinson Crusoe. However, I would argue that some of my readers (including possibly Brazilian ones) do not remember that the words Brazil, Brazils, Brazilian or Brazilians appear as many as 46 times in Defoe’s work. Of these, the word Brazilians is used twice, the word Brazil is used four times as an adjective (‘Brazil fleet,’ ‘Brazil pork,’ ‘Brazil ships,’ ‘Brazil trade’) and 7 times as a noun, whereas the noun Brazils occurs 33 times. The reference to the Brazils is a common one in both fiction and

non-fiction texts in English down to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. I remember that the first time it called my attention in an English literary work was in Chapter 2 of Charlotte Brontë's Shirley, a novel set in 1812 which was first published in October 1849, the latter date when Brazil had already been an independent country for twenty-seven years. Brazil is the first in Brontë's list of glutted minor foreign markets when she describes some of the factors behind the Luddite riots of the period that serve as background for her novel:

The Brazils, Portugal, Sicily, were all overstocked by nearly two years' consumption. At this crisis certain inventions in machinery were introduced into the staple manufactures of the north, which, greatly reducing the number of hands necessary to be employed, threw thousands out of work, and left them without legitimate means of sustaining life (62).

The use of the Brazils instead of Brazil was due to the fact that in 1621 King Philip III of Spain, who was also King Philip II of Portugal, determined that the Northern part of Brazil should be raised to the dignity of 'Estado do Maranhão' ('State of Maranhão'), and therefore made into a province autonomous from the rest of the colony. This area remained autonomous and was administered under a series of names ('Estado do Maranhão', 1621; 'Estado do Maranhão e Grão-Pará', 1654; 'Estado do Grão-Pará e Maranhão', 1751, 'Estado do Grão-Pará e Rio Negro', 1772) until it was reincorporated by Portugal into what was then the Viceroyalty of Brazil, in 1775.

The then current use of the form Brazils was not limited to works of fiction. The term was used, for example, by the Times when referring to the move of the Portuguese Queen, Prince Regent, royal family and court from Lisbon to Brazil in 1807 to escape the invasion of Portugal and Lisbon by Napoleon's troops under Andoche Junot: 'The present much-talked-of emigration of the Court of Portugal to the Brazils' (01 Oct. 1807). Although it was 'much-talked' and a very famous event in the history of Brazil, I would suggest that this totally unprecedented move in the history of Europe and America is no longer known outside Brazil and Portugal unless you happen to be quite knowledgeable about the history of either country. As John A. Crow explains in his book The Epic of Latin America, in order to escape the French and under 'escort of a squadron of British men-of-war', which means this was one of England's most daring feats in her war against Napoleon's France, 'the royal fleet lifted anchor and turned toward the open sea,' as 'fifteen thousand of Portugal's proudest aristocrats saw their beautiful city fade into the distance' (Crow 519). The Prince Regent of Portugal (the future King John VI, whose mother, Queen Mary, was insane) moved his entire court to Brazil

in thirty-six vessels and his ships were ‘stuffed with royal goods: archives, books, works of art, treasures of all kinds’. The Portuguese royal family and court arrived in Brazil in January 1808 and remained there until 1821 but I would suggest that this event is also invisible to most non-Brazilian readers. Interestingly enough, this story could already be known to Shakespeare scholars, as it is briefly retold by Geraldo U. de Sousa in his ‘Alien Habitats in The Tempest’, an article published in The Tempest: Critical Essays, a 2001 critical anthology edited by Patrick Murphy. As I intend to demonstrate in Chapter 3, when I shall also return to Geraldo de Sousa’s article, I believe that this is not the European sojourn in Brazil that is the most relevant for a full understanding of The Tempest, but what I will discuss there indicates that sometimes Brazil is invisible abroad even to Brazilian scholars.

Although The Brazils would still appear in Charlotte Brontë’s 1849 novel in a reference to 1812, when the Times first published news about Brazilian independence on 7 September 1822, three letters dated 17 September and published on 14 November 1822, we already see ‘people insisted on his [The Prince Regent’s] declaring the independence of Brazil’ and another mention of ‘the independence of Brazil’. The Prince Regent to whom the letters refer is the heir to the Portuguese throne, who had stayed behind in Rio de Janeiro when the Portuguese court returned to Lisbon in 1821 and was soon to become the future Emperor of independent Brazil, Dom Pedro I, and in a few years would become King Peter IV of Portugal. Curiously, the city that is nowadays in English always referred to as São Paulo is consistently called St. Paul’s in the news reports. As for the use of Brazil, the same was true of news about Portugal at the time when Brazil was still a colony, like the news sent from Lisbon dated 31 August and published in the Times on 14 September 1822, when the news of Brazilian independence had not yet reached England: ‘products coming direct [to England] from Brazil’, ‘the Cortes of Brazil’. The term Brazil is also used in the description of the two letters ‘just received [by his MAJESTY] from his son by the packet arrived from Rio de Janeiro’.

My Appendix B is a table illustrative of the fact that Brazilian visibility does not preclude Brazilian invisibility. In the table we can see that one or more references to Brazil or Brazilians can be found in a series of works by canonical authors from a period that ranges from the late seventeenth to the early twentieth century, including John Locke; Daniel Defoe; Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu; Adam Smith; Thomas Malthus; Charles Dickens; Herman Melville; Henry David Thoreau; Charles Darwin; Victor Hugo; Jules Verne; Mark Twain; Guy de Maupassant; Arthur Conan Doyle; Oscar Wilde;

Walt Whitman; Thomas Hardy; Joseph Conrad; Robert Louis Stevenson; Fyodor Dostoevsky; among others. However, these authors have apparently not contributed considerably to make Brazil more noticeable or memorable among European and North American readers, and the references are many times vaguely (if at all) remembered by those who have read the works.

The fact that very little besides the name of the country was known about Brazil in late Victorian England is attested and was immortalized in Charley's Aunt, 'a highly popular farce by (Walter) Brandon Thomas (1856-1914), produced in 1892 and still performed' (Drabble).<sup>14</sup> The play opened at the Theatre Royal, Bury St Edmunds on Monday 29 February 1892 (Wikipedia), it was first performed in London at the Royalty Theatre in Soho on Wednesday 21 December that same year, and it ran 'for four years and 1466 performances' (Cassel Companion to Theatre). An American version opened on Broadway on Monday 2 October 1893 and a Broadway musical version by Frank Loesser (Where's Charley?) 'ran between 1948 and 1950 at the St. James Theatre, was recorded as a 1952 film, and began a successful run in London in 1958' (Wikipedia). The play's popularity and enduring success can be attested by a visit to the Internet Movie Data Base. From 1925 to 1996, there were 24 films from 12 different countries based on Brandon Thomas' farce: four in the United States (1925, 1930, 1957, 1985), in Germany (1934, 1956, 1976, 1996), and in the United Kingdom (1938, 1940, 1941 and 1952); two in Argentina (1946, 1952), in Spain (1966, 1981), and in Sweden (1926 and 1945); and one each in Austria (1963), Denmark (1959) France (1959), Hungary (1986), Italy (1943), and the Soviet Union (1975).<sup>15</sup>

In the story, Jack Chesney and Charley Wykeham, two Oxford students who need a chaperone so that they can entertain two beautiful girls at Jack's Rooms in Oxford, convince their friend Lord Fancourt to dress up as Donna Lucia d'Alvadorez, 'Charley's aunt from Brazil,' who is a widow and a millionaire and was supposed to have come unexpectedly to visit her nephew in England. Early in the first act a note from the author indicates that Thomas knew something about Brazilians which he assumed his actors might well have ignored, as he informs his actors, who are supposed to say the name, that "“Lucia” is pronounced “LOOSIA” — Portuguese NOT Spanish'(11). Towards the end of the first act we have the following exchange between Lord Fancourt, who is disguised as Donna Lucia, and his friend Jack. Asked where Brazil is, Jack cannot find an answer, and 'where the nuts come from' is all he can think of:

LORD FANCOURT — Look here, am I any relations to him? [Jack's father]

JACK — No; you're Charley's Aunt, from Brazil.

LORD FAN COURT — Brazil! Where's that?

JACK — You know — er — where the nuts come from. (40)

From this moment in the play on, knowing practically nothing about Brazil becomes a recurrent joke; and the sentence 'Charley's Aunt, from Brazil, where the nuts come from' becomes the farce's most memorable catchphrase. It is repeated four times by Lord Fauncourt alone, once later in that same scene above and then again whenever Lord Fancourt has nothing to add about Brazil when he tries to disguise his real identity while socializing with his friend Jack's guests. The sentence is also turned by Lord Fancourt himself into the even more absurd 'Scotland! I know — a beautiful country — where the whisky comes from' (73). Finally, the sentence is even repeated ironically once by the character of the Brazilian widow Donna Lucia d'Alvadorez herself.

I would argue that it is symptomatic of Brazilian invisibility abroad that Donna Lucia's name, which is very likely to be by far the most famous Brazilian name in the history of British drama, happens to include a surname ('d'Alvadorez') that simply does not exist in Brazil. I have a theory of where Brandon Thomas got his surname from. Donna Lucia in the play is an English lady who is now the widow of a Brazilian millionaire. Her late husband is mentioned a few times, and he is called 'Dom Pedro de Alvadorez.' I believe that, in naming his invisible character (Dom Pedro in the play is dead), Brandon Thomas had in mind the name of a then very famous Brazilian who, though briefly, had been very visible both in England and in the United States a few years before, and who had been in the news in England again in the period 5-14 December 1891, forty-six days before Thomas's farce world premiere.

The once very famous Brazilian I mean is the Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro II, who was called Dom Pedro de Alcântara<sup>16</sup> and who had died in exile in Paris on 5 December 1891. In early December 1891, the Times published news of his death and funerals in Paris as well as a long obituary which starts by saying that the motto 'Call no man happy till he dies' is the one 'which is naturally suggested by the career of Dom Pedro'. In the Times obituary we learn that few 'Monarchs of the century have had a more extraordinary career than Dom Pedro' and also that 'little more than two years ago [shortly before the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic, on 15 November 1889] he seemed one of the happiest of Sovereigns and of men, possessing everything that a man of taste and culture could desire, and having every prospect of ending his days as the beneficent Sovereign of a devoted and grateful people'. In a description of Dom Pedro's overthrow later in the obituary, the Times quotes its Rio de

Janeiro correspondent, who in 1889 mentioned that Brazil had accomplished two revolutions in the course of 18 months, the other being the abolition of slavery. And it adds that by ‘the second a popular and patriotic Emperor was suddenly driven into exile; and the country, when it recovered from its amazement, found itself a Republic under a military dictator’.

Dom Pedro had managed to capture the hearts and minds of many a person in England in 1871 and in the United States of America in 1876. The same Times obituary reports that

His Imperial Majesty made the tour of Europe in 1871, visiting London, Paris, Rome, Florence, Brussels, and other capitals. In 1876 he went through the most interesting portions of the United States, and was present at the Centennial Festival at Philadelphia. He again visited Europe in the succeeding year, and his energy in viewing the “lions” of London on this occasion completely baffled the reporters and interviewers, who toiled after him in vain. He paid special attention to our art galleries, and made a round of visits to the studios of the leading British artists. On his first visit the Emperor was received by the Queen at Windsor.

In 1871, Dom Pedro II and his Empress Donna Theresa Cristina were in Britain for forty-four days, from Thursday 29 June to Saturday 12 August, and many details about their visit were reported in the Court Circular in the Times at least twenty-five times. In his 1999 biography of Dom Pedro, Citizen Emperor: Pedro II and the Making of Brazil, 1825-1891, Roderick J Barman quotes from Queen Victoria’s journal, where the Queen of England registered her first impressions of the Brazilian monarch and his wife, who visited her at Windsor on July 4: “He is very tall, broad, and stout, a fine looking man, but very gray, though only 44,” wrote the queen in her journal. “The Empress (a P.ss of Naples) is very kind & pleasing, so simple and unassuming. She is short & lame.” Queen Victoria also added that

The Emperor goes about everywhere & sees everything, but does not go into society. He gets up at 5, & is already out at 6! He spoke very kindly and wisely, with the greatest appreciation of our institutions, which he said England had fought to obtain in past centuries. He is very simple in his tastes and likes ‘la vie de famille.’ He means to visit Scotland on account of Walter Scott whom he so much admires and then go to Vienna & Coburg to visit the grave of their poor daughter<sup>17</sup> & on to Italy (237).

Dom Pedro II was Constitutional Emperor and Perpetual Defender of Brazil, an independent monarchy that covered ‘1/15 of the territorial surface of the globe, 1/5 of the New

World, and more than 3/7 of South America' (The Empire of Brazil at the Universal Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia 1). Besides, as his Times obituary in 1891 would report, Dom Pedro was the 'legitimate descendant of three of the most ancient Royal houses of Europe, Braganza, Bourbon, and Hapsburg'. Although all Dom Pedro's visits abroad were non-official, and he came to England and to the United States as a private man, it was therefore not really surprising that Queen Victoria should bestow the Garter, the highest chivalric honour in her gift, on the visiting foreign monarch. The following was published in the Times on Wednesday 19 July 1871 from the July 18 London Gazette:

At the Court at Windsor, July 11, the Queen, as Sovereign of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, hath been graciously pleased, by letters patent under her Royal Sign Manual and the Great Seal of the Order, bearing date this day, to dispense with all the statutes and regulations usually observed in regard to installation, and to grant unto his Majesty Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil, Knight of the said Most Noble Order, and duly invested with the ensigns thereof, full power and authority to exercise all rights and privileges belonging to a Knight Companion of the Most Noble Order of the Garter in as full and ample a manner as if His Imperial Majesty had been formally installed, any decree, rule, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Most Noble Order of the Garter is the most senior and the oldest British Order of Chivalry. As we can learn in the Royal Encyclopedia, 'several foreigners were included among the founders of the Order and distinguished foreigners have been honoured with the Garter ever since, many of them Sovereign Princes appointed with diplomatic motives in mind' (Allison and Riddell 209). But Dom Pedro II was also practically one of the family, for at the end of 1864, Dom Pedro's two daughters, Isabella (in Portuguese, Isabel), and Leopoldina had married double first cousins who were both Queen Victoria's and Prince Albert's first cousins once removed. Princess Isabella, Princess Imperial (heiress to the throne) of Brazil, had married on 15 October 1864 Louis Philippe Marie Ferdinand Gaston d'Orléans et Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha, Prince of Bourbon-Orleans and Count d'Eu; whereas Princess Leopoldina had married on 15 December 1864 Prince Ludwig August Maria Eudo von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha und Orléans, Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Duke of Saxe. Both Count d'Eu and the Duke of Saxe had the same grandfathers: Louis-Philippe, King of the French and Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg; whereas the latter was brother both to Queen Victoria's mother, Victoria Mary Louisa of Saxe-Coburg Saalfeld, and to Prince

Albert's father, Ernest III, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld and I of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. My Appendix C presents Dom Pedro's family background and his daughters' Saxe-Coburg connection is illustrated in Table 5 of the same.

Besides fully illustrating the theme of Brazilian invisibility abroad, Dom Pedro is also important to our main discussion because both he and his sister Maria II da Glória, Queen of Portugal brought together a line of the House of Habsburg and the house of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. Throughout the nineteenth century, members of the family of Queen Victoria's mother, the minor German ducal house of Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha (Saxe-Coburg and Gotha), had busily married into most European royal families, both Catholic and Protestant. Queen Victoria's children greatly contributed to the process, through which the family managed to rise through marriage from relative obscurity to a position where they came to occupy most of the thrones that were left in Europe.

In my discussion of The Tempest in Chapter 3, I will have the opportunity to mention many times a few 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>-century leading members of the House of Habsburg, which was arguably the most powerful dynasty in Europe in Shakespeare's time. The Habsburgs had famously risen mainly through marriage from obscure Counts of Habsburg to Dukes of Austria, and then to the elected position of Kings of Germany and Holy Roman Emperors and to many other thrones, lands, and titles besides. In Chapter 3, I hope to demonstrate that besides the dynastic marriage that is unequivocally related to The Tempest, that between King James' daughter Princess Elizabeths and Frederick, the Elector Palatine, a few other marriages uniting the House of Tudor and the House of Stuart to European royal families, and particularly to the House of Habsburg lie at the genesis of Shakespeare's play and its final celebration of resolution and peace which is only achieved through marriage. In fact, some of these marriages that I intend to demonstrate as being important to a better understanding of the genesis of The Tempest had actually taken place many years before Shakespeare wrote the play, whereas others were matches which were being proposed at the time of Shakespeare's composition of the play but which finally never came to be. That is why I will come back to them in more detail as part of my analysis in Chapter 3. Both the past and the then future, possible marriage alliances were important in themselves both to King James and his foreign policy, and to key figures at his court, before which The Tempest was presented at least twice. Furthermore, both the past and the future marriages are also fully connected to the other apparently loose elements which we have anticipated in Chapter 1 and to which we will return in Chapter 3, as I intend to demonstrate that they relate directly to the role Nicolas Durand,

Chevalier de Villegaignon may have played in Shakespeare's original conception, research and composition of The Tempest, and even to a possible explanation of why such references may have remained partially invisible to Shakespeare critics for so long.

However, before returning to The Tempest, I have to finish my presentation of Brazilian invisibility abroad. I would argue that if Dom Pedro might not have qualified for the Garter, he would very likely have received the reverence due a foreign monarch even if he had not been that closely related to Queen Victoria and all those other European royal houses. David Cannadine's 2001 book, Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire retells a story that took place during the visit to the United Kingdom of King Kalākaua of Hawaii in the summer of 1881. Different from Dom Pedro, who, in Queen Victoria's terms, did not 'go into society,' the King of Hawaii attended 'an extensive round of social engagements' that summer. The one that is still remembered was a grand social event at Lady Spencer's at which were also present both the Prince of Wales and Prince Wilhelm of Prussia, the future Kaiser Wilhelm II, who, as the eldest son of the Princess Royal, was Queen Victoria's first grandchild and the second in line both to the throne of Prussia and to the German Empire. Illustrative of the point I am making, the Prince of Wales insisted that the Hawaiian king took precedence over the German prince, who was obviously also his nephew. The visiting German prince was offended and protested, to which the English heir to the throne famously replied, 'Either the brute is a king, or he is a common or garden nigger; and if the latter, what's he doing here?' (8).

Cannadine argues that although 'this is, to our modern sensibilities, a deeply insensitive and offensive racist observation,' by the conventions of the Victorian age that was 'a very unracist remark' which was based on an earlier, 'pre-Enlightenment freemasonry based on the shared recognition of high social rank' (8) instead of 'the alternative and more recent freemasonry based on the unifying characteristic of shared skin colour' (9). I have come across evidence that Cannadine is right, for even in late 20<sup>th</sup>-century England this sentence could still be interpreted in a highly positive light.<sup>18</sup>

At least three anecdotes which illustrate Dom Pedro's claim to fame in the nineteenth century are in a way or another related to Shakespeare. The first anecdote is the tale of his visit to Shakespeare's hometown. After leaving London and visiting Oxford, Dom Pedro II and entourage were in Stratford-upon-Avon, as the Times of Monday July 24 1871 informs. A look at the Stratford-upon-Avon Herald, then as now a weekly newspaper, reveals that Dom Pedro's exploits in London had been news in Stratford even before his visit to town, which

serves as an indicator that even those without access to the Times might have learned about his visit through local papers in England. But it is The Herald dated Friday 28 July 1871, under the title, ‘The Emperor and Empress of Brazil in Stratford-upon-Avon’, which relates Dom Pedro’s visit to Shakespeare’s hometown. Dom Pedro II’s visit, now mostly forgotten, is also part of the history of the Shakespeare industry in Stratford, as he was first welcomed into town by no other than Mrs. James, the granddaughter of Mary Hornby, the most famous seller of ‘Shakespeare’s relics’ in the history of Shakespeare’s birthplace<sup>19</sup>:

On Sunday afternoon, between three and four o’clock, their Imperial Highnesses the Emperor and Empress of Brazil, accompanied by the Baron de Bom Retiro; Baron de Stanna [Santanna], and daughter; Countess de Barval, Mdlle. J. da Costa, and Conseider Valle da Gama, arrived at Shakespeare’s Birthplace in carriages supplied by Mr. Balwin, of the Warwick Arms Hotel, Warwick. The only notification of the Royal visit was by private telegram from Mr. Attwood, — landlord of the Clarendon Hotel, at Oxford, where the distinguished party had taken up their quarters on Saturday, — to his father-in-law, Mr. Kite of this town.

The Emperor, on arriving at Shakespeare’s House, found closed doors, admission being prohibited during the hours of divine service, but fortunately no time was wasted, as Mrs. James, who exhibits a collection of interesting relics in High Street, introduced herself to the Emperor, and escorted the Royal party to her house, from whence they proceeded to the Town Hall, and then to New Place. The Mayor, (Mr. Edward Gibbs), by this time had received intimation of the whereabouts of the distinguished visitors, and had the honour of conducting them to the Church of the Holy Trinity, and afterwards to the Birthplace. His majesty appeared to take a deep interest in Stratford and its Shakespearian associations, and was evidently much pleased with the attention shown to him by our worthy chief magistrate. The Royal party proceeded by ordinary train to Hatton, where they had to wait from 6:30 until 7.10, the time of the arrival of the London train, to which a saloon carriage had been attached at Leamington. Their Imperial Highnesses reached Snow Hill Station, at Birmingham, a few minutes after eight, and proceeded at once to the Great Western Hotel.

I wonder if this short narrative, so illustrative of the way the Shakespeare industry operated in mid nineteenth-century Stratford, would have been fully forgotten if the illustrious visitors had not come from a country that suffers from invisibility abroad.

In June 1876, Dom Pedro was back in England but briefly, on route to the continent, but he returned to London in late June 1877, and visited Scotland and Ireland in July of that year. Here is Queen Victoria's diary again, as quoted by Dom Pedro's biographer Barman:

'It cannot be said what he has not seen & done!' Queen Victoria noted in exasperated amazement in her diary. 'He begins the day at 6 in the morning and remains up late at parties!' The queen had been forewarned by her eldest daughter's reports from Berlin: 'The Emperor of Brazil's visit keeps us considerably on our leg! His power of seeing and visiting is something prodigious; but he is really so kind and amiable and agreeable that it is a great pleasure to be with him; the Empress too is so kind — and good-natured, always satisfied with everything and in a good humor. How dreadfully tiring it must be to travel about like that, when one is no longer quite young.' A few days later, the crown princess of Germany had told her mother: 'The Empress is really almost the kindest soul I ever saw. He [Pedro II] owed to her "je suis pourtant un peu fatigüe" [I am indeed a little tired] — but for all that not an item is taken off the programme'....It was a time of sheer delight during which he had behaved exactly as he wanted. Queen Victoria was not amused. "But to come to the State Ball and Concert in a frock coat — in a black cravat and boots—is really quite incomprehensible and shocked people here very much," she complained to her daughter in Berlin (282).

Dom Pedro was in London for the opening of the Caxton Exhibition, and Brazilian historian Heitor Lyra in Vol. 2 of his biography of the Brazilian monarch, História de Dom Pedro II: 1825-1891, quotes Gladstone's speech at the moment Dom Pedro had left that ceremony, a passage Lyra took from the Times:

He is a man — being absent I can say it more freely than if I spoke it in his presence — who is a model to all the Sovereigns of the world in his anxiety for the faithful and effective discharge of his high duties — he is a man distinguished, if I am to descend to lower, but still remarkable peculiarities, for Herculean perseverance and strength in the performance of labour, beginning, I believe, at about 4 o'clock in the morning, and ending very hard upon

midnight. But that would be a small matter of praise to give if we did not consider the manner in which he consumes the 18 or 20 hours which form his ordinary day, and they are consumed in a succession of efforts to glean and gather throughout the world, from time to time, knowledge of every kind which he may make useful on his return to his own country in promoting the health and happiness on his people. That is what I call, ladies and gentlemen, a great and good Sovereign, and a man who, by his conduct, is able to make the station he holds a pattern and blessing to his race (366, note 400).

The other two anecdotes with a Shakespearian connection took place in the United States in 1876, during a three-month visit which preceded Dom Pedro's second visit to Europe. The first Shakespearian anecdote is very brief, and in it we learn that in the evening of his arrival to New York (and to the United States), Dom Pedro was already going to the theatre, and the play he chose to see was Shakespeare's Henry V, as we can learn in Barman: 'Pedro II reported to the countess of Barral, awaiting the imperial party in Europe, that he thought the lead actor "excellent, and I much applauded him in the speech against the ceremonies which vex kings"' (277)<sup>20</sup>

Dom Pedro's biographer Barman discusses what was so unique about this visit to the United States:

No head of state, and — more importantly — no reigning sovereign had previously paid a visit to the North American republic<sup>21</sup>. The United States remained something of an outsider in an international community dominated by the monarchies of Europe. What made Pedro II's decision the more remarkable was that he had timed his visit so as to coincide with the opening of the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition....Pedro II was going first to the United States and then to Europe and that he, a monarch, was honouring the birth of a republic.

The prospect of a reigning monarch attending the Centennial Exhibition flattered American susceptibilities. The New York Herald, scenting a news story it could exploit, dispatched one of its crack journalist to Rio de Janeiro to file background columns on Brazil and then to accompany the imperial couple and their entourage to New York. Pedro II, knowing the value of good publicity, let the journalist tag along, not just for the voyage but throughout his entire eight weeks in the United States' (276)

And Dom Pedro is indeed there, in the official pictures of the opening of the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, a ceremony where he was President Grant's guest of honour, a fact that is reminded in official speeches by American Presidents every time a Brazilian President visits the United States and sometimes at other occasions<sup>22</sup>. This is what he can learn about the event on the homepage of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission:

The exhibition opened as scheduled on May 10, 1876, to a vast throng of visitors. Philadelphia was resplendently decked out for fairgoers with bunting and with the flags of participating nations. Trains of out-of-town visitors disgorged at fairground stations. A host of dignitaries attended also, led by President and Mrs. Grant, Emperor Dom Pedro II of Brazil and his Empress, and the governors of Louisiana, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. Dom Pedro, whose unassuming manner, intense curiosity, and admiration for the United States had made him a national celebrity, was the favorite of the crowds.

It was during the visit that the third and arguably the most curious and the most likely to be remembered Shakespearian anecdote took place. Here is John A. Crow in The Epic of Latin America:

The Emperor reveled in the exhibition and went from booth to booth like a curious schoolboy. In one of the halls Alexander Graham Bell was demonstrating his new invention. Dom Pedro had already met the inventor in Boston, where he taught in a school for the deaf, so he greeted Bell cordially and asked him to show how his new contraption worked. Bell withdrew to a distance of five hundred feet and began to recite Hamlet's famous soliloquy. The Emperor listened in amazement for a few moments, then repeated the words 'To be or not to be.' (546-547)

Crow also mentions that during his visit to the United States Dom Pedro talked 'for hours about Shakespeare with the great actor John McCullough'. (547). The story of Bell's demonstration using Shakespeare's most famous soliloquy is known to Shakespearian scholars and aficionados, but Dom Pedro II remains invisible many times the story is retold. An instance that helps to illustrate that this is another instance of invisibility, for the reference is made but Dom Pedro is not remembered later, Dom Pedro's presence was confirmed in Graham Bell's own description of events<sup>23</sup>. In fact, the story is repeated in many sources, but I suggest that my readers ask any Americans they know and try to see if they know who Dom

Pedro was. Below is the text you can find on the site of [The United States and Brazil: Expanding Frontiers, Comparing Cultures](#), an online project jointly sponsored by The Library of Congress and the Fundação Biblioteca Nacional of Brazil:

An admirer of Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865), Dom Pedro II visited the United States in 1876 to join President Ulysses S. Grant (1822-1885) in opening the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, the largest world's fair up to that time. While at the exposition, the emperor met Alexander Graham Bell (1847-1922), who was demonstrating his new invention — the telephone. Dom Pedro II was the first person to buy stock in Bell's company, the Bell Telephone Company. One of the first telephones in a private residence was installed in his palace in Petrópolis, his summer retreat forty miles from Rio de Janeiro.

Likewise, the AT&T homepage mentions Dom Pedro in their homepage, in the section 'AT&T: History: Inventing the Telephone':

Bell announced his discovery, first in lectures to Boston scientists and then at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition to a panel of notables including Brazilian Emperor Dom Pedro II and eminent British physicist William Thomson. The emperor exclaimed, 'My God! It talks!' Thomson took news of the discovery across the ocean and proclaimed it 'the greatest by far of all the marvels of the electric telegraph.'

Dom Pedro had met Richard Wagner in Berlin in his first voyage to Europe, and he continued to correspond with the German composer. In the second visit, in 1876, Dom Pedro visited the first ever opening, on 13 August, of the Bayreuth festival at the [Bayreuth Festspielhaus](#) in Bayreuth, where he attended 'the inaugural performance of [Die Rheingold](#) and in the same evening listened to Franz Liszt playing the piano' (Barman 280). In the same room were not only Wagner and List, but also Anton Bruckner, Edvard Grieg, Peter Tchaikovsky, Camille Saint-Saëns, Kaiser Wilhelm of Prussia, King Ludwig of Bavaria, and Emperor Dom Pedro II of Brazil. Later in that second European visit, Dom Pedro and entourage were shown the ruins of Troy by Schliemann, and he also visited Athens, the Holy Land, and Egypt.

I finish my presentation of Dom Pedro with two quotes. For the first I return to the Brazilian Emperor's Times obituary:

He wrote and spoke the English, French, German, Spanish, and Italian languages with fluency and elegance. He was a liberal patron of letters, the arts

and sciences, and of every branch of industry and commerce; and it was with the view of conferring no empty honour upon him that he was elected a member of the Geographical Society of Paris in 1868, and corresponding member of the French Academy of Sciences in 1875.

Maybe his English was not as fluent and elegant as the highly laudatory Time obituary suggests (Graham Bell had referred to Dom Pedro's 'broken English' in the letter to his parents I reproduce in my note 23 to this chapter), but the Emperor of Brazil had certainly made a deep impression in Europe and in the United States. For my final quotation I return to Crow:

[Dom Pedro II's] was a life of which any ruler might well be proud. Dom Pedro had taken an incohesive mass of lands and peoples and had molded them into Latin America's largest, most populous, most liberal, best-governed nation. . . . The name of Brazil was respected all over the world, and the name of its ruler was admired wherever men thought deeply and were free. Science and the arts had taken a great step forward in the days of the empire, and Brazil had won for herself an international place in those expressions of man. From an economic standpoint there was even more marked progress. Three or four million slaves had been freed with no shedding of blood, and a respect for civil liberties had been instilled into all kinds and classes of people. Struggling as he did throughout his reign against extremes of poverty and wealth, against illiteracy, against the obstacles of a sparse population thinly spread over immense distances and lacking racial homogeneity, against a complete lack of experience in self-government and an atmosphere made to order for political corruption, Brazil's democratic Emperor achieved all that could reasonably be expected of a human being. Brazil has not enjoyed as long an epoch of peace and progress at any time since Dom Pedro's exile, and few Latin American nations can boast of such tolerance under any republican regime of the twentieth century. Dom Pedro II was undoubtedly an anomaly among monarchs, but his life was indeed a glowing manifesto of which all Brazilians today are justly proud. (556-557)

I would contradict Crow in this point. He says Brazilians are justly proud of Dom Pedro, when I think at the most he could say we Brazilians should be proud of him. At the crossroads between two discourses that made little to make him really known in Brazil, Dom

Pedro is a perfect example of Brazilian invisibility because he is partially invisible even in the country where he was born and of which he was emperor for forty-nine years. The twentieth-century majority republican discourse identified in the monarchy in Brazil the source of all the nation's later problems, and Dom Pedro is depicted as a possibly well-intentioned but extremely bookish and eccentric man in a white beard who would have preferred to have been a school teacher and who was very little in touch with reality. Even the fact that he chose to risk his empire to decree the abolition of slavery that in the end cost him his crown (the abolition came on 13 May 1888, the Republic dates from 15 November 1889) is hardly ever mentioned or remembered. The other discourse, that of Brazilians who are sympathetic to the monarchy, uses his over idealized image to defend the restoration of a regime that in the case of Brazil belongs in the history books. An enlightened monarch is no justification for adopting a form of government that in the case of Brazil would probably only contribute to empower the ruling and local elites and aggravate the country's unsolved problem of diminishing class and social differences.

Although we know his name, this Brazilian monarch, just like his 16<sup>th</sup>-century predecessor, made an impression among the English speaking elite (this time on both sides of the Atlantic), but is now anything but forgotten. I would suggest that with his full royal European background, which I present fully as Appendix C, and his exploits, Dom Pedro would be more famous today if he had not been the monarch of a country that suffers from invisibility abroad.

### 2.2.2 – The Twentieth and Twentieth-First Centuries

I conclude my discussion of Brazilian invisibility with examples from the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries, but I do not return to any of the stories I included in the text which constitutes my Annex 1. I also recommend that people interested in the phenomenon of Brazilian invisibility read the small book by Maxine L. Margolis published in 1997, *An Invisible Minority: Brazilians in New York City*. Like I have anticipated above, the invisibility which she discusses may many times be deliberate on the part of Brazilians, as Brazilian illegal immigrants in the United States try to avoid detection by American immigration authorities. But the phenomenon as discussed by me is also exemplified in Margolis's book:

If you were to visit New York City and ask any native New Yorker how to get to Little Italy or Chinatown, you would be quickly directed to take the subway or a taxi downtown to either of those well known tourist sites. But were you to inquire how to get to Little Brazil you would be met with a puzzled look. ‘Little Brazil? What’s that?’ would be the response. The reason for the puzzled look is that New York has no distinct Brazilian residential neighborhood, no area that is comparable to Chinatown or Little Italy. Moreover, the single commercial street in Manhattan that caters to Brazilian tourists and immigrants and which they call ‘Little Brazil’ is virtually unknown to other residents of the city’ (5).

Margolis discusses reasons why Brazilian immigrants remain mostly invisible in the United States, and she comments on the fact that even American statistics cannot see Brazilians for what they themselves think they are:

Yet another reason why Brazilians have been consistently undercounted in the U.S. census and other studies that classify and tally immigrants is their fuzzy race or ethnicity. The classification of Brazilians is problematic because they do not easily fit into any standard American ethnic or racial category. They cannot be classified as ‘Hispanic’ — a category used in the census and in other statistical surveys — because they speak Portuguese, not Spanish. And while they are ‘Latin Americans,’ this is a geographical, not an ethnic designation. Then too, using racial instead of ethnic terms also leaves the issue unresolved because the Brazilian population is neither black nor white; Brazilian may be either ‘race’ or any shade in between....As a result of these factors, Brazilians are invisible even when compared to other undocumented immigrant groups in the United States. For example, in a study of undocumented immigrants, Brazil is not listed among the top fifty countries worldwide in the number of its citizens living illegally in the United States (Warren 1995)<sup>24</sup>. Since countries with as few as 6,000 undocumented aliens are included in the list, the assumption is that there are fewer than 6,000 Brazilians with undocumented status living in this country [the US], an absurd that bears no relation to reality (8-9).

A very illuminating book on the subject of how in the twentieth century the foreign (non-Brazilian) film industry has informed the way Brazil and Brazilians are seen outside

Brazil is the highly recommended O Brasil dos gringos: imagens no cinema ('The Gringos' Brazil: images in the movies',<sup>25</sup>), by Tunico Amâncio (2000), which is a version of Amancio's own 1998 doctoral thesis for the Escola de Comunicações e Artes of the Universidade de São Paulo, entitled Em busca de um clichê: panorama e paisagem do Brasil no cinema estrangeiro ('In search of a cliché: Brazilian landscape and panorama in the foreign cinema'). In the book, the result of a comprehensive study of about two hundred non-Brazilian films, Amancio presents and discusses the use by non-Brazilian moviemakers of clichés and stereotypical images and ideas about Brazil and its people in fiction films which either are set in or make reference to the South American country. More recently, Tunico Amancio's book has served as the basis for a 2005 Brazilian documentary directed by Lucia Murat and scripted by Murat and Amancio himself. The 70-minute documentary (also available as three 26-minute TV programmes) is called The Foreign Eye (or, in Portuguese, Olhar Estrangeiro), and it fascinatingly presents and explores in unmistakable images and sounds examples of the film industry's appropriation of Brazil according to its own reduced, and reductive, and mostly stereotypical, oneiric and onanistic views about the country. (These are my words to describe what the documentary reveals). In The Foreign Eyes, Murat and Amancio also go after and interview directors, producers, screenwriters, and performers involved in some of the movies Amancio studied for his book. In the words of the producers themselves, as found in the film producing company homepage, 'the documentary doesn't want to be just a great panel of what we are according to this view from the outside'. Instead, their 'proposal is to reveal the mechanisms that lead to the creation of this image', 'the stories, motivations, and/or pressures that are behind these movies'. ('Olhar Estrangeiro: About the Movie').

As I have explained earlier in this chapter in reference to my Appendix B table, part of my theory of Brazilian invisibility abroad includes the claim that Brazilian visibility does not preclude Brazilian invisibility. Quite on the contrary, the fact that the typical exposure Brazil receives abroad paradoxically contributes to make the country less instead of more visible is a phenomenon which really became increasingly apparent in the twentieth century and still happens to this day. As a result, the existence of extremely visible Brazilians, such as Hollywood movie star Carmen Miranda and a few world famous sports personalities in the likes of Pelé and Ayrton Senna, contributes to obfuscate any other references to the country that do not reproduce the little information which non-Brazilians may hold about the country. I would suggest, therefore, that just as being unable to see Brazil past the clichés and the stereotypes is another form of blindness on the part of non-Brazilian film-makers and their

audiences, being confined within the limits of a stereotypical representations is yet another form of Brazilian invisibility abroad, and one which repeats the pattern discussed above of production, reproduction and perpetuation of such invisibility.

I would also argue that even knowing just a little about Brazil only happens sometimes, because even Brazilians who have great visibility abroad may not always be fully visible as being Brazilians. I know that can be the case even with Brazilians who were once or are still as visible abroad as Carmen Miranda, Ayrton Senna and Gisele Bündchen. Immortalized in Hollywood as the ‘Brazilian Bombshell’, Carmen Miranda was ironically born in Portugal and only brought up in Rio, but she arguably remains the most visible Brazilian ever. However, in Murat’s documentary The Foreign Eye, we have British actor Michael Caine’s testimony that he did not know Carmen Miranda was indeed Brazilian, and he assumed she was Latin American but not in fact real, being instead a mere Hollywood creation. The other two examples I could witness myself. On 18 June 1993, I was at the Shakespeare Institute of the University of Birmingham when my University in Britain awarded Birmingham-born Formula One world champion driver Nigel Mansell an honorary doctorate in Engineering. Mansell and Brazilian Formula One world champion driver Ayrton Senna had famously been rivals on the track, but there were English research students at the Shakespeare Institute who could remember who Senna was, but not the fact that he was Brazilian. Likewise, ten years later I was in the United States for a month as a member of a Group Study Exchange between my home State of Rio Grande do Sul and Arizona which was sponsored by the Rotary Foundation of Rotary International. While in the United States, I could see posters in different shopping malls showing Brazilian supermodel (many call her übermodel) Gisele Bündchen which read, ‘You can be like Gisele’. Gisele Bündchen is definitely the most famous Brazilian model ever in the highly competitive and highly publicised world of fashion. As further proof of that, when I ran a Google™ image search in English on ‘Gisele’ at <http://images.google.com/imghp?hl=en> in September 2006, the first 27 images showed the Brazilian supermodel, then one image did not, to be followed by another 19 which did, and so endlessly on. Likewise, a Google™ Web search in English on the exact phrase ‘Gisele Bündchen’ gave me as of my writing in November 2006 ‘about 2,440,000’ results. This is an undeniable and impressive indicator of visibility and prestige in the world of fashion and beyond. However, no one my group met in the United States to whom we had the opportunity to mention Gisele Bündchen (and there were many to whom we did) actually knew about whom we were talking.

I conclude with one 20th-century example taken from television, and one 21st-century example taken from the Internet, referring to arguably the most important media in each of the two centuries. Obviously I write in the early 21st century, but the point holds at the moment of writing. I was in England at the time of the celebration of the anniversary of VE-Day. Heads of State from every single Allied country at the time of the Second World War were present, and the BBC1 TV presenter remarked that among the many heads of state present, two heads of state, ironically the one who had been the longest and the one who had been the shortest in office, represented what he called ‘our forgotten allies’, countries which had fought the War among the Allies but were never remembered when the British thought of World War II: they were King Hussein of Jordan and President Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil.<sup>26</sup>

As a final instance of Brazilian invisibility abroad, I would like to mention the most recent case of Brazilian invisibility of which I am aware, involving André Thevet’s Les singularitez de la France antarctique. Brazil is actually made fully visible in the most recent French edition of André Thevet’s book, edited by Frank Lestringant and published in 1997, exactly four hundred and forty years after the original edition, as the book is called Le Brésil d’André Thevet: Les Singularités de la France Antartique (1557) (Fig. 71). However, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and The Library of Congress are partners in making available online a digital library called ‘La France en Amérique / France in America digital library’, a digital library which is available on the Bibliothèque Nationale de France’s own digital library, Gallica as of my writing in 2006. The texts and the illustrations of the 1558 edition of Thevet’s Les singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amérique: & de plusieurs Terres & Isles decouvertes de nostre temps are therefore made available in two different areas of the site. Of the total forty-one figures in Thevet’s book, only the first six are about Africa, and they are correctly identified online by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France as being so. My Figure 72 illustrates this point. It shows African rhinoceroses and elephants in André Thevet’s Les singularitez de la France antarctique, and it is labelled by Gallica ‘rhinocéros et éléphants d’Afrique. XVIè siècle.’ The fact that Thevet travels to America (Brazil) via Africa may have contributed to the error in labelling the other images. Starting at the next illustration, which already relates to Thevet’s presence in Brazil, and although Thevet’s text about Antarctic France (Brazil) repeatedly refers to America, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France’s captions consistently (if mistakenly) label the next thirty-one illustrations found in Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique as if they were about 16th-century Africa. My Figure 73 shows Brazilian cannibals’ engaging in what is described by the

Bibliothèque Nationale de France as ‘cannibalisme in Afrique’ (‘cannibalism in Africa’). Then, my Figure 74 shows what the Bibliothèque Nationale de France calls an ‘African fruit called Hiboucouhu’. In the book, the image illustrates the passage in Chapter 46 where Thevet mentions an excellent fruit called ‘Nana’ [i.e., the pineapple], which, so Thevet informs, the Indians commonly eat in their sicknesses. It is only later in the same passage that Thevet mentions the ‘hiboucouhu’ which appears in the label (identified by Thevet’s Brazilian translator Eugenio Amado as being the Brazilian ‘ucuuba’), but the picture clearly depicts a 16th-century view of the pineapple.<sup>27</sup> My Figure 75 shows Brazil partially visible. The same image of a pineapple used to illustrate another book by Thevet is correctly identified by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France as an American pineapple. This time the picture is included in the ‘Description de la Amérique’ in Thevet’s Cosmographie universelle.

The same pattern occurs repeatedly, and the same image is incorrectly referred to as being African in Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique even when it is correctly labelled as being American in the Cosmographie universelle. In my Figure 76, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France’s caption (‘Toucan d’Afrique’) again contradicts Thevet’s text, which unmistakably describes the ‘Toucan, oyseau de l’Amerique’. A similar image of a Toucan is again correctly identified in the Cosmographie universelle. Similarly, my Figure 77 shows the Bibliothèque Nationale de France’s ‘African manihot’ which illustrates Chapter 58 of Thevet’s Les singularitez, where Thevet informs his readers that Americans make meal of manihots. When reference is made to the same plant in Thevet’s Cosmographie universelle (Fig. 78), The Bibliothèque Nationale de France correctly identifies it as an American manioc, reproducing the reference to an American root called ‘Manihot’ (the manioc).

It goes without saying that errors of this kind can and do occur about all types of subjects and in academic institutions everywhere. I am not suggesting that a Brazilian library (or even the Biblioteca Nacional, for that matter) may not produce something similar when classifying and labelling works about other countries. But this is not just any library dealing with a little known book about a mostly unknown country. What we have here is the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and material made available online in partnership with the Library of Congress: in other words, not one but two of the leading libraries in the world. Besides, although Thevet’s book is mostly about Brazil, it is also a classic French travel narrative by a famous author who lived to become chaplain to Catherine de Médicis and Royal Cosmographer, and the first long narrative ever published about the first French attempt at colonizing South America, a failed enterprise which, as I am going to have the opportunity to

discuss in Chapter 3, became, thanks to its many internecine conflicts, the subject of a major Catholic versus Calvinist controversy in Europe. The realization that Brazilian invisibility can affect even those who should be immune to it thanks to their academic background or to the nature of their occupation may partially excuse Shakespeare critics who also suffer from it, but it also helps to characterize the pervasive nature of the phenomenon.

The next online picture, labelled ‘Taureau d’Afrique’ (Fig. 79), depicts what is obviously a 16<sup>th</sup>-century rendering of a North American bison. The image is included in Chapter 74 of Les singularitez de la France antarctique, where Thevet discusses ‘Floride’ (Florida). The image of the ‘African bull’ is the last instance of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France’s mistakenly identifying an American feature as if it were an African one. Curiously, it is also the only instance in thirty-two mistaken references where the animal, plant or scene depicted is in North rather than in South America. Accordingly, the last three scenes in the book, which follow after the ‘Taureau d’Afrique,’ are correctly identified by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France as taking place in Canada and in Terra Nova. It seems that, as I hope to have demonstrated, Brazilian invisibility sometimes works by contamination, but as soon as we are far enough from Brazil, better visibility is at operation again.

Before I proceed to discuss the effects of Brazilian invisibility in helping to keep Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon only partially visible to Shakespeare commentators, below I seek to discuss how other areas of theoretical concern can help me illuminate The Tempest as a text which four hundred years since it was first composed can still yield invisible fruits to the reader who tries to look past the invisible elements in the text.

### 2.3 - Genetic Criticism and Shakespeare’s Compositional Practice

Since 1751-56, the period when William Hawkins, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, delivered in Latin the first academic lectures on ‘Shakesperio’ in a University (Taylor 114), in Britain and in the English-speaking world in particular, but veritably all over the world, Shakespeare Studies have developed into a field of study per se, with its own multiple subdivisions, as well as its own object, concerns, and agenda. Obviously it is an area that runs parallel and in constant dialogue with other areas of literary, dramatic and cultural studies. In this discussion I intend to draw systematically upon Jed Deppman, Daniel Ferrer, and Michael Groden’s Genetic Criticism Texts and Avant-textes (2004) and Part III (‘Shakespeare Criticism’), Chapters 24 to 36 of Wells and Orlin’s Shakespeare: An Oxford Guide (2002),

and particularly upon the chapters by Leah Scragg (Chapter 27, 'Source Study'), Inga-Stina Ewbank (Chapter 28, 'Close Reading'), Jyotsna Singh (Chapter 33, 'Post-colonial Criticism'), and Kiernan Ryan (Chapter 34, 'Deconstruction').

When Jed Deppman, Daniel Ferrer, and Michael Groden outline the development of French genetic criticism in relation to its intellectual and institutional contexts in the introduction to their book Genetic Criticism Texts and Avant-textes, they discuss the fact that although genetic criticism is different from traditional manuscript studies, nowadays it is still sometimes considered a form of textual criticism, or automatically assumed to be a branch of it, whereas 'genetic criticism clearly suggests that manuscripts can be used for purposes other than those of textual criticism — that is, for reasons other than establishing an accurate text of a work' (10).

Deppman, Ferrer, and Groden also make it clear that genetic criticism developed differently within the context of different literary cultures. Not surprisingly, they call attention to the fact that 'the model and test case' for genetic criticism in England and the United States has been Shakespeare,

who left no manuscripts at all and only problematical published texts during his lifetime. There, an eclectic model has developed in which the editor chooses one state of the text as the copytext and then emends the copytext on the basis of other authoritative states....In France, where the problems and issues have centered on Old French texts, what is known as 'best text' editing has dominated: the editor applies scholarly tools to determine which existing text is most accurate and then reprints that text as the edition. There is almost no connection between the 'best text' model in French editing and genetic criticism, although both resist conflating different states into a new eclectic text. Anglo-American copytext editing is only somewhat more congenial to genetic criticism, for its overarching goal of establishing a single conflated text tends to subsume all variation into an accuracy-vs.-error dichotomy (10).

But why should genetic criticism prove useful for this research? Earlier in their presentation of the development of genetic criticism, Deppman, Ferrer, and Groden quote Louis Hay's 1977 assertion in his La Critique génétique which hallowed French genetic criticism as a new field of research and stated that 'the spirit of paradox' played a dominating role in it from the very inception of the approach. They conclude that almost thirty years on, the paradox remains and argue that genetic criticism should not be derived or even identified

with traditional literary history or New Historicism, however much it may also aim at restoring ‘a temporal dimension’ to the study of literature. Accordingly, genetic criticism includes features of reception criticism but is ‘mainly concerned with how texts are produced’. While remaining deeply aware of the text’s aesthetic dimensions, genetic criticism is ever ready to accommodate the agency of sociological forces or psychoanalytic drives into its accounts. Besides, though having developed from a structuralist and poststructuralist notion of ‘text’ as an infinite play of signs, it accepts a ‘teleological model of textuality and constantly confronts the question of authorship’ (2):

Like old-fashioned philology or textual criticism, [genetic criticism] examines tangible documents such as writers’ notes, drafts, and proof corrections, but its real object is something much more abstract — not the existing documents but the movement of writing that must be inferred from them. Then, too, it remains concrete, for it never posits an ideal text beyond those documents but rather strives to reconstruct, from all available evidence, the chain of events in a writing process (2).

Genetic criticism, as it were, allows critics to subvert the primacy of the final text and concentrate on the literary process itself. Until very recently this option was far from uncontroversial. Deppman, Ferrer, and Groden comment that most mid-20<sup>th</sup>-century critics tended to agree with T.S. Eliot’s position that ‘a knowledge of the springs which released a poem is not necessarily a help toward understanding the poem: too much information about the origins of the poem may even break [one’s] contact with it.’<sup>28</sup> These mid-20<sup>th</sup>-century critics also ‘concurred with Wellek and Warren’s view that “drafts, rejections, exclusions, and cuts” are “not, finally, necessary to an understanding of the finished work or to a judgement upon it.”’<sup>29</sup> The change could only and did come about with structuralism and poststructuralism and the complex conception of text they introduced, when authors like Barthes and Derrida saw texts as ‘mobile, multistranded, and overflowing with referential codes’ (5).

Also according to Deppman, Ferrer, and Groden, the genetic notion that there lie many texts within any given text is clearly a theoretical perception originating from the poststructuralist notion that all texts are fields of free-playing signifiers. However, Deppman, Ferrer, and Groden explain, ‘Hay and most other geneticists do not unqualifiedly endorse that view,’ as ‘they privilege historical development and context in contrast to a conception of a synchronous or timelessly present text’ (5). Deppman, Ferrer, and Groden maintain that, like

New Historicism, French genetic criticism attempts to restore a temporal dimension to texts; it does so not only by looking for the influence of external social, economic, and cultural variables on the text, but also by reading the text's own history, a history that takes into account those external forces and the way they interact — differently in every case — with the text's development (5).

Instead of a fixed, finished object in relation to which all previous states are considered, a given text becomes for geneticists 'the contingent manifestations of a diachronous play of signifiers'. 'The writing,' as Louis Hay has put it, 'is not simply consummated in the written work. Perhaps we should consider the text as a necessary possibility, as one manifestation of a process which is always virtually present in the background, a kind of third dimension of the written work.'<sup>30</sup>

Genetic criticism started to aim at finding, in the words of Bellemin-Noël in his book Le Texte et l'avant-texte: Les Brouillons d'un poème de Milosz (1972), 'any uncontrolled (perhaps uncontrollable) forces that were mobilized without the author's knowledge and resulted in a structure'; as well as reconstructing 'the operations by which, in order to form itself, something transformed itself, all the while forming that locus of transformation of meaning that we call a text'.<sup>31</sup> The carrying out of such an ambitious project usually demands the establishment of new parameters and a new critical vocabulary to subsume it. The term 'avant-texte' was coined at this time exactly because Genetic Criticism considered it particularly important to abandon the 'philological notion of "variant," which implies one text with alternative formulations' (8). Instead of variant, Deppman, Ferrer, and Groden explain that Bellemin-Noël used

the neologism 'avant-texte' to designate all the documents that come before a work when it is considered as a text and when those documents and the text are considered as part of a system....[But] 'avant-texte' always carries with it the assumption that the material of textual genetics is not a given but rather a critical construction elaborated in relation to a postulated terminal — so-called 'definitive' — state of the work (8).

Different from textual criticism, which is concerned with repetition, genetic criticism is concerned precisely with what is not repetition. However, as there cannot be no such thing as pure invention, genetic criticism actually 'confronts a dialectic of invention and repetition' (11). In other words, a textual critic will tend to see 'a difference between two states of a work

in terms of accuracy and error or corruption’, whereas a genetic critic ‘will see meaningful variation’ (11). As long as available documents continue to be revisited and reinterpreted, genetic studies become ‘part of a more systematic and comparative investigation of the interaction between authors’ readings and their writings, an investigation that rests at the interface between genetic work and reception studies’ (12). As a result of this, according to Jean-Michel Rabaté, a new kind of reader has started to emerge: an ‘ideal genetic reader’ or ‘genreader.’ ‘Not merely a decoder of textual signals, a detached consciousness, or an emotional being’, this reader is seen by Rabaté as but rather a kind of “‘textual agent’ who reads texts ‘in the context of an expanding archive.’”<sup>32</sup>

If we think of the basic assets and full technique and methodologies available to a genetic critic, for which we suggest the reading of the essay ‘Toward a Science of Literature: Manuscript Analysis and the Genesis of the Work’, by Pierre-Marc de Biasi, included as Chapter 4 of Jed Deppman, Daniel Ferrer, and Michael Groden’s Genetic Criticism Texts and Avant-textes (2004), we are faced with the apparently unsolvable paradox of trying to recuperate the genesis of the work by an author for which no manuscript survives. Left without a manuscript or manuscripts, we cannot constitute the dossier of manuscripts for The Tempest (or for any of Shakespeare’s works for that matter) in the way suggested by Pierre-Marc de Biasi. De Biasi presents a genetic classification of rough drafts which cover the evolving development of literary creation and writing through different states of the text which would move from the initial scenario through more developed scenarios, and which would then grow into sketch drafts which could form the basis for a fair copy or fair copies, and which would finally move on to the definitive manuscript which would have informed the production of the printed text. As for the printed copy, as in the case of many Shakespeare works, the printed text could well have survived in different states. However, obviously not all states are equally well preserved in the case of different authors. In the case of Shakespeare, this possibility is made totally impossible by the fact that both Shakespeare’s holographs (‘foul papers’ or fair copies) and other manuscripts (scribal transcripts, prompt-books, marked-up printed copies) are lost and what he actually wrote survives only in the ‘problematical published texts during his lifetime’ to which Deppman, Ferrer, and Groden refer in the passage quoted above. Many details about Shakespeare’s idiosyncratic spelling and handwriting have been very painstakingly established by a series of dedicated scholars over the centuries, but there are simply no manuscripts to study. To contrast to the printed versions, all that we have are isolated words or short passages partially reconstituted by

editors working at one of Shakespeare's texts, and at best these are merely more or less probable constructs reached at by those editors when trying to solve one of the many textual cruxes in the surviving published texts.

As Shakespeare critics know well, the only theatrical manuscript that survives that bears any relationship to William Shakespeare is the British Library manuscript MS Harleian 7368, which the 2005 second edition Oxford Shakespeare Complete Works edited by John Jowett, William Montgomery, Gary Taylor and Stanley Wells call 'what is probably the untidiest, most heavily revised dramatic manuscript of the period' (William Shakespeare: The Complete Works 813). This manuscript in several hands, entitled 'The Booke [the theatre manuscript] of Sir Thomas More', is the text of a play about the life of Saint Thomas More, the Lord Chancellor of England who was executed by King Henry VIII on a matter of conscience on 6 July 1535.<sup>33</sup> It is nowadays believed that the play was originally written sometime in the early 1590's by Anthony Munday in collaboration with Henry Chettle, but because it met with restrictions on the part of Edmund Tilney, Master of the Revels from 1579 to 1610, it had to be revised, and as far as we can tell it was never acted in Elizabethan or Jacobean times. As the editors of the 2005 second edition Oxford Shakespeare Complete Works inform us, 'Shakespeare's authorship of the majority of Sc.6, first proposed in 1871, has been accepted by most scholars on the basis of handwriting and of the evidence of dramatic and linguistic style' (813) and I have every reason to agree that the hand that has been conventionally called 'Hand D' in the manuscript is Shakespeare's.

When it comes to The Tempest and all his other plays besides Sir Thomas More, we have to work in the opposite direction, as all we can say about the genesis of the work has necessarily to be related to the printed versions available and a study of the sources that were or may have been available to the author. That is why besides genetic criticism, we believe that there are four main areas of Shakespeare Studies that can contribute to our genetic research: close reading, source study, deconstruction, and post-colonial criticism.

### 2.3.1 – Other Theoretical Support

#### 2.3.1.1 – Close Reading

In her discussion of close reading for Wells and Orlin's Shakespeare: An Oxford Guide, Inga-Stina Ewbank defines 'reading', 'in its widest sense,' as 'constructing meanings

from signs presented — signs that don't have to be printed on a page' (391). Exploring in ever increasing detail Shakespearian polyphony and multifarious meanings allows us to identify possible ways in which Shakespeare conforms and reshapes the English language to serve his own multiple purposes. Ewbank explains that the basis of close reading is the text firmly understood as part of dramatic, literary, and sociocultural contexts, and as a piece of literature that has been written for the stage, where 'what is heard (or read) cannot be separated from what is (or is intended to be) seen'. Therefore, close reading

of what Shakespeare and his contemporaries would have called 'the book of the play' puts us in one sense more on a par with them in that we can stop the flow and go back over details in the text (some of which may well have been missed by members of Shakespeare's original audience, too). Yet, in another, and crucial, sense we cannot read the Shakespeare text as we would a novel or a poem: first because it is a play, and second because it is a play for the theatre, and a particular kind of theatre at that. [...] Structure is crucial, and where in that structure something is said may be as important as what is said. [...] Again, in a play it crucially matters who is speaking, and to whom. (393)

Textual criticism has informed us that 'some of the play texts show cuts, revisions, and additions between an early and a later version', usually as responses to state censorship or as the result of the reworkings of the text after it had been performed. Therefore, Inga-Stina Ewbank argues, 'a grasp of context is still needed in order fully to appreciate Shakespeare's creativity in dealing with his raw material. A great borrower (and adapter) of plots, he also often negotiated with the language of his source, transforming it to serve his own purposes.'

Ewbank suggests that the close reader, then, 'will find in each play its own particular language, its idiolect.' It is our intention to confirm that in The Tempest, this idiolect has been shaped by the different accents represented by Shakespeare's readings in preparation for writing the play. That is why the next important area we should consider is source study.

### 2.3.1.2 - Source Study

Geoffrey Bullough starts the highly-recommended 63-page long 'General Conclusion' he appends to the concluding volume of the 8-volume Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare (1957-75), his classic work on the subject of Shakespearian sources, by tracing the history of Shakespeare source studies. A critic who dedicated so much of his time and

work to the subject was certainly a firm believer in the importance of source study, but Bullough has an important proviso to add:

Unfortunately the cult of the Ph.D. thesis first in Germany and then in Anglo-Saxon countries led to exaggerated claims for obscure and doubtful analogies; and the tendency to imagine that once a 'source' had been unearthed and its parallels noted all that was necessary had been done, brought discredit on research. Source-hunting was regarded in the first part of the [twentieth] century as a form of truancy from the proper study of the plays, an occupation only suitable for pedants, outside the scope of true criticism. No doubt there was a good deal of indolence behind this dismissal of evidence about the materials used by Shakespeare in making his plays, but the source-hunters were to blame for not realizing that their pursuit should be the first stage in an investigation of Shakespeare's methods of composition. (342)

Bullough also exposes what he calls the 'two-fold obligations' of modern study of Shakespeare sources, 'first, to investigate the ambience of story, drama, ideas, beliefs, and current events which affected the dramatist from time to time; second, and even more important, to consider how he used this material as a poet and craftsman in the theatre so as to produce plays which were not only "for an age" but also "for all time"' (344).

Bullough then moves on to present a brief general description of Shakespeare as a user of multiple sources, where he tells us that Shakespeare

was not academically learned; he was no specialist, but vastly well informed. He remembered the popular lore of his country upbringing with regard to flowers, birds, animals, medicine, and superstitions. He knew enough about sea-faring terms, warfare, and the law to astonish modern inquirers into these subjects; he knew and could apply the terms of rhetoric seriously and with humour; he developed an interest in the ethical psychology of his day which profoundly affected his work; he knew the Bible, Prayer Book, and Homilies well. All these and other fields he drew from to vitalize his dialogue and imagery. He seems to have forgotten nothing that he read or heard, or rather, his powers of associative memory were such that if he required a parallel or contrast for plot and incident or a poetic image, something relevant and vivid floated up from his unconscious.

This does not mean that there was no conscious search for suitable ancillary material. As we have seen, he was rarely content with one narrative or dramatic source alone. (346-47)

As Lea Scragg explains in her essay for Wells and Orlin's Shakespeare: An Oxford Guide, 'contemporary source studies are [...] not primarily directed to establishing the breadth and nature of the dramatist's literary tastes.' Instead, they 'exhibit the degree to which Shakespeare's works are enmeshed in their own culture, contribute to the construction of meaning, and provide a means of access to the process of artistic decision-making itself.' The emphasis on originality we have for a long time taken as the basis for the creative process is a notion we only inherited from the Romantics. In the Renaissance, the basis of the creative process was imitatio. Therefore, as a rule, rather than creating totally new plots, characters or situations, Shakespeare adapted and reshaped stories he found in other authors in a variety of ways so as to suit his dramatic or aesthetic purposes, 'implicitly inviting the more discerning of his audience, in some instances, to reflect on novel departures from familiar motifs' (373). As Scragg puts it,

By exploring the use that Shakespeare makes of the materials on which he draws — that which he adds, changes, or chooses to omit — the modern reader is afforded an insight into the shifting preoccupations that shaped his work and the new meanings that he elicits from old tales (373).

The typical work of adaptation by Shakespeare involves amplification of the plot he originally encounters, revising the audience's expectations about a given narrative, borrowing from his own previous work that he can assure his audience to be familiar with, as well as exploring ironically or otherwise the dramatic and literary conventions of the time. In Hamlet, it is believed that Hamlet and Polonius's exchanges about Julius Caesar are not only an invitation on the part of the author for the audience to draw parallels between both situations, but an in-joke, as the actors the audience sees on stage would probably have also acted or could still be acting the two Caesar parts mentioned (Brutus and Caesar) in the company's own version of the story.

Source study has also proved important in dating the composition of Shakespeare's works and establishing a tentative chronology for the composition of his entire canon, as we have had the opportunity to mention in reference to The Tempest and the 'Bermuda pamphlets' of 1610-1611.

No literary text exists by itself. In the theatre, the text is determined by both a series of conventions with which its original audience was readily familiar and the interplay of multiple elements determined by contemporary preoccupations and the literary tradition to which it is affiliated. Scragg concludes that

In electing to write, the artist is self-consciously positioning his work amidst a host of other texts, and the study of the dialogue in which he engages with the materials on which he draws, and the traditions to which those materials belong, contributes to the sum of meanings adducible from his work. It is the proximity that source studies afford to the creative process, the insight that they allow into the dramatist's changing strategies and concerns, and the recognition that they bring of the collaborative nature of all cultural activity, that make this field of investigation one of the most exciting areas of contemporary Shakespearian study.

Although source study is important to this research as I see it, in addressing Shakespeare's text I am aware of recent concerns about it that typically dislodge any attempt at final determination. No contemporary attempt at redefining a Shakespearian text should fail to establish a dialogue with what deconstructionists have had to say about the 'great deconstructionist,' William Shakespeare. As I do not intend to address the text naively, it is my aim to incorporate contemporary concerns into my theoretical investigations of my subject matter.

### 2.3.1.3 – Deconstruction

Kiernan Ryan starts his discussion by calling attention to the fact that deconstructionism shares in 'the same spirit of political critique' that informs Marxist, new-historicist, cultural-materialist, and a considerable number of feminist, gay, and post-colonial readings of Shakespeare. On the other hand, deconstruction is 'an exacting technique of close reading which rejects the quest for coherence and completeness to which traditional close readings of Shakespeare's texts are wedded.' (508) As Kiernan Ryan explains, deconstruction

has no time for any critical approach that aims to discern a unifying theme or vision around which the work revolves. Nor will it tolerate interpretations that view Shakespeare's plays as the expression of some reality, philosophy, or ideology that lies beyond the precinct of the texts. For such approaches try to

deny what deconstruction regards as the innate diversity and fluidity of the text, which confounds all attempts to pin its significance down or make it the mouthpiece of a position that precedes or transcends it' (508).

Through deconstruction we can realise how the diverse meanings of a play keep shifting into something else, 'making a mockery of the constructions critics have imposed on it.' As Ryan explains, at the core of deconstruction we find

a double strategy of critique and creation, of demolition and renewal. To undertake the deconstruction of a text is to undo its apparently seamless logic, to shatter its illusion of coherence, in order to open up the possibility of new and different kinds of meaning. The aim is not to replace a misconception of the work with an alternative interpretation. It is rather to complicate our understanding of it in such a way as to free us from the grip of our preconceptions, and steer us into a space in which fresh perceptions of the work can be forged. (508)

And Ryan further explains that 'sophisticated literary texts' [...] have a habit of anticipating the moves the deconstructive critic is likely to make on them. Time and again, they turn out to have built into their language and form their own deconstruction of what they are about.' Deconstruction starts from the recognition that the meaning of a literary text, as of necessity 'is forever generating more meanings than any reading can quarry, and those meanings will return to plague readers who have excluded them'. Shakespeare's own explorations of language, his punning and quipping, his fascination with ambiguity, with creating and dislodging meaning, with the fluidity of language and of the theatrical medium, as well as his denouncing and expanding on the metatheatricality of the work makes his production a corpus where not only deconstruction can thrive, but a series of texts which uncannily already offer their own deconstruction.

Finally, Ryan explains how Shakespeare's drama offers deconstruction 'countless opportunities for reversing the relationship between what seems to be central to a play and what appears to be of secondary significance in its design.' He mentions Shylock in The Merchant of Venice, Malvolio in Twelfth Night, and Caliban in The Tempest, who all turn the table on the conventional 'heroes' of the piece, as the interest and the dissenting voice with which Shakespeare empowers them allows them to take over from other characters in their plays, refusing, as it were, to be mere 'malign foils to the protagonists'. We could add to the list, as even early in his career, more clear-cut Shakespearian characters, like the villains

Aaron the Moor and Richard III already exert the same fascination which is both textual and dramatical.

Ryan concludes by saying that ‘not the least merit of deconstructive accounts of Shakespeare is that they are in no danger of regarding themselves as the last word on his works. On the contrary, they take for granted their blindness to the wealth of interpretations latent in the language of the plays, waiting to be unpacked by readers of the future, with other matters on their minds.’ I can see myself as one such future (or contemporary) reader, with a different agenda that will not take over from the other critics, but will add to their play of signifiers. That is the reason why the reading of The Tempest that we propose invites mainstream critics to go back to the sources and see what has always been there, however invisible. The very nature of this reading makes the other area where we can articulate this discussion to be post-colonial criticism.

#### 2.3.1.4 – The Tempest and the Post-colonial Debate

In her discussion of post-colonial criticism for the Oxford Guide, Jyotsna Singh informs us that the practice addresses questions of race, empire and colonialism by investigating how Shakespeare’s plays relate to the social codes and conventions by which early modern Europeans defined non-European and non-Christian peoples with whom early modern Europeans were increasingly getting in contact. Studies in this area can also typically explore the history of the reception of Shakespearian drama in Africa, India, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Were it not for certain qualities present or waiting to be discovered in the text themselves, Shakespeare might well not become a major focus of post-colonial criticism. Shakespeare’s works, like the Bible, were consciously made part of the English colonisation agenda, of England’s civilizational mission. Since the nineteenth century, for example, Victorians were busily founding Shakespeare clubs and societies all over the Empire where the sun never set. But the conflict and play of meanings, and the plots of the works themselves ‘enabled the colonised groups to revise and remake Shakespeare’s works in ways which related to their own social conditions.’

Singh suggests that this mode of criticism ‘complements — and often overlaps with— the critical work of feminist and materialist criticism’, as they all

re-examine Shakespeare’s plays historically, showing how they tell us a complex story about the race, class, and gender struggles in early modern

England. Intellectually and politically, these theories have given a crucial impetus to various resistance movements, encompassing feminist, anti-racist, and anti-colonial struggles, while exploring literary and cultural texts as sites of ideological and political conflicts.

In doing so, they have demystified the claims of a universal and timeless Shakespeare. In her article on post-colonial criticism for Wells and Orlin's Shakespeare: An Oxford Guide, Jyotsna Singh explains that

Until the advent of post-colonial criticism, Anglo-American critics frequently read The Tempest as an allegory about artistic creation. Since this was once considered to be Shakespeare's final play, Prospero has been defined as a surrogate playwright, shaping the main action through his magic. This long tradition of privileging Prospero's creative powers as beneficent and providential could not withstand the growing stature of Caliban, following the de-colonization movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America (501).

Despite her non-European name, Jyotsna Singh teaches in the United States and she believes or her generalising cloak of invisibility suggests that invisible Latin American countries were only decolonised in the 1960's. Like Prospero and Miranda, the critic seems to know very little about the history of the island where they live. To give just one example, not only Singh but mainstream Shakespeare criticism knows very little about pre-1960's Latin American author's appropriation of Shakespeare. One such example that would have to be included in her discussion of post-colonial criticism is Uruguayan author José Enrique Rodó's Ariel (1900). Sometimes considered the most famous Latin American essay on the aesthetic and philosophical sensibility, Ariel posits a contrast between Caliban and Ariel comparing the former (the evil spirit of materialism and positivism) to the United States and the latter (the lover of beauty and truth) to Latin America. Compared to later post-colonial appropriations of Caliban, who was later turned into a post-colonial hero, this view could be seen as Eurocentric, but in fact it just adds to the complexity of the multiple views Shakespeare's work has contributed to establish. Why should ex-colonists limit themselves to their position as Caliban, if Ariel was also Prospero's slave. And why not let the new colonial power, the United States, take on the brutish figure of the usurping new world figure. The discussion is complex, but the point to be made is that Rodó is invisible to Shakespearean mainstream criticism. And whereas Martinique's Aimé Césaire deserves inclusion as an entry in the 541-

page-long Oxford Companion to Shakespeare Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells published in 2001, Rodó or his native Uruguay do not merit an entry. As we mentioned before, Virginia (the United States) and the Caribbean (Martinique) are part of the Shakespearian universe the English-speaking mainstream critics are more prone to see. Later post-colonial representations, as we have implied, have challenged the traditional view that contrasted Prospero's art of the civilized European world of civility and the 'natural' black magic of Sycorax. One such case was the just mentioned Aimé Césaire, a black writer and activist from Martinique, who revised the world of Shakespeare's play in his 1969 French play Une Tempête. More than ever, the island is Caliban's and, therefore, Prospero's position is politically and culturally untenable.

However, in England certain mainstream critics believe that too much has been said about The Tempest as a colonial text and it is time to look at it again as a Jacobean town comedy and to see how what has been written about the genre can inform us about the play. That is exactly what Peter Holland posited in a 1996 lecture at the Shakespeare Institute, although he remained puzzled at the log-carrying. I suggest that we return to Shakespeare's text and see that other post-colonial readings are still possible. Narratives about the European colonial experience in Brazil contributed to Shakespeare's reading and to his creation of Prospero's island and to identify to what extent and why this happened is one of the objectives of my textual analysis in Chapter 3.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>I first came across this narrative in Hakluyt as a ‘transported and rapt’ student in the Shakespeare Institute Library. The story is also briefly referred to by Alden T. Vaughan, who adds a short quotation from the text in his ‘Trinculo’s Indian: American Natives in Shakespeare’s England’, which is Chapter 5 of Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman’s The Tempest and its Travels (2000).

<sup>2</sup>The date 1531 is confirmed by Edward Arber in the preface to his The First Three English Books on America (1885), when he reproduces this same text from Hakluyt.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Weir 2001: ‘On 10 September, when she was only three days old, the King’s daughter was given a splendid christening in the Church of the Observant Friars at Greenwich . . . . Archbishop Cranmer stood godfather at the christening . . . and the baby was baptised Elizabeth by John Stokesley, Bishop of London’.

<sup>4</sup>The play was originally performed by the King’s Men at the Globe under the title All Is True, as the entry ‘All Is True (Henry VIII)’ in Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells’s The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare (2001) makes clear:

Three out of five surviving accounts of the [29 June 1613] fire [which destroyed the Globe] refer to the play by what was clearly its original title, All Is True (a ballad on the subject even has the allusive refrain ‘All this is true’), while the other two cite only its subject matter, calling it, ‘the play of Henry 8’. A decade later the compilers of the First Folio adopted the latter procedure (as they did with the other English histories), publishing the play’s only authoritative text as The Famous History of the Life of King Henry the Eight (abbreviated to The Life of King Henry the Eight for the running title: the Oxford edition, 1986, was the first to restore the title by which Shakespeare knew the play) (6).

As for the collaboration between Shakespeare and Fletcher, the same entry informs that

Based on a variety of linguistic and stylistic criteria (particularly the frequency and nature of rare vocabulary, usage of colloquialisms in verse passages, and the use of certain grammatical constructions), the Prologue, 1.3–4. 3.1, 5.2–4, and the Epilogue are most commonly attributed to Fletcher, who may also have revised Shakespeare’s 2.1–2, much of 3.2, and all of 4.1–2. (6)

<sup>5</sup>I will have more to say about the expression ‘under the line’ in Chapter 3, as it also occurs in The Tempest.

<sup>6</sup>As it would be expected of someone who lived in Stratford-upon-Avon, but especially of anyone who is minimally informed about the subject, I truly, totally and absolutely believe that William Shakespeare wrote the works of William Shakespeare. As for the so called ‘authorship controversy,’ I quote Professor Wells in his book Shakespeare: A Dramatic Life:

Anyone who speaks to non-specialist audiences about Shakespeare is likely to be asked whether he or she believes that Shakespeare really wrote Shakespeare .... Many attempts have been made to demonstrate that the works ascribed to William Shakespeare of Stratford-upon-Avon were in fact written by someone else — Francis Bacon, or Christopher Marlowe, or the Earl of Oxford, or Queen Elizabeth I, or even Daniel Defoe. As will become apparent, I do believe that the author was William Shakespeare of Stratford-upon-Avon; and I think that attempts to disprove this are either the result of snobbery — reluctance to believe that works of genius can be produced by a person of relatively humble birth or by anyone who did not enjoy a university education — or of the desire for self-publicity, or of both (3).

I believe that Stratfordians (those who, like me, believe that Shakespeare is the author) and anyone who suspects that there could be a conspiracy at work here must read the very illuminating Part VI, ‘Deviations’ (pages 385-451), of Schoenbaum’s Shakespeare’s Lives. As for non-Stratfordians, I believe people are entitled to their religious beliefs however obscurantist they may be provided they do not cause harm to others.

<sup>7</sup>Ribeiro, João Ubaldo, ‘A imagem do Brasil no exterior,’ O Globo [Rio de Janeiro] 23 abr. 1995 qtd. in Amancio 116. (My translation. Unless otherwise stated, all translations into English of original Portuguese passages which are quoted in this dissertation are mine.) The original Portuguese reads:

‘de modo geral, ninguém pensa no Brasil ou se preocupa com o Brasil ou mesmo sabe alguma coisa sobre o Brasil. Abordado na rua para falar qualquer coisa sobre o Brasil, um americano comum teria dificuldade em dizer quatro ou cinco palavras. Coffee, carnival, Pelay, South America, Buenos Aires, se tanto. Os mais velhos, Carmen Miranda, the Brazilian Bombshell. Já nem lembram, por exemplo, que a Copa do Mundo foi lá e muito menos que o campeão foi o Brasil’.

<sup>8</sup>João Ubaldo Ribeiro's Sergeant Getúlio (Sargento Getúlio) was published in the United States by Houghton Mifflin in 1978 and by Avon in 1984. It was published in the United Kingdom by André Deutsch in 1980 (paperback, 1994), and by Faber and Faber (paperback) in 1986. After a first publication by Faber and Faber under the title Long Live the People (1988), his An Invincible Memory (Viva o povo brasileiro) was published by Harper & Row (HarperCollins) in the United States in 1989 and by Faber and Faber in the United Kingdom in 1989 (paperback, 1991). Finally, his The Lizard's Smile (O sorriso do lagarto) was published in the United States by Atheneum in 1994 and by Scribner in 2001, and in the United Kingdom by André Deutsch in 1995.

<sup>9</sup>According to Arber in his 'A note on Jan van Doesborch', 'Clearly, the latest date that can be assigned to this tract is 1511' (xxvi).

<sup>10</sup>In Spanish, 'mientras que los españoles seguirán llamándolo las Indias, distinguiendo entre las Indias occidentales (Antillas y América) y las orientales (India e Indonesia)' ('whereas the Spaniards will continue calling it the Indies, distinguishing between the West Indies (Antilles and America) and the East Indies (India and Indonesia)') (My translation).

<sup>11</sup>I quote Raymond Carr on the Tordesillas Treaty:

While the exploration of the Atlantic coast of Africa had been mainly a Portuguese concern in the 15th century, the Castilians had not been entirely disinterested in such activities and had occupied the Canary Islands (off northwest Africa). In the Treaty of Alcáçovas (1479), when Afonso V of Portugal renounced his claims to the crown of Castile, he also recognized Castilian possession of the Canaries in return for Spanish recognition of Portuguese possession of the Azores (in the Atlantic Ocean west of Portugal), the Cape Verde Islands (off West Africa), and Madeira (north of the Canaries). The conquest of Granada allowed Castile, for the first time, to concentrate major resources and effort on overseas exploration. The support that Christopher Columbus received from Isabella was indicative of this new policy. In 1492 Columbus made his landfall in the West Indies, and over the next half century the Spaniards conquered huge empires in America and made their first settlements in East Asia. From the beginning there were disputes with the Portuguese, who were conquering their own colonial empire. The Catholic Monarchs obtained a series of papal bulls (1493) from the Spanish pope Alexander VI and as a result concluded the Treaty of Tordesillas with Portugal

(1494) to settle their respective claims. Everything west of an imaginary line 370 leagues (here, the league was just over three nautical miles) to the west of the Cape Verde Islands in the Atlantic was assigned to Spain; everything east went to Portugal. The rest of Europe saw no reason to accept the pope's decision, and the result was constant and brutal warfare in the overseas colonies, even when the European governments were officially at peace. ('Spain.' Encyclopaedia Britannica Online)

<sup>12</sup>The original passage reads,

Nunc vero et hae partes [Europa, Africa, Asia] sunt latius lustratae | et alia quarta pars per Americum Vesputium (ut in sequentibus audietur) inventa est | quam non video cur quis jure vetet, ab Americo inventore, sagacis ingenii viro Amerigen quasi Americi terram | sive Americam dicendam: cum et Europa et Asia a mulleribus sua sortita sint nomina.

<sup>13</sup>Only one copy is known to have survived of the map as originally printed by Waldseemüller, and it was bought by the Library of Congress in 2001.

<sup>14</sup>The first person to tell me about Charley's Aunt was Mary Allen in 1992.

<sup>15</sup>The IMDB lists twenty-three films under Brandon Thomas' name ('Brandon Thomas (I),' The Internet Movie Data Base, <<http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0858557/>>), but elsewhere in the IMDB site it includes a 1963 Austrian film that is clearly also based on Charley's Aunt (<<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0056924/>>).

<sup>16</sup>Like his father Dom Pedro I before him, Dom Pedro II was known as Dom Pedro de Alcântara, but his full first name was Dom Pedro de Alcântara João Carlos Leopoldo Salvador Bibiano Francisco Xavier de Paula Leocádio Miguel Gabriel Raphael Gonzaga.

<sup>17</sup>By 'their poor daughter' Queen Victoria means the Princess Leopoldina Teresa Francisca Carolina Micaela Gabriela Rafaela Gonzaga de Bragança e Bourbon, Princess of Brazil, who had died of typhus in Vienna, Austria, aged a mere 23 on February 7 of that same year. Princess Leopoldina had been married to a German cousin of Queen Victoria's and was survived by her husband and four children. We also learn in *The Times* of June 30 that both the Emperor and the Empress of Brazil 'were attired in deep mourning' when they arrived at Dover from Calais on June 29.

<sup>18</sup>As recently as 1982, this sentence, tough in a slightly different but equally racist version ('Either the brute is a king, or else he is an ordinary black nigger; and if he is not a

king, why is he here at all?'), was quoted in Brown and Cunliffe's Book of Royal Lists and listed as the second item under topic 101 'Thirteen democratic gestures of Royalty' (94).

<sup>19</sup>In his Shakespeare's Lives, Schoenbaum describes Mrs. James' grandmother thus:

In the early nineteenth century, Mary Hornby, custodian of the Birthplace, imposed upon the credulous with her bogus treasures. With her 'frosty red face, lighted up by a cold blue anxious eye, and garnished with artificial locks of flaxen hair, curling from under an exceedingly dirty cap' (so Washington Irving described her), this garrulous harridan showed off the shattered stock of the dramatist's matchlock, his tobacco box, the sword with which he played Hamlet, a 'curious piece of carving' representing David slaying Goliath, and — among other curiosities — 'a Gold embroidered box' presented to Shakespeare by the King of Spain in return for a goblet of great value. The presence of these relics must be regarded as miraculous, for when Samuel Vince visited Stratford in the summer of 1787, the only Shakespearian item remaining there was the poet's chair, 'fixed in one of the Chimnies'; so Vince tells us in the manuscript itinerary of his tour preserved in the Folger Shakespeare Library (47).

<sup>20</sup>Lyra informs his reader that according to the New York Herald correspondent Dom Pedro's plan on the way to New York was to see Julius Caesar:

Having learned that Shakespeare's drama Julius Caesar was being performed in New York, [Dom Pedro] signalled his intention of seeing it, to which purpose he dedicated some hours on board to reading Shakespeare's masterpiece, says [New York Herald correspondent, the journalist James] O'Kelly, having as his master one of the American ladies, His Majesty translating, into French, some passages that seem to him obscure, so as to know for sure the correct meaning.

In the original Portuguese:

Tendo sabido que se representava em Nova York o drama Júlio Cesar, de Shakespeare, mostrou, desejo de ir assisti-lo, para o que gastou algumas horas de bordo lendo a obra prima de Shakespeare, diz o jornalista O'Kelly, tendo como mestra uma das senhoras americanas, traduzindo Sua Majestade, em francês, algumas passagens que lhe pareceram obscuras, a fim de saber ao certo o exato significado (225).

<sup>21</sup>In a note to this passage in Chapter 9, Barman informs that ‘To be precise, King Kalakaua of Hawaii had visited the U.S. in 1874-1875, but for Americans he did not count.’ He still does not count in other more recent references to Dom Pedro’s visit, where Dom Pedro is usually referred to as the first foreign monarch to visit the United States.

<sup>22</sup>A search in the site of John Woolley and Gerhard Peters’ American Presidency Project ([americanpresidency.org](http://americanpresidency.org)) of the University of California, Santa Barbara reveals Dom Pedro II was mentioned in eight official addresses by American Presidents who were welcoming Brazilian leaders to Washington or paying a visit to Brazil in the period 1936-1997, as follows:

1. November 27th, 1936 - Franklin D. Roosevelt - 226 – ‘Address before a Joint Session of the National Congress and the Supreme Court of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro.’
2. September 5th, 1947 - Harry S. Truman - 189 – ‘Address in Rio de Janeiro Before a Joint Session of the Congress of Brazil.’
3. May 18th, 1949 - Harry S. Truman - 102 – ‘Remarks of Welcome to the President of Brazil at the Washington National Airport.’
4. March 30th, 1978 - Jimmy Carter – ‘Brasilia, Brazil Remarks Before the Brazilian Congress.’
5. September 10th, 1986 - Ronald Reagan - ‘Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for President Jose Sarney Costa of Brazil’
6. June 18th, 1991 - George Bush – ‘Toasts at the State Dinner for President Fernando Collor de Mello of Brazil’
7. June 27th, 1991 - George Bush – ‘Remarks Commemorating the First Anniversary of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative and an Exchange With Reporters’
8. October 15th, 1997 - William J. Clinton - ‘Remarks to Business Leaders in Sao Paulo, Brazil’

The only exception is President George Bush, who obviously could recall Dom Pedro and mention him again in another ceremony in 1991 because this other ceremony took place just nine days after he had hosted a Brazilian president in the White House.

<sup>23</sup>This is a letter Bell writes to his parents, Alexander Melville Bell and Eliza Symonds Bell, on June 27, 1876:

Dear Papa and Mamma:

Just returned from Philadelphia where I have met with a glorious success....There were about 50 persons present and I took my stand among the crowd. The Emperor and Sir William sat in the centre. Presently Dom Pedro in glancing round caught sight of me and recognized me as having been introduced to him in Boston. When Gray's exhibit was over Dom Pedro came up to me and shook hands — Thanked me for the works descriptive V. S. — and asked ‘What news I brought of the Deaf and Dumb of Mass.’ Sir William and Dom Pedro then came to see my apparatus — and I explained that while Mr. Gray accomplished the transmission of musical notes by very expensive apparatus — I accomplished the same thing by means of instruments costing two cents per note. . . . I showed my apparatus for working with a Morse Sounder. I had two instruments arranged upon circuit upon the table — and two keys, one for the Emperor — and the other for Sir William. They transmitted signals — successfully singly and together. I then explained . . . I stated however that this was ‘an invention in embryo.’ I trusted they would recognize firstly that the pitch of the voice was audible and secondly that there was an effect of articulation. I then went into a distant room and sang into the telephone. Willie Hubbard told me what happened. Sir William listened and heard my voice distinctly. I then articulated the sentence ‘Do you understand what I say’. Sir William started up exclaiming ‘Do you understand what I say.’ He listened and said ‘Yes — do you — understand — what I say.’ He then exclaimed quite excitedly ‘Where is Mr. Bell — I must see Mr. Bell. Willie pioneered the way — but Sir William ran along before him and came suddenly upon me shouting ‘Do you understand what I say’ — He said ‘I heard the words “what I say” — He then requested me to sing and then recite something. Willie told me afterwards that he listened to my voice and then started up with the exclamation ‘To be or not to be’. The Emperor then listened and exclaimed in surprise in his broken English ‘I have heard — I have heard’ — and then listened again. Some others present, also listened and one exclaimed ‘Yes, I heard — Ay! There’s the rub.’ Indeed it was a great and glorious success. Sir William Thomson stated his desire to bring Lady Thomson to see my instruments.

<sup>24</sup>Warren, Robert, 'Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Residing in the United States by Country of Origin and State of Residence, October 1992,' Washington DC: INS Statistical Division, April 29 1995 qtd. in Margolis 9.

<sup>25</sup>In current Brazilian Portuguese usage, a 'gringo' is usually any foreigner; not necessarily an American.

<sup>26</sup>About the sometimes forgotten role of Brazil in World War II, I quote from I. C. B. Dear's The Oxford Companion to the Second World War. This is the entry 'Brazil':

Brazil was an important source of raw materials for the Allied war effort, as well as being a vital link in the Takoradi air route to the Middle East from Florida. The sinking of its shipping drove Brazil, on 22 August 1942, to declare war on Germany and Italy — the first South American state to do so. It signed the United Nations Declaration the following February and declared war on Japan on 5 June 1945. The 25,000-strong Brazilian Expeditionary Force saw action in the Italian campaign with General Clark's Fifth US Army: Air Force personnel fought with 350<sup>th</sup> Squadron USA AF; and Brazilian warships cooperated with the US Navy in patrolling the Brazilian coastline (157).

And this is the entry 'Latin America at War':

The Panama Canal, and Brazil's north-east (the 'hump' of land closest to Africa)...were the key elements in the defence of the Western Hemisphere by the USA... Afterwards they became, Brazil especially, important transit points for men and equipment to other combat theatres (see TAKORADI AIR ROUTE, for example). For Latin Americans losses of life and property were small, though by 1944 many were actively engaged in combat theatres. The Brazilian Expeditionary Forces served ten months in the Italian campaign, which included heavy fighting....Thanks to US arms, Brazil achieved military superiority over its rival Argentina and sent a fighting force abroad. Such was Brazil's prestige that Roosevelt sought a permanent seat for it on the new United Nations Security Council, a move the USSR and UK blocked, to Canada's and France's relief, in 1945 at the inaugural San Francisco conference. (Brazil did receive the first non-permanent seat.) Meanwhile, labour was embraced by the strong state apparatus; the foreign debt was written off; and Brazil's emergence as an economic power in a special relationship with the USA had begun (670-671).

<sup>27</sup>The word Thevet uses for the pineapple, Nana, is the Old Tupi word for the fruit, and it is the word from which ananás, one of the two common Brazilian Portuguese terms for the pineapple, originates (a + nana). The word also became the regular French term for the fruit (ananas). As for the word used by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and mentioned by Thevet a little later in his text, hiboucouhu, Ubiratan Paiva de Oliveira called my attention to the fact that the sound a French person would produce pronouncing the word Thevet spelled sounds really close to the Portuguese pronunciation of abacaxi, the other Brazilian Portuguese word for the pineapple, which also comes from a native expression (Old Tupi yuá, ‘fruit’ + katí, ‘fragrant’, ‘smelling strong’).

<sup>28</sup>Eliot, T.S., ‘The Frontiers of Criticism,’ On Poetry and Poets (London: Faber and Faber, 1957) 112 qtd. in Deppman, Ferrer, and Groden 4.

<sup>29</sup>Wellek, René, and Austin Warren, Theory of Literature, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Harcourt, 1962) 91 qtd. in Deppman, Ferrer, and Groden 4.

<sup>30</sup>Hay, Louis, ‘Does Text Exist?,’ Trans. Matthew Jocelyn and Hans Walter Gabler, Studies in Bibliography 41 (1988): 64-76, Trans. of ‘Le Texte n’existe pas: Réflexions sur la critique génétique,’ Poétique 62 (1985): 147-58, p. 75 qtd. in Deppman, Ferrer, and Groden 5.

<sup>31</sup>Bellemin-Noël, Jean, Le Texte et l’avant-texte: Les Brouillons d’un poème de Milosz, (Paris: Larrouse, 1972) 12 qtd. in Deppman, Ferrer, and Groden 8.

<sup>32</sup>Rabaté, Jean-Michel, James Joyce and the Politics of Egoism, (Cambridge: CUP, 2001) 196 qtd. in Deppman, Ferrer, and Groden 12. 23.

<sup>33</sup>Saint Thomas More is usually known by his earlier and secular title ‘Sir Thomas More’, and it is obviously under that title that he was known to Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Curiously, although he fulfils every condition for martyrdom and has been duly beatified and canonized by the Roman Catholic Church (the latter on 19 May 1935), Saint Thomas More is usually denied the title of saint in general references in a way that is not typical of other Catholic saints. I understand that Saint Thomas More had a long established reputation as a statesman and a scholar before he was canonized. However, his reputation as a religious or political martyr is almost as old, and I refer to him as ‘Saint Thomas More’ as I would refer to any other historic figure who had had his name added to the Roman Catholic Catalogue of Saints, however recently. In doing so, I follow the example of the editors of the most scholarly edition of his complete works, which have decided to call it The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More.

### CHAPTER 3: Plus Ultra, or This Island Is Full of Composites

In this chapter, I present my analysis and interpretation of The Tempest. In doing so, I will invite my reader to look anew at the surviving text of William Shakespeare's comedy as a palimpsest. By a palimpsest, I mean the word in its original meaning, such as the definition found in L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson's Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature (1991), in which palimpsests are described as being 'manuscripts in which the original texts have been washed off to make way for works which at the time were in greater demand' (85). As Reynolds and Wilson explain, many texts that had escaped destruction in the crumbling empire of the West perished within the walls of the monastery' (85). However, 'a new series of discoveries, less glamorous but by no means unrewarding, began with the realization that some classical texts still lay hidden in the lower script of palimpsests' (192). Reynolds and Wilson also inform that both the first palimpsest text to be discovered and made widely known (in 1692) and the first classical text to be found in a palimpsest which would have otherwise been totally lost to later ages (1715-16) had been written in Greek and were discovered in the Royal Library in Paris (192). But I particularly mean the figurative meaning given by the The New Oxford Dictionary of English (1998), 'something reused or altered but still bearing visible traces of its earlier form', as well as the second, formal meaning registered in the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2000), 'something that has many different layers of meaning or detail'.

Therefore, my analysis of the text of the play becomes an analysis of traces of the genesis of Shakespeare's plot for The Tempest. This analysis includes relevant textual passages, plot developments, and puzzling details found in the only authoritative version of the text of the play, that which opens the 1623 First Folio of Shakespeare's works, as no other early version of the text, which apparently was never published in Quarto, survives.

Possibly because it had been chosen to open the Folio edition, the Folio text of The Tempest was prepared for publication with unusual care. It is believed that the printer's copy from which it was set was a (now lost) literary transcript made by the scrivener Ralph Crane, who sometimes worked for the King's Men. Many of Crane's idiosyncratic habits of spelling and punctuation have been identified and are thought to have survived in the Folio text. These features are different, for instance, from Shakespeare's own idiosyncratic forms, which are more commonly found in those texts which are believed to have been set fully or partially from Shakespeare's holographs. In 'New Created Creatures: Ralph Crane and the Stage Directions in The Tempest', an article published in Shakespeare Survey 36, John Jowett has presented textual evidence to argue for what he cautiously calls the 'unproven hypothesis' that a number of the stage directions in The Tempest are possibly by someone other than Shakespeare and probably by Ralph Crane. Jowett's main reason for his attribution is his conclusion that several of the stage directions in the play are written from the perspective of an audience member who is describing an effect rather than someone indicating what a player on stage is supposed to do. Crane is believed to have used Shakespeare's foul papers. Whether or not Crane elaborated on or in any other way altered the authorial manuscript, the Folio text of The Tempest, which is believed to have been set by compositors B, C, and D,<sup>1</sup> is the only surviving version and this is the text to which we have to return.

The analysis of traces of the genesis of Shakespeare's plot for The Tempest in the text itself could lead us to conclude that although certain features in the play might be attributable to mere coincidences, they could instead be identified as signs representative of one or more patterns that can tell us more about the genesis of the text as we now know it. In the light of the evidence which I have presented in Chapters 1 and 2 and continue to present in this chapter, the analysis that follows may constitute a case for identifying such underlying pattern (or patterns) as relating to Shakespeare's initial scenario (or to the play of his competing scenarios) for the plot of the play, and therefore as the result of Shakespeare's deliberate intentions when he started choosing certain sources over others for his composition of The Tempest. I do not mean to suggest that this time Shakespeare was carefully reading from one single main source or even just a few main sources to which he added eventual scattered details from a myriad of other sources, as critics have enough evidence to conclude he did about his readings for some of his other plays. In other words, I still believe that in the case of Shakespeare's reading and composition of The Tempest there was no equivalent to the role which the second edition of Raphael Holinshed's Chronicles, The First and Second Volumes

of Chronicles, Comprising: 1 The Description and Historie of England, 2 The Description and Historie of Ireland, 3 The Description and Historie of Scotland (1587) played in Shakespeare's composition of his plays set in Britain or the role which Sir Thomas North's translation of Jacques Amyot's French version of Plutarch's Vitæ Parallelæ, The Lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes, compared together by ... Plutarke of Chæronea: translated out of Greeke into French by J. Amyot, ... Bishop of Auxerre ..., and out of French into Englishe by T. North (1579) played in his composition of his Roman plays. Yet, when William Shakespeare started writing this as well as any other of his plays, he very likely started with one, two, or maybe no more than three main ideas or concepts from which his plot eventually developed. I fully understand that the points that I raise here run the risk of being dismissed as mere speculations, both unproven and improvable exactly because we have no possibility of constituting a dossier.

But I am faced with an imperative. When I read The Tempest, I am compelled to repeat what Polonius concludes of Hamlet, 'Though this be madness, yet there is method in't' (Ham. 2.2.207), and I simply cannot choose to ignore these patterns. By admitting the possibility that Villegaignon was one of the elements available to Shakespeare as he was writing The Tempest, I will call attention to a broader pattern which has sometimes been spotted or briefly alluded to by critics annotating isolated moments in the play, but which has remained for the last four hundred years only partially visible to readers and critics alike. In the analysis that follows, therefore, I will try to identify in ways that have not been tried by earlier critics some of these originating ideas. As a result, I hope to make it clear that, as I have anticipated in Chapters 1 and 2, Villegaignon is a plot element that, though present in one of Shakespeare's undisputed sources, remains invisible to Shakespeare's critics who write about the play.

The reason behind my choice is the fact that Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon (Fig. 42), who, as I have indicated before, is mentioned by Montaigne in the essay Shakespeare read, was, as I have also anticipated, once responsible for saving the life of King James's mother when she was a little girl. This surrogate father figure of the King's mother, who escaped with the little Queen the way Prospero escaped with his daughter Miranda, also fought in the North of Italy in and around Prospero, Miranda and Antonio's Milan and in the North of Africa in a naval expedition against Sycorax's Algiers which, according to his own testimony in A lamentable and piteous treatise (Uyllagon 1542), departed both from Alonso, Ferdinand and Gonzalo's Naples and from Prospero, Miranda and

Antonio's Duchy of Milan. From being shipwrecked and fighting in Algiers, Villegaignon and what was left of the fleet stayed for a short period in the safety of Claribel's Tunis, and then they returned to Italy. This same Villegaignon later decided to become a New World explorer, living among Montaigne's cannibals in the Southeast of Brazil for a few years (admittedly fewer than Prospero) on a small uninhabited island with scarce resources where he, not unlike Prospero, was chief commander and there were attempts against his life.

The French under Villegaignon lived on a small island at the mouth of Guanabara Bay, in modern day Rio de Janeiro, and gave their tiny colony the grandiose title of la France Antarctique. The French first landed at an island they called Ratier (today Ilha da Laje), not much more than a rock at the mouth of the bay. Unable to establish a permanent settlement there, they moved to a nearby island about a league away, where they built a fort they gave the name Fort Coligny. The island where they built Fort Coligny was a small island that today Brazilians call Ilha de Villegaignon. The French themselves named the Island Coligny, in honour of Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, a Huguenot admiral who may have supported the expedition in order to protect his co-religionists. For the Portuguese it already was Monte das Palmeiras ('Palm Hill'), Ilha das Palmeiras or das Palmas ('Palm Island'), whereas for the Tamoios, the Tupinambás who lived nearby, it was called Serigipe (siri 'y-pe, 'in the river of the crabs', 'towards the river of the crabs', or 'crab stinger' in Old Tupi), and for other Tupi speakers, Itamoguaia ('hewn rock'). To the mainland village the French settlers may have founded in what is today Praia do Flamengo, Villegaignon apparently gave the name of Henriville, in honour of King Henri II of France.

Villegaignon returned to Europe in the late 1550's. His biographers Mariz and Provençal describe the French commander as 'one of the most representative personalities in the history of France in the 16th century' and they add that 'his name is forgotten in his country, and that's very unfair' (Mariz and Provençal 22).<sup>2</sup> They also refer to Villegaignon's activities before and after his adventure in Antarctic France, practically unknown facts in Brazil, and which can be of great interest. It became clear that Villegaignon was not merely a courageous, cruel and ignorant adventurer who commanded the French expedition in Guanabara, but instead an important personality, not only in France, but also in Europe, who enjoyed the personal prestige of four French kings and even The Emperor Charles V (Mariz and Provençal 24-25).<sup>3</sup>

Mariz and Provençal attest to Villegaignon's suffering from invisibility at home in France and abroad; a phenomenon that I suggest is the result of his contamination with Brazilian invisibility abroad. My Appendix D presents a chronology with what I consider to be the main facts in Villegaignon's biography, whereas my Appendix E presents an annotated list of texts, biographical and otherwise, by and on Villegaignon to versions of which Shakespeare might have had access in the process of creating the plot of The Tempest. As these two Appendixes well illustrate, Villegaignon became very famous in sixteenth-century Europe because of his many military exploits, and particularly because of the 1541 campaign in Algiers, the 1548 rescue of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the 1555 transfer to Brazil.

Of Antarctic France, E. J. Payne, in Chapter II of the first volume of Stanley Leathes, G. W. Prothero, and A. W. Ward's The Cambridge Modern History (1902), informs his readers that Villegaignon's colony was hailed in Europe as

a new era in history. It was the actual beginning of the movement which brought to the New World, as a place where they might worship God in their own way, the Puritans of New England, the Quakers of Pennsylvania and the Catholics of Maryland. Scholars called it the Expedition of the Indonauts; and a French pedant, after the fashion of the time, celebrated its departure in an indifferent Greek epigram. God looked down, he said, from heaven, and saw that the corrupt Christians of Europe had utterly forgotten both Himself and His Son. He therefore resolved to transfer the Christian Mysteries to a New World, and to destroy the sinful Old World to which they had been entrusted in vain.<sup>4</sup>

However, there were serious problems in the expedition of the Indonauts, and after his stay in Antarctic France, Villegaignon would find himself at the centre of Catholic versus Calvinist polemic in Europe (Fig.45). The problems included the fact that following serious confessional and theological disputes with Villegaignon and the Catholics, the Calvinists ended up being expelled by Villegaignon and moving to live among the Indians. Three of them ended up being executed by Villegaignon upon returning to the colony (Cf., among others, Shannon in Wolfe 335-337), while others had to return to Europe in the next available ship. When he returned to Europe himself, Villegaignon learned that he was being viciously attacked in many publications and he had to publish many answers to these attacks. Certain Calvinist pamphlets described Villegaignon as 'a new Polyphemus', who betrayed his guests the way the classical Cyclops had done to Ulysses and his companions (the natives' cannibalism and the classical monster's flesh-eating being compared to Villegaignon's

Catholic beliefs in the real presence). For others Calvinist authors, Villegaignon was the 'Cain of America', as he had become the first person ever to order the execution of Protestants in the New World.

In 'Beyond the Equinoctial', Chapter 7 of his book Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630 (1991), Kenneth Andrews informs his reader that Villegaignon's experience produced both geopolitical and economic repercussions in England: 'The adventure caused a considerable stir in Europe, reported as it was most popularly by André Thevet. His book, Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique, came out in 1557 and appeared in English in 1568, soon becoming the chief printed source of information in England about Brazil' (137). And Andrews continues,

Thevet's observations concerning the attractions of São Vicente and the parts beyond became accessible to the literate Englishman exactly when they were most likely to be noticed. The rift in the Anglo-Spanish alliance became an open one in 1568 and England entered into closer relations with France, especially Huguenot France. In the next few years Huguenot and English sailors and soldiers frequently fought side by side against the hated papist, whether French or Spanish . . . When Coligny was assassinated in 1572 (the signal for the massacre of St Bartholomew's Eve) it was that same militant, expansionist element in England, personified by Richard Grenville, Humphrey Gilbert, Walter Raleigh, the Hawkinses and Drake, which fell heir to his Atlantic policy and American ambitions (138).

I intend to suggest that Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon is one of the invisible pieces in the puzzle which should form a mosaic that shows the unmistakable figure of The Emperor Charles V. It is my conclusion that the text of The Tempest is consistently in dialogue with biographical facts, imagery, symbolism and the geography which relate to the life of The Emperor Charles V, and the full recognition of Villegaignon may contribute to make this pattern clearer. Therefore, as I pursue my analysis of The Tempest, I will call my reader's attention to these details so that one pattern can illuminate the other. I will also discuss possible reasons why a play that has so many details that relate to The Emperor Charles V never explicitly refers to such an important historical figure.

The Emperor Charles V, 'El Dorado' (Spanish: 'the golden one'), Holy Roman Emperor, King of Spain (Fig. 102) was born on 24 February 1500 and died on 21 September 1558. Charles V was a Habsburg, and a series of mottoes adopted by different Habsburg Holy

Roman Emperors and their descendants likewise illustrate the themes of love and redemption and of marriage as the way to political and economic power as presented in the resolution of Miranda and Ferdinand's love story in The Tempest. First, there was the abbreviation A.E.I.O.U., which was a device adopted by the Habsburg emperors starting with the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III. Although some authors argue that its original meaning might have been another one now lost to us, it became famous as the abbreviation of a motto attributed to Frederick: Austria Est Imperari Orbi Universo, meaning 'It is Austria's fate to rule over the whole world'. As an Austrian Habsburg Duke, Frederick became Frederick V in 1424, Frederick IV as the German King, and finally Frederick III after his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor. Frederick married in 1452, at age 37, the 18-year-old Princess Eleonor of Portugal, whose dowry was fundamental in alleviating her husband's debts and consolidating his power.

The importance of convenient political alliances through marriage especially with landed spouses was immortalised in another famous motto which also referred to the Habsburgs: Bella gerant alii, tu, felix Austria, nube. ('Let the others make war, you, happy Austria, marry'). This couplet was sometimes complemented by an extra couplet which made the reference even more explicit: Nam quae Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus (because Venus gives you the kingdoms that Mars grants the others'). Attributed to the Habsburg rival Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (\*1443 – †1490, ruled 1458 – 1490.), who may well have first uttered the thought, these verses originally referred to the Habsburg marriages of 1477 and 1496. In 1477, Maximilian of Austria, the future Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, married Mary, Heiress of Burgundy. Twelve years later, it was their son Philip I, the Handsome, Duke of Burgundy, who married Joanna, Heiress of Spain. Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy were The Emperor Charles V's paternal grandparents; whereas Philip the Handsome of Burgundy and Joanna of Spain (later known in history as 'Joanna, the Mad' or, in Spanish, 'Juana, la Loca'), were his father and mother. In the case of The Emperor Charles V, Venus gave his ancestors the kingdoms that made it possible for him to become the most powerful ruler ever in Christendom at the age of 20, and to develop over the years a 'monarquía' (empire) in the Old and New World that allowed him to become the first monarch proudly to say that 'En mis dominios nunca se oculta el sol' ('In my dominions the sun never sets').

My Figure 103 is a painting by Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola, ‘Il Parmigiano’ or ‘Il Parmigianino’, which was painted ca. 1530, and is called The Emperor Charles V Receiving the World. As the Kunsthistorisches Museum site explains,

The Emperor faces us in full armour as Commander-in-Chief of the army. Fama, the personification of fame, offers him the laurels of victory. At his feet, young Hercules approaches him, carrying a globe. In this context, Fama represents the military success of the virtuous knight while the presentation of the globe may be interpreted as an expression of territorial claims.

On the way to fulfilling the ambitious claim expressed in his great grandfather the Roman Emperor Frederick III’s A.E.I.O.U., the future Charles V already liked to think of himself as a Christian Hercules, since Hercules was seen as a hero who chose the path of virtue and hardship, as Yona Pinson discusses in her interesting article ‘Imperial Ideology in the Triumphal Entry into Lille of Charles V and the Crown Prince (1549)’, published in 2001.

This is what Wheatcroft informs about the Emperor’s personal badge in his 1995 book The Habsburgs: Embodying Empire:

The announcement of the adoption of the Pillars of Hercules as Charles’ personal badge occurred in 1516, at the time when he was elected as sovereign Grand Master of the Order of the Golden Fleece: ‘At that ceremony, the young Charles was asked to declare his personal badge and emblem. He handed the chancellor of the Order an unusual device: two classical columns emerging from the sea with the phrase ‘Plus Ultra’ (still further) (112).

About the classical tradition, Duane W. Roller explains in her 2006 book Through the Pillars of Herakles: Greco-Roman Exploration of the Atlantic that

At the westernmost extremity of the Great Sea [the Mediterranean] were two prominent mountains, which at an early date came to be called the Stelai, or Pillars, of Herakles, so named because it was believed that this was the farthest point that the hero had reached. . . . Sailors passing through the straits would find the water turning from blue to a less benign green, and increased swell and tidal phenomena. Eventually they would be outside the Internal Sea and in a different world, where one could not only be out of sight of land, but be so forever, eternally lost in the great Ocean that encircled the world, on which sea travel was not advisable. The Ocean could not be crossed, for the gods would not allow it (1-2).

Roller also mentions how the Pillars of Hercules had long been associated with the Islands of the Blessed, the Greek paradisiacal destination for men and women who had led noble lives,

which steadily moved west just ahead of seamen's knowledge. They are first mentioned in Greek literature by Hesiod, already outside the Pillars of Herakles. Although mythical, they were a strong force in Greco-Roman conceptions of and interest in the Atlantic, and they influenced patterns of exploration well into Roman times (Roller 3).

As Plus Ultra ('More Beyond' or 'Even Further') became The Emperor Charles V's personal motto, it was also used in French (Plus Oultre) and in German (Noch weiter). Emblematic as it was of Spain's vast New World Conquests, the motto is said to be derived from the ancient Latin expression Nec Plus Ultra or Non Plus Ultra ('No more beyond'), which Hercules had, according to a late legend, engraved on the two Pillars he raised in Calpe (nowadays Gibraltar) and Abyla (Ceuta) to mark the end of the world, and to indicate that no one should dare to go beyond that point. As Pinson among others explain, Charles's badge and the motto Plus ultra, commemorate 'the Emperor's aims of conquering and extending the Holy Empire's borders with the aid of Faith for the sake of the Holy Church' (224). The Emperor's coat-of-arms (Fig. 117) shows his adopted badge: the Pillars of Hercules wrapped in banners that bear the Latin version of his motto, Plus Ultra. After his election as King of the Romans and coronation as Holy Roman Emperor, over the pillars we see an Imperial Crown of the Holy Roman Empire on the left and a Royal Crown of Spain on the right. (Figs. 118 and 119).

This is Wheatcroft on the imperial device:

Many explanations have been given of the meaning for both the image and the slogan, which appeared in a number of different forms. In some the Habsburg eagle enfolds the columns with his wings, while the imperial crown surmounts them. In another the two columns actually intertwine like the caduceus, the wand of two serpents carried by the God Mercury. In a third Charles carries the two columns on his shoulders, with an inscription that likens him to Hercules. . . . Implicit in all these images was the claim that Charles embodied the classical world, but then went beyond it; he was a ruler of the old world, but equally and uniquely of a new world beyond the oceans. All the images alluded to the newly discovered world beyond the seas, of which as King of Spain he was

suzerain; they suggested that Charles had broken the boundaries of the medieval injunction ne plus ultra (no further), by passing the Pillars of Hercules. He scattered these images on coins, medals, on buildings and in written texts and documents, with an enthusiasm and profligacy that echoed his great-grandfather's use of the cryptic AEIOU monogram. But above all Plus Ultra proclaimed that nothing was beyond the capacity of the Grand Master of the Golden Fleece, who was shortly to become the new Universal Emperor (Wheatcroft 112).

Shakespeare was aware of this symbol and of the device, and he makes allusion to it in the last act of The Tempest, in Gonzalo's celebration of the happy resolutions in the play: 'And set it down | With gold on lasting pillars' (5.1.208). Accordingly, my Figure 118 shows the Habsburger Pfau ('Habsburg Peacock') in an Augsburg painting from the 1550's, about the time Villegaignon is in America. Surrounded by the gold chain of Burgundy's and Spain's Order of the Golden Fleece, and flanked by the blue shield with the five golden eagles of Lower Austria (Austria Ancient) and the shield with the white bar on red of Austria (Austria Modern), the Habsburg Peacock stands between the Pillars of Hercules, by then already a universal symbol of The Emperor Charles V's imperial might, and proudly displays the arms that represent the multiple dominions of the Habsburg dynasty. Very appropriately, the bird that was sacred both to Hera, 'the stern protectress of honourable marriages' (Nettleship and Sandys 278), and to her Roman counterpart Juno had long been the symbol of a dynasty both ancient and proud that had famously and for a long time realised the importance of convenient political alliances through marriage. The assumed Christian humility suggested by the motto, taken from Psalm 113.1 Non nobis Domine non nobis sed nomini tuo da gloriam ('Not unto us, o Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give Glory'), in no way reduces but actually adds to the visual impact and the full symbolism of the image. Depicted as a battle cry, and therefore appearing above the full achievement (Neubecker 203), the verse from the Psalms unmistakably alludes to the stern Roman Catholic Habsburgs' divine mission as champions of the Christian faith against all its enemies, be they infidels, pagans, or heretics. Many of these symbols and images inhabit the world of The Tempest, as I will have the opportunity to show.

As sovereign Grand Master of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Charles was inevitably associated with Jason. As Pinson explains in her article, in 'most of the Emperor's Triumphal Processions, there appears the image of Jason, in order to refer to the "Golden Fleece" (for example, London 1522; Florence 1531; Brussels and Antwerp 1549)' (228 note 46). Since

Hercules was one of the Argonauts, the mighty Greek hero was also associated with Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece. Yet Hercules did not keep with the Argonauts until the end. In the so-called Hylas episode of the Argonauts legend, we learn that when the Argonauts arrived on the coast of Mysia in Asia Minor, they were greeted by the locals with gifts, and while a banquet and feast were being prepared, Hercules went into the wood to look for a large tree from which to make a new oar because he had broken his with his powerful rowing at sea. Hercules's handsome favourite Hylas had also been sent into the wood to fetch water for the feast and (at jealous Juno's behest in some versions) was kidnapped by the Nymphs of a nearby spring never to be seen again. Another Argonaut, one by the name Polyphemus, had heard Hylas' cry at the moment he was taken by the Nymphs. Both he and Hercules spent the night looking for Hylas, and the Argos set sail before dawn the following morning without them. 'Fate had not decreed that the two heroes should take part in the capture of the Golden Fleece. Polyphemus founded the nearby town of Clios' and Hercules 'went on to carry out his exploits single-handed' (Grimal 56). If Shakespeare knew this episode in the story of the Argonauts, he could have associated this human Polyphemus with Villegaignon, another human who was compared to the flesh-eating Cyclops. We have textual evidence that Shakespeare probably had the Cyclops Polyphemus in his mind at least once while composing The Tempest in one of the many scenes in which Ariel is invisible in the play. In Act 3, scene 2, an invisible Ariel plays a tune on a tabor and pipe, and Stephano, the King of Naples's butler asks about the magic song he can hear. Trinculo, the King's jester, tells Stephano that 'This is the tune of our catch, played by the picture | of Nobody' (3.2.124-125). This reply seems to be a brief yet marked allusion to the Cyclops Polyphemus and the myth of Ulysses. Ulysses (or Odysseus) famously only manages to avoid the Cyclopes' persecution and escape the land of the Cyclopes (possibly in Sicily) because he tells Polyphemus that his name is 'Nobody'. Therefore, when Polyphemus shouts for help and tells his brothers that Nobody is killing him, the other Cyclopes mistake his meaning and do nothing about it (Cf. Grimal 319).

I present a table and details about The Emperor Charles V's multiple titles in my Appendix F. A look at specific maps of Europe will help to illustrate the point that the Old World geography of The Emperor Charles V's life has amazing points in common with the Old World geography of The Tempest: in both we find Milan, Naples, the Mediterranean, Tunis, Algiers. Not only different regions in his 'monarquía' ('empire'), the lands he inherited and amassed during his life (Fig. 104), but also some of the most important locations involved in the battles and other forms of opposition Charles V met in his political career

(Fig. 105), as well as some of the most important locations where he travelled (Fig. 106), are important locations in the Old World geography of The Tempest (Fig. 107). My Figure 107 is found in the first volume of Asimov's Guide to Shakespeare (1970). American writer Isaac Asimov, who was not a Shakespearian scholar, published in the early 1970's a two-volume guide annotating passages of Shakespeare's works to inform a general readership in which, as he himself puts it in his 'Introduction', he is 'chiefly interested. . . . in the historical, legendary, and mythological background of the events described in the various plays' (1: ix). Although Asimov includes The Tempest among his 'Italian plays', namely 'those set in a Renaissance Italian setting (or in nearby places such as France, Austria, or Illyria) which cannot be pinned down to any specific period of time' (1: ix), Asimov mentions Spain a few times, and The Emperor Charles V at least three times, in connexion with Alonso the King of Naples's taking over power from Prospero the Duke of Milan, Sycorax's origin in Algiers and The Emperor Charles V's famous expedition against that city, and in Claribel's wedding in Tunis and The Emperor Charles V's short conquest of the famous North African port (1: 653, 658 and 660). Yet, as his sources by Shakespeare critics do not mention Villegaignon, Asimov is not aware of Antarctic France's possible relevance to The Tempest, and he reproduces the standard view among Shakespeare critics in his conclusion that 'Prospero's magic island seems modelled on the reports of Bermuda' (1: 657).

We must remember that I am not merely looking for these elements (Villegaignon, Antarctic France, Charles V) in the text of The Tempest as it was published in 1623, but instead, for their possible presence in the genesis of the plot, in the author's original readings of sources to support the composition of the text as it took place some time before the first recorded performance of the play on 1 November 1611. Having his readings as a starting point, Shakespeare's imagination apparently develops a series of characters that have no unique historical equivalents but which nonetheless reverberate with features inherited from the available sources. Starting by his island of disputed location, which sometimes is somewhere in the Mediterranean and sometimes appears to be located elsewhere and probably in the New World, what Shakespeare and we the audience end up with instead is a series of composites that at times share features of more than one historical figure and sometimes mirror while at other times clearly contradict the facts that could have been available to Shakespeare in the historical sources to which he may have had access while composing his comedy.

Finally, as part of my discussion I will present possible reasons which may have led the author himself to contribute to make these elements less conspicuous or even invisible. I intend to make the case for The Tempest not as an allegory of the life of The Emperor Charles V, but make the claim instead that the time of composition of The Tempest is a moment in Shakespeare's career in which he seems to have a consistent interest, differently and never explicitly manifested in his dramatic production of the period, in Catholic Spain and/or Catholic Spain's rulers, the Habsburgs. I will therefore conclude and buttress this analysis by referring briefly to the other plays by Shakespeare which were written around the time of the composition of The Tempest and identifying ways in which they also mirror a similar concern with or interest in the Habsburgs in Spain or elsewhere in Europe.

### 3.1 – 'We split! we split! we split!', or The Stage Is Set

William Shakespeare's The Tempest famously opens with the sea storm from which the play derives its title. On a ship at sea,<sup>5</sup> a 'tempestuous noise of thunder and lightning' is heard, as a ship Master and the Boatswain come on to stage:

MASTER. Boatswain!

BOATSWAIN. Here, master. What cheer?

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

Enter MARINERS

BOATSWAIN. Hey, my hearts! Cheerly, cheerly, my hearts! Yare, yare! Take in the topsail. Tend to th' master's whistle. Blow till thou burst thy wind, if room enough!  
(1.1.1-8)

The scene is symptomatic of the play the audience is starting to hear at multiple levels. We in the audience are invited to witness the action on stage as if it were taking place on board a ship. But we have more than one level of representation. It is not only the ship and the storm that are manipulated creations of the playwright's imagination. We will soon learn that the storm itself is also being carefully staged by one of the characters, who is not even to be seen on stage. This later piece of information introduces another of the main themes of my discussion, namely invisibility. I would argue that as it happens in this scene, where only later we will learn that an invisible, unnamed Ariel is operating in the service of an absent and equally unnamed Prospero, in the play as a whole there are invisible, unidentified forces at

play, and, as I have mentioned, my task will be to identify and decode some of these invisible elements into genetic patterns.

What follows is possibly the most uncharacteristic bringing onto stage of a King by Shakespeare:

Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO, FERDINAND, GONZALO, and OTHERS

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

Play the men.

BOATSWAIN. I pray now, keep below.

ANTONIO. Where is the master, bos'n?

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

GONZALO. Nay, good, be patient.

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

GONZALO. Good, yet remember whom thou hast aboard.

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

Exit

GONZALO. I have great comfort from this fellow. Methinks he hath no drowning mark upon him — his complexion is perfect gallows. Stand fast, good Fate, to his hanging, make the rope of his destiny our cable, for our own doth little advantage. If he be not born to be hanged, our case is miserable. Exeunt (1.1.9-33)

Differently from what happens in practically every single play by Shakespeare where a king eventually first comes on to stage, here we have no previous reference, no anticipation, no name, no title, and — what is even more serious — no deference. I remember being told once about the actors' understanding that when you play a king in Shakespeare or in any other play, there is not much that you need to do to 'act majestic', because it is the other people on stage's attitude towards you that will make you 'the king'. Alonso is probably supposed to come on deck (on stage) in royal dress, but the audience can barely see it amid the confusion of the sea storm. As for the Boatswain, he is the character from whom we receive brief confirmation that Alonso is after all a king, but his own line makes it clear that at this particular moment this royal figure is in no position of power. Quite on the contrary, this king is as much a pawn of fortune or nature as anyone else on board: 'What cares these | roarers for the name of king? To cabin; silence! Trouble | us not.' (1.1.16-17)

We can find further evidence of the total unacceptability of the treatment this royal character is receiving here in the performance and reception history of The Tempest. In The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island, John Dryden and William Davenant's Restoration adaptation of Shakespeare's play,<sup>6</sup> Shakespeare's King Alonso of Naples becomes Alonzo Duke of Savoy. As for the Boatswain's line, it is now given to 'Trincalo the Bosen,' and to avoid its possibly antimonarchical or treasonable overtones (signalled in Shakespeare by Gonzalo himself, who tells the Boatswain's 'complexion is perfect gallows'), it now reads, 'I, when the Sea is: hence; what care these roarers for the name of Duke? To Cabin; silence; trouble us not.' (The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island 1.1.21-22).<sup>7</sup> At the time of Shakespeare, public plays were considered important propaganda tools, and scenes showing weak kings, kings not being given proper respect, or being deposed were already considered dangerous, and subject to censorship and other forms of State control (witness Shakespeare's own Richard II, both its publication history, and its use at the time of Essex's rebellion).<sup>8</sup> However, after the morning of 30 January 1649 had witnessed King Charles I's public beheading by Parliament, what at the time of Shakespeare had been unthinkable became a reality, and for a long time after the Restoration of the monarchy, any antimonarchical scenes became impossible to present on the public stage. Consequently, Alonso, whose integrity and royal status will be threatened a few times later in the play, had to be made a Duke.

Despite the possible risks involved, this is not yet the case in Shakespeare's Tempest. In Shakespeare, before the powers of nature ('these roarers', 'these elements'), man, and even the king, is hopeless. We have met this idea sublimely presented before in one of

Shakespeare's most celebrated tragedies, King Lear, when the blinded Gloucester, led by an Old Man, meets Edgar disguised as Poor Tom, a Bedlam beggar, in the heath: 'As flies to wanton boys are we to th' gods; | They kill us for their sport' (TLr 4.1.37-8). But the universe of The Tempest is very curious when it comes to religion. Nature, even as the Boatswain speaks here, is never seen as a reference to the divine, or God as Christians would understand Him. Besides, the audience will soon learn that these elements are being controlled by a man through magic. Yet these travellers, we will also learn soon, are European, and they are returning to Italy after a brief sojourn in the North of Africa (Tunis), where they have been guests at a wedding.

Understandably, Shakespeare cannot make explicit references to religion, because the 1606 Act 'to Restraine Abuses of Players' had introduced a heavy fine of ten pounds for every instance when 'any person or persons doe or shall in any Stage play, Interlude, Shewe, Maygame, or Pageant jestingly or prophanely speake or use the holy name of God or of Christ Jesus, or of the Holy Ghoste or of the Trinitie, which are not to be spoken but with fear and reverence'.<sup>9</sup> But it is arguably more than that. Although their voyage puts them at the crossroads between the Christian, the infidel and the pagan worlds, these Christians (or more accurately these Catholics), inhabit a consistently secular universe where magic features prominently but the audience gets very few indicators of the fact that these dislocated Europeans are indeed Christians. One of the few instances comes exactly at the end of this first scene, where the mariners conclude that all is lost and urge all on board 'to prayers, to prayers' (1.1.51), to which Gonzalo, who we have learned is a councillor, accedes: 'The King and Prince at prayers! Let's assist them, For our case is as theirs' (1.1.53-4).

But why does the play open with a sea storm? The main reason has to do with the dynamics of the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage and the usual behaviour of contemporary audiences. It is important to open a play with spectacle and especially advisable to present a scene that will give the audience both at court and in other indoor venues such as the Blackfriars playhouse as well as and particularly in the open-air playhouses such as The Globe both time and a reason to quiet down before the main action can fully develop. In 'The Tempest's Tempest at Blackfriars', an article originally published in Shakespeare Survey 41 and reproduced in the 2004 Norton Critical Edition of The Tempest, Andrew Gurr mentions that The Tempest was the first play Shakespeare unquestionably wrote for the Blackfriars rather than the Globe (Norton Tmp. 251), as it is 'the first of his plays to show unequivocal evidence that it was conceived with act breaks in mind' (252). Arguably the greatest

contemporary authority on staging at the time of Shakespeare, Gurr characterizes the opening scene as a

bravura piece of staging not only in the way it deploys an outdoor effect at an indoor playhouse, but because that effect sets up the ruling conceit for the whole play. A thoroughly realistic storm, with mariners in soaking working clothes, being hampered in their work by courtiers dressed for a wedding, concludes in shipwreck for all. And immediately this realism is proclaimed to be only stage magic, the art of illusion. (256)

As for the choice of this particular setting, The Tempest is a cultural product of the great age of navigation and discoveries, and more specifically, of the time when England was finally starting to become a major player in a phenomenon which had already captured the hearts and minds of many Europeans for well over a century. As Jeffrey Knapp discusses in his 1992 book An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest, England took considerably long to be smitten by the lure of the age of discoveries. In Chapter 1 of his book, Knapp quotes J. H. Elliott when the latter mentions in The Old World and the New, 1492-1650 (1970) that ‘one of the most striking features of sixteenth-century intellectual history’ was ‘the apparent slowness of Europe in making the mental adjustments required to incorporate America within its field of vision’<sup>10</sup> to add that ‘of the major European nations, England was slowest of all’ (Knapp 18).

Knapp also quotes evidence from the period, such as Richard Eden’s Preface ‘To the Reader’ in his 1555 Decades of the New World or West India, a translation, as we have seen in Chapter 2, of Peter Martyr D’Anghera’s De Orbe Novo, and Richard Hakluyt’s dedicatory text to Sir Philip Sidney in his 1582 Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America. Below is Eden in 1555, as reproduced by Knapp:

How much I say shall this sound unto our reproach and inexcusable slothfulness and negligence both before god and the world, that so large dominions of such tractable people and pure gentiles, not being hitherto corrupted with any other false religion (and therefore the easier to be allured to embrace ours) are now known unto us, and that we have no respect neither for god’s cause nor for our own commodity to attempt some voyages into these coasts, to do for our parts as the Spaniards have done for theirs, and not ever like sheep to haunt one trade.<sup>11</sup>

And here is Hakluyt, almost thirty years later:

I marvel not a little (right honorable) that since the discovery of America (which is now full fourscore and ten years), after so great conquests and plantings of the Spaniards and Portugales there, that we of England could never have the grace to set fast footing in such fertile and temperate places as are left as yet unpossessed of them.<sup>12</sup>

This is not to say that Elizabeth's pirates had not had their share of booty and glory particularly against Spain in the Atlantic and on the Spanish Main, or that the Queen and her contemporaries had no reason to celebrate the partially successful raids against the harbour of Cádiz, the home port of the Spanish treasure fleet, in 1587 and in 1596 and the failed attempted invasions of England by the Spanish Armada in 1588, 1596 and 1597. However, as Knapp himself recalls, by the 1590s, Elizabeth's voyagers had very few achievements of which to feel proud: 'no one had found either a northeast or a northwest passage; England's only New World colony (in Virginia) had failed, twice; and the most famous voyagers themselves—Drake, Cavendish, Frobisher, Hawkin—had all died at sea' (62-3).

Under the rule of King James since 1603, England at the time of the writing of The Tempest had recently seen the signing of the Treaty of London which officially put an end to the hostilities of the Anglo-Spanish War in the year 1604, the chartering of the Virginia Company (the Virginia Company of London and the Virginia Company of Plymouth) in 1606, and the foundation of Jamestown, which would become the first permanent English settlement in America, in 1607. Therefore navigation, a theme that had been the subject of a series of narratives in Europe since the 1450's and even more so since the late 1490's and the early 1500's, was becoming increasingly more topical in Jacobean London in the 1610's. In fact, the realization of this belated attraction or interest on the part of the English adds a new meaning to Prospero's ironical remark to Miranda's expression of her admiration for the 'brave new world', 'Tis new to thee' (Tmp 5.1.184).

Sea navigation was a very risky enterprise at the time of Shakespeare, and tempests and shipwrecks are to be found in most narratives of travel by sea of the period. Besides, as a very common literary motif or topos since classical times, shipwrecks, drownings, ships lost at sea and miracle salvations from shipwrecks are a common feature of many of Shakespeare's other plots, which means that the presence of one such event in a travel narrative to which Shakespeare may have had access may well not be enough to establish a link to Shakespeare's necessary reading for The Tempest. However, three works I have mentioned before to which I will refer a few times in this chapter and which are not always listed among Shakespeare's

possible sources for The Tempest include storms at sea. They are Villegaignon's Caroli V. Imperatoris Expositio in Africam ad Argieram (1542), André Thevet's Singularitez de la France Antartique, autrement nommée Amérique: & de plusieurs Terres & Isles decouvertes de nostre temps (1557), and Jean de Léry's Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Léry (1578). The first two books were available in English translation long before Shakespeare wrote The Tempest, under the titles A lamentable and piteous treatise, ... wherin is containd, not onely the enterprise of Charles V. to Angier in Affrique. But also the myserable chaunces of wynde and wether. Tr. out of Latyn into Frenche, and out of French into English (1542), and The new Found worlde, or Antarctike, wherein is contained wonderful and strange things, as well of humaine creatures, as Beastes, Fishes, Foules, and Serpents, Trees, Plants, Mines of Golde and Silver: garnished with many learned auctorities, travailed and written in the French tong, by that excellent learned man, master Andrewe Thevet. And now newly translated into Englishe, wherein is reformed the errours of the auncient Cosmographers (1568). As for Léry's work, it had long been available in Latin, and it was published in English in 1611, the year that The Tempest was first presented at court. I intend to present relevant passages from these three narratives at the moment in the plot of The Tempest when it will be more useful to my analysis to draw attention to them.

Another thing that the author manages to accomplish by starting with the confusion on board that accompanies the sea storm is that we are never told where the action is set. It becomes clear that this is a ship at sea which is about to split and sink, but the audience is equally never told what or whose ship it is and in what sea it is about to split.

### 3.2 – ‘Your tale, sir, would cure deafness’: Prospero's Narration, Villegaignon, Mary, Queen of Scots and The Emperor Charles V

The second and all the following scenes in the play take place on the ‘un-inhabited Island’ traditionally referred to as ‘Prospero's island’. But except for some backdrop scenery, other scattered pieces of scenery, or some other indicator to be found on stage of which the text does not inform us, the audience is not yet fully aware of where the action is taking place. As soon as an older man wearing magic robes (‘my magic garment’, 1.2.24) and a young woman come on to the stage, from the young lady's first speech the audience gets confirmation that the man is a magician of some sort, and learns that he is the young lady's

father, and probably responsible for the sinking of the ship witnessed shortly before: ‘If by your art, my dearest father, you have | Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them’ (1.2.1-2). We also learn that the young lady took great pity on the unknown creatures who, or so she imagines, were probably onboard that ‘brave vessel’ she has seen ‘dashed all to pieces’.

They are Prospero the enchanter and his daughter Miranda, but here in Act 1, scene 2, their first scene together, we do not yet know their names. The father moves on to allay his daughter’s amazement, to tell her that no one in the ship was lost, and to reveal it is time she learns who she is as he tells her who her father actually is. The yet unnamed daughter tells her father that he has ‘often | Begun to tell me what I am; but stopped, | And left me to a bootless inquisition, | Concluding “Stay; not yet”’ (1.2.33-36). But this time will be different, and we will learn whatever is to be learned together with the young lady. As Prospero begins to reveal to Miranda her ducal lineage and tell her the story of his rescuing her away from Milan, the barely fifteen-year-old Miranda says, ‘Tis far off, | And rather like a dream than an assurance | That my remembrance warrants. Had I not | Four or five women once that tended me?’ (1.2.44-47), to which Prospero replies, ‘Thou hadst, and more, Miranda’ (1.2.48).

This is the moment the audience first learns the girl’s name, just as they will learn Prospero’s as he reveals how he was removed from the throne of Milan. This scene may look a far cry away from what we know of Villegaignon’s biography. Yet my point is not that Shakespeare is writing a minute allegory of the life of either Villegaignon or The Emperor Charles V. What we have to look for are details that may indicate that Villegaignon and/or The Emperor Charles V were in Shakespeare’s mind or were part of Shakespeare’s concern as he first conceived of the play and that he may have borrowed more ideas from narratives about both Villegaignon and Charles V than critics have usually acknowledged.

Admittedly, when Miranda asks her father for confirmation of her dreamlike memory, ‘Had I not | Four or five women once that tended me?’, this can be seen as one of many other possible signals Shakespeare could have chosen of a fully aristocratic origin, and the more ladies in attendance the better to create the proper effect of a faint memory of a very pampered aristocratic past. But Shakespeare, who could have chosen other memories and other details to tell us here that could equally serve the same purpose, chose this memory and this detail. I would argue that this kind of detail fully differentiates Shakespeare from his contemporaries. It is typical of his style to tell his audience apparently minor details about his characters or his plots that provide psychological insights into the characters, their background, and their motivations. It is at this time that you have to wonder if Shakespeare was merely writing with

his immediate audience in mind, because some of the details he adds might well escape the attention of the audience and seem to be there for the more careful attention of a future reader.

Therefore, in this very brief glimpse into Miranda's past as a two- to three-year-old girl, we also have an indicator that there was no Duchess of Milan at the time either, as Miranda recalls these 'four or five women' but not her mother. Apparently, Miranda already lacked a mother when she was very little, and this can contribute to our reading of The Tempest.<sup>13</sup> But an analysis of Shakespeare's use of sources has many times revealed that sometimes details in his source survive into a Shakespearian plot with just this kind of illuminating effect. At other times, the reason for the information to be there is not that clear to commentators, but the details still manage to creep into the text, as if they had remained with Shakespeare, who keeps an unconscious or semi-conscious attachment to them.

The whole passage is about Prospero's betrayal and overthrow by his brother Antonio and the deposed Duke's escape from Milan so that his little daughter could live to become one day the beautiful young girl whose future the audience is about to witness ('...i'th' dead of darkness | The ministers for th' purpose hurried thence | Me and thy crying self ..... In few, they hurried us aboard a barque, | Bore us some leagues to sea ...' (1.2.30-32...144-145). Especially in light of this context, we could therefore ask why Miranda recalls 'Four or five women once that tended me', and why her father should answer that yes, 'Thou hadst, and more, Miranda'.

As I have had the opportunity to mention before, Villegaignon famously commanded the French naval fleet sent by Henri II which on 7 August 1548 managed to escape the English ships and sail back to France from Dumbarton carrying the five-year-old Mary, Queen of Scots, the future mother of Shakespeare's King James, on board. Even more tellingly, Queen Mary was attended by a group of young girls, and they were educated at the French Court with the little Queen. They were Mary Beaton, Mary Seton, Mary Fleming and Mary Livingstone, and they were immortalised in song, in poetry and in legend as 'The Four Marys'. Other authors add to the list, mentioning also a Mary Carmichael, a Mary Hamilton and a Mary MacLeod, and sometimes even a Mary Mill. To our purposes, it is enough to conclude that Villegaignon had been responsible for rescuing a little royal girl who was attended by a varying number of girls who acted as her ladies-in-waiting.

Mary, Queen of Scots (Fig. 44) was born in Linlithgow Palace on 8 December 1542. On December 14, upon the death of her father, King James V, Mary was not yet a week old when she became Queen of Scots, and she was not yet one year old when she was crowned at

Stirling Castle on 9 September 1543. Mary Stuart was taken to France at age five, in July 1548, and Villegaignon landed safely in France with her on 13 August 1548. Queen Mary married three times: (1) at age 15, on 24 April 1558 to François (\*1544-†1560), son of King Henri II of France and the future King François II of France; (2) at age 22, on 29 July 1565 to Henry Steward, Lord Darnley, Duke of Albany, by whom she was the mother of King James; and (3) at age 24, on 15 May 1567, to James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell. Mary was Queen consort of France from 10 July 1559 to 5 December 1560. Having become a young widow, Queen Mary returned to Scotland with the Four Marys in 1561. Mary travelled with a small flotilla, and as ‘on her outward voyage, the captain of her galley was Nicolas de Villegaignon’ (Guy 127). The eighteen-year-old Queen of Scots landed safely in her home realm on August 19, and this came to be considered another feat of Villegaignon’s, because besides managing to avoid any English ships as he had done at the time of Henry VIII, this time the voyage ‘lasted barely five days, almost a record for the crossing and up to a week less than anyone had expected’ (Guy 128). Queen Mary was forced to abdicate on 24 July 1567 (at age 24), when she was succeeded on the Scottish throne by her son James VI, the future King James I of England. When she fled Scotland in 1568, Mary sought refuge in England, where her first cousin Elizabeth, of whom she was the next heir, would keep her prisoner in different locations for 19 years. Mary was executed by order of Elizabeth of England in Fotheringay Castle on 8 February 1587 (aged 44) and she was buried at Peterborough Cathedral. Her son James later had her body removed to Westminster Abbey when he was already King of England, in 1612.

There is no reason why the chronology of the play should match the chronology of either Villegaignon’s or Mary, Queen of Scots’ life, as Shakespeare’s final decisions in terms of the chronology have to serve the purposes of the story he is telling. However, although the chronology does not match every detail, there is an approximate pattern to which it may be worth to call attention. Mary Queen of Scots was born on 8 December 1542. If she had been carried away like Miranda when she was not yet 3 (and not when she was 5), that would have happened in 1545 (instead of the historical 1548). If we add another 12 years to this fictitious count (‘Twelve year since’), the result is 1557. As we have seen, 1557 is the year of the second French landing in Antarctic France, when Villegaignon had already been there for some time (almost 16 months, to be more precise). Later in the scene we learn that when Prospero and Miranda arrived on the island and Prospero set Ariel free, Ariel had been imprisoned for about 12 years: ‘she did confine thee, | By help of her more potent ministers, |

And in her most unmitigable rage, | Into a cloven pine; within which rift | Imprison'd thou didst painfully remain | A dozen years; within which space she died, | And left thee there, where thou didst vent thy groans | As fast as mill-wheels strike'. Twelve years earlier than 1545 would give us 1533 or thereabouts. The Emperor Charles V was in Milan for three days in March 1533, and he had invested Mary's father James V with the Order of the Golden Fleece along with twenty-three other knights shortly before that, in 1531. The list included the Emperor's son Philip of Austria, the future Philip II of Spain; Andrea Doria, 1st prince de Melfi; and Ferrante Gonzaga, duke di Ariano. I shall return to these names a few times in this chapter. Twelve years earlier than the historical 1548 would give us 1536. Twelve years later than the historical 1548 would give us 1560, and Villegaignon returned to France in 1559. As we will see in more detail later, Miranda at age 15 will fall in love with and be eventually promised to marry (presumably soon) the noble gallant Ferdinand, young heir to Alonso, King of Naples. As for Mary, Queen of Scots, she married in 1558 at age 15 no other than the young (fourteen-year-old) Dauphin, who was the son of Henri II, the king who had sponsored Villegaignon's enterprise in Antarctic France.

The reference to being 'hurried....aboard a barque' has sometimes attracted commentators' attention and mentioned as an example of Shakespeare's faulty geography or carelessness about details. Without doing as much, Frank Kermode in his New Arden edition adds the note 'Milan is apparently here treated as a seaport, unless Shakespeare is thinking of Genoa, where Thomas's Prospero reigned;<sup>14</sup> but Gent. has a sea route from Verona to Milan, and Shakespeare seems to have thought of the latter as a seaport' (18).

Shakespeare probably owed much of what he knew about geography to his readings, and I believe it is highly probable that during the period he was writing The Tempest Shakespeare at times had resource to a copy of Abraham Ortelius' atlas, the Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (first published in 1570).<sup>15</sup> We know that books in general were quite expensive, but this work was necessarily so, given its size and its nature. Christopher Marlowe's indebtedness to the Theatrum Orbis Terrarum when he wrote Tamburlaine was the subject of an essay by Ethel Seaton published in 1924<sup>16</sup> and is briefly but unmistakably referred to by Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman (11). In his book Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare (2004), Stephen Greenblatt argues that Marlowe, who joined the University of Cambridge in 1581, probably had access to the Theatrum Orbis Terrarum and to several other books among the many of which he makes use at Cambridge (193), whose libraries were not open to Shakespeare. In the same passage, Greenblatt suggests that

Shakespeare ‘did have a friend in London who probably played a crucial role at this point in his career’ (193). That was Richard Field, who was also from Stratford-upon-Avon and who Greenblatt believes was a good friend, since Field’s and Shakespeare’s father had business relations. Field started life in London as an apprentice to a master printer, but by 1598 ‘he was established as a master printer, with a busy workshop and an impressive, wide-ranging, and intellectually challenging list of authors’. And Greenblatt adds, ‘He must also have owned books by his competitors and would have access to others. He was a hugely valuable resource for his young playwright friend from Stratford’ (194). We do not know how close William and Richard actually were, but the fact is that Field published the first two works by Shakespeare ever to be printed in London, Venus and Adonis (1593) (Cf. Schoenbaum 1987 175; Greenblatt 2004 240-241; Wells 1994 115) and The Rape of Lucrece (1594) (Cf. Schoenbaum 87 177; Wells 1994 120).<sup>17</sup>

Besides Field’s, Shakespeare probably had access to other book collections, and Ortelius’ maps, just like books, were also available at the time in the much cheaper loose form. Abraham Ortelius and his maps have connections to The Emperor Charles V through the cartographer’s connection to the Emperor’s son, Philip II of Spain. Ortelius (originally, Abraham Oertel or Ortell) was Flemish, and he dedicated his Theatrum Orbis Terrarum to D. PHILIPPO AVSTRIACO CAROLI V. AVG. ROM. IMP.F. INDIARVM HISPANIARVMQUE, ETC. REGI. OMNIWM AETATVM WT TOTIVS ORBIS AMPLISSIMI IMPERII MONARCHAE (‘to the Lord Philip of Austria, Son of Charles the Fifth Augustus Roman Emperor, of the Indies and of the Spains King, monarch of the largest Empire of all times and of all the world’). Ortelius had reasons for doing so. Flanders was then part of the Duchy of Brabant, and Brabant, as my Appendix F and my Figure 104 show, was part of The Emperor Charles V’s Burgundian inheritance. Philip II of Spain (Fig. 28) succeeded his father Charles V as Duke of Brabant on 25 October 1555 (at the time Villegaignon and Thevet were on their way to Brazil), and it was natural for Ortelius to dedicate his mighty work to his mighty monarch. A few years later, in 1575, Ortelius was appointed geographer to King Philip II (both men died in 1598). At the time of the composition of The Tempest, the Duke and Duchess of Brabant were Archduke Albert of Austria and his wife, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia of Spain, daughter of Philip II and granddaughter of The Emperor Charles V. Since 1601, the couple had been governors of the Habsburg or Spanish Netherlands (and consequently of Brabant) for Isabella Clara’s brother King Philip III of Spain. Famous governors in the period between Charles V and Shakespeare

had included, among several others, Charles V's aunt and Cornelius Agrippa's patron Margaret of Austria (governor from 1507-1530), and Charles V's bastard son John of Austria, the victor of Lepanto (governor from 1576-1578). If Shakespeare, as I am trying to indicate, was interested in The Emperor Charles V, and in the geography of The Emperor Charles V's life, Ortelius' atlas was indeed a very likely source.

I mentioned Ortelius and geography because Prospero tells Miranda that they were 'hurried . . . aboard a barque' when they were expelled from Milan, and annotators are sometimes puzzled that Shakespeare should treat Prospero's capital as a seaport. A look at modern maps of the Duchy of Milan at the time when The Emperor Charles V became Duke of Milan in 1535 (Fig. 108), or even before that (Fig. 109), or at a contemporary map of the Duchy of Milan Shakespeare may have consulted, such as the one found in Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570) (Fig. 110), can reveal that Milan's system of canals (navigli) at the time connected the city of Milan to the main rivers in the Po valley: the Ticino, the Adda, and the Po. The navigli, some of which have since been covered, started to be built in the twelfth century, and were once navigable. Although the Tyrrhenian Sea was closer, the system of navigli grew to allow a major river route via the Po to be established from Milan to the Adriatic (Fig. 111).

This is the most recent description I know of the canal system:

The history of the construction of the Navigli canal system dates back to the 12th century: the primary need of the city — which is far from any rivers — was to acquire water for the health of its population, for crafts and commercial activities, and for military defence. Outside Milan, the Naviglio di Bereguardo in the south still links the Naviglio Grande from Abbiategrasso to Bereguardo, making it possible to reach Venice and the sea via the Ticino and Po rivers; to the north, the Naviglio di Paderno links Milan with Porto d'Adda via the Naviglio Martesana. (Cassia and Videsott 268).

This is what Shakespeare could have read in Latin and in other European languages in subsequent editions of Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum about the same canals:

Wide and deep ditches, full of water, surround both the city and its suburbs. Through these, on every side, such great amounts of provisions are brought to it by boat and barge, that there is nothing here that cannot be bought for a reasonable price. It is very admirable, I think, to note the great abundance and plentifulness necessary for the use of man. There are so many craftsmen here of

so many different trades, and so many come together here, that it is wonderful and can hardly be told. ('Cartographica Neerlandica Map Text for Ortelius Map No. 125').

Indeed, the existence of a canal system in Milan fully justifies Prospero's words 'they hurried us aboard a barque, | Bore us some leagues to sea' (1.144-145), and arguably allows us to conclude that instead of being careless, Shakespeare is researching about his Tempest locations and possibly sometimes checking not only books but also maps of the areas which he mentions in the play.

As Prospero tells his daughter Miranda, 'Twelve year since, Miranda, twelve year since, | Thy father was the Duke of Milan, and | A prince of power' (1.2.53-55). After reassuring her that by 'thy father' he means no other than himself, Prospero then tells her of how his brother Antonio, 'whom next thyself [Miranda] | Of all the world I lov'd, and to him put | The manage of my state' (1.2.66-70), and how 'The government I cast upon my brother | And to my state grew stranger, being transported | And rapt in secret studies' (1.2.75-77). Casting the government upon his brother was what The Emperor Charles V did as early as 1521 with part of his vast empire, when he assigned his Austrian possessions to his brother Ferdinand and made him his representative at the head of the imperial government with the title of Imperial Lieutenant (Fig. 122).

In order to usurp the throne from Prospero, this Antonio, who 'needs will be | Absolute Milan', allies himself with the King of Naples, 'an enemy | To me inveterate', agrees that 'he, in lieu o' th' premises, | Of homage, and I know not how much tribute, | Should presently extirpate me and mine | Out of the dukedom, and confer fair Milan | With all the honours on my brother.' Prospero stopped being Duke of Milan because his brother stooped to the King of Naples. I had already anticipated in Chapter 1 that even the titles Duke of Milan and King of Naples are connected to Villegaignon's life and his exploits in Italy and in Northern Africa. Jeffrey Knapp, in his 1992 book An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest, comments that 'as many in The Tempest's audience would have known only too well, neither Prospero nor Alonso really has a home to return to: from the early sixteenth century, King of Naples and Duke of Milan had been titles of the Spanish king' (Knapp 233). Knapp mentions that while making a very interesting but very different point from the one I am making, and to his purposes a discussion of how that came to be is not necessary.

I would like to remember that it is not my claim that Shakespeare is consistently reproducing just one set of historical facts to relate to each of his character creations, but he is very likely reading about Italian history, and what he finds in his sources may contribute in multiple ways to his own fictional creations. The history of the Duchy of Milan until the time of Shakespeare is a sequence of family feuds and intrigues, and a succession of internal and foreign wars, invasions, depositions, and restorations which involved local interests and the interests of major European political players: not only the Holy Roman Emperors and the Papacy, but also the Kings of Spain, and the Kings of France.

By perusing over historical sources as Shakespeare probably did, we learn that the town of Milan has existed since the time of the Romans, when it was the capital of a Celtic tribe and was incorporated into the Roman Republic, and then into the Western Roman Empire. Because it had been part of the Carolingian Empire, and of the Kingdom of Italy (Lombardy), Milan had long been a semi-independent fief of the Holy Roman Empire, particularly after Matteo Visconti, Signore di Milano ('Lord of Milan', 1294–1302, restored 1311–1322) obtained from the King of Germany the status and title of Reichsverweser ('Imperial Vicar', the title within the Holy Roman Empire of a local representative of the Holy Roman Emperor). In 1385, Gian Galeazzo Visconti became Lord of Milan after he had managed to overthrow his uncle Bernabò Visconti, and he then gained control in rapid succession of a series of neighbouring cities. The history of the Duchy of Milan starts with him in the year 1395, when he buys the title of 'Duke' from the Holy Roman Empire, then headed by Wenceslaus (German: Wenzel, Czech: Václav) of Luxembourg, who was King of the Romans, the appointed heir to the title of Holy Roman Emperor. The title of Duke gave the Lord of Milan a higher status, but it also made Milan more dependent on the politics of the Holy Roman Empire. After a very short republican period, the Visconti were succeeded in Milan by the Sforza in 1450, when Francesco I Sforza took over as Duke of Milan thanks to his marriage to Bianca Maria Visconti, daughter of Filippo Maria Visconti, the last Visconti Duke. After that, although Milan remained in the hands of the Sforza family for about 50 years, it was invaded by the French several times. When King Charles VIII of France invaded Italy in 1493 as a claimant to the crown of Naples/Sicily because he was a descendant of Angevin King René the Good, he was welcomed in Milan among other cities, and briefly conquered the Kingdom of Naples from January 1495.<sup>18</sup> Since 1442, the Kingdom of Naples had been in the hands of Aragonese rulers of the House of Trastámara, who regained control of Naples in the same year of 1495. Charles VIII's successor Louis XII, the Father of the

People (French: 'Louis XII le Père du Peuple') was another great-grandson of Charles V the Wise of France (French: 'Charles V le Sage', King of France 1364-1380), and he had a claim to the duchy of Milan because he was a great-grandson of Gian Galeazzo Visconti.

Francesco I was succeeded by his eldest son, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who was eventually assassinated. The latter's daughter, Bianca Maria Sforza, married as his second wife the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, who by his first marriage was paternal grandfather to The Emperor Charles V. Galeazzo's wife, Bona of Savoy was regent for their son Gian Galeazzo Sforza, who succeeded to the duchy as a minor upon his father's assassination. However, in 1480, Galeazzo's brother Ludovico Sforza deprived his nephew of the duchy and assumed control of Milan. Ludovico the Moor lost Milan to his enemy Louis XII of France in 1499 and again in 1500, but in 1512 the Swiss, as members of the Holy League against France, stormed Milan and installed Ludovico's son, Massimiliano Sforza, as duke. The Swiss control of Milan with Massimiliano as nominal duke lasted until 1515, when they had to surrender Milan to King François I of France and Massimiliano had to retire into exile in France. Meanwhile, Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I had conferred the title of Duke of Milan on Massimiliano's brother, Francesco II Sforza shortly before dying.

Following King François I of France' defeat by the army of his great enemy Charles I of Spain, King of the Romans (the Emperor-Elect of the Holy Roman Empire and the future Holy Roman Emperor Charles V), Francesco II was installed as Duke of Milan in 1521. Accused by the imperial general Pescara of plotting against Charles, Francesco II was deprived of most of his duchy, which was invested upon Charles himself in 1525. Francesco II joined (1526) the League of Cognac against the future Emperor, but he was obliged to surrender to the imperial troops that besieged him in Milan. After the Treaty of Cambrai of 30 October 1529, King François I of France withdrew from Italy and gave up his claim over the duchy of Milan, and Francesco II was restored and invested as duke by Charles in his capacity of King of the Romans. Francesco II Sforza ruled as Duke of Milan until his death on 24 October 1535, but as he died without heirs, the Milanese succession was again contested by Spain and France. The Emperor Charles V assumed the title of Duke of Milan in 1535, but in the Treaty of Nice of 1538, acquiesced to give 'his widowed illegitimate daughter Margaret to the Pope's grandson Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma; agreed to marry [his brother] Ferdinand's second daughter [Anna] to François's son [Charles d'Angouleme, Duc d'Orleans], and accepted the surrender of the duchy of Milan to the latter couple after the conclusion of the marriage' (Kleinschmidt 135). Although the Farnese match went ahead as

planned in 1538, the King of France's son never espoused The Emperor Charles V's niece, and Charles as Emperor invested his son Philip (the future King Philip II of Spain) as Duke of Milan in 1540. In 1554, so that Philip could marry his cousin Mary, who was Queen of England, on equal terms, The Emperor Charles V formally invested him as King of Naples and Duke of Milan. Finally, in April 1559, shortly after The Emperor Charles V's death in 1558, his son Philip II of Spain, Henri II of France, and Elizabeth of England signed the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, 'one of the decisive treaties of Western history'. By the new peace treaty, which 'immeasurably strengthened Spain' (Kamen 73), France agreed forever to renounce their claim to Italian territory, and Milan remained in the hands of the Spanish Habsburgs (who were also Kings of Naples) until long after Shakespeare's death.

Miranda then asks why her father's enemies did not do the easiest thing and merely kill them. As I have mentioned, there were enough assassinations and children being locked away and deprived of their prerogative in the history of Italy to which Shakespeare had access, and there was also a similar situation in the history of King James' immediate family, with his father Lord Darnley being assassinated when the future King of Scotland and England was not yet eight months old, and his mother being removed from the Scottish throne as a child, but later restored to power only to be deposed, imprisoned and finally executed when her son was not yet twenty. Prospero could have told Miranda that had Antonio and Alonso destroyed them, they would have left Shakespeare without a tale to tell and his audience without a play to hear, but instead Prospero explains that 'Dear, they durst not, | So dear the love my people bore me, nor set | A mark so bloody on the business' (1.2.140-42).

According to Prospero's testimony, Prospero and Miranda came to the island on the boat they were then moved to, a 'rotten carcass of a butt, not rigged, | Nor tackle, sail, nor mast — the very rats | Instinctively have quit it' (1.2.146-48), where they cried to the roaring sea and sighed to winds that sighed back to them. The quality of the vessel they were brought to may be added to the discussion of the proper location of Prospero's island. Admittedly, it would be hard enough for Prospero and Miranda to have been taken to a nearby Mediterranean island, let alone to somewhere in the New World. The audience at this point still does not know, but the Europeans on the ship were returning to Italy from a wedding celebration in North African Tunis when they were magically separated from the rest of their fleet and shipwrecked on Prospero's island.

As for the consideration about the weak vessel, Prospero answers Miranda that they only came ashore by 'Providence divine' (1.2.159). He then explains that 'A noble

Neapolitan, Gonzalo' (the audience has seen him on board the ship, but has not yet learned what his name is) had been put in charge of bringing them to the boat and out of his charity had not only given them food and fresh water but also 'Rich garments, linens, stuffs, and necessaries, | Which since have steaded much' (1.2.164-165). More importantly, this generous nobleman has 'furnish'd me | From mine own library with volumes that | I prize above my dukedom' (1.2.166-168).

The audience already had clear evidence from Prospero of his deep appreciation for his books when he described himself as being 'for the liberal arts | Without a parallel; those being all my study' (1.2.73-74) and when he explained that Gonzalo knew that he loved his books. However, as we will learn later from Caliban (3.2.87-90), Prospero's books are the source and instrument of his magical powers and without them the uprooted Duke of Milan is supposedly as harmless as any other person on the island.

Possessed of his books maybe it would not be as difficult for Prospero to come to the island wherever it might be located as it would have been otherwise. As Shakespeare's sequence of narrated facts indicates, 'Providence divine' gave Prospero and Miranda neither a sturdy vessel nor calm winds or waves, but a compassionate friend in the person of Gonzalo. It was the noble Neapolitan councillor who provided them not only with food and fresh water, but also with the 'necessaries' that made their survival on the island easier and Prospero's narration more verisimilar, and with the books that made the crossing of the sea possible. Therefore, although Prospero's mention of their 'sea-sorrow' (1.2.170) further indicates that their sailing was far from smooth, his quite casual tone in his description of their arrival ('Here in this island we arrived,' 1.2.171) seems to imply that the magician was already in control thanks to magic.

Prospero stands up and Miranda asks why her father raised the storm, to which he replies, 'By accident most strange, bountiful Fortune, | Now my dear lady, hath mine enemies | Brought to this shore' (1.2.178-180). In neither relation does Prospero illuminate the audience on the exact location of the island. Quite on the contrary, we could interpret that the author's intention is to omit any clear reference. As a result, by this point, the audience has learned both that Prospero and Miranda left Milan twelve years before and that Prospero's enemies are also from Italy (we only learn more details about their sea voyage later), but we are not unmistakably told where this island is where — 'by accident most strange' — these two groups of Europeans are met.

In a note published in her New Penguin Shakespeare edition of the play (1968), Anne Barton has this to say about Prospero's narrative:

The deliberate artificiality of Prospero's language here [1.2.149-51], the abandonment of realism and probability in his description of this sea voyage, marks a new stage in the story. The ordinary world of Milan and Naples is separated by more than geographical space from this island. A voyage in which sea and wind are partners in lamentation, in which an infant not yet three years old remains uniformly cheerful, and an unseaworthy boat arrives at its destination without help from sail or mast, declares plainly that Prospero's island will not be found on any map (146).

Shakespeare's language allows Barton to conclude that the text cues us not to think in geographical terms that may be too reductive. I would like to claim Anne Barton's point above in support of my suggestion that we take the lead of Charles V's motto Plus Ultra ('More Beyond' or 'Even Further'), and go past the Pillars of Hercules at the East end of the Mediterranean Strait of Gibraltar, the Gateway to the Unknown, when we look at Prospero's island. If a suspension of common geographical knowledge is invited by Barton's acknowledgement of the impossibility of identifying a single mappable location for Prospero's island, maybe a small Brazilian island in the New World is not too far to be considered at least as a possibly partial location for The Tempest.

As I have anticipated in Chapter 1, the case for locating the island on the Mediterranean is strong, and I am not suggesting that Shakespeare could not have thought of the final location of the island, if that question ever really concerned him, as being somewhere on the Mediterranean. My suggestion is that for once we do not look only at the Mediterranean or the Caribbean or Virginia and consider instead the possibility that certain elements in the island as presented in the play were available to Shakespeare if he decided to read more about the geographical location in the New World that was mentioned in one of his undisputed sources, namely Book 1, Chapter 30 ('Of the Caniballes') of The Essayes, or Morall, Politike, and Millitarie Discourses of Lo: Michaell de Montaigne. In John Florio's 1603 translation into English of the fifth edition of Montaigne's Les Essais, Shakespeare was reading about an island which will be found on New World maps.

Though it is never considered by Shakespeare critics, the region in the New World which Montaigne explicitly mentions exists. In the word of Montaigne in Florio's translation: 'I have had long time dwelling with me a man, who for the space of ten or twelve yeares had

dwelt in that other worlde which in our age was lately discovered in those parts where Villegaignon first landed, and surnamed Antartike France'. Hence my invitation to my reader to investigate in this chapter how much of Antarctic France as a setting and of the events in Antarctic France when Villegaignon was there may have survived in Prospero's island and in the plot of The Tempest.

### 3.3 – 'Ariel and all his quality': Ariel and Agrippa; Richard Eden and Brazil; Pigafetta, Villegaignon, Charles V, King James and the Order of Malta

If 'by accident most strange' Prospero's enemies have been brought to the island, then, as he explains to his beautiful young daughter, it is time for Prospero to act. Prospero magically induces a sleep upon his daughter and invokes his attendant spirit, Ariel. Here Prospero's Art is magic, or hypnosis, or both. Throughout the play, Prospero's Art is deeply associated with sleep, and dreams. At this point in my argument for including Antarctic France in the composite from which Shakespeare's ideas of the island originated, I take my cue from Prospero, who says 'by my prescience | I find my zenith doth depend upon | A most auspicious star, whose influence | If now I court not, but omit, my fortunes | Will ever after droop' (1.2.181-184).

We learn of the name of Prospero's attendant spirit just as we learn of his existence: 'Come away, servant, come. I am ready now. | Approach, my Ariel. Come' (1.2.187-188). Ariel comes on to the stage and greets Prospero: 'All hail, great master, grave sir, hail! I come | To answer thy best pleasure; be't to fly, | To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride | On the curled clouds. To thy strong bidding task | Ariel and all his quality' (1.2.189-193).

Shakespeare supposedly first came across the word Ariel in column note 'a' to Isaiah. 29.1 in the Geneva Bible, which reads, 'The Ebrewe worde Ariel signifieth the lyon of God, & signifieth the altar, because the altar semed to deuoure the sacrifice that was offred to God, as Ezek. 43, 16.'<sup>19</sup> About possible biblical associations to Ariel and his role in The Tempest, I agree with critics and commentators such as Arden Third Series editors Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, who suggest in their 'Introduction' that there are elements in the biblical references that may have contributed to Shakespeare's concept of Prospero's airy spirit. Consequently, the Vaughans identify in Isaiah echoes which make Ariel's name 'an appropriate appellation for the powerful magus's agent who contrives a storm and a disappearing banquet' (27),<sup>20</sup> and 'metaphors that are reified in 2.1 when a "strange

drowsiness” possesses the Neapolitans and in 3.3 when “the banquet vanishes” (28). Likewise, they conclude that whether Shakespeare ‘turned directly to the Bible or drew on subconscious recollections while he wrote, the image of Ariel as the “lyon of God” speaking through flood and fire reverberates in The Tempest.’ (28)

On the other hand, certain annotators apparently do not see in the name Ariel more than a mere allusion to the spirit’s airy quality as confirmed in the Folio’s list of the ‘Name of the Actors’ (dramatis personae), ‘Ariell, an ayrie spirit’. Thus, sometimes the nature of their comments implies that whether or not Shakespeare found the name in the Bible, even that easily accessible meaning may not be particularly relevant.<sup>21</sup> Nonetheless, as we can learn in a note to the same passage in Orgel’s 1987 Oxford edition of The Tempest which also registers the Hebrew meaning and the biblical use referring to Jerusalem, the name Ariel ‘appears as [that of] a spirit in many magical texts, especially Agrippa’s De Occulta Philosophia, 3.28.436 and 3.24.416; but in these cases it is invariably a spirit of earth, not air. It is also the name of an evil angel, formerly a pagan god’ (111).

Before Orgel, Frank Kermode dedicates his entire Appendix B in his Arden edition of The Tempest to ‘Ariel as Daemon and Fairy’ (142-44), a brief discussion which I highly recommend to anyone interested in the topic. Although he will also conclude later that Ariel ‘often behaves like a native fairy’ (143), in his initial discussion of Ariel as a daemon, Kermode strongly agrees with Richmond Noble, whom he quotes, when the latter ‘says that Shakespeare’s Ariel “is independent of any Biblical model”,<sup>22</sup> and the source of the name is probably the magical tradition, in which it frequently recurs, though it is used of spirits who differ widely in character’ (142). Kermode seems to favour the idea that Agrippa was one of Shakespeare’s sources, and he argues that it ‘may be that Shakespeare had not entirely overlooked’ the role the spirit Ariel has in Agrippa, since the author of The Tempest ‘has been at some pains to show Ariel as being at ease in all the elements, a privilege which he shares with the classical Hermes, the messenger, with whom he has, historically, other qualities in common’ (142). Also according to Kermode’s interpretation, Prospero in many respects resembles white magicians like Agrippa, though the relationship between Prospero and Ariel be ‘perhaps not theurgically pure’ (143), because it seems to contain elements of black magic. Kermode’s final conclusion about Ariel as a daemon is that it is ‘surely remarkable that, in all that concerns Ariel, the underpinning of technical “natural philosophy” should be as thorough as in fact it is’ (143).

In his ‘Introduction’ to the section dedicated to The Tempest in the last volume of Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare (1975), Geoffrey Bullough apparently does not find a lot in Agrippa to have inspired Shakespeare’s Ariel. Consequently, Bullough merely informs his reader that Agrippa ‘thought [Ariel] a daemonic guardian of earth,’ and that Shakespeare, ‘probably affected by the sound of his name, makes him a spirit of air who also plays with fire, and Prospero uses him to “do me business in the veins of th’ earth” (I. 2. 255)’ (Bullough, 8: 258). But in an earlier discussion of Prospero’s role on page 251, Bullough already makes an approximation between Agrippa and Shakespeare’s enchanter, when he mentions other ‘benevolent magicians in Elizabethan drama as well as romances’. After mentioning Friar Bacon in Robert Greene’s Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay (ca. 1589), John a Kent in Anthony Munday’s John a Kent and John a Cumber (1594), and Bomelio in the anonymous The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune (ca. 1582); Bullough argues that in ‘elevation of mind and subtlety of operation Prospero is far above such wizards. He is a philosophic magician like Cornelius Agrippa, schooled in neo-Platonic theurgy’ (Bullough, 8: 258).

Another author who returned to Cornelius Agrippa was Barbara Mowat in her article ‘Prospero, Agrippa, and Hocus Pocus’, first published in 1981 in English Literary Renaissance and reproduced in the 2004 Norton Critical Edition of The Tempest. Mowat is not concerned with The Emperor Charles V, but instead with the different traditions about the magician which she believes inform Shakespeare’s Prospero. Her conclusion is that Shakespeare manages to ‘combine within a single hero the dichotomous images of the serious magician and the carnival illusionist, the magician as Agrippa and the magician as Hocus Pocus’ (Tmp. 2004 185).

Therefore, although the spirit Ariel mentioned by Agrippa at least four times in De Occulta Philosophia<sup>23</sup> is an earth instead of an air spirit, I also find it possible and even likely that Shakespeare knew something about the occult tradition of the name Ariel. And just as it is possible, I would like to believe — though I do not know it for a fact — that Shakespeare found the reference to the spirit Ariel in Agrippa’s De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres or in another author’s reference to the German occult author.

One of the most renowned European occultists in the early modern period,<sup>24</sup> Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (in Latin, Henricus Cornelius Agrippa ab Nettesheym) had been a typical Renaissance man. Not only had he been a widely-known occultist,<sup>25</sup> but he had also acted as a court official, a theologian, a philosopher, a university teacher, an orator and

public advocate, and a military man. Curiously, like Villegaignon and other historical figures of the period traces of whose biographies can arguably be found in the text of The Tempest, Agrippa has a consistent number of connections to The Emperor Charles V. As we can learn in Agrippa's own correspondence in his complete works (epistle 21, bk. 7), the German occultist had served The Emperor Charles V's grandfather Maximilian I 'first as a secretary, then as a soldier.'<sup>26</sup> Moreover, '[I]ate in the summer or early in the autumn of 1510,' The Emperor Maximilian I sent Agrippa 'as ambassador to the court of Henry VIII in London' (Tyson xvi), from which he returned the following year. Another possible connection to The Tempest was the fact that Agrippa served as a diplomat and a soldier for about two years under Massimiliano Sforza, then the Duke of Milan (Tyson xx-xxi). Massimiliano Sforza was Duke of Milan from 1512 to 1515, but the army of King François I of France (Charles V's bitter contender for power in Italy) deposed him, and he had to flee into exile, where he died in 1530. Agrippa was still serving as a soldier under the Duke of Milan and he joined the battle when the latter's troops were routed on 14 September 1515 (Tyson xxi). As I have mentioned above, Massimiliano's brother, Francesco II Sforza would be the last Duke of Milan before The Emperor Charles V. In 1528, Margaret of Austria, the aunt who had been the childhood guardian of the future Emperor, and whom he would keep as regent of the Habsburg Netherlands until her death in 1530, 'obtained for Agrippa the post of archivist and historiographer to The Emperor Charles V' ('Margaret of Austria', Agrippa of Nettesheim 816).

Among other places, information linking Agrippa and Charles V was available in the title page of De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres, the original Latin 1531 edition of Three Books of Occult Philosophy. The title of the book describes Agrippa as 'a Consiliis & Archiuis Inditiarii sacrae Caesareae Maiestatis' ('of the Judiciary Counsel and Registry of His Holy Imperial Majesty'), or in the words of the first English translation, published in 1651 and therefore after the time of Shakespeare, 'Counsellor to Charles the Fifth, Emperor of Germany: and Iudge of the Prerogative Court'. Even more interesting for our approximation between The Emperor Charles V and Villegaignon via Thevet is what we can learn in Donald Tyson's preliminary matters to his 2000 annotated edition of Agrippa's Three Books of Occult Philosophy. In his 'Life of Agrippa', Tyson informs us (xxxv-xxxvi) that the German occultist was the subject of a highly critical entry in Thevet's 1584 Les Vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres, grecz, latins et payens, recueilliz de leurs tableaux, livres, médalles antiques et modernes. This book, possibly André Thevet's most ambitious work, was a two-

Folio collection of 232 biographical sketches ‘drawn from virtually all regions of the world, from antiquity to Thevet’s own sixteenth century, and it contains the first biographies in European literature of native Americans’ (Schlesinger 1). The same collection includes biographical sketches of Charles V, Magellan, Vespucci, and six Native American leaders, among whom Quoniambec. ‘Quoniambec’ (or ‘Cunhambebe’) was a Brazilian Indian chief, leader of the Tamoio tribe of Tupinambá Indians, who lived near Villegaignon’s Antarctic France and about whom Thevet wrote not only in Les Vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres but also, as a note in Schlesinger indicates,<sup>27</sup> in Singularitez de la France Antartique (103, 104)<sup>28</sup> and in the La Cosmographie universelle d’André Thevet, cosmographe du roy: illustreé de diverses figures des choses plus remarquables veues par l’auteur, & incogneuës de noz anciens & modernes (907v [mispaginated 908], 923-25, 952r).

A major cosmographical collection produced by a man who had stayed with Villegaignon in Antarctic France during the historical period about which Shakespeare was apparently researching for The Tempest, Thevet’s 1584 Cosmographie universelle (Universal Cosmography) is another source which may have attracted Shakespeare’s attention. Typical of the period, Thevet’s work was at the crossroads between a medieval, Ptolemaic cosmographical model, where cosmographies did not differ considerably in content or purpose from bestiaries, chronicles, legendaries, or martyrologies; and the revolutionary impact in historical, ethnographical, and geographical representations which would characterise the Great Age of Navigation, Discovery, and Exploration.

The most interesting readily available discussion in English of Thevet’s works, their nature, and the contemporary and subsequent polemic in which they were involved is Frank Lestringant’s Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery (the 1994 translation of Lestringant’s L’atelier du cosmographe, first published in 1991), a work I definitely recommend. Lestringant is an authority on Renaissance literature, and he has studied and published about different aspects of the lives and works of André Thevet, Villegaignon, and the French experience in the New World. The passage below, taken from Mapping the Renaissance World, should alert us against reproducing Brazilian invisibility abroad when the author we are studying shows signs of having perused one or more works by this particular French Franciscan turned royal cosmographer:

Bearing in mind the ten weeks Thevet actually spent at Guanabara, Brazil occupies a disproportionate part of his work. Not only are the Singularitez (New Found World) of 1557 in large part devoted to it, but the dreamed-of

Antarctic France (which officially became a lost cause on 16 March 1560) haunts, in continual regurgitations, the four volumes of his Cosmographie universelle (1575). . . . Even the Vrais Pourtraits (1584) select for treatment, among the chiefs of the cannibal tribes of the Brazilian seaboard, two ‘illustrious men’: namely, the redoubtable ‘Quoniambec’, who captured the Hessian soldier Hans Staden, and Nacol-Absou, ‘King of the Promontory of Cannibals’. . . . From 1557 to 1592, in effect, southern Brazil constituted for Thevet a constant point of reference. It was an obligatory term of reference for the description of natural and moral prodigies of the other three continents (53).

Further evidence from the early modern period can further confirm the relative importance of Thevet among Shakespeare’s contemporaries, despite the controversy his works continued to generate. To begin with, Thevet’s Cosmographie universelle (1575) is included in surviving catalogues of items in some of the most important book collections of the period, such as the libraries of King James and John Dee.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, Thevet is listed as one of the authors Marlowe would have read for composing The Jew of Malta and the second part of his Tamburlaine.<sup>30</sup> Accordingly, Robert Baldwin mentions in his article ‘John Dee’s Interest in the Application of Nautical Science, Mathematics and Law to English Naval Affairs’, published in Stephen Clucas’s John Dee: Interdisciplinary Studies in English Renaissance Thought (2006), that according to Michael Lok’s unpublished ‘Accounts, with subsidiary documents, of Michael Lok, treasurer, of first, second and third voyages of Martin Frobisher to Cathay by the north-west passage’ (1576-1578, Public Records Office, E 164/35, fol. 17), English navigator Martin Frobisher had two works by Thevet among the five works he took in his expedition in search for a North West Passage in 1576. According to Baldwin, one was ‘possibly La Singularitez de la France Antarctique, autrement nominee Amerique (Paris, 1558) or a manuscript version collected by Thevet about 1563; the other certainly was the much larger volume, Cosmographie Universelle, just published by Pierre Hullyer in Paris in 1575 and replete with useful maps, especially a recent and detailed one of North America’ (99). Baldwin also informs that Dee ‘certainly credits Thevet as a source in his text Of Rich and Famous Discoveries, (British Library, Cotton MS Vitellys C VII fol. 125) completed in 1577’ (Baldwin 124). Besides, as Stephen Greenblatt informs his reader in his ‘Foreword’ to Frank Lestringant’s Mapping the Renaissance World, ‘in 1595 Sir Walter Raleigh took a copy of Thevet’s Singularitez with him on his voyage to Guiana’ (ix). The information is found in Raleigh’s own narrative about his voyage, ‘The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Beautifull

Empire of Guiana’, a text published in 1596 and included by Richard Hakluyt in the third volume (1600) of his second edition of The principall nauigations, voiajes, and discoueries of the English nation. We further learn from Greenblatt in the same ‘Foreword’ to Lestringant’s Mapping the Renaissance World that Hakluyt, who arguably was the most important English authority on geography and travel narratives at the time of Shakespeare, had ‘direct dealings with Thevet for several years’ (xii).

Therefore, if, as it is possible, Shakespeare derived Ariel’s name from passages in or about Agrippa, both the choice of Ariel’s name and some of Ariel’s characteristics as a relatively powerful spirit (‘a great prince’) which has many other spirits at his service (‘rules over many legions’, Agrippa of Nettesheim 533), as well as the kind of Art Prospero practices can also be related to The Emperor Charles V, and therefore to that broader pattern which I have identified before as being consistently present in The Tempest.

This is the first time the audience sees Ariel in the play, and one of the few occasions in the play when Ariel is not invisible. Ariel is a spirit and therefore he does not originate from any geographical location in the play, whether or not this location will be found on any map. However, the irony is not lost on me that while I invite a discussion about the consistent invisibility of Brazil as a possible partial geographical location for Prospero’s island, Ariel, who is the character who is closer to the natural environment of the isle, should remain invisible in the play for most of the time. ‘Subject’, in the words of Prospero, who is the author of the plot that will unfold before us and who therefore is seen as having so much in common with Shakespeare, ‘To no sight but thine and mine, invisible | To every eyeball else’ (1.2.301-303).

Asking Ariel, ‘Hast thou, spirit, | Perform’d to point the tempest that I bade thee?’, Prospero learns from his spirit the details of the staged sea storm:

To every article. | I boarded the King’s ship; now on the beak, | Now in the  
waist, the deck, in every cabin, | I flam’d amazement. Sometime I’d divide, |  
And burn in many places; on the topmast, | The yards and bowsprit would I  
flame distinctly, | Then meet and join. Jove’s lightning, the precursors | O’th’  
dreadful thunder-claps, more momentary | And sight-outrunning were not; the  
fire and cracks | Of sulphurous roaring the most mighty Neptune | Seem to  
besiege and make his bold waves tremble, | Yea, his dread trident shake.  
(1.2.193-206)

As part of his storm performance, Ariel apparently has turned himself into St Elmo's fire, an onboard phenomenon which was commonly reported in contemporary sea travel narratives. About this passage, commentators usually inform their readers that Shakespeare could have read about St. Elmo's fire in Richard Eden's History of Travaile of 1577 or in William Strachey's 'True Reportory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight',<sup>31</sup> a text which Shakespeare may have read in manuscript. As I have mentioned in Chapter 1, that was a long letter written in Virginia which would have been available in England only in late 1610 and which apparently was published for the first time only in 1625, nine years after Shakespeare's death and two years after The Tempest was first published in the First Folio of 1623.

Though in their note to this passage Arden Third Series editors Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan suggest that Shakespeare probably read about St Elmo's fire in Strachey, in their introduction they had already commented that one 'early account from which Shakespeare perhaps drew for incidental items in The Tempest was Antonio Pigafetta's short account of the Magellan expedition's circumnavigation in 1519-1522, originally published on the Continent but subsequently translated into English in Richard Eden's travel anthologies of 1555 and 1577.' The Vaughans mention the presence of the name of Sycorax's god Setebos, as well as descriptions of 'St Elmo's fire, great tempests and (perhaps partial prototypes of Caliban and his name) assorted giants and "Canibales" (Eden 216<sup>v</sup>-21<sup>f</sup>)' (40). The Vaughans also add that 'Commentators since the late eighteenth century have generally agreed that The Tempest reveals Shakespeare's incidental indebtedness to this highly accessible source' (40), but then they partially dismiss it by mentioning Walter Alexander Raleigh's opinion in 1904 repeated by Charles H. Frey in his article 'The Tempest and the New World', published in Shakespeare Quarterly 30 (1979), that Shakespeare could have derived his information from another source, since similar information would have been available to Shakespeare in Francis Fletcher's manuscript journal of Francis Drake's circumnavigation of 1577-1580. The fact remains that the name of the god in Fletcher's journal is, as the Vaughans inform us, Settaboth or Setaboh, not Setebos.

But what about returning to Shakespeare's likely source, namely, Richard Eden's work? I have mentioned Eden's travel anthology in Chapter 1, and again in Chapter 2, and I said I would return to it as part of my discussion of Shakespeare's play. You may recall that I indicated in my Chapter 2 that the references are to Brazil or at least to South America in the second and the third book in English to use the word America, both of which are English

translations by Richard Eden of Latin works by, respectively, German professor of theology and Hebrew Sebastian Münster and Italian historian and royal chronicler Pietro Martire D'Anghiera (Peter Martyr D'Anghera). Richard Eden's History of Travaile of 1577 reproduces narratives from this earlier book by Eden, The decades of the newe worlde or West India conteyning the nauigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large landes and Ilandes lately founde in the west Ocean, perteynyng to the inheritaunce of the kinges of Spayne. In which the diligent reader may not only conseyder what commoditie may hereby chaunce to the hole Christian world in tyme to come, but also learne many secretes touchynge the lande, the sea, and the starres, very necessarie to be knowe to al such as shal attempte any nauigations, or otherwise haue delite to beholde the strange and woonderful woorkes of God and nature. Written in the Latine tounge by Peter Martyr of Angleria, and translated into Englysshe by Rycharde Eden. This work, as we saw before, is the third book in English to use the word America and the original publication of Eden's translation of Peter Martyr D'Anghera's De Orbe Novo Petri Martyris ab Angleria, mediolanensis protonotarii Cæsaris senatoris Decades (1530). Eden's earlier travel anthology, The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India, was first published in 1555. Have we come across this date before? The year 1555, the year this book was published, was the same year Villegaignon left for and arrived in Brazil. I would argue that there is even a possibility that Shakespeare was reading the first edition of Eden's collection because he wanted to learn more about the New World at the time Villegaignon was in America.

Even if that was not the case, Peter Martyr d'Anghiera (in Italian: Pietro Martire D'anghiera; in Spanish: Pedro Mártir De Anglería, in Latin: Petrus Martyr Anglerius or ab Angleria) was, as the Latin title of the work indicates, 'of Milan, [apostolic] protonotary, counsellor of The Emperor [Charles V]'. Peter Martyr had been a chaplain at the court of the Catholic Kings, and their grandson Charles V in his capacity as King Charles I of Spain appointed him chronicler in the Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias ('Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies'). The text Shakespeare could have read was an account published as part of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera's book translated by Eden, entitled A discourse of the marvelous vyage made by the Spanyardes rounde about the worlde, gathered owt of a large booke wrytten hereof by master A. Pigafetta, and it was based on Maximilianus Transylvanus's rendering of Antonio Pigafetta's narrative written at the bequest of no other than The Emperor Charles V. As the book makes it clear, Maximilianus Transylvanus was secretary to The Emperor Charles V, and Sobresaliente ('Supernumerary') Antonio Lombardo

(Antonio Pigafetta) was one of only 18 men out of about 260 in Magellan's original expedition who returned to Spain in September of 1522.

Another detail, maybe just a coincidence, which relates narrator Antonio Pigafetta both to The Emperor Charles V, and to Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon was the fact that they were all connected to the Knights of St John of Jerusalem. After returning from the 1519-1522 voyage of circumnavigation of the globe, Antonio Pigafetta became a Knight of the Order of St John of Jerusalem possibly on 30 October 1524 and certainly during the time when the Grandmaster of the Order was Philippe Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, who was Grandmaster from 13 November 1521 to 21 August 1534. Just a few years later, on 26 October 1530, the Knights of the Order, still under the command of Grandmaster de l'Isle-Adam, moved to Malta after The Emperor Charles V, as King of The Two Sicilies (King of Naples and King of Sicily), had granted them as a fief on 4 March 1530 the Mediterranean islands, cities and castles of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, and the North African port of Tripoli, all under the suzerainty of the Spanish Viceroy of Sicily.<sup>32</sup> Charles V accepted as the knights' only feudal obligation for their possession of these lands the payment of an annual tribute of unius Accipitris seu Falchonis (one Mediterranean Peregrine Falcon, or Falco peregrinus, known locally as a Maltese falcon), which they had to pay every All Saints' Day to the Viceroy of Sicily acting as the King's representative (Vella 363; Milanese; O'Donnell).<sup>33</sup> Finally, as my Appendix D also shows, the following year, 1531, Villegaignon was welcomed into the Order on the recommendation of no other than Grandmaster de l'Isle-Adam himself (Mariz and Provençal 47; 49).

Curiously enough, the fact is that, as I have mentioned in Chapter 1, the first recorded performance of The Tempest was at King James's court at Whitehall on All Saints' Night, the same date the Knights of Malta had to pay their annual tribute to Charles V and the other subsequent Kings of Spain. Indeed, we have further evidence that King James was not indifferent to the Knights of Malta. As early as August 1594, at the christening in Scotland of Prince Henry Frederick, his first son and heir, King James had 'starred as one of the Christian Knights of Malta, doing battles with Moors and Amazons' (Stewart 140) in a masque written by the king himself and William Fowler. I would argue that if King James had once chosen to play a Knight Hospitaller, there would be no better Knight to have inspired his choice than Villegaignon. Accordingly, Shakespeare might have learned about James's appreciation for the Knights of Malta from, among others, William Fowler himself. While in Scotland, as a member of the coterie of poets known as 'the Castilian Band' or 'the brethir [brethren] to the

sister nine' [the Muses] (Stewart 63), Fowler had been one of King James's favourite poets, and he had already been appointed first Queen Anna's Secretary-deputy, and shortly thereafter elevated to the full position of Her Majesty's Secretary. Since the move of the Scottish court to England in 1603, Fowler had become Queen Anna's Secretary and Master of Requests, a position he still held in 1611, the year The Tempest was written and presented at court.

Besides, since even before the birth of Prince Henry Frederick, King James had been celebrated as the author of The Lepanto, a heroic poem written in the summer of 1585 (cf. James VI and I, 1: xlvi) and first published in His Maiesties Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Hours (1591),<sup>34</sup> King James's second printed volume of verse. King James's poem celebrates the Battle of Lepanto, the mighty and decisive victory of the Christian Armada of the Holy League over the Turks in the Gulf of Patras, in the Ionian Sea on 7 October 1571. Lepanto is famous because it was the last great galley fight on record, and one of the most important naval battles in history, marking as it did the ultimate destruction of the Ottoman naval power in the Mediterranean.<sup>35</sup> Formed on 25 May 1571 in response to an appeal from Pope Saint Pius V (canonized in 1712), the Holy League included the Papal States; the Habsburg states of Spain, Naples and Sicily (but not the Holy Roman Empire); Venice and Genoa; the Grand Duchy of Tuscany; the Duchies of Savoy, Parma and Urbino; and the Knights of Malta. 'The fleet of the Order', as we can learn in the 'History' section of the Sovereign Military Hospitaller Order of St. John of Jerusalem of Rhodes and of Malta official site (<http://www.orderofmalta.org/storia.asp?idlingua=5>), 'then one of the most powerful in the Mediterranean', greatly contributed to the Christian feat. The Order of Malta's important role in Lepanto is a fact attested by many sources, although the fleet of the Order's power was not in its size but in the great skill and experience at sea of its men. If 'typically [the Order of Malta] had six to seven oared galleys plus irregular corsair ships' (Nicholson 120), this time only three galleys were sent to join the Holy League (Nicholson 124). The joint fleets of the Holy League fought alongside a large number of privately owned galleys, all under the leadership of Captain General of the Fleet Don John of Austria, The Emperor Charles V's bastard son and King Philip II of Spain's half-brother, who was universally reputed the great victor of Lepanto. This was the case with King James's poem, which mentions the Holy League and the Knights of Malta, but focuses on the role of the great Christian Leader Don John of Austria.<sup>36</sup> Given the role the Knights of Malta had played in 1571, an author who knew (as Shakespeare very likely did) that King James had written The Lepanto without

having actually read the heroic poem might believe that was another instance where the King demonstrated his full admiration for the famous Mediterranean Knights.

Maybe information about the Knights of Malta was not relevant to Shakespeare, who never refers to the Mediterranean island in any of his works, but he could have learned (or confirmed) that Antonio Pigafetta was a Knight of the Order of St John of Jerusalem on the preliminary matter (pages 215 and 216) to Eden's translation of Peter Martyr D'Anghera's version of Pigafetta's narrative, in which Pigafetta is twice referred to as a 'Knyght of the Rhodes' (cf. Arber 246 and 249). Accordingly, confirmation that Villegaignon belonged to the same order is found in the first chapters of any of the versions of either Thevet's Singularitez de la France Antartique or L ry's Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique. Thevet writes 'Mounsieur de Villegaignon, knight of Malta' (1568 1v) and L ry describes him as 'Villegaignon, Knight of Malta (that is, of the Order called "St. John of Jerusalem")' (1990 3). A 'Knight of Rhodes' or a 'Knight of Malta' is a member of the same Order of St John because during their period in Rhodes (1309-1522), the Knights Hospitallers or Knights of St John of Jerusalem had become widely known as the 'Knights of Rhodes', and after the move to Malta in 1530, they became popularly known as the 'Knights of Malta'.

Magellan and his successor Juan Sebasti n del Cano (in Modern Spanish, 'de Elcano') carried out their first circumnavigation of the world under the Spanish flag. My Figure 22 is The Discovery of Magellan's Sea, an engraving by Hans Galle after a sketch by Hans Stradan included in Theodor de Bry's Americae Pars Quarta (Frankfurt, 1594; plate XV). In an allegoric scene that resonates with images that may find echo in The Tempest, the sitting European navigator (the Portuguese Fern o de Magalh es, or Magellan), fully armoured as a Spanish conquistador, makes use of the spherical astrolabe (or armillary sphere) that made his feat possible. The ship's mast is decked with the arms of The Emperor Charles V, who, as King Charles I of Spain, had been the Portuguese navigator's sponsor.<sup>37</sup> I believe that Shakespeare came across this image while he was reading about Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe, because, as I indicate in my Figure 23, this illustration of Magellan and Pigafetta's voyage shows not only the 'lasting pillars' in the arms of The Emperor Charles V, but also possible prototypes of Prospero and an attending Ariel (Neptune and a god of the wind), Miranda and Ferdinand (a couple of innocent natives), Caliban (both as a savage/monster and as a fish), Alonso or Prospero (Magellan on the bridge of the ship), and Ariel again, this time both as an airy spirit (Apollo Citheroedus) and as a harpy. If we admit

that Shakespeare may have found this image in Americae Pars Quarta (there were 12 parts published in total), it is important to realise that de Bry's Americae Pars Tertia included a Latin version of Jean de Léry's Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil.

But I have suggested before that we returned to Richard Eden's work because he is Shakespeare's likely source for the name Setebos. On page 217 of Richard Eden's 1555 The decades of the newe worlde or West India, the passage about St Elmo's fire in the narrative of Antonio Pigafetta's voyage, we read the following:

For there appeared in theyr shyppes certeyne flames of fyre burnynge verye cleare, which they caul saynt Helen and saynt Nicolas. These appeared as though they had byn upon the mast of the shyppes, in such clearnesse that they took away their syght for the space of a quarter of an houre: by reason wherof, they so wandered owte of theyr course and were dispersed in sunder, that theyr in maner dispayred to meete ageyne. But as God wolde, the sea and tempest being quieted, they came safely to theyr determined course (Arber 250).

At this point the narrative is interrupted, and the author says that before he speaks any further 'of the vyage, I haue here thought good to saye somewhat of these straunge fyers, which sum ignorant folks thynke to bee spirites of suche other phantasies wheras they are but natural thynges proceadyng of natural causes and engendered of certeyne exhalations' (Arber 250). He then moves on to quote a whole paragraph from Hieronimus Cardanus in his 'seconde booke de Subtilitate' about the two lights of Saint Peter and Saint Nicolas. After that, already on page 218, Eden's translation reads 'Hetherto Cardanus. But let vs nowe returne to our vyage' (Arber 250). And the text continues,

When they had sailed paste the Equinoctiall lyne, they lost the sight of the north starre, and sayled by southweste untyll they came to a lande named the lande of Bressil which sum caule Brasilia, beinge. xxii. Degrees and a halfe toward the south pole or pole Antartyke. This lande is continuate and one firme lande with the cape of saynte Augustine whiche. is. viii. Degrees from the Equinoctiall. In this lande they were refreshed with many good frutes of innumerable kinds, and founde here also very good sugar canes and diuers kyndes of beastes and other thynges which I omitted for breuitie (Arber 250).

Not surprisingly given its geographical proximity to the Patagonian god Setebos, the passage about 'St Elmo's fire, great tempests and (perhaps partial prototypes of Caliban and his name) assorted giants and "Canibales" (Eden 216<sup>v</sup>-21<sup>r</sup>)' (here I am quoting the Vaughans

again) is about Magellan's stay in 'the lande of Bressil which sum caule Brasilia'. In fact, the rest of page 218 in the book where Shakespeare very likely read about Sycorax's god is about 'the greatnesse of the land of Brasile', 'Canibales' and 'Giantes', 'the pole Antartyke', and again about Giants; page 219 is about Giants, the devyll Setebos, and the Patagoni; and page 220 is about the Patagoni, the Giantes, the straight of Magellan and an Indian of the lande of Brasilie otherwise cauled Terra de papagalli (Cf. Arber 251-253). I find it possible to conclude that Shakespeare could well be reading Eden's book while looking for more information about the land where Montaigne's cannibals lived, or he picked Montaigne because Montaigne's essay was about the same area. It is also important to realise that this likely Shakespeare source opens with a dedicatory letter in Latin by Richardus Edenus ('Richard Eden') addressed to Charles V's son Philip and his wife Mary Tudor. This document may be of interest because in it reference is made to Philip and Mary's joint titles as Kings of England, Kings of Naples and Dukes of Milan,<sup>38</sup> among other titles (Arber 46). Finally, we also find Eden's claim that the discovery and conquest of the West Indies supplanted the Labours of Hercules (Arber 46), as well as references to Charles V and his motto Plus Ultra, to great riches to be found in the New World, to Gonzalo Ferdinando Oviedo, and even to the expedition of the Argonauts (Arber 47).

After Ariel confirms to Prospero with a sentence which somewhat also has Maltese associations ('Not a hair perished', 1.2.217)<sup>39</sup> that the King and all on board are safe, the magician asks about the King's ship and the rest of the fleet, to which Ariel famously replies:

Safely in harbour | Is the King's ship, in the deep nook where once | Thou called'st me up at midnight to fetch dew | From the still-vexed Bermudas, there she's hid; | The mariners all under hatches stowed, | Who, with a charm joined to their suffered labour, | I have left asleep; and for the rest o'th' fleet, | Which I dispersed, they all have met again, | And are upon the Mediterranean float, | Bound sadly home for Naples, | Supposing that they saw the King's ship wrecked, | And his great person perish. (1.2.224-237)

In 'Distraction in *The Tempest*', Chapter 6 of his book An Empire Nowhere, Jeffrey Knapp quotes E.E. Stolls, who in an early 20th-century article famously dismissed the American element in the play: "There is not a word in The Tempest, [...], about America or Virginia, colonies or colonizing, Indians or tomahawks, maize, mocking-birds, or tobacco. Nothing but the Bermudas, once barely mentioned as a faraway place, like Tokio [sic] or

Mandalay” (487).<sup>40</sup> Knapp cannot and does not deny the impact of Marxist and Post-colonial readings of *The Tempest*, but he says that

Stoll’s . . . primary point is difficult to shake: if Shakespeare draws so heavily on accounts of the shipwreck . . . of Sir Thomas Gates and his Virginia-bound colonists on Bermuda in 1609, then why does he also go out of his way to establish that the Bermudas are one place where his shipwrecked characters most definitely are not?’ (220)

This time I would like to claim Stoll’s point above in support of my suggestion that maybe Shakespeare knew and cared that many of his readings about the New World which complemented his Mediterranean scenario were not about the Bermudas but about ‘that other world’ we call Brazil. Witness (borrowing an expression from Francis Meres’s *Palladis Tamia*) his readings of Florio’s 1603 translation of Montaigne’s essay ‘Of the Caniballes’; Eden’s 1555 translation of Peter Martyr D’Anghera’s *De Orbe Novo Decades* (1530), *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India*; and Thomas Hacket’s 1568 translation of Master Andrewe Thevet’s *The new Found worlde, or Antarctike*.

But if there is not a word in *The Tempest* about tomahawks, maize, mocking-birds, or tobacco, there is not a word there either about ‘great swordes and Clubs of wood very heavy’ (*The new Found worlde, or Antarctike* 58r), longbows (‘their bowes are as long as oure bowes in Englande’ 58r) ‘Manihot’ (Thevet’s term for the manioc, 93r), ‘Toucans’ (73v), Cahonin (38v) or Cahouin (61v) (Thevet’s words for the Brazilian Indian’s fermented alcoholic drink cauim). Therefore, upon reading Knapp’s question above, I believe I should offer my explanation of why Shakespeare still chose to make the location of Prospero’s island quite obscure if, as I have just suggested, he was moving his audience away from the Bermudas or Virginia but not necessarily or entirely from the New World.

The way I understand it, Shakespeare’s option for *The Tempest*’s mostly lacking local colour can break down into three considerations. First, the book that I am suggesting as one of Shakespeare’s very likely sources about America, Thevet’s *The new Found worlde, or Antarctike*, though full of descriptions of Brazil (mainly Chapters 24-54; 58-60; 61 and 62), in many passages contributes to make Brazil invisible. Thevet was in Brazil for a relatively short period, from 10 November 1555 to 31 January 1556,<sup>41</sup> and it is typical of his cosmographical style that he intersperses his local descriptions and details with references from multiple geographical locations and historical periods, which means that his local colour is always colourful but not fully local every time.<sup>42</sup> I believe this is partially the reason for the

lack of unmistakable local colour, and Shakespeare is merely reproducing Brazilian invisibility as found in his source.

The other possibility has to do with Shakespeare, his own style, and his own agenda as he is writing The Tempest. As will be the case of the still to be written line about the ‘strange Indian with the great tool come to court’ in Shakespeare and John Fletcher’s All Is True (ca. 1613), Shakespeare may be not only reproducing but also producing Brazilian invisibility. Specifically, Shakespeare arguably knew that Brazil (or South America or the West Indies, but the Brazilian part of South America or the West Indies) already suffered from what I now characterize as Brazilian invisibility abroad. It is possible that our author saw probably no apparent reason to emphasize the location which had been many times synonymous with America about which he had researched possibly just because that was the place in the New World where King James’s mother’s favourite Knight of Malta had once lived.

This consideration also relates to Shakespeare’s general practice. I quote Wole Soyinka in his Shakespeare Survey article ‘Shakespeare and the Living Dramatist’: ‘When one examines the majority of Shakespeare’s plays very closely, there really is not much overt respect paid to ‘local colour’. If anything, the colour is not infrequently borrowed from elsewhere to establish a climate of relationships, emotions or conflicts: ‘Her bed is India; there she lies, a pearl’ (Troilus and Cressida, I.I.99)’ (4). I would suggest that Soyinka’s notion of Shakespeare’s borrowing ‘from elsewhere to establish a climate of relationships’ serves ‘the still-vexed Bermudas’ line by Ariel. Prospero’s spirit is clearly indicating to the audience that they are not in the Bermudas but there is a hint that they are still in a place, near ‘the deep nook’, which is somehow closer to the New World than to the Mediterranean or to the North of Africa.

I believe that this is also a possible way to read the rest of Ariel’s line, ‘and for the rest o’ th’ fleet, | Which I dispersed, they all have met again, | And are upon the Mediterranean float, | Bound sadly home for Naples’. For me, this could be an invitation to see the action as being constituted of three, not two moments: ‘and for the rest o’ th’ fleet, | Which I dispersed [first moment: Ariel disperses the fleet], they all have met again [second moment: the fleet meets again], | And are [now, third moment, as Ariel speaks] upon the Mediterranean float, | Bound sadly home for Naples’. I understand that since the shipwreck was witnessed by Miranda just a few minutes before, for the fleet to have met and to be bound sadly home for Naples on the Mediterranean might heavily depend on the fleet already being there to begin with. But as in the original discussion of the location of the island, this is a fleet that has been

in and out of a tempest which was the result of magic, so strict adherence to geographical precision is not necessarily invited. The same conclusion is also part of the final consideration that explains the ambiguity: the fact that in Shakespeare's final scenario maybe a single, unified, unequivocal location for Prospero's island was not something necessary. First, there is Soyinka himself later in the same article reminding us that "in The Tempest Shakespeare is concerned not with history, but with enchantment' (10).

Likewise, I am not concerned exclusively with what Shakespeare gave us (where he finally decided to locate Prospero's island); but really, with how he developed his plot (which islands in his readings may have contributed to his finished conception and what that contribution may have been). There may have been other reasons why Shakespeare finally produces Brazilian invisibility. I intend to go back to Shakespeare's and the Court's possible political agendas later in this chapter, when I discuss the possibility that The Tempest may have been revised sometime between its first presentation at court in 1611 and its publication in the First Folio of 1623. This revision could have produced further invisibility and perpetuated it in a way that makes it harder for us to see what may have been there in a more noticeable form before. But simply focusing on a possible revision would amount to mere speculation and I have to focus on the text we have. Consequently, I will continue presenting a series of scattered features which, as suggested before, are like traces in the palimpsest with which we were left in the Folio version of The Tempest. These elements are like markings on a cave wall or on the bark of a tree (what Archaeologists call 'culturally modified trees' or CMT's), and they can still indicate an unexplored direction which I aim to follow.

#### 3.4 – 'This damned witch Sycorax': Algiers, the Witch, Charles V's Expedition and Villegaignon

When Ariel acts 'moody' and demands his liberty (1.2.244-246), Prospero is forced to retell Ariel 'From what a torment' (251) he has freed his attendant spirit, not because, as Prospero suggest, Ariel may have forgotten it, but so that we, the audience, learn more about the history of the island:

PROSPERO. . . . Hast thou forgot | The foul witch Sycorax, who with age and  
envy | Was grown into a hoop? Hast thou forgot her?

ARIEL. No, sir.

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

ARIEL. Sir, in Algiers.

PROSPERO.

O, was she so — I must

Once in a month recount what thou hast been, | Which thou forget'st. This  
damned witch Sycorax, | For mischiefs manifold, and sorceries terrible | To  
enter human hearing, from Algiers | Thou know'st was banish'd — for one  
thing she did | They would not take her life. Is not this true?

ARIEL. Ay, sir. (1.2.257-268)

At this point, the audience (and even more so the reader and the critic, who will have more time to focus on this kind of detail) is faced with two obvious yet puzzling questions. The first is, 'Why did Shakespeare choose to have the dead Sycorax spring from Algiers?' The other, 'What had this 'foul witch' done that made people in Algiers banish rather than execute her?' Possibly unhappy with the answers they get, commentators have even speculated that the text (more specifically, Prospero's 'O, was she so —') 'leaves us in doubt as to the birthplace of Sycorax', because Prospero is 'about to contradict Ariel but does not do so,'<sup>43</sup> or that the name which Prospero mentions twice (Argier in the First Folio) may refer to some other location in the Mediterranean.<sup>44</sup>

The North African town of Algiers is a perfect location from which an exotic and evil, threatening and alluring witch would originate. Rachana Sachdev's 'Sycorax in Algiers: Cultural Politics and Gynecology in Early Modern England,' Chapter 11 in A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare, a collection Dymphna Callaghan edited and first published in 2000, is a good discussion of the contemporary English view of Algiers and of English anxieties about the North of Africa, and particularly about Northern African older women. Sachdev reproduces a passage from Samuel Purchas's Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes, containing a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Land Travels (1625) where Algiers is described as being 'the Whirle-poole of these Seas, the Throne of Pyracie, the Sinke of Trade and the Stinke of Slavery; the Cage of uncleane Birds of Prey, the Habitation of Sea-Devils, the Receptacle of Renegadoes of God, and Traytors to their Country.'<sup>45</sup>

Leah Marcus<sup>46</sup> has this to say about the passage above in her article 'The Blue-Eyed Witch': '. . . Charles Lamb found the passage puzzling "beyond measure" . . . until he read of the infamous career of an . . . Algerian witch . . . who had earned a reprieve from death by delivering Algiers from the siege of Emperor Charles V' (286).<sup>47</sup> Sycorax, the foul witch of whose existence the audience learns at this point, the dead but not forgotten mother of Caliban, clearly also has a point in common to a historical (or semi-historical/legendary)

figure; and though unnamed, this other figure once again has a definite relationship (this time one of opposition) to The Emperor Charles V. Marcus, however, does not attempt to incorporate this semi-historical prototype of Caliban's mother Sycorax into the overall pattern, and unable or unwilling to make most of the Charles V association, most modern critics and editors suggest or agree that the 'one thing she did' was to get pregnant with Caliban.<sup>48</sup> This is not to suggest that Sycorax's pregnancy might not have also been in Shakespeare's mind, as Prospero will next inform us that 'This blue-eyed hag was hither brought with child, | And here was left by th' sailors' (1.2.269-270), but obviously one reason for Sycorax's life having being spared should not rule out the other.

My Figure 43 is a picture showing Algiers in 1541, the year of The Emperor Charles V's failed attack there. Shakespeare may even have learned in one of his sources that the name of the town of Algiers (ريازجلا *al-jazā'ir*) means 'the islands' in Arabic. It refers to the four islands which lay off the Algerian coast until 1525, when they were connected to the mainland (Davis and Frankforter 14). The town had been conquered by Spain in the early 1510's, but when Barbary pirate Khayr ad-Dīn (Khairreddin or Khayr al-Din) Barbarossa ('Redbeard') established himself as Pasha of Algiers in the second half of the decade, the town became the chief seat of the Barbary pirates and the main centre of Ottoman authority in the area. The Spaniards managed to drive Barbarossa out in 1518, but the famous Barbary pirate captured Algiers again in 1529, and Suleiman the Magnificent appointed him as admiral of the Ottoman fleet in 1534, so that Barbarossa was the Algerian ruler against whom The Emperor Charles V launched his naval expedition in October 1541.

As I have mentioned before, Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon took part as a Knight of Malta in that failed expedition. More importantly, a 24-page book called Relation de l'expédition de Charles-Quint contre Alger appeared in Latin in 1542 under the title Caroli V. Imperatoris Expeditio in Africam ad Argieram. With the publication of this small work, Villegaignon 'demonstrated his impressive knowledge of Latin' (Shannon 1997b n. 39) and became a European bestseller. Other Latin editions (published in Venice, Antwerp, and Nuremberg), and a French translation (published in Lyon) were all published that same year (Mariz and Provençal 59), which also saw the first English translation, from the French, A lamentable and piteous treatise, published in London.

As a research student at the Shakespeare Institute, I came across Item 24894 in The English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC), which reads:

Vyllagon or Villegagnon, Sir Nicholas. A lamentable and piteous treatise, ... wherin is containd, not onely the enterprise of Charles V. to Angier in Affrique. But also the myserable chaunces of wynde and wether. Tr. out of Latyn into Frenche, and out of French into English. 1542. 8o. R. Grafton, [1542] L2 (not found). The description above is taken from Hazlitt, Handbook, p. 635.<sup>49</sup>

This is where I learned that as early as 1542 there was a translation from Villegagnon's original Latin into French, and from French into English that narrated not only the French Knight of Malta's own version of his exploits outside Sycorax's town, but also the fact that he had to face bad weather getting there. The ESTC also informs us that copies of that early volume do not survive. However, the octavo was probably still available to be read at the time of Shakespeare. The text was published from an earlier copy as late as 1744 by Samuel Johnson and William Oldys as part of the fourth volume of The Harleian Miscelanny: a Collection of Scarce, Curious, and entertaining Pamphlets and tracts, as well in Manuscript as in Print, Found in the Late Earl of Oxford's Library. Interspersed with Historical, Political, and Critical Notes. In The Harleian Miscelanny we can learn that the text was item number seventy-one in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library, and that the full title in English of Villegaignon's narrative was 'A lamentable and piteous Treatise, verye necessarye for euerie Christen Manne to read, wherin is containd, not onely the high Entreprise and Valeauntnes of Themperour Charles the. v. and his Army (in his voyage made to the Towne of Argier, in Affrique, agaynst the Turckes, the Enemyes of the Christen Fayth, Thinhabitoures of the same) but also the myserable Chaunces of Wynde and Wether, with dyuerse other Aduersites, hable to moue euen a stonye Heart to bewayle the same, and to pray to God for his Ayde and Succoure. Whiche was written and sent unto the Lorde of Langest. Truly and dyligently translated out of Latyn into Frenche, and out of Frenche into English'.

In the two occasions when Prospero mentions it in the F1 text of The Tempest, the name of the town from which Sycorax came has the form Argier, and editors modernize it to Algiers because Argier was a common Elizabethan spelling for the North African town. Early modern English spelling was notoriously fluid, though; and of the nine references to the same town in the English version of Villegaignon's narrative, for example, the form Argier appears in the title and twice in the text; Argiere occurs twice; and Argiers, four times.

Maybe the quality of Villegaignon's Latin prose was impressive, because Villegaignon biographers inform us that his Relation was a great success. Nonetheless, I have read the 1542

English version many times, and I find it rather dull. Naturally, this or other versions of the same exploit may have helped to establish the link between Villegaignon and Charles V in Shakespeare's mind, even if this particular narrative lacks any major passage or development which relates directly to Shakespeare's plot. However, there are details of interest to a possible connection to Shakespeare's play. First, we have the fact that in the relatively short text (twenty-four pages long in the original Latin, eleven pages long in the Harleian Miscelanny, just over twenty-one pages long in Times News Roman typeface font size 12 Word format), the word 'Tempest' appears twenty-five times ('there dyd sodaynlye aryse a meruelous greate Tempeste', 506; 'a wondrefull, sodayne, and sore Tempeste', 506; and *passim*). Then, The Tempest can be said to mirror The Emperor Charles V's Algiers expedition in that the royal fleet is shipwrecked by magic (though admittedly magic plays no role in Villegaignon's account and Shakespeare would have to find references to it in other sources). Likewise, just like Prospero's tempest disbanded Alonso the King of Naples's fleet, 'the great Violence and Vehemency of the Tempeste' (506) separates the Emperor's ship from seven other ships very early in the narrative. The Knights of Malta (called the Knights of the Rhodes or the Rhodians) are mentioned eight times in Villegaignon's Treatise, whereas Ferrante Gonzaga, Viceroy of Naples (called Ferrande, Ferrand, Fernande, or Fernand; but never Ferrante, the Italian form of the name) is mentioned five times. Fernande Gonzaga's name sounds similar to the name of the two main truly good characters among the Europeans in The Tempest, namely Prince Ferdinand and that 'noble Neapolitan', Gonzalo; but I shall return to these two names shortly. As I have mentioned before, ten years before this attack, Ferrante Gonzaga (\*1507, †1557) had been invested as a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece by The Emperor Charles V together with Mary Queen of Scots's father James V; the Emperor's son Philip of Austria (the future Philip II of Spain); and Andrea Doria, 1st prince de Melfi. Ferrante Gonzaga was Viceroy of Sicily from 1536 to 1546 and he commanded the imperial land forces against Algiers in 1541. Five years later, on 1 October 1546, Ferrante Gonzaga, by now Duke di Ariano, Prince di Molfetta, Lord di Guastalla, would be appointed Governor of Milan, and would rule the city for The Emperor Charles V until 1554.

There are further approximations to explore. According to Villegaignon's testimony, The Emperor Charles V departed 'from the Hauen of Ueneri, beyng accompanied with xxxvi. great ships' (506), whereas his galleys 'whiche were lade with Vytayles and Instruments of Warre', departed from Naples and Gene. From what I could confirm, this reference to Gene is to the Italian port of Genoa. My Figure 112 shows a detail from the map

of The Duchy of Milan in Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570), which shows that both Genoa and Portovenere for a certain period belonged to the Duchy of Milan. Specifically in 1541, the year of the Algiers expedition, Genoa was under the sphere of influence of the Duke of Milan, who was no other than The Emperor Charles V. Although a new Doge kept being appointed every two years, Genoa had been ruled by Genoese Admiral Andrea Doria since 1528. Having expelled the French, that same year Doria set up an oligarchic form of government (Webster's New Biographical Dictionary 291) in Genoa, where he would rule as 'Perpetual Censor' (having refused the title of Doge) until 1555. Also in 1528, and more importantly for our discussion, Doria had transferred allegiance from King François I of France to The Emperor Charles V and been named grand admiral of the Imperial Fleet and created Prince of Melfi by the Emperor. He was also, as we have seen, one of the Knights of the Golden Fleece whom The Emperor Charles V had invested with the Order in 1531. In the ill-fated Algiers campaign, Doria helped save the lives of many of the Emperor's troops. Villegaignon only mentions him once, towards the end of the narrative:

. . . and, after the Chaungyng of the Mone, the Rage and Fury of the Wynde ceased, and the sea waxed calme. In the whiche Tyme of Feare, and that the good Occasion and conuenient Tyme of our Departure shoulde not be loste, the Captayne of the Knightes of the Rhodes, hauyng Communicacyon with Themperour, obteyned to haue a certayne Companye with him, with whome Fernand Gonzaga goyng, I my selfe also departed from the sayde Place, and we arryued at the Towne of Tunes; but Themperour, by the Councell of Andridore, Captayne of his Nauye, did remayne till the Tempest was more allayed (514).

The Emperor Charles V's main fleet, therefore, departed from Naples and Milan (understood as the Duchy of Milan). Towards the end of Villegaignon's narrative, as we have seen, we learn that Villegaignon returned to Italy via Tunis. Finally, passages like the ones I quote below may have contributed to the overall atmosphere on board in the opening scene, and to Miranda's feelings upon witnessing the apparent wreck of the King's ship:

By the whiche intollerable Tempest there were so many beaten and febled, that both Strength and Courage feyled them together, by the Reason of the great Peine and Griefe, that they had endured. Durynge the whiche Tyme, the See roase more then euer it had beene sene before, and in suche a Rage, that many of our Shyppes, losyng theyr Ancres and theyr Gables, were broken and beaten in Peces against the See Bankes; the other, beyng filled with Water, were

drowned and sonke into the Depe, where was greate Losse and Damage, aswel of Apparel, Artillary, and other Prouision, as also of the Vytayles, wherewyth they were laden (510).

Contrary to what happens in The Tempest, a large number of people died in these shipwrecks, but not in Villegaignon's ship, from which they also become witnesses of the tempest and of the wreck of many ships:

ther was arryued a Ship, laden with Corne and other Vytayles; the whiche, sone after she was come into the Hauen, by the sore Tempests and Furye of the Winde, euen before our Eyes, was drowned and sonke; by the which Tempeste, although we susteyned no Hurte, yet I thought it mete to be spoken of, that ye may know what Feare we were in (513-514).

The fact that Villegaignon and his ship 'susteyned no Hurte' may also have contributed to the fact that after the storm in The Tempest there should be, in the words of Ariel 'Not a hair perish'd; | On their sustaining garments not a blemish'.

In an October 2003 Auction Sale, booksellers Reiss and Sohn ([http://www.reiss-sohn.de/kat91/pdf/91\\_3.pdf](http://www.reiss-sohn.de/kat91/pdf/91_3.pdf)) were offering a Latin version of the same text dating from 1554 which also mentions Tunis and includes maps of both Tunis and Algiers:

Scepper (Schepper), C. D.; ed. Rerum a Carolo V Caesare Augusto in Africa bello gestarum commentarii. Antwerpen, J. Bellère, 1554. Mit Druckerm. a. Titel u. 3 gefalt. Holzschn.-Taf. 8 nn., 183 num., 9 nn. Bll. (l. w.). Späterer Prgt. mit Rsch., etwas angeschmutzt. . . . First edition. A documentation on Emperor Charles' V. expedition against the North African Pirate-States. Compiled by Schepper, including extracts from writings by N. de Villegaignon, I. C. Calvete, P. Giovio and others. Illustr. with plans and views of Algiers, Tunis, and El Kef. — Some browning, small stain to 1 plate, small tear to another. — Later vellum, a bit dusty.

In his Nugae Criticae article (1823), Charles Lamb reproduces six paragraphs from John Ogilby's Accurate Description of Africa, published in Folio in 1670.<sup>50</sup> Ogilby's text as reproduced by Charles Lamb includes the following passage:

But . . . there was a witch of the town, whom the history doth not name, which went to seek out Assam Aga, that commanded within,<sup>51</sup> and pray'd him to make it good yet nine days longer, with assurance, that within that time he should infallibly see Algiers delivered from that siege, and the whole army of

the enemy dispersed, so that Christians should be as cheap as Birds. . . . the thing did happen in the manner as foretold . . . that same dreadful tempest was followed with the loss of fifteen galleys, and above an hundred other vessels; which was the cause why the Emperor, seeing his army wasted by the bad weather, pursued by a famine, occasioned by wrack of his ships . . . he was constrain'd to raise the siege . . . . In the mean time that witch being acknowledged the deliverer of Algier, was richly remunerated, and the credit of her charms authorized. So that ever since witchcraft hath been freely tolerated (493).

Aware that Shakespeare could not possibly have read the story of the Algerian witch in John Ogilby, Charles Lamb himself presents possible leads which his readers could follow: 'Ogilby wrote in 1670; but the authorities to which he refers for his Account of Barbary are — Johannes de Leo, or Africanus — Louis Marmol — Diego de Haedo — Johannes Gramaye — Bæves — Cel. Curio — and Diego de Torres — names totally unknown to me — and to which I beg leave to refer the curious reader for his fuller satisfaction' (493).

An author who was researching about Charles V would have probably learned in collections like the Rerum a Carolo V Cesare Augusto in Africa bello gestarum commentarii edited by Schepper (1554), or in other chroniclers like those John Ogilby used as sources about both Villegaignon's presence in the siege and the legend of the Algerian witch. It is curious that Johannes de Leo, or Africanus was unknown to Lamb, because he is obviously Leo Africanus (Joannes Leo, Joannes Africanus, or John Leo the African, ca. 1485 - ca. 1554), the author of the 1550 Descriptione dell' Africa. As Pekka Masonen explains in his article 'Leo Africanus: The Man with Many Names' (2002), Leo Africanus was born in Granada and was 'a household name amidst European geographers for almost three centuries. He was unanimously respected as the most authoritative source for the political and human geography of the Barbary Coast and Sudanic Africa, until the beginning of European exploration and expansion in the African continent proved his knowledge outdated' (115). John Pory, a former pupil of Richard Hakluyt's who would become a member of the Virginia Company in 1609, was encouraged by Hakluyt to translate Leo's Descriptione. Pory's work was published in London in 1600 as a 420-page long folio entitled A Geographical Historie of Africa, written in Arabicke and Italian. ... Before which ... is prefixed a generall description of Africa, and ... a particular treatise of all the ... lands ... undescribed by J. Leo ... Translated and collected by J. Pory. Bullough (Cf. 7: 208-211) believes that Shakespeare 'almost certainly consulted'

(208) Pory's translation of Leo Africanus for Othello, and Leo Africanus would be an authoritative source in which Shakespeare could have learned more details about the history of Algiers and the North African Barbary states.

Likewise, Louis Marmol is certainly Luís del Mármol Carvajal (Granada, ca.1520–1600), a Spanish historian from the same period, the author of La descripción general de Affrica, con todos los successos de guerras que a avido entre los Infieles, y el pueblo Christiano, y entre ellos mesmos desde que Mahoma invẽro su secta, hasta el año del Señor 1571 (1573-1599). The first two volumes were printed by J. Diaz at Granada; vol. 3, by J. Rene at Malaga. Mármol also wrote the Historia del Rebelión y Castigo de los Moriscos del Reyno de Granada (1600). All four volumes (in Spanish) are available in the British Library.

Lamb's Cel. Curio is Cælius Augustinus Curio or Cælius Augustinus Secundus (1538-1567), the author of Saracenicæ historiæ libri tres, ab eorum origine ad initium imperii Ottomanici, a three-volume work published in Basel in 1567 and in 1568, and in Frankfurt in 1596. His Historiæ was translated by Thomas Newton and published in English in 1575 under the title A Notable Historie of the Saracens. Briefly and faithfully descrybing the originall beginning, continuance and successe aswell of the Saracens, as also of Turkes, Souldans, Mamalukes, Assassines, Tartarians and Sophians. With a discourse of their Affaires and Actes from the byrthe of Mahomet their first peeuish Prophet and founder for 700 yeares space. Whereunto is annexed a Compendious Chronycle of all their yeerely exploitcs ... tyll this present yeere of grace. 1575. Drawen out of Augustine Curio and sundry other good Authours by Thomas Newton.

As for Diego de Torres, from Valencia, he is the author of the Relación del Origen y Sucesso de los Xarifes y del Estado de los Reinos de Marruecos, Fez, etc. It was published in Seville in 1586, and an original Spanish copy with 'Copious MS. notes' is in the British Library. There is probably no need to study the work of Diego de Haedo (or Diego de Haëdo), because he is the author of the Topografía e Historia General de Argel, which was only published in Valladolid in 1612; or Jean-Baptiste Gramaye, the author of the Diarium rerum Argelae gestarum ab anno M.DC.XIX, published in Cologne in 1623. However, both Haedo and Gramaye, along with Bæves (an author whom I have not found in my research), could still provide us with further earlier bibliographical references to which Shakespeare might have had access in 1611 or before that date.

### 3.5 – ‘Caliban her son’: Wooden Slavery and Tormenting Spirits in Prospero’s Island and in Antarctic France

As I had the opportunity to mention before, Sycorax ‘in her most unmitigable rage’ (1.2.276) confined Ariel ‘Into a cloven pine, within which rift | Imprisoned thou didst painfully remain | A dozen years; within which space she died | And left thee there, where thou didst vent thy groans | As fast as mill-wheels strike. Then was this island — | Save for the son that she did litter here, | A freckler whelp, hag-born — not honoured with | A human shape’ (1.2.277-284). To this recollection by Prospero, Ariel adds, ‘Yes, Caliban her son.’ This is only the second time in the play that Caliban is mentioned, and the first time that he is mentioned by name. Fifteen lines earlier he had been briefly referred to as the child the blue-eyed hag was expecting. Now, still before meeting Caliban, the audience has learned that his mother was a foul witch, that Prospero thinks of him as an animal (‘the son that she did litter here’, ‘A freckler whelp, hag-born’), and that he is Prospero’s slave (‘Dull thing, I say so; he, that Caliban | Whom now I keep in service’). Since the audience has no reason to doubt Prospero’s testimony, the passage sets the tone in anticipation of our first meeting with Caliban thirty-five lines later in the same scene.

I have discussed Caliban’s name and the word cannibal in my Chapter 1, where I have indicated how in The new Found worlde, or Antarctike, Thomas Hacket’s 1568 translation of Thevet’s work, we find the spelling Canibals and how in Thevet, just like in Montaigne’s references to the Caniballes, the word refers to the Brazilian, not the Caribbean variety of New World anthropophagi. Likewise, I have called my readers’ attention to the fact that the singular form of Thevet’s word is a perfect anagram for the name of Shakespeare’s character. Though some critics and annotators treat certain references in the text of The Tempest as being unequivocal, others may find it difficult to accommodate these same references into patterns that fully satisfy them. This has sometimes been the case with Caliban’s name, and a series of possible Old World associations have been made over the years.<sup>52</sup>

In their discussion of Caliban’s name and the words cannibal and Carib for their Shakespeare’s Caliban: A Cultural History (1993), Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan focus on the West Indies/Caribbean context. As their work is a cultural history, I do not blame it for reproducing Brazilian invisibility abroad. What Shakespeare’s Caliban: A Cultural History does instead is to attest to Brazilian invisibility abroad by showing that

Shakespearian critics have always focussed on the West Indies and the Caribbean context when analysing Caliban's name from the time the association between Caliban and cannibal was first made in print in Samuel Johnson and George Steevens's 1778 edition of Shakespeare's works.<sup>53</sup> Although the Vaughans consider that another 'stumbling block to the acceptance of the "cannibal" explanation is its late emergence in print' (30), the authors mention the presence of the word Caribana on contemporary maps of South America, and the word Brazilian occurs seven times in their book. However, five occurrences are in references to Montaigne's essay, which is usually referred to as 'Montaigne's essay on Brazilian cannibals'; and the other two are made in general references to the use by later age Latin Americans of Caliban as a colonial metaphor. We do learn in a note on page 31 that 'he [Shakespeare] surely read' Montaigne's essay; yet Brazil is never really identified as a New World location in Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History the way Canada (Cf. 46), for instance, is. The word Brazil is never used in the entire book and there are only five references to South America, of which only the one about the word Caribana mentioned above relates to the early modern age. Meanwhile, the word Virginia occurs twenty-seven times; Caribbean, twenty-six; Bermuda, nineteen; and Carib, nine. As expected, the text never mentions Villegaignon, and though Thevet is mentioned three times, the Vaughans' readers would be excused to conclude that Thevet wrote exclusively about Canada, for they never learn that The new Found worlde, or Antarctike by 'French explorer/historian André Thevet' is about a voyage to Brazil.

Keeping this fact from their readers in Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History, Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan produce Brazilian invisibility abroad. Naturally, there are many authors who are not only fully aware of who André Thevet was, but who also make it clear in their writings that Les singularités de la France Antartique (as well as its first English translation, The new Found worlde, or Antarctike) was overall about a voyage to Brazil. My reader can find a few of them (such as Kenneth Andrews, Miguel de Asúa, Monique Augras, Augusto Tasso Fragoso, Roger French, Stephen Greenblatt, John Hemming, Jean de Léry, Frank Lestringant, Vasco Mariz, Cristina Oswald, Lucien Provençal, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Roger Schlesinger, Silvia Shannon, Arthur P. Stabler, A. de Lyra Tavares, and Daniel Touzaud) in my Selected List of Works Consulted. However, my premise considers such individuals who acknowledge Brazil because for one reason or another they have a closer or stronger link to the country or its people as exceptions to the general rule. Therefore, Brazil or Thevet may be part of their academic interests and they tend not to

produce Brazilian invisibility, but in spite of what these authors write in their works, Brazil may remain invisible because invisibility does not result from something not being present but rather from it not being seen.<sup>54</sup> The Vaughans also contribute to Brazilian invisibility when they leave no doubt about their own conclusion about Caliban's name: 'The gypsy "cauliban" seems to us more plausible than the Caribbean "cannibal," . . . but we stop short of advocacy' (278). I would argue that what I know about The Emperor Charles V allows me to establish connections between the famous European ruler, slavery and gypsies.<sup>55</sup> However, if I accept Caliban as a Romany name in detriment of the New World element in The Tempest, a few of those details which I have decided to investigate, such as Ferdinand's piling up of logs, the Patagonian god Setebos, Ariel's 'still-vexed Bermudas', and Miranda's 'brave new world' remain as puzzling as they have ever been.

In discussing possible historical contexts for The Tempest in Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History, the Vaughans indicate that Shakespeare wrote Caliban as a more complex, ambiguous paradigm than the different Indians, 'American or otherwise', whom he found in his sources, and they suggest that

In short, Caliban melds Europe's accounts of the Indian: a bit of Thevet's 'brute beast', some of Montaigne's noble Brazilians, but mostly the more ambivalent Indians that abound in the collections of Richard Eden and Richard Hakluyt and in the numerous pamphlets, letters, and sermons by Shakespeare's contemporaries' (50).

This is certainly true, but as we have seen, it is possible to claim that the Brazilian element in this sometimes contradictory and at other times ambivalent views of American Indians which come together in the figure of Caliban is much more consistent than Shakespearian critics have ever been willing or able to see. If Montaigne's noble cannibals were Brazilian, so were also Thevet's brute beasts. As for some of the most relevant passages in Eden (those about St Elmo's fire and the Patagonian god Setebos), they are also full of references to Brazil, and they should make the approximation between Caliban and a native Brazilian prototype considerably less far-fetched.

Back in the play, Prospero tells Ariel to go make himself like a nymph of the sea, invisible to all but Prospero and himself. Prospero then wakes Miranda from her sleep, and invites his child to 'visit Caliban, my slave, who never | Yields us kind answer' (1.2.308-309). Miranda is not happy with the prospect of visiting Caliban, but Prospero insists on a utilitarian

view and emphasizes Caliban's usefulness as a slave: 'We cannot miss him: he does make our fire, | Fetch in our wood, and serves in offices | That profit us' (1.2.311-313).

When Prospero shouts for Caliban, the word 'slave' is uttered before Prospero even mentions Caliban's name. Caliban is clearly unwilling to come out, and his reply from within (probably from within the central alcove or 'discovering place' on the Elizabethan stage) signals what his most typical obligation is: 'There's wood enough within' (314). The importance of wood in the list of Caliban's offices that profit Prospero and Miranda has not escaped the attention of painters and illustrators who have produced images of the play. In my Figure 31, I reproduce the work A scene from The Tempest, by William Hogarth (1697-1764), a painting which is dated to ca. 1728 or sometimes to 1736. It is the first known scene from Shakespeare by a British painter, and the first known illustration of Caliban (shown in detail as my Fig. 32). My Figures 33 to 41 reproduce some of the most famous images of Caliban from the period between 1775 and 1918 and they illustrate how Caliban's appearance has varied considerably over the centuries, according to different cultural and ideological circumstances and each artist's own interpretation of Shakespeare's words. Yet, together with Hogarth's work they also attest to how much since the very first image bearing wood or logs has become one of Caliban's trademarks, and how much it has remained one of the main items in Caliban's iconography.

Prospero insists with harsh words that Caliban come out, and the slave does so with his mouth full of curses. The exchange that follows can be quite interesting to our analysis of Shakespeare's sources for The Tempest. Prospero threatens Caliban with, 'For this, be sure, to-night thou shalt have cramps, | Side-stitches that shall pen thy breath up; urchins | Shall, for that vast of night that they may work, | All exercise on thee; thou shalt be pinch'd | As thick as honeycomb, each pinch more stinging | Than bees that made 'em' (1.2.325-330); to which Caliban replies,

I must eat my dinner. | This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother, | Which thou tak'st from me. When thou cam'st first, | Thou strok'st me and made much of me, wouldst give me | Water with berries in't, and teach me how | To name the bigger light, and how the less, | That burn by day and night; and then I lov'd thee, | And show'd thee all the qualities o' th' isle, | The fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place and fertile. | Curs'd be I that did so! All the charms | Of Sycorax, toads, beetles, bats, light on you! | For I am all the subjects that you

have, | Which first was mine own king; and here you sty me | In this hard rock,  
whiles you do keep from me | The rest o' th' island. (1.2.330-344).

Many times in the play, Caliban complains of being tormented by spirits Prospero has set upon him. Deriving as they do from Prospero's Art, his magical powers, these tormenting spirits are deeply associated both in Prospero's and in Caliban's minds with Caliban's subjugation and his, albeit reluctant, acceptance of his slave condition and willingness to perform his tasks as a slave. Peter Hulme characterises that by saying that magic in the play occupies 'the space inhabited in colonial history by gunpowder' (1981 74). For Caliban in particular the tormenting spirits are strongly associated with his attempts through cursing to challenge Prospero and maybe cause him some physical pain; and particularly with his resigned 'wooden slavery', to borrow the term used by Ferdinand in 3.1.62, when the Prince of Naples is in a similar condition.

Thus, at the opening of Act 2, scene 2, we are probably in another part of the island when Caliban enters 'with a burden of wood', and a 'noise of thunder [is] heard'. After Caliban curses Prospero, the slave describes the typical afflictions that his powerful master usually has in store for him; and he clearly mistakes Trinculo, the King of Naples's jester, for one of Prospero's hurting spirits:

CALIBAN. All the infections that the sun sucks up | From bogs, fens, flats, on  
Prosper fall, and make him | By inch-meal a disease! His spirits hear me, | And  
yet I needs must curse. But they'll nor pinch, | Fright me with urchin-shows,  
pitch me i' th' mire, | Nor lead me, like a firebrand, in the dark | Out of my way,  
unless he bid 'em; but | For every trifle are they set upon me; | Sometime like  
apes that mow and chatter at me, | And after bite me; then like hedgehogs  
which | Lie tumbling in my barefoot way, and mount | Their pricks at my  
footfall; sometime am I | All wound with adders, who with cloven tongues | Do  
hiss me into madness.

Enter TRINCULO

Lo, now, lo! / Here comes a spirit of his, and to torment me / For bringing  
wood in slowly. I'll fall flat; / Perchance he will not mind me (2.2.1-17).

Later in the same scene, we have a similar exchange between Caliban and Stephano, the King of Naples's drunken butler:

CALIBAN. Do not torment me. O!

STEPHANO. What's the matter? Have we devils here? Do you | put tricks upon 's with savages and men of Ind? Ha! I | have not scap'd drowning to be afear'd now of your four | legs; for it hath been said: As proper a man as ever | went on four legs cannot make him give ground; and it | shall be said so again, while Stephano breathes at | nostrils.

CALIBAN. The spirit torments me! O!

STEPHANO. This is some monster of the isle with four legs, | who hath got, as I take it, an ague. Where the devil | should he learn our language? I will give him some | relief, if it be but for that. If I can recover him, and | keep him tame, and get to Naples with him, he's a | present for any emperor that ever trod on neat's | leather.

CALIBAN. Do not torment me, prithee; I'll bring my wood | home faster (2.2.55-70).

Later still, in Act 3, scene 2, after Stephano has already captured Caliban's allegiance thanks to the prospect of ending Caliban's bondage to Prospero but especially because of the royal butler's 'celestial liquor', Caliban suggests that Stephano kill Prospero and become his new master. Caliban is clearly willing to serve he who will prevent Prospero's tormenting spirits from attacking him:

CALIBAN. I say, by sorcery he got this isle; | From me he got it. If thy greatness will | Revenge it on him-for I know thou dar'st, | But this thing dare not-

STEPHANO. That's most certain.

CALIBAN. Thou shalt be lord of it, and I'll serve thee (3.2.49-56)

I have never seen the passages about Caliban and Prospero's tormenting spirits annotated in connexion to any of Shakespeare's known sources for The Tempest. Neither have I seen them sufficiently explained in a way that would account at the same time for all the elements we have identified. There is the magical or supernatural element (Prospero's Art and the role of the tormenting spirits in determining Caliban's allegiance); the enslaved native's submission to enslavement (as in Caliban's 'I'll serve thee'); and the specific reference to wood or log-bearing (as in Caliban's 'Do not torment me, prithee; I'll bring my wood | home faster'). I believe that in Thevet's The new Found worlde, or Antarctike we find a possible source with a parallel which brings these three elements together in a way that could have stayed with Shakespeare when he came to write about Prospero and Caliban's

master-slave relationship. In Chapter 35 of Thevet's book, entitled 'Of visions, dreames and illusions, that these Americans haue, and of the persecution that they receiue of wicked spirites', Thevet is yet another time referring to native Brazilians when he writes of Agnan (the Old Tupi word for a wicked spirit or a devil; and, after contact with Christian catechists, a word which is also used of the Devil):

It is a wonderful thing, that these pore men although they be not reasonable, for that they are depriued frō the right use of reason, and from the knowledge of God, are subiect to many fantastical illusions & persecutiōs of wicked spirites. We haue said that before the coming of our sauior Jesus Christ, we wer in like maner vexed: for the deuil studieth onely to seduce that creature that hath no knowledge of God. Euen so these pore Americans do oftentimes see a wicked spirite, sometimes in one forme, & sometimes in an other, the which they name in their lāguage Agnan, the which spirit persecuteth them day and night, not onely their soule, but also their body, beating them, and doing them much iniury, so that you shal hear them make a pitiful cry, saying in their lāguage, (if there be any Christian by or neare,) cast thou not Agnan that beateth me defend me if thou wilt that I shal serue thee, and cut thy wood: for many times they will trauail to the Brasel wood for a final reward. (52r)

Because sometimes Ariel acts on his own and sometimes he resorts to other spirits, and because Caliban seems to be oblivious to Ariel's identity, it is not clear in the play whether Caliban is accurate in his interpretation of what happens. But this is also the case with Thevet's 'pore men'. I would suggest that we could use Thevet's terms to describe Caliban's condition. The tormenting, 'wicked spirites' that persecute Caliban also come to him 'sometimes in one forme, & sometimes in an other', also persecute him 'day and night', and also beat him and do him 'much iniury'. As a result, we see in the play Caliban make 'a pitiful cry' and ask Prospero, 'cast thou not' these spirits against him; and Stephano, to defend him 'that I shal serue thee, and cut thy wood'.

Thomas Hacket's 1568 translation of Thevet's Singularitez, The new Found worlde, or Antarctike, was published without woodcut illustrations, but Shakespeare could find illustration of this and other related works about Brazil in other editions, and that is why I reproduce a selection of them in my Annex 2.<sup>56</sup> My Figure 84 illustrates Chapter 16 of Jean de Léry's 1578 Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique, 'What One Might Call Religion among the savage Americans, etc.', the passage where Léry

discusses the same evil spirits (called Aygnan in Léry) that according to both his and Thevet's testimonies afflict 16th-century native Americans (Brazilians). My Figure 97 is Theodor de Bry's version of the same image, and that version could also have inspired the writing of The Tempest, and the scenes between Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo in particular.

It is possible to broaden the pattern if we consider that both Europeans in the scene, by trying to analyse what they see before succumbing to what are apparent superstitious reactions, reproduce Thevet's Christian interpretation of what he witnesses on his island. Thevet was apparently aware of the possibility of it being all a superstitious reaction on the part of the Brazilian natives or a mere figment of their imagination. Yet, he was finally convinced by what he saw: 'And I thought that it had bene a Fable when it was shewed me first, but I have seene by experience this wicked spirite to be driuen out by a Christian in inuocating & naming Jesus Christ' (52r). We can compare that with the drunken butler Stephano's lines, 'What's the matter? Have we devils here? Do you | put tricks upon's with savages and men of Ind?' (2.2.56-57). Later, because Trinculo, who is hidden under Caliban's gaberdine, shouts his name, Stephano is convinced: 'Doth thy other mouth call me? Mercy, mercy! | This is a devil, and no monster; I will leave him; I have no | long spoon' (2.2.92-94). Trinculo the jester follows Thevet's development even closer, because he first behaves even more rationally. He can see Caliban is a man despite his 'very ancient and fish-like smell' (2.2.24-25), but he cannot understand how he recognizes the voice of a friend whom he believes to be dead: 'I should know that voice. It should be — but he is drowned, and these are devils — O defend me! (2.2.83-84)

There are likewise clues about the two worlds, the Old and the New, that come together in the play in what each of the Neapolitans thinks he would like to do with Caliban. Trinculo wishes he were in England, where he was once and where he could make money out of Caliban: 'When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, | they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian.' (2.2.31-32). As for Stephano, he says, 'If I can recover him, and keep him | tame, and get to Naples with him, he's a present for any | emperor that ever trod on neat's leather' (2.2.66-68). The reference to 'any emperor' here is obviously a way to refer to the highest position a man can get. What Stephano means is to say that Caliban (along with Trinculo, who unawares to Stephano is also hid under Caliban's gaberdine) is such a rare monster of the isle, with four legs and speaking our language, that he would make a great present even for someone as important as an emperor. It is interesting, though, that the same scene which has references to 'a dead Indian' and to 'men of Ind' also has a reference to

Naples immediately associated with making a gift to an emperor. As we know, from the discovery of America until Shakespeare's time (Cf. my 'Rulers List' in my Appendix G), the only Emperor who was also King of Naples (from 23 January 1516 to 25 July 1554) was The Emperor Charles V.

Back in Act 1, scene 2, the first scene in which the audience witnesses Prospero threatening Caliban with cramps through his tormenting spirits, after Prospero does so once more ('Shrug'st thou, malice? | If thou neglect'st, or dost unwillingly | What I command, I'll rack thee with old cramps, | Fill all thy bones with aches, make thee roar, | That beasts shall tremble at thy din', 1.2.367-370); Caliban tells his master, 'No, pray thee', the slave utters the following aside to the audience: 'I must obey. His art is of such pow'r, | It would control my dam's god, Setebos, | And make a vassal of him' (371-373).

Although the god Caliban inherited from his mother is mentioned in the play briefly and only twice, the name is unequivocally presented as originally having been his mother Sycorax's god, and then as the god that Caliban himself follows. Because if in this first reference Caliban's worship is merely implied, Setebos is the god whose name Caliban himself exclaims in surprise in 5.1.21, upon seeing for the first time his master Prospero in his ducal robes.

I have mentioned Setebos in Chapters 1 and 2, and again earlier in this chapter in my discussion of the passage about St Elmo's fire and the god Setebos in the narrative by Antonio Pigafetta included in Richard Eden's 1555 The decades of the newe worlde or West India, Eden's translation of Peter Martyr D'Anghera's De Orbe Novo which he also republished in his 1577 History of Travaile. As I have tried to demonstrate before, although Setebos is a Patagonian deity or devil, the approximation with Brazil is inescapable if you return to Eden's English version of D'Anghera's Latin version of Pigafetta's narrative intent on not suffering from Brazilian invisibility abroad. I consider that the name Setebos is inextricably linked to a convincing answer to the question I have originally raised in Chapter 1, namely, 'why should an African witch worship a Patagonian devil?' Alternatively, and even more specifically, why should a witch from the Barbary Coast town of Algiers worship a Patagonian devil? The name Setebos was left by Shakespeare as another puzzling detail inviting us to take the lead of Charles V's motto Plus Ultra ('More Beyond' or 'Even Further'), and go beyond the Pillars of Hercules. That is why I see it as one of those traces, or indicators, such as Caliban's name, and Ariel's reference to the Bermudas, that the geography of The Tempest can incorporate the Mediterranean more fully but that should not mean leaving the New World behind entirely.

Shakespeare wrote The Tempest almost one hundred and twenty years after Columbus reached the New World, and I find it very hard to believe that the world of The Tempest fits into a pre-Columbian Ptolemaic world map, such as my Figure 101.

We learn from Prospero that Sycorax sprang from Algiers, that she was pregnant when she was brought to the island, and that she was left there by ‘the sailors’. My discussion which follows is not an exercise in character criticism and ‘anterior’ or extra-textual speculation similar to the proverbial question which L. C. Knights appropriately criticizes in his widely famous essay ‘How Many Children Had Lady Macbeth?’<sup>57</sup> My objective remains the same as I have stated before, and it is as part of an analysis of the genesis of Shakespeare’s plot, and the author’s original readings of sources to support the composition of his text that I invite my reader to focus for a moment on the ‘pre-history’ of The Tempest. Although the audience learns very little about the sea voyage that brought Sycorax to the island, we know that it predates Prospero and Miranda’s own arrival there by a dozen years. Admittedly, the ideas that lie behind Prospero’s recollection of what Ariel told him about this sea crossing are sketchily presented to the audience. Yet Sycorax’s sea voyage is mentioned by Prospero, and I believe I am entitled to argue that it belongs to Shakespeare’s original concept of who Caliban’s dead mother was and what she is supposed to represent. Therefore, although it was possibly just briefly sketched out, it could still find echo in Shakespeare’s sources, even if in the final version not much was made of it. Sycorax’s voyage was from Algiers in the North of Africa to an island location which, according to the evidence I am presenting, could be linked not only to the Mediterranean, but also and particularly to Fort Coligny, Villegaignon’s island in the New World.

As we can learn in The new Found worlde, or Antarctike, Thevet’s voyage started at new Hauen (nowadays Le Havre, in Normandy, France),<sup>58</sup> instead of in the North of Africa, but nobody is suggesting an approximation between Sycorax the Algerian witch and Villegaignon, who was a French Knight of Malta, or Thevet, who was a French Franciscan. But even Villegaignon and Thevet travel to Brazil in 1555 along a sea route which has them sail past (this time not through) the Pillars of Hercules, down the Atlantic Barbary Coast and then further South, following the Western coast of the African continent. This is the beginning of Thevet’s Chapter 2:

Coasting Spaine on the lefte hand, with a calme and fauorable winde, we came ouer against Gibaltar, not striking our sayle, nor casting anker very nere, for many causes (2) . . . . In this straight of the sea Meditareum, there be two

Moūtanyes of a wonderful height, one on the coste or side of Africa, in tymes paste named Calpe, and now Gibaltar, the other Abyle, the which both together are called the Colūnes, or pillers of Hercules (2v-3v)

In Chapter 4, entitled ‘The fourth Chapter treateth of Africa particularly’, the French Franciscan narrates how Villegaignon’s ships sailed past the Barbary Coast: ‘Nowe as concerning that parte of Africa the which we have coasted towards the West, as Mauritania, and Barbaria, so named because of the diuersitie and strange maner of the inhabitants, it is inhabited with Turkes, Moores, and others borne in the countrey’ (5r). Although it was never a unified political entity, the Barbary Coast of which Algiers and Tunis were part extended along the Mediterranean from the western border of Egypt well into Morocco on the Atlantic Ocean. One could well expect the sailors who took Sycorax to Prospero’s island to have followed a similar route to Villegaignon and Thevet’s if they were indeed sailing towards the same area of the world.

Interspersed with details about other lands, Chapters 5 to 21 of The new Found worlde, or Antarctike follow Thevet and Villegaignon’s ships down the Atlantic and along the African coast, as Thevet describes the main features about which he has heard or which he has seen in diverse Atlantic islands, the African continent, and the equatorial zone. Finally, Chapter 22 of Thevet’s The new Found worlde, or Antarctike is entitled, ‘Of the promentarie of good hope, and of many secrets observed in the same, likewise our Ariuall to the Indies, America, or Fraunce Antartike’. In this chapter, Thevet informs us that on their way from France to America or Brazil, Villegaignon’s ships followed the West African coast (called ‘the coste of Ethiopia’) past the equator (‘the Equinoctiall lyne’) and the Tropic of Capricorn (‘the Tropike of winter’) all the way down to the Cape of Good Hope:

After that we have passed the Equinoctiall lyne, and the Ilande of S. Homer, following the coste of Ethiopia, the which is called India Meridionall, it behoved to follow our course evē to the Tropike of winter, about the which time we discouered the great & famous Promentarie of good hope, the which the pilots have named Lyon of the Sea, bicause that it is feared and redouted, being so great and dificil. (34r-34v)

What follows is a characteristic digression about the rhinoceros, the elephant and other beasts of Ethiopia (central Africa); mentions of Egypt, Arabia, Alexandria; and brief references to East India, the Indic Sea, the River Indus, Tartaria and the River Tartar, among other places. In less than two pages, Thevet mentions classical authorities such as Pliny and

Aristotle, the magical properties of the horn of a fabulous beast (the unicorn), and legendary figures such as Prester John. Fifty-three lines after the passage quoted above, the description of how to get to America finally continues, and we learn that it was by the Cape of Good Hope that Villegaignon's ships turned right to go to America:

The other way at the departing of this Caape that is on the right hand, leadeth to America, the which we followed having the wind good and favorable, nevertheless we remayned a good long time on the water, as well for the distaunce of the places, as for the winde that afterwards fell contrarie, the which made us to lynger euen to the eighteen degree of our lyne, and then agayne it began to fauor us. Before passing any farther I will shewe a thing that is worthy of memorie. Aproching or drawing neere to America, within fiftie leagues we began to smell the ayre of the lande, otherwise than the smell of the sea, with such a sweete and pleasant smell of the Trees, Herbes, Fruits, and Flowers of the countrey, that never balme were it the balme of Egypt, that ever smell sweeter or pleasanter. (35r-35v)

My Figure 53 is a 20th-century map of Africa in the 15th-17th centuries, showing the main maritime trade routes at the time. It shows a route from the Cape of Good Hope to America such as the one mentioned by Thevet in his Les singularitez de la France Antarctique. If Shakespeare complemented what he could read about Villegaignon's voyage by looking at contemporary maps, a likely choice would be one of the many versions of Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570). As for my Figure 16, it is Africae Tabula Nova, or a 'New map of Africa'. The fact that Brazil is the region of America that is the closest to Africa is demonstrated by the fact that Ortelius' map of Africa also shows Bresiliae pars ('a part of Brazil') to the West of the African continent, a large mass of land at an apparently not very long distance across the Oceanus Aethiopicus (the Atlantic Ocean). The same map shows Barbaria (the Barbary Coast, painted green in this version), and how it includes both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic coasts. Because the size of the original map was much bigger than the reproduction, I show details of the same map as Figs. 17 and 18. My Figure 30 illustrates the same point in a map of South America by Flemish cartographer Gerardus Mercator (1512-1594). It shows the lands of Cariabana, Brasilia and the Land of the Patagones, and this time it is part of Africa (Africae pars) which can be seen to the Northeast.

Assuming that Shakespeare was reading about native Brazilians in his research for The Tempest, the next question would be why Caliban's god is not the Brazilian god Toupan

(mentioned by Thevet in Chapter 28 of The new Found worlde, or Antarctike). One possible explanation is that what Shakespeare read about Toupan did not impress him as much as what he found in Eden about Setebos. Another possibility may have to do with Shakespeare's poetical ear or metrical mind: Tou - pan has two syllables, whereas Set - eb - os — just like Ca - lib - an — clearly has three. Besides, Shakespeare could have favoured Setebos because of the fact that in Shakespeare's readings Setebos was a New World deity associated through Magellan's voyage of circumnavigation, Pigafetta and Eden with King Charles I of Spain, The Emperor Charles V. I believe that this factor could have become uppermost in Shakespeare's mind as he was collecting data for and composing The Tempest.

Setebos is nonetheless a South American, not a Caribbean or a Virginian deity. Famous as it had become in Europe since the first narratives of Magellan's circumnavigation of the world (completed by Juan Sebastián de Elcano, as we have seen, in September of 1522), the Regio Gigantum or Land of the Patagoni or Patagones was a very common feature of New World maps of the period (q.v. my Figs. 10, 30, 59). Thevet himself mentions the 'Country of the Giants' in Chapter 27, when he is describing America in general after having arrived in Guanabara Bay in Chapter 24 (the chapters about Brazil, as I have mentioned, are mainly Chapters 24-54; 58-60; 61 and 62). Having just described Antarctic France for about thirty chapters, the Franciscan cosmographer briefly mentions the Patagonians, but without using this word, in his Chapter 55, 'Of the Ryuer of Platte, and the country adiacent.' In the passage, Thevet associates the South American giants with the Brazilian cannibals: 'True it is that about a hūdreth leagues beyond [the River Plate], there are other wylde men that make warre with them [a group of Christianized natives in the River Plate region], being stoute men and of great stature, almost like Gyants. And they live with little other fode than humaine fleshe as the Canibals' (87r).

As I have tried to indicate, Shakespeare's choice of Setebos (a Patagonian deity) does not move us considerably away from Brazil, and it moves us even less if you read Eden, as Shakespeare probably did. It also keeps us close enough to Brazil if among Shakespeare's readings about America he read about Antarctic France and read Thevet's narrative of Villegaignon's voyage to Brazil. In Thevet, a voyage from France to Villegaignon's island (the Brazilian prototype that contributes certain key elements to Shakespeare's composite island location) takes sailors along the Barbary Coast and down the Western African coast as far South as the Cape of Good Hope before they go to America. In the composing mind of the author, even if the details probably did not occupy him for long, Sycorax could have had

contact with Setebos worshippers on her way to the island, or (arguably as often as she wanted) after she had arrived there. It is also interesting to think of the Cape of Good Hope as a geographical location on the way to Antarctic France if we remember the name by which it was first made famous in Europe, the name that Bartolomeu Dias, the Portuguese navigator who was the first European navigator to round the Cape of Good Hope, gave to it. Before King John II of Portugal changed its name to the more auspicious appellation Cabo da Boa Esperança ('Cape of Good Hope'), the famously hard to round rocky promontory in Southern Africa had been named Cabo das Tormentas. Therefore, in French (though not in Thevet's Singularitez), the Cape of Good Hope had been known as le Cap des tempêtes; and in English, The Cape of Storms or The Cape of Tempests.

3.6 – 'lest too light winning | Make the prize light': Continnence and Honourable Marriage versus Unlawful Fornication, Enslavement and Conspiracy

Back in The Tempest, just as Caliban exits, Ariel re-enter invisible, playing and singing, and followed by Ferdinand, who is enthralled by the wonderful music he hears. Ferdinand and Miranda inevitably see and fall in love with each other, and even before it happens the audience immediately learns that this is also part of Prospero's purpose ('It goes on, I see, | As my soul prompts it' (1.2.420-421). Miranda sees Ferdinand first, and mistakes him for a spirit who 'carries a brave form' but is a spirit or a god nonetheless. Ferdinand's impression is even more idealised, and his expression of admiration echoes with classical resonances: 'Most sure, the goddess | On whom these airs attend!' (1.2.422-423) Ferdinand mistakes Miranda for a goddess and translates into his language (Spanish or Italian in the story, English in the ears of Shakespeare's audience) the line Virgil gave Aeneas upon meeting his mother Venus after the Trojan shipwreck on the shores of Carthage in Africa in the Aeneid: 'O dea certe' (Aeneid I, 328) ('O goddess surely' in the modern English translation by James Rhoades in my library).

Ferdinand is the son and heir of Alonso, the King of Naples, who made it possible for Prospero's brother to supplant him in Milan. Shakespeare did not have to research far to find these two royal names, as both Alonso and Ferdinand were common on the contemporary stage. Shakespeare himself had used the name Don Alphonso very early in his career for the apparent leader of a group of gentlemen who were going to journey to salute the Emperor in TGV, an Emperor who, as I will mention in more detail later, is sometimes associated with

The Emperor Charles V. As for the name Ferdinand, Shakespeare had used it twice already in his known dramatic work: it was the name of Petruccio's cousin whom Petruccio asks to be called but never appears in Shr.; and more famously, the name of the King of Navarre who is the main male character in LLL.

I suggest that we refer to Thomas L. Berger, William C. Bradford and Sydney L. Sonderegard's An Index of Characters in Early Modern English Drama Printed Plays 1500 – 1660 (Revised edition, 1998), which lists characters which can be identified as having been physically present on the English stage in plays from the early modern period. In the Index of Characters we learn that there was one character named Alonso, three named Alphonso, and two called Alphonsus in plays which had been performed and published before the time of the composition of The Tempest, whereas the Alphonso in Shakespeare's TGV, who is only mentioned but is never on stage, is not included. Besides, there are two characters by the name of Alphonsus in plays performed but not printed before the period 1610-1611 (one in a Latin play), and two characters called Alphonso in two plays first performed in 1611, the year of the first known performance of The Tempest. As for Ferdinand, there were three other characters so named besides the King of Navarre in LLL in plays which had been performed and published before the time of the composition of The Tempest, two other characters in plays performed but not printed before the period 1610-1611, and one in a play performed in 1610, the year Shakespeare probably started work on his play. Finally, there was one Ferdinando in a play performed and printed before the time of The Tempest, and two characters called Fernando in plays which had been performed but not printed before 1610.

More important for our discussion, the names Alonso and Ferdinand were common as the names of rulers of Southern European countries. Before the time of Shakespeare and closer to the geography of The Tempest, Alfonso had been the name of eleven kings of Asturias, Leon and Castile; and of five kings of Aragon. The last among these Aragonese kings had been Alfonso V, el Magnánimo (\*1396-†1458). The son of a Ferdinand (King Ferdinand I of Aragon), Alfonso V had become King Alfonso I of Sicily and of Naples (q.v. my note 18 below) in 1443. This Alfonso I had been succeeded as King of Naples by his bastard son Ferdinand (Ferdinand I of Naples) in 1458. Alfonso had also been the name of two kings of Naples, both of whom were the sons and the fathers of a King Ferdinand. The first was Alfonso V, el Magnánimo of Aragon, whom I have just mentioned. As for the second, he was his unpopular grandson Alfonso II (1494-1495), who had been succeeded by

his son Ferdinand II (1495-1496) and by the latter's nephew (and Ferdinand I's son), Frederick IV (1496-1501).

Likewise, Ferdinand had been the name of two kings of Aragon, the second of whom had been Ferdinand II, the Catholic, who had been the celebrated husband to Queen Isabella of Castile, father to Joanna, the Mad and to Katherine of Aragon, and grandfather to The Emperor Charles V. Ferdinand had also been the name of five kings of Castile and Leon (two of whom had been the sons of a King Alfonso) and (Ferrante, in Italian) of three kings of Naples. Two of these three kings of Naples were the two Ferdinands who were sons of a King Alfonso of Naples whom I mentioned in the previous paragraph. As for Ferdinand III of Naples (king from 1503), he was no other than Ferdinand II, the Catholic of Aragon, upon whose death in 1516 The Emperor Charles V became King of Spain, of Naples and of Sicily. Finally, Ferdinand was also the name of The Emperor Charles V's younger brother, upon whom, as we saw earlier, Charles cast the government of his Austrian possessions as early as the year 1521.

Also of interest for this approximation, there were other historical figures related to The Emperor Charles V by the name of Ferdinand. One was mostly a military man, Ferrante Gonzaga, one time Viceroy of Naples and then Governor of Milan, who, as we have seen, also was a Knight of the Golden Fleece. Another had the name Gonzalo Ferdinando and I will discuss him below when I return to that 'noble Neapolitan, Gonzalo'.

Ferdinand asks Miranda for confirmation that she is a maid (1.2.428), a question which reflects the emphasis put by members of a European patriarchal society on continence, chastity, and specially virginity. There is even the possibility that Ferdinand and Miranda hit on different meanings of the word maid, but this is usually not explored in the notes, as the theme of virginity apparently remains a taboo subject for a number of contemporary annotators. Therefore, the Vaughans in their Arden Shakespeare Third Series edition are the only annotators who feel what I consider the fully justifiable need to add explicitly the meaning 'a virgin' to the other two meanings to which editors usually refer if they annotate the sentence at all. When it deserves annotation, Ferdinand's maid is usually paraphrased as girl and rushingly explained as therefore neither 'a goddess' nor 'an unmarried woman'.<sup>59</sup> Maybe it is just adequate, therefore, that my Microsoft Office Word spellchecker, oriented as it is towards political correctness (or towards offering me politically correct corrections), keeps insisting, as I write this paragraph, that I change this truly dangerous and potentially offensive word to the much more sensible alternative housecleaner.

In fact, the question Ferdinand makes ('My prime request, | Which I do last pronounce, is, O you wonder! | If you be maid or no?', 1.2.426-428) is so important that, even after Miranda has already confirmed what the audience had already guessed ('No wonder, sir; | But certainly a maid', 1.2.428-429), Ferdinand is pressed by the need to repeat it as he proposes to her a mere twenty lines later in the scene: 'O, if a virgin, | And your affection not gone forth, I'll make you | The Queen of Naples (1.2.448-450). This is not at all surprising, because virginity as a guarantee of legitimate succession for centuries lay at the core of the ideology that informed the economics and the politics of the marriage bed in Europe.

Naturally, this should be of particular concern to young Ferdinand, who is the heir to (or, as he at this point believes, has just succeeded to) a monarchy, where such considerations are a matter of state and, in the case of England, may not have fully disappeared to this day. According to the Royal Encyclopedia,

The marriages of members of the Royal Family necessarily involve more than the private interests of the persons concerned. This is so for two reasons. First, there must be some protection against unsuitable marriages by members of the Royal Family who are in direct line of succession to the throne. Second, as Walter Bagehot noticed, monarchy in Britain is closely bound up with the idea of the throne being occupied by a family. The monarchy, therefore, is expected to uphold a certain ideal of family life, and this too may require restrictions to be imposed upon those whom a member of the Royal Family can marry (Allison and Riddell 331).

Although, as we learn in its Preface, the book is not and should not be treated as an official view on the monarchy, the Royal Encyclopedia (first published in 1991) had the approval of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and members of her Royal Household contributed to and even wrote much of the text. As for Walter Bagehot (1826-1877), the author whose opinion is reproduced in the entry above, he was a famous Victorian economist and journalist and the author of The English Constitution (1867), a book which, according to the Royal Encyclopedia 'remains unsurpassed as an analysis of the role of monarchy' (Allison and Riddell 35).<sup>60</sup>

As Bagehot explains, 'The characteristic of the English monarchy is that it retains the feeling by which the heroic kings [of Greece] governed their rude age, and has added the feelings by which the constitutions of later Greece ruled in more refined ages' (36). Nobody could blame Bagehot for holding Victorian views, for he lived and wrote in the nineteenth

century. However, Bagehot could well be writing about the late twentieth century when he says that ‘No feeling could seem more childish than the enthusiasm of the English at the marriage of the Prince of Wales. They treated as a great political event, what, looked at as a matter of pure business, was very small indeed. But no feeling could be more like common human nature as it is, and as it is likely to be.’ (Bagehot 37). After suggesting chauvinistically that this is particularly appealing to women, Bagehot adds that

A princely marriage is the brilliant edition of a universal fact, and as such, it rivets mankind. We smile at the Court Circular, but remember how many people read the Court Circular! . . . They say that the Americans were more pleased at the Queen’s letter [of condolence] to Mrs Lincoln [after President Lincoln’s assassination], than at any act of the English government. . . . Accordingly, so long as the human heart is strong and the human reason weak, royalty will be strong because it appeals to diffused feeling, and republics weak because they appeal to understanding (37).

Bagehot is writing about two hundred and fifty six years after the first known performance of The Tempest. Ferdinand’s attitude may not please certain modern critics, but in the world of the play it is fully expected on his part, and could be interpreted as the fulfilling of his institutional duty as King (or at least Prince) of Naples. That is why I believe the only way to address Ferdinand’s question in twenty-first-century terms is to remember that besides being of considerable relevance only to more specific social groups and individuals in post-sexual revolution Western society, this concern remains an important issue in many non-European cultures. Closer to England and to contemporary English society and sexual politics, The Tempest presents a question which, however surprisingly, is supposedly still being asked of females who are possible candidates to a position like Miranda’s nowadays. That was apparently the case with Diana, Princess of Wales when she still was Lady Diana Spencer in the early 1980’s (the ‘Shy Di’ of news reports), and is likely to be faced by girlfriends, fiancées or brides of either of her children in the current decade and beyond.<sup>61</sup>

Part of the answer why this should still be so may be found in Bagehot. First, the nineteenth-century author argues, the ‘English monarchy strengthens our government with the strength of religion’ (37). Consequently, if ‘you ask the immense majority of [Queen Victoria’s] subjects by what right she rules, they would never tell you that she rules by parliamentary right, by virtue of 6 Anne, c.7.<sup>62</sup> They will say she rules by “God’s grace”; they believe that they have a mystic obligation to obey her’ (40). Finally, Bagehot argues of the

Victorian English that ‘We have come to regard the crown as the head of our morality. The virtues of Queen Victoria and the virtues of George III have sunk deep into the popular heart. We have come to believe that it is natural to have a virtuous sovereign, and that the domestic virtues are as likely to be found on thrones as they are eminent when there’ (46).

Not surprisingly, Prospero will confirm that he shares a similar anxiety about virginity and continence by an aside (‘They are both in either’s powers; but this swift business | I must uneasy make lest too light winning | Make the prize light’, 1.2.451-453) and by his trial of Ferdinand’s intentions which starts a few lines later in the same scene. As late into the play as in Act 4, by which time Prospero is convinced that Ferdinand is the right man for his daughter, the magician still feels not once, but twice the need to address words to the young Prince of Naples in defence of continence until the marriage has taken place. First, Prospero links Ferdinand’s continence to his blessing, and the young gallant’s immodesty to his curse:

Then, as my gift, and thine own acquisition | Worthily purchased, take my daughter. But | If thou dost break her virgin-knot before | All sanctimonious ceremonies may | With full and holy rite be ministered, | No sweet aspersion shall the heavens let fall | To make this contract grow; but barren hate, | Sour-eyed disdain, and discord, shall bestrew | The union of your bed with weeds so loathly | That you shall hate it both. Therefore take heed, | As Hymen’s lamps shall light you (4.1.13-23)

A few lines later, Prospero again insists on the matter: ‘Look thou be true; do not give dalliance | Too much the rein. The strongest oaths are straw | To th’ fire i’ th’ blood. Be more abstemious, | Or else good night your vow!’ (4.1.51-54) By the same token, Ferdinand’s two replies to Miranda’s father will serve as confirmation of the young man’s noble character through his avowed intention to bridle desire (‘the murkiest den, | The most opportune place, the strong’st suggestion | Our worsen genius can, shall never melt | Mine honour into lust, to take away | The edge of that day’s celebration,’ 4.1.25-29; ‘I warrant you, sir, | The white cold virgin snow upon my heart | Abates the ardour of my liver’ 4.1.54-56). By their words as well as their deeds, both Prospero the relenting father and Ferdinand the royal heir in his role of accepting lover and future husband emphasize honourable marriage.

In direct contrast, several European narratives of the time show how far as a rule this preoccupation was from the minds of New World natives. In Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice (2000), Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks quotes contemporary evidence which indicates that lack ‘of interest in virginity was

one of the reasons given for excluding Indians from the priesthood: Bishop Zumárraga of Mexico commented in 1540 that elite Indian young men were highly skilled in learning Latin, but “the best students among the Indians are more inclined to marriage than to continence.”<sup>63</sup> The same evidence is found in The new Found worlde, or Antarctike, where Thevet opens Chapter 42, entitled, ‘Hovv these vvilde men of America, are married’, by mentioning how ‘This honourable estate of Matrimonie, sheweth that we haue brought some naturall reason from oure mothers wombe. Otherwise we should be counted as brute beasts, if that God of his mercy did not illuminate our heartes. Therefore ye may be well assured, that these Americanes are no more discrete in their marriages, than in other things’ (64v). A few lines later, Thevet continues, ‘They will giue you a maid to minister unto you necessities whilest you be there, or otherwise if ye will, and it shalbe lawfull for you to restore hir againe when you think mete, and this they use customably’. Thevet also informs that

Assone as you be come thither, they will say to you in their language: come hither, what wilte thou giue me, and I will giue thee my daughter that is faire, she shall serue thee to do thy necessities and other things. But for to auoide this, the Sieur of Villegagnon at our arrival defended upon paine of death, not to acquaint our selues with them, as a thing not lawfull for Christians (64v).

In Chapter 17 of Histoire d’un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique (1578), Jean de Léry also has a description of the Americans’ marriages and polygamy (1990 152-153). Before that passage, in Chapter 6 of Histoire, the French Calvinist mentions that all the five girls who, like himself, had been brought from France to America with the Sieur De Bois le Comte’s fleet were married ‘in the style of the Reformed churches’ to young French men, and he adds (in the 1990 translation):

So as not to omit what was praiseworthy in Villegagnon any more than what was reprehensible, I will add something here in passing. Certain Normans, having escaped from a shipwreck long before his arrival in that country, had remained among the savages, where, having no fear of God, they lived in wantonness with the women and girls . . . . Both to repress that behavior, and to prevent any men who lived on our island and in our fort from abusing them in that fashion, Villegagnon, by the advice of the council, forbade on pain of death that any man bearing the name of Christian live with the savages’ women. It is true that the ordinance permitted that if some of these women were drawn and called to the knowledge of God, then after they had been baptized it would be

permitted to marry them. But in spite of the remonstrances that we have made several times to this barbarous people, there was not one of them who would leave her old skin and confess Jesus Christ as their savior; thus, in the whole time that I lived there, not a single Frenchman took one of them to wife. . . . Moreover, whatever I have heard said of him since my return — that when he was in America he defiled himself with savage women — I will bear this witness for him, that he was in no way suspected of it in our time. What is more, he set such great store by the execution of his ordinance that, had it not been for the pressing request, made by some whom he loved most, on behalf of an interpreter who had gone to the mainland and had been convicted of fornication with a woman whom he had thus abused earlier on, instead of having him punished merely by being chained by the foot and put among the slaves, Villegagnon would have had him hanged (Léry 1990 43).

Having mutineers hanged was common practice in practically in every other European settlement in America, so that although it may be, this passage is not necessarily behind Stephano's remark to Trinculo later in the play, 'If you prove a mutineer, the next tree!' (3.2.34). However, this case of unlawful fornication in Antarctic France mirrors Caliban's attempted rape in that both result in enslavement. It is possible that a narrative like the one above could have suggested Prospero's reason for Caliban's condition. Prospero himself repeats it to Caliban's face: 'Thou most lying slave, | Whom stripes may move, not kindness! I have us'd thee, | Filth as thou art, with human care, and lodg'd thee | In mine own cell, till thou didst seek to violate | The honour of my child' (1.2.344-348). We can compare the fact that Villegaignon instead of having the abusing interpreter punished merely by enslavement would have had him hanged to Miranda's remark on Caliban's crime: 'therefore wast thou | Deservedly confin'd into this rock, | who hadst deserv'd more than a prison' (1.2.359-361). In the stage history of the play we learn that these lines 'from Dryden to Kittredge' (Timp. 1994 120) were always reassigned to Prospero, but the idea behind them is similar to Villegaignon's original opinion.

Unfortunately, for this research I could not have full access to Thevet's La Cosmographie universelle d'André Thevet, cosmographe du roy. But we learn in Léry's Preface that in La Cosmographie universelle Thevet writes the following about the Scots in Villegaignon's personal guard in Antarctic France:

whose fidelity I have also come to know in the example of a certain number of gentlemen and soldiers accompanying us on our ships to these distant countries of Antarctic France, on the occasion of certain conspiracies against our company by Norman Frenchmen, who, because they understood the language of this savage and barbarous people (who are so brutish as to possess almost no reason), were plotting with two petty kings of the country, to whom they had promised the few goods that we possessed, to kill us all. But these Scots, being warned of this, revealed the plot to the Seigneur de Villegagnon and to me also. For which these impostors were well punished, as well as the ministers that Calvin had sent, who, having been included in the conspiracy, drank a little more than their fill.<sup>64</sup>

Noticeably circumstances differ, but this event and the passages about marriage could have suggested a series of details that Shakespeare has woven into the plot of The Tempest. This is particularly the case of Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo's failed conspiracy against the life of Prospero, which mirrors Sebastian and Antonio's conspiracy against the life of King Alonso which is brewing in another part of the island where action takes place in a markedly more serious tone. Caliban's conspiracy has its origin when Caliban first meets Stephano and Trinculo in Act 2, scene 2 and decides to become Stephano's slave, one of the scenes I have mentioned in my discussion of Caliban's tormenting spirits and log-bearing. But it is only in Act 3, scene 2 that Caliban makes the suggestion that Stephano should kill Prospero and become lord of the island, though he presents it as a request he has already made, introduced as it is by Caliban's line 'Wilt thou be pleas'd to | hearken once again to the suit I made to thee?' (3.2.35-26).

There may be other passages in the vast body of literature produced in the Age of Navigation, Discovery, and Exploration which could have inspired Shakespeare to write this episode, and he obviously needed no external inspiration to do it. Yet, no other reference or set of circumstances I know is more suggestive of what the audience sees in The Tempest when self-proclaimed King Stephano and his two viceroys, Trinculo and Caliban, decide to overthrow Prospero than this passage with its brief allusion to 'plotting with two petty kings of the country'. In The Tempest, Prospero stands in for Villegaignon in the figure of the stern ruler of the island who is the target of the plot.<sup>65</sup> The reference to 'this savage and barbarous people (who are so brutish as to possess almost no reason)' obviously points to Caliban. As for the idea of 'plotting with two petty kings of the country, to whom they had promised the

few goods that we possessed, to kill us all', it may be present in reverse, but the most important details survive in the version Shakespeare creates to suit the purposes of the story he is writing. A group of Europeans in Antarctic France allied with two petty kings of the country transmutes into Caliban, the only savage and barbarous creature available, conjoined with two Neapolitan petty thieves. Even the 'few goods that we possessed' which the petty Brazilian kings were promised if they agreed to kill all Villegaignon's Frenchmen may find echo in the wardrobe items which appeal so much to Trinculo and Stephano while prompting Caliban to call it trash and to remark full of embarrassed indignation 'What do you mean | To dote thus on such luggage?' (4.1.230-231) when they finally storm Prospero's cell. The leaders of both groups of conspirators aim at ruling their small islands to have what is considered licentious access to that rare inaccessible commodity in both locations: women (the Indians in one case; Miranda, the only woman on the island, in the other). Both the 'few goods that we possessed' and Miranda as the main prize are the subject of this exchange between Caliban and Stephano:

CALIBAN. [. . .] He has brave utensils, for so he calls them, | Which, when he has a house, he'll deck withal. | And that most deeply to consider is | The beauty of his daughter. He himself | Calls her a nonpareil. I never saw a woman | But only Sycorax, my dam, and she; | But she as far surpasseth Sycorax | As great'st does least.

STEPHANO. Is it so brave a lass?

CALIBAN. Ay, lord, she will become thy bed, I warrant, | And bring thee forth brave brood.

STEPHANO. Monster, I will kill this man. His daughter and I | will be King and Queen — save our graces! — and Trinculo and thyself shall be viceroys. Dost thou like the plot, | Trinculo? (3.2.94-97)

Just as a reminder that we are never a long way from the world of The Emperor Charles V, what this drunken Neapolitan royal butler suggests that should happen when he becomes King is that his two accomplices become viceroys. Viceroy, as we know, was the title of the representative of the Spanish King (including The Emperor Charles V) in Naples. Finally, according to Thevet (and Léry just quotes from him in order to contradict him), the Calvinist ministers who were part of the conspiracy 'drank a little more than their fill'. Having drunk a little more than their fill, as we know, is the main characteristic of Shakespeare's three petty conspirators. Their plot comes to nothing in Act 4, scene 1, in

which they are defeated by Prospero's Art and persecuted by spirits which Prospero sends them, and they are shamefully reunited to their masters in Act 5, scene 1.

Shakespeare could have read this passage from Volume II, Book 16, Chapter 8, p. 665 of La Cosmographie universelle d'André Thevet, cosmographe du roy in Thevet's original French, a source which, as we have seen, was commonly available in the best English book collections. The same passage was obviously available in Jean de Léry, whose Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique was available in the original French since 1578 (with other editions or reissues in 1580, 1585, 1594, 1599, 1600 and 1611). Léry's Histoire was also available in Latin in a 1586 edition which was reprinted in 1594, as well as in De Bry's Americae pars tertia of 1583 (reissued in 1597 or later; second edition, 1605), and, from 1604, in an extend edition of Johannes Boemus Aubanus' Mores, Leges et Ritus omnium Gentium. This volume was published many times and its English translation (The Manners, Lawes and Customes of All Nations) with excerpts from Léry was printed in 1611 (q.v. my Appendix E).

### 3.7 – 'transported | And rapt in secret studies': Shakespeare's Possible Further Readings on Milan and on The Emperor Charles V

Back on Prospero's island, even before Ferdinand learns his lover's name (this only happens in Act 3, scene 1, and we are in Act 1, scene 2) he call her 'you wonder'. This is a powerful symbol of what Miranda is meant to represent, especially because it anticipates the meaning of her name, which Ferdinand still does not know but the audience does. There is an apparent pattern to the name of several young heroines of Shakespeare's late tragicomedies or romances.<sup>66</sup> They have names derived from Latin adjectives which are possibly proper names of Shakespeare's own creation and which one way or the other are supposed to describe an important aspect of their condition when we first meet them. In Pericles Prince of Tyre (1607), the daughter of Pericles and Thaisa is called Marina (marinus, -a, -um, 'marine', 'of, found in or produced by the sea') because she was born at sea. In The Winter's Tale (1609-10), the name of Leontes and Hermione's daughter Perdita (perditus, -a, -um, "she who is or has been lost") reflects the fact that she spends sixteen years away from her family. The same happens to Miranda, since the Latin adjective mirandus, -a, -um means 'wonderful', 'marvellous', 'prodigious'. Miranda lives in a magic, wonderful location, and she feels wonder at all the new things that she learns. More importantly, Miranda apparently developed into a maid who

lives up to the expectations of the name that was bestowed on her, as her beauty noticeably causes wonder in Caliban and in the Europeans whom she meets. Miranda represents the ne plus ultra of perfection. According to the OED, the expression had not yet appeared in print in English at the time of Shakespeare, but it certainly befits Miranda's unique qualities. Ferdinand calls her 'the top of admiration, worth | What's dearest to the world' (3.1.38-39), and 'So perfect and so peerless' (3.1.47-48), whereas Caliban reports that Prospero calls her 'a nonpareil' (3.2.98) and gives his own opinion that 'she as far surpasseth Sycorax | As great'st does least' (3.2.100-101).

A plethora of different words that express amazement was used all the time in descriptions of the New World. Two of them, wonderful and strange, are found in the English title of Thevet's The new Found worlde, or Antarctike, wherein is contained wonderful and strange things, etc. But every time I see a certain page which has a Latin synonym that express amazement I cannot help thinking of The Tempest. It is in the frontispiece of Theodor de Bry's Americae Pars Quarta. Sive, insignis & admiranda historia de reperta primùm Occidentali India à Christophoro Colombo anno M.CCCCXCII. Scripta ab Hieronymo Bezono Mediolanense, ... Addita ad singula ferè capita ... scholia (Fig. 21). The volume includes the engraving 'The Discovery of Magellan's Sea' (Fig. 22), which I have mentioned before, and was the fourth volume in a collection which included texts about Brazil in volume number three.

I do not claim it for an undisputable fact that this is where Shakespeare found his inspiration for the name of his heroine, but our author has many times in his works given us evidence that English words could flash in his mind and fire his imagination. I find it possible that a similar process occurred when Shakespeare read a Latin text. It was probably in a Latin text such as De Bry's Americae Pars Quarta that Shakespeare found the name he needed for his admired creation. In the title of Americae Pars Quarta, a sentence which reads 'Sive, insignis & admiranda historia de reperta primùm Occidentali India à Christophoro Colombo anno M.CCCCXCII' ('or the noteworthy and wonderful history about the first discovery of the West Indies by Christopher Columbus in the year 1492') could have suggested to Shakespeare something like 'ad Miranda' 'historia' ('on Miranda', 'the history').

The author whom De Bry is reproducing and to whose narrative he is adding in Americae Pars Quarta was Hieronymo Bezono Mediolanense ('the Milanese Hieronymus Bezonus'), the author of Historia del Mondo Nuovo (Venice, 1565). The Historia del Mondo Nuovo, a work dedicated to Pope Pius IV, 'passed through several editions, and was translated

into Latin, French, German, and Flemish, — besides the free use which was made of it by de Brys, and others' (Benzoni i). Not only was Girolamo Benzoni (sometimes in Latin Hieronimus Barzonus) from Milan like Peter Martyr D'Anghera, the author of De Orbe Novo, but, as we can see in my Appendix E, the text of his Historia Indiae Occidentalis was sometimes published together with Historia navigationis in Brasiliam quae et America dicitur, the Latin version of Jean de Léry's Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique. Because of the influence Girolamo Benzoni's Historia and Jean de Léry's Histoire had when they were read together or separately at the time, certain modern authors, such as Asúa and Roger French in A New World of Animals: Early Modern Europeans on the Creatures of Iberian America (2005), even indicate that 'Léry's History and Chauventon's translation of Benzoni's work have been considered as the core of a "Huguenot corpus" of literature about the New World' (138).<sup>67</sup>

Curiously, the Milanese Girolamo Benzoni was a Catholic author. However, he had described so many atrocities on the part of the Spaniards in the New World in his Historia del Mondo Nuovo that he became a favourite source among the Protestants. Benzoni is actually listed as one of the first authors to contribute to a phenomenon which in the early twentieth century Spanish author Julián Juderías y Loyot would denounce as 'la leyenda negra' ('the black legend'):

In a word, we mean by the black legend the legend of a Spain that is inquisitorial, ignorant, fanatical, incapable of belonging among the civilized people today as in the past, and always inclined toward violent repression; an enemy of progress and innovation; or, in other words, the legend that, having started in the sixteenth century, with the Reformation, has not stopped being used against us ever since then, and especially at critical moments of our national life. . . . (Juderías 111)

The phenomenon to which Juderías gave the name 'the black legend' is a historical fact. I acknowledge it not to deny or to exculpate the many Spanish atrocities in the Old World and in the New World, which are also historical facts. First, it is a reminder that there is a construction of discourses and meanings at operation in historical narratives just as in works of fiction, which means that no country has the monopoly of good or evil at any time in history, and the history of European colonization of other continents is no exception. Finally, I believe that 'the black legend' may have contributed to Brazilian invisibility abroad. Juderías himself also adds that

It is thus quite clear that in the most famous books published in Europe concerning art, literature, and science — encyclopedic and magisterial works — Spain is usually included in a chapter entitled ‘Other Countries.’ In the brief paragraphs dedicated to its writers and artists, if they are not denounced as intolerant, then it is asserted that Spaniards have done nothing in the world other than impose their beliefs by force and exploit those they had subjugated by force (Juderías 112).

Because of its geographical proximity to and, at different times in its history (such as Shakespeare’s time), dependency on Spain, Portugal is also likely to be included among these ‘Other Countries’, if it is included at all, receiving even fewer and shorter paragraphs than Spain. If there is no ‘lenda negra’, the Portuguese equivalent of ‘la leyenda negra’, that is probably because Portugal does not typically merit enough attention to be treated as a separate, unique reality. Surrounded by and mistaken for one of a series of Latin American countries where Spanish is spoken by ‘Hispanics’ or ‘Latinos’, Brazil inherited not only Portugal’s language, but was destined to inherit Portugal’s invisibility.

As for Girolamo Benzoni, he stayed in Spanish Central and South America (the Antilles and the Isthmus, Guatemala, and the Pacific coast of South America) for twenty five years. Parallels in Benzoni’s *Historia Indiae Occidentalis* of minor possible consequence to the future author of *The Tempest* are a description of the New World island of *Cubagua* (‘ten miles in circuit, . . . quite flat, sterile, without trees, and has no water’) (51), an island where a relation of the man who killed Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan once arrived and a reference to ‘a Spanish gentleman who was in Algiers with Charles V, the emperor’ (75). Maybe the most useful detail to be learned in the text of the *History of the New World* is what Girolamo Benzoni informs his reader as he opens his text:

When I was a youth of twenty-two years of age, being, like many others, anxious to see the world, and hearing of those countries of the Indians, recently found, called by everybody the New World, I determined to go there. In the year 1541 therefore I started from Milan, in the name of God, the sustainer and governor of all the universe, going by land to Medina del Campo, where the people carry on great traffic during their fairs, receiving merchandize from all Spain (1).

Girolamo Benzoni’s is the narrative of a commoner travelling to the New World and setting off by land, not of a nobleman travelling to the New World and setting off by water.

But he starts from Milan and the year is 1541. To all practical purposes, the Duke of Milan in 1541 was still The Emperor Charles V. As we know, Charles had invested his son Philip of Austria (the future Philip II of Spain) with Milan for the first time the year before, in 1540, but the Emperor felt the need to invest his son with the Dukedom of Milan again when he gave him the title of King of Naples prior to Philip's marriage in 1554. The year 1541, the year of Charles V's failed Algiers expedition, is actually strongly linked to Charles V as the Duke of Milan. That year marked the occasion of the Emperor's Triumphal Entry into Milan on August 27, one of those highly publicised official festive events full of the lavish display of ephemeral pageantry which many times opened the rare visits of Charles V or his son Philip II or both of them to one of their many dominions.<sup>68</sup>

As Glenn Richardson explains in 'Warriors: Honour and Magnificence in War and Peace', Chapter 2 of his book Renaissance Monarchy: The Reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I and Charles V (2002), royal entries to cities became 'ideal occasions' to present the message 'of the monarch as a successful warrior to much wider audiences' (45). Richardson also mentions that the decorations 'for such events were primarily the symbols of the royal dynasty or personal emblems of the sovereign' and that the 'rapid development of printing technology during the early sixteenth century meant that this kind of temporary pageantry could be recorded and communicated to still-wider audiences through pamphlets and news-sheets, engravings and woodblock prints.'

Both in Yona Pinson's article on the Emperor's 1549 Triumphal Entry into Lille, which I have mentioned before, and in Bruno Adorni's chapter 'The Architecture of Milan from the fall of Ludovico II Moro to Charles V', included in the Milano Architectural Guide edited by Giuliana Ricci in 2007, we learn that the Emperor's Entry into Milan in 1541 was set up by Italian painter Giulio Romano. My Figure 120 reproduces a woodcut such as those Richardson describes in his book, from Giovanni Alberto Albicante's Trattato del'intrar in Milano di Carlo V, a pamphlet which was published in Milan in 1541. It shows Giulio Romano's Triumphal Arch built at Milan's Porta Romana for Charles V's Entry into the city. In the Triumphal Arch, the Serpent devouring a Child in the Milan arms that had once been those of the mediaeval house of Visconti is doubled and the two Serpents wrap Charles V's personal badge or emblem, the Pillars of Hercules. In her article, Pinson describes and includes a sketch (Pinson 211, her Fig. 3) of another arch designed by Giulio Romano for the same occasion which was also published in Albicante's Trattato and which 'embodies the Imperial Triumph and expresses the Imperial ideology. It is topped by a huge figure of the

victorious Emperor on horseback crushing the Empire's enemies the infidel Saracens in Tunis, the Turks, and the Indians' (212).

We know from The Winter's Tale, which is believed to have been written in the period 1609-1610, about a year before the estimated date of composition of The Tempest, that Shakespeare knew Giulio Romano. The line about 'That rare Italian master, Julio Romano' (WT 5.2.96) is a famous Shakespeare anachronism (the play is set at the time of the Delphic Oracle) and the only reference to the name of a Renaissance artist in the entire Shakespeare canon. Giulio Romano (Julio Romano in F1), who was not a famous sculptor, is famously mentioned just once as the author of the unbelievably life-like statue of the supposedly long dead Hermione which is in her faithful servant Paulina's keeping, a statue which in the end proves to be no other than Hermione herself.

We do not know where Shakespeare learned about Giulio Romano, but the most likely source which critics have identified,<sup>69</sup> and specially because of the suggestion that Romano was a sculptor, is Giorgio Vasari, the author of Le Vite de' Più Eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, et Scultori Italiani, da Cimabue Insino a' Tempi Nostri (1550). Vasari includes the Latin lines in Giulio Romano's epitaph in his Lives and these might have suggested Romano was a sculptor. Vasari had not been translated into English at the time of Shakespeare, but Shakespeare is believed to have had a working knowledge of Italian.

In Vasari's Lives, if he knew and read it, Shakespeare could have learned that

. . . Giulio, after the death of Raphael, was celebrated as the best craftsman in Italy. And so Baldesar Castiglione, who was then in Rome as the ambassador of Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, and as said, a good friend of Giulio, was commanded by his lord, the Marquis, to make arrangements to send him an architect . . . and told that he would particularly like to have his beloved Giulio. . . . And . . . when he set out for Mantua in order to go to the Emperor, on the Pope's mission, he took Giulio with him: and having arrived at Mantua he presented him to the Marquis who, after greeting Giulio warmly, had given him and honourably appointed house, and ordered a salary and board for him (Vasari 1987 Vol. 2 217)

Giulio Romano worked for 22 years (from 1524 until his death in 1546) as 'superiore delle fabbriche gonzaghesche' at the court of the Duke of Mantua and Marquis of Monferrato, Federigo Gonzaga (\*1500-†1540), and his son Francesco III Gonzaga (\*1533-†1550). Giulio Romano's friend and first patron in Mantua, Federigo Gonzaga, had died the year before the

Emperor's Entry into Milan and had been succeeded by Francesco. The late Federigo Gonzaga had been raised from Marquis to Duke of Mantua by Charles V (the Emperor mentioned by Vasari in the passage quoted above), and, as Shakespeare could also have learned in Vasari's Lives, it was thanks to him that Charles V had seen Giulio Romano's work before, in 1530:

When the Emperor Charles V came to Mantua, on the order of the Duke [Federigo Gonzaga], Giulio devised many superb decorative arches, scenery for plays, and many other things in which he had no rival for invention; nor was there ever anyone more fanciful in devising masquerades and designing extravagant costumes for jousts, festivities and tournaments, as was seen with stunned surprise by the Emperor Charles V and all those who were present (Vasari 1987 Vol. 2 227).

The late Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua was the brother of the same Ferrante Gonzaga, Duke di Ariano, Prince di Molfetta, Lord di Guastalla, Knight of the Golden Fleece who in 1541 still held his position as Charles V's Viceroy of Sicily and would merit five mentions by Villegaignon in his Lamentable and piteous treatise on account of the command in the Emperor's failed Algiers expedition later that same year. Ferrante led the welcome to The Emperor Charles V in his 27 August 1541 Entry into Milan, and, as we saw before, would be officially appointed Governor of Milan by Charles in 1546.

The Emperor Charles V is mentioned many times in Vasari's Lives, and if Shakespeare read about Italian art in it looking for references to the Holy Roman Emperor, he could have learned of the existence and read a description of Parmigianino's painting of The Emperor Charles V Receiving the World (Fig. 103):

When the Emperor Charles V was in Bologna to be crowned by Clement VII, Francesco [Parmigiano], who would sometimes go along to see him at table, without drawing his living image, did a large oil painting of him, in which he depicted Fame crowning him with laurel, and a boy in the form of a little Hercules offering him a globe of the world, as if to give him dominion over it. And when it was finished, he had this work shown to the Pope, who liked it so much that he sent it, along with Francesco, and accompanied by the bishop of Vaison, then the Datary, to the Emperor; and as it please the Emperor very much, he made it understood that it should be left with him: but Francesco, being badly advised by one of his untrustworthy or ignorant friends, saying that

it was still unfinished, did not want to leave it; and so his Majesty did not keep it, and Francesco was not rewarded as he doubtless would have been. Having later come into the hands of Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, this picture was given by him to the cardinal of Mantua: and it is now in the wardrobe of the duke of that city, with many other most noble and beautiful pictures (Vasari 1987 Vol. 2 194).

Shakespeare could also have learned of the existence of Titian's La Gloria (Fig. 142):

In Venice on the orders of Charles V he painted on a large altarpiece a God in the form of the Trinity; Our Lady is enthroned, the infant Christ has the Dove above Him, and a background made of fire represents love, while God the Father is surrounded by burning cherubim; Charles V on one side and the empress on the other are both enveloped in linen with their hands joined in an act of prayer amidst numerous saints, following instructions Titian received from Caesar [Charles], who at that moment was at the height of his victories but was beginning to reveal his intention to retire, as later did, from the affairs of the world in order to die as a true Christian, fearing God and concerned for his own salvation. The emperor told Titian he wanted to place the picture in the monastery where he was later to end his life's journey. And because it is a very unusual work, there is every prospect that it will soon be published in an engraving (Vasari 1998 503).<sup>70</sup>

Although it is less likely, besides Vasari's Lives, Shakespeare could have seen copies of Giulio Romano's work in a pamphlet, news-sheet, engraving or woodblock print such as those reproduced in Giovanni Alberto Albicante's Trattato. The kind of work Giulio Romano designed for Charles V's Entry into Milan could contribute to give Shakespeare the notion that Giulio Romano was a sculptor. Naturally, if Shakespeare ever cast his eyes over a copy of Albicante's Trattato, or another reproduction of my Figure 120, he would be able to associate The Emperor Charles V's Pillars with the Duchy of Milan.

3.8 – 'This Tunis, sir, was Carthage': Charles V in Tunis; Trojans, Carthage and Widow Dido in Prospero's Island and in Antarctic France

The scene ends with Prospero, as the true lord of the island, finding an excuse to put Ferdinand to the test and using his 'magic gunpowder' to render Ferdinand harmless and bind

him as a slave in spite of Miranda's pleas for mercy. European methods of dealing with traitors and slaves were quite similar, but it is still the case that Prospero's 'I'll manacle thy neck and feet together' again mirrors the punishment of being chained by the foot and put among the slaves which Jean de Léry narrates in Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique (1578). I will discuss Ferdinand's trial after I comment on the second party of Europeans' arrival on Prospero's island. This is the theme of Act 2, scene 1, which presumably opens in another part of the island with the entrance of Alonso, Sebastian, Antonio, Gonzalo, Adrian, Francisco, and others. This is the scene where we will learn who is really who among the European lords in the shipwrecked party. Alonso, the King of Naples, is despondent at the prospect of having lost his son and heir, Ferdinand ('mine heir | Of Naples and of Milan' 2.1.109-110), who, as the audience knows but he does not, has survived the tempest and the shipwreck and safely reached the same island.

The ever 'noble Neapolitan' Gonzalo tries to raise the spirits of all in the group and particularly of his King. He insists on the miracle of their preservation, suggests the likelihood of Ferdinand's survival, and adopts a fully positive attitude in his description of the island. To every positive aspect Gonzalo sees (or describes), Sebastian and Antonio sarcastically emphasise a dark side. Here is one of their exchanges: 'GONZALO. How lush and lusty the grass looks! How green! | ANTONIO. The ground indeed is tawny. | SEBASTIAN. With an eye of green in't (2.1.53-55).' Sebastian and Antonio, who the audience will learn soon are respectively the King of Naples's brother and Prospero's usurping brother, mock Gonzalo and the other speaking nobleman, Adrian in a way that is fully unsympathetic but they also remind the audience that not all the wonders which travellers report as having seen are as amazing to the eye when you actually see them as they are in the travellers' reports. Naturally enough, Shakespeare would not need to find anything of the kind in a source for this idea to occur to him. Yet if at the time of the composition of The Tempest he is reading, as I believe he is, about Antarctic France, most of the texts include denunciations, competing views and polemic assertions between Catholic Villegaignon and Thevet on the one side and Protestant Jean de Léry and other Calvinists on the other. I agree with Miguel de Asúa and Roger French's suggestion in their A New World of Animals: Early Modern Europeans on the Creatures of Iberian America (2005) that

Thevet's Singularités reveals many of the rhetoric devices used by travellers to exotic lands to transmit what they saw: the use of pictures, permanent allusions to personal 'experience' of events and things, the 'jigsaw-puzzle description'

and so on. Thevet handles skilfully all the literary resources required to endow his narrative with the marks of credibility — perhaps too skilfully. A comparison of Thevet's and Léry's accounts shows that the description of an alien nature could also be a ground for the European religious confrontations of the sixteenth century. Léry's work was consciously addressed to reveal to the public the alleged lies of the Catholic Thevet, to curb the overconfident and arrogant excesses of the royal protégé of the Valois with the sobriety, method, self-denial and modesty that would suit a Calvinist. All this said, it remains true that both authors shared the viewpoint of learned humanism, which to a certain extent overarches the gap separating their works and colours them with a rather uniform hue (144).

I have indicated before that another personage who was related to The Emperor Charles V even more than Ferrante Gonzaga bears the two names of the two truly good characters among the main Europeans in The Tempest, for he was called Gonzalo Ferdinando. Assuming that Ferdinand's name probably derived from all those Ferdinands who were sons and sometimes fathers of a King Alonso in European and specifically in Neapolitan history, there remains the question of Gonzalo's name. More than contributing to the choice of Ferdinand's name, this historical Gonzalo Ferdinando's names in Latin or in some other language, his figure and his career (besides the name, the figure and the career of Ferrante Gonzaga) could have suggested the name of the 'noble Neapolitan', Gonzalo and Shakespeare's initial ideas about him.

This Gonzalo Ferdinando was Gonzalo Ferdinando Oviedo (in Spanish, 'Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés', \*1478 †1557), and he also had connections to Milan, Naples, and the New World. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo served the usurping Duke of Milan Ludovico Sforza the Moor in 1498 and served King Frederick IV of Naples from 1500 until the French, who would lose Naples to Charles V's grandfather Ferdinand the Catholic in 1503, ousted King Frederick. Fernández de Oviedo travelled to the West Indies in 1513, the first of four voyages he made to the Americas. He was appointed as inspector general of trade in the West Indies (from his arrival there in 1514), then governor of Cartagena (1526) and finally of Santo Domingo (1535-1445). In 1522, Fernández de Oviedo wrote a Bestiary of the Indies to inform his King Charles I of Spain (The Emperor Charles V) of the wonderful animals in his vast domains. After his second voyage to the Americas, Fernández de Oviedo published the Sumario de la Natural Historia de las Indias (1526), a work he dedicated to his

King, who would duly appoint him historiographer of the New World in 1532. As the title of the 1526 volume indicates, it was a summary of a work then in progress, his la Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra firme del mar océano, the writing of which would occupy the rest of Fernández de Oviedo's life. The first part was published in 1535, and the second part had not yet been published when Fernández de Oviedo died in 1557. The complete work, a work covering the period from 1492 to 1549, was only published in the period 1851-1855.

Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés was one of the first chroniclers of the New World, and he is mentioned many times by authors in England (such as Hakluyt) and in the continent. Among Shakespeare's identified readings, as I have mentioned before, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés's name appears in a context where he is associated with The Emperor in the Latin dedicatory letter by Richardus Edenus ('Richard Eden') in Eden's 1555 translation The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India, to which Eden had added translations from Oviedo's work. The letter is that which Eden addresses to Charles V's son Philip and his wife Mary Tudor, and Fernández de Oviedo's name appears as doctissimi viri Gonzali Ferdinandi Ouiedi ('of the truly wise man Gonzalus Ferdinandus Oviedus') (Arber 47). Curiously, Fernández de Oviedo's name also appears in what is considered to be the most important of the 'Bermuda pamphlets', and again his name appears together with that of Charles V. The passage is found in William Strachey's 'True Reportary of the Wrack and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates', that letter from Virginia dated 15 July 1610 which was probably only published in 1625, but which is believed Shakespeare read in manuscript sometime in late 1610 or early 1611. The passage reads, 'It should seeme by the testimony of Gonzalus Ferdinandus Oviedus in his Booke intituled The Summary or Abridgement of his generall History of the West Indies, written to the Emperor Charles the Fift, that they [the Bermudas] have been indeed of greater compasse' (Bullough, 8: 281). Bullough annotates the passage with a question, 'Did this suggest the names of Gonzalo and Ferdinand?' (281 note 1), but I believe that the Latin reference in Eden, which describes Gonzali Ferdinandi Ouiedi as a doctissimi viri ('truly wise man')<sup>71</sup> is more likely to have contributed to Shakespeare's idea of Gonzalo.<sup>72</sup> A passage such as William Strachey's letter allows me to conclude that even in his more topical readings about Bermuda Shakespeare could still find references to The Emperor Charles V.

One of the comforting statements Gonzalo makes is 'Methinks our garments are now as fresh as when | we put them on first in Afric, at the marriage of the King's fair daughter

Claribel to the King of Tunis' (2.1.68-70). This is the first mention of the city of Tunis in the play, and some of the reasons for Shakespeare to have made it the location of Claribel's wedding may be similar to his general reasons for making Algiers the town from which Sycorax originated. But I have mentioned Tunis a few times already. As we learn in his A lamentable and piteous treatise (514), Villegaignon was briefly in Tunis, but this was only possible because the city already was in the hands of allies of the King of Spain, who was no other than The Emperor Charles V. Tunis was certainly the most important North African city in the biography of The Emperor Charles V, who famously expelled Khayr ad-Dīn Barbarossa from Tunis when he headed an expedition which conquered it on 21 July 1535. After that great feat, Tunis remained the subject of triumphal celebrations until the end of Charles's life and beyond,<sup>73</sup> just as it was, as we have seen, celebrated by ephemeral works by Giulio Romano on the occasion of the Emperor's Entry into Milan in 1541. Next to The Emperor Charles V himself, the leader of the attack on Tunis was the Genoese Andrea Doria, 1st prince de Melfi, Knight of the Golden Fleece, who, as commander-in-chief of the imperial navy, had defeated the Turkish fleet near Patras in 1532 and would contribute to save many lives in the Emperor's failed Algiers campaign in 1541. In my discussion of Tunis, I will try to follow Shakespeare's sequence of ideas in the play: the brief allusion to a wedding, the puzzling classical reference to Carthage, and then the more specific idea of the losing of Alonso's daughter to an African.

My Figure 124 shows a famous Renaissance wedding feast, The Marriage at Cana or The Wedding Feast at Cana, by Paolo Veronese, painted in 1562-63. According to the Louvre museum site,

The bride and groom are seated at opposite ends of the table, leaving the center place to the figure of Christ. He is surrounded by the Virgin, his disciples, clerks, princes, Venetian noblemen, Orientals in turbans, several servants, and the populace. Some figures are dressed in traditional antique costumes, while others — the women in particular — wear sumptuous coiffures and adornments. Veronese depicts, with apparent ease, no less than 130 feasters, mixing biblical figures with men and women of the period. The latter are not really identifiable, although according to an 18th-century legend, the artist himself is depicted in white with a viola da gamba next to Titian and Bassano, all of whom contribute to the musical entertainment.

Amidst the ‘not really identifiable’ contemporary personages Veronese is supposed to have included among the wedding guests we are supposed to find Queen Eleanor of France, Queen Mary of England, The Emperor Charles V, and the latter’s enemies, Sultan Suleiman, the Magnificent and King François of France. My Figure 125 shows a detail from the same painting which is supposed to include the side of the table at which Charles V and Suleiman sit. Veronese’s work had not been painted by the time Vasari’s Lives was written, but it was painted one or two years before Shakespeare was born, and Shakespeare was forty-seven years old by the time of the first presentation of The Tempest. I do not know if Shakespeare ever learned of its existence. The painting is an oil on canvas which was commissioned for the refectory of the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, from which it was only taken down in 1797, when, as part of Napoleon’s loot it was shipped to Paris. Not surprisingly, it now hangs in the Louvre.

There is a possibility that Shakespeare knew Veronese’s painting because information about art circulated widely in the Renaissance. This is what Shakespeare could have learned, for instance, about another smaller but even more famous painting (a tempera on gesso, pitch and mastic) which graced (and still graces) another refectory of another religious house, this time in Milan, just by reading the text on the back of Ortelius’ map of the Duchy of Milan:

Adjoined to this Church [‘the Grace Church’ mentioned before, the Church and Convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie,] is the stately Abbey of the Friars Predicant, with an excellent library and a very fair Chamber or Hall, adorned with the story of the [last] supper of Christ and his Apostles, an admirable piece of work, performed by the hand of Leonardo Vincio, a Florentine sufficiently equipped with the great skills and cunning of an ingenious craftsman, as attested by all men familiar with the Art of painting (‘Cartographica Neerlandica Map Text for Ortelius Map No. 125’).

Leonardo’s The Last Supper is also the subject of Vasari’s pen, but this is no confirmation that Shakespeare knew about Veronese’s The Wedding Feast at Cana, since information would necessarily have to come from some other source. It certainly inspired British film director Peter Greenaway, who includes a scene inspired by The Wedding Feast at Cana in his recreation of Prospero’s Milanese court for his Prospero’s Books (1991), a visually stunning reworking for the screen of Shakespeare’s story. In the words of the published film-script, which includes a reproduction of the painting on page 67, ‘Antonio gathers his conspirators around him to prepare for his coup d’etat — a pretext to see Veronese

through Dutch eyes' (68). I believe that The Wedding Feast at Cana could have inspired an allusion to a grand wedding which took place in Tunis, because it is a visually impressive work which shows a fantasy wedding feast in an exotic non-European location attended by mighty European personages, and The Emperor Charles V is supposed to have been one of the guests.

As for the name of Alonso's daughter, Claribel, it may also be related to The Emperor Charles V. To begin with, there is a lady called Claribell in The Sixth Book of Edmund Spenser's Faerie Qveene (1596), entitled 'The Sixth Booke of the Faerie Qveene. Contayning The Legend of S. Calidore or of Covrtesie.' Just like Shakespeare's new Queen of Tunis, Spenser's Claribell is a fair daughter with a powerful father. In Canto 12, Spenser describes Claribell as 'The fayrest Ladie then of all that liuing were. . . . whose father hight | The Lord of Many Ilands, farre renound | For his great riches and his greater might' (Spenser 6.12.27-30). This description fits The Emperor Charles V, who was renowned for his great riches and his greater might and could be called 'The Lord of Many Ilands', as he was the lord of the Spanish islands in the Western Mediterranean, Algeciras, the Canary Islands, and 'the Indian islands and the islands and the firm lands of the Ocean Sea' (Cf. my Appendix F). Finally, there is a historical personage whose name may have contributed to inspire Shakespeare's choice. Claribel's name arguably resembles the name of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia of Spain, daughter of Philip II, granddaughter of The Emperor Charles V and wife of her own cousin Archduke Albert of Austria, especially because her name was sometimes given as Isabella Clara and sometimes as Clara Isabella. At the time of the composition of The Tempest, as we have seen, the governors of the Habsburg or Spanish Netherlands were Archduke Albert of Austria and his wife, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia of Spain. The Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia of Spain can also be related to Claribel because her dead father and grandfather had been Kings of Naples and Dukes of Milan and at the time of the first known performance of The Tempest in 1611 she was the sister of the then King of Naples and Duke of Milan, King Philip III of Spain.

The approximation between Claribel and the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia of Spain could introduce a possible crypto-Catholic subtheme or interest in The Tempest. In their belief that Ferdinand is dead, Sebastian and Antonio want to kill Alonso to make Sebastian King of Naples bypassing the successory rights to the Neapolitan throne of Claribel, 'she that dwells | Ten leagues beyond man's life' (2.1.244-245). We know that in England and in the continent, since the death of Mary, Queen of Scots many Catholics' preferred Catholic

candidate to supplant first Elizabeth and then King James himself on the British throne was exactly the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia of Spain.

In Act 2 scene 1, the Europeans have just been shipwrecked on Prospero's island, and right after Gonzalo's first mention of the 'marriage of the King's fair daughter Claribel to the King of Tunis' we have the following exchange: 'ADRIAN. Tunis was never grac'd before with such a paragon to their queen. | GONZALO. Not since widow Dido's time' (2.1.73-75). The passage is famously puzzling and Shakespeare's reasons for making an extended joke about Dido and even what exactly was supposed to make it funny for a Jacobean audience may never be fully clear to later generation theatregoers, readers, or critics. As Jonathan Bate discusses in detail, the passage relates to a deliberate approximation on the part of the author between the plot of The Tempest and that of the Aeneid.<sup>74</sup> Apparently not fully convinced, Charles Martindale has this to say in his 'Shakespeare and Virgil', chapter five of Shakespeare and the Classics, a book which he edited with A. B. Taylor which was published in 2004:

Scholars, following the lead of Donna Hamilton, increasingly present the play as a sustained imitatio of the Aeneid. And certainly there is a trail of references to Virgil throughout (more than to any other single 'source'). The problem is to know quite what to do with them, since they combine a certain tenuousness with a curious persistence. For today's sophisticated critics intertextuality is of course always A Good Thing. The problem here is that Shakespeare fails to carry over into The Tempest the power of the passages recalled (99).

Donna Hamilton's 'Re-Engineering Virgil: The Tempest and the Printed English Aeneid', Chapter 9 of Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman's The Tempest and its Travels (2000), makes an approximation with Charles V and argues that because

the Aeneid is the story of the founding of Rome and because Rome and the Catholic church were, on the Continent, virtually inseparable concepts, the appearance of these [Aeneid] editions during Mary's reign speaks first of all to her Catholic identity and European connections, including her close relationship with the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, and in 1554, her marriage to Philip II of Spain' (114).

Hamilton mentions The Conquest of Tunis, a series of portable tapestries on the theme of The Emperor Charles V's conquest of the North African town which were used for state occasions in Spain and in the rest of the Habsburg dominions by Charles and his son Philip. The tapestries are also discussed in, among other works, Jerry Brotton's 'Carthage and Tunis:

The Tempest and Tapestries', Chapter 11 of the same volume. Brotton makes an interesting approximation between this scene in The Tempest and The Conquest of Tunis, which 'on their completion in 1554 . . . were packed up and dispatched to England, where they were destined to make their first appearance at the wedding of Charles V's son Philip II and Mary Tudor at Winchester' (136). In a text which explores many reasons why Tunis was important in the universe of The Emperor Charles V, Brotton adds that under 'Mary's literary patronage Thomas Phaer published The seven first books of the Eneidos of Virgill in 1558, and by 1573 Thomas Twyne completed Phaer's translation of all twelve books of the Aeneid (136). Pinson also mentions the tapestries in a passage which I quote in my note 73 to this chapter.

Frank Kermode's Arden edition of The Tempest was first published too early in the twenty century to reflect the post-colonial concerns which became so important in the 1960's, and particularly in the 1970's, 1980's and early 1990's, let alone these 'post-post-colonial' critical moves of the late 1990's and the early twenty-first century. The Preface to the Sixth edition from which all later reprints were published is dated September 1957. But since Kermode's edition is a recognized monument of scholarship and is possibly the most influential twentieth-century single edition of The Tempest, it is important to register that Kermode annotates the first Dido line by saying that this line

begins a series of apparently trivial allusions to the theme of Dido and Aeneas which has never been properly explained. . . . nowhere in Shakespeare . . . is there anything resembling the apparent irrelevance of lines 73-97. It is a possible inference that our frame of reference is badly adjusted, or incomplete, and that an understanding of this passage will modify our image of the whole play' (46-47).

In spite of the growing number of critical studies which mention and at times focus on the Mediterranean world of The Emperor Charles V, there are only a few scattered annotations which acknowledge the Habsburg monarch in the best editions of The Tempest. I mention in my Chapter 1 that Villegaignon is not included in the very thorough 16-column, 8-page-long index of names in the Vaughans' Arden edition of The Tempest, an edition which makes it easier to run this type of check exactly because of its index. Charles V does not fare much better, being mentioned only once, in a reference that leads to a note to Shakespeare's Act 5 sentence about the 'lasting pillars', about which I will return later in this chapter. Charles V had been mentioned in the note to the line about Sycorax and Algiers, but this reference is not found in the Vaughans' index.

Naturally, all the evidence that several critics have added recently to the discussion of the Mediterranean and North African element in The Tempest by increasingly mentioning The Emperor Charles V enriches my conclusion that Shakespeare is concerned with the mighty sixteenth-century monarch. The nature of the evidence that I see, however, prompts me to repeat my suggestion that being able to see Villegaignon and Antarctic France in the genesis of The Tempest allows us to bring together — in a way that either Virginia or the Caribbean arguably does not — both the Old World and the New.

I return to Thevet's The new Found worlde, or Antarctike, Chapter 24, 'Of our arriuall to Fraunce Antartike, otherwise named America, to the place named Caape Defria', in which Thevet is approaching Guanabara Bay in Brazil but thinking of the Aeneid:

After that by devine providence, with so many trauailes common and ordinarie to so long a Nauigation, we were come to the maine land, not so soone as our heartes desired, which was the tenth day of Nouember, and in stead of taking our rest, it behoued us to discouer & seeke our proper places, to make or reare newe siedges, being no lesse astonied or amazed, than the Troyans were at their arriuall into Italie (38v).

Thevet's 'Caape Defria' is Cabo Frio on the coast of the State of Rio de Janeiro, about 148 km (92 mi) East of Guanabara Bay and the modern city of Rio de Janeiro. The town that is nowadays there had not yet been founded, but it was an area inhabited by Tupinambá Indians who, among others, had contacts with early Portuguese explorers and French traffickers of brazilwood who came to that region. Even closer to The Tempest, this is Thevet's description of Villegaignon's arrival in Antarctic France in Chapter 25, 'Of the Riuier of Ganabara otherwise called Ianaria, and how that the countrey whereas we ariued, was named Fraunce Antartike':

So that being there arriued, after that we had prayed and giuen thanks, (as the true Christian ought to do, to him that had pacified the Sea and the windes) to be short, to him that had shewed & giuen us the mean to accomplish this voyage, we rested us upon the greene grasse: as the Troyans did after so many shipwracks and tempest when that they met with the good Lady Dido . . . the Countrey . . . the which by us was discovered Fraunce Antartike, whereas we found no place so proper and wel standing for to reare or edifie a holde, as a little Iland, cõtaining only one league of circuit, . . . (40v-41r)

Thevet describes an arrival upon ‘a little Iland, cōtaining only one league of circuit’, and resting ‘upon the greene grasse: as the Troyans did after so many shipwracks and tempest when that they met with the good Lady Dido’. These details are all mirrored in The Tempest: the Europeans survive a tempest and a shipwreck, arrive on Prospero’s little island, and the same Gonzalo who also first mentions widow Dido exclaims upon arrival, as we have seen: ‘How lush and lusty the grass looks! How green!’ This time it is Adrian who sees no connection between Carthage and Tunis, to which Gonzalo replies, ‘This Tunis, sir, was Carthage’ (Tmp. 2.1.82).

There are many authors in whose works Shakespeare may have read about Carthage. One work that critics all agree Shakespeare read and from which he quotes in The Tempest a few lines after this reference to Carthage is, as we know, Michel Eyquem de Montaigne’s essay ‘Of the Caniballes’ (or ‘On Cannibals’) in John Florio’s translation of 1603. As I have had the opportunity to mention, Montaigne himself informs us that the cannibals he has met and about whom he writes are from Villegaignon’s Antarctic France, the natives whom and the region which Thevet and Jean de Léry describe in their works. They are, in other words, Tupinambá Indians. In the same essay about to be quoted by Shakespeare, after the reference to Villegaignon and Antarctic France but earlier in the text than the passage from which Shakespeare quotes, Montaigne writes the following:

The other testimonie of antiquitie, to which some will referre this discoverie, is in Aristotle (if at least that little booke of unheard of wonders be his) where he reporteth that cortaine Carthaginians having sailed athwart the Atlantike Sea, without the strait of Gibraltar, after long time, they at last discovered a great fertill Iland, all replenished with goodly woods, and watred with great and deepe rivers, farre distant from al land, and that both they and others, allured by the goodnes and fertility of the same, went thither with their wives, children, and household, and there began to inhabit and settle themselves. The Lords of Carthage seeing their cōtrie by little and little to be dispeopled, made a law and expresse inhibition, that upon paine of death no more men should goe thither, and banished all that were gone thither to dwell, fearing (as they said) that in successe of time, they would so multiply as they might one day supplant them, and overthrow their owne estate (Renascence Editions).

Montaigne duly informs his reader that ‘This narration of Aristotle hath no reference unto our new found countries’ (Renascence Editions), but the passage could have suggested to

Shakespeare the impulse to do like the Carthaginians and go Plus Ultra, sailing, in the words of Florio's translation that Shakespeare knew, 'athwart the Atlantike Sea, without the strait of Gibraltar'.

I have suggested before that Shakespeare may be referring to maps by Abraham Ortelius, since that was the most likely source for geographical information at the time. My Figures 126 and 127 show Ortelius' Carthaginis | celeberrimi | sinus typys ('A map of the bay of most famous Carthage'), another map published in his Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570). The map shows 'Cartaginis aque ductus, et antiquae ruinae,' ('the aqueduct and ancient ruins of Carthage'), the 'sinus Carthaginensis' ('bay of Carthage,' or bay of Tunis), the famous fortress of La Goletta and the city of Tunis. The text in the lower left corner informs the reader that Tunes capta & in Christianorum | potestatem redacta est a Carolo | quinto Romanorum Imperatore | Anno a Christi nato M.D.XXXV. ('Tunis has been taken and returned to Christian Governance by Charles the Fifth, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in the year after the birth of Christ 1535'). In the accompanying text on the backside of the map in the atlas, Ortelius informs his reader that

Even though this little map does not encompass a large Area, yet, out of love for history-lovers, we have wanted to include it also in our Theatre. For this Harbour used to be of great renown, because of the Wars which this city of Carthago has waged against the city of Rome for Prestige reasons. This city has also provided fame to Charles the fifth in our times because of the glorious victory which he achieved here in the Year 1535, when he expelled Barbarossa, captured the Golette and the city of Tunis, reinstated the King who had been chased away, and released many thousands of captured Christians (Cartographica Neerlandica Map Text for Ortelius Map No. 174)

In my Figure 129, The Emperor Charles V goes invisible. The figure shows 'The porte of Carthage,' in Abraham Ortelius's An epitome of Ortelius his Theater of the vworld, the English language edition printed in Antwerp as if it had been printed in London in 1601. This version of Ortelius' map is reproduced in Hulme and Sherman's The Tempest and its Travels. Critical Views (2000), a book which has, as we have seen, articles emphasizing the connection between Tunis and The Emperor Charles V. The caption added to this picture reads: 'this atlas would have provided English readers with a picture of Carthage and Tunis; and accompanying maps would have stressed the reach and power of the Ottoman Empire in the region' (72). If Shakespeare knew this map in one of the many earlier versions (such as

my Figures 126 and 127), he (but not 21st-century readers) would have one extra reason to associate Carthage and Tunis with The Emperor Charles V.

Despite Gonzalo's efforts to pacify the grieving heart of his King Alonso, Sebastian, the king's evil brother, is not moved and, in Gonzalo's own terms the truth he speaks 'doth lack some gentleness, | And time to speak it in — you rub the sore | When you should bring the plaster' (2.1.135-137). This is what Sebastian says: 'Sir, you may thank yourself for this great loss, | That would not bless our Europe with your daughter, | But rather lose her to an African' (2.1.120-23). The idea of marrying a daughter in Tunis (or 'losing her to an African') was probably suggested by what happened after The Emperor Charles V's conquest of that city. As Shakespeare may have learned in Chapter 7 of Montaigne's *Essayes*, 'Of the Affections of Fathers to Their Children. To the Lady of Estissac', among other sources, after Tunis fell, Charles V restored Muley Hassan (Fig. 129) to power as a puppet king in Tunis: 'Muleasses King of Thunes, he whom the Emperor Charles the fifth restored unto his owne state againe, was wont to upbraid his fathers memorie for so dissolutely-frequenting of women, terming him a sloven, effeminate, and a lustfull engenderer of children' (*Renascence Editions*).<sup>75</sup> *Muleasses* was also the name of the title character and villain of John Mason's *The Turk*, or *Muleasses the Turk* (1607), a play which, as I have briefly mentioned in my Introduction, was published shortly before the composition of *The Tempest*, in 1609 or 1610 (Cf. Berger, Bradford and Sondergard 117 for the dates and Jowitt for more details about the play.)

My Figure 128 shows The Emperor Charles V liberating Christian slaves at Tunis. According to Beosch in *The Cambridge Modern History* (1904):

On June 14 [1535] the Emperor's fleet reached the Gulf of Tunis and cast anchor at a short distance from the fort La Goletta. The siege lasted a month. After a breach had been made a successful assault was delivered; and, though the garrison held out bravely for ten hours, the fortress was taken. . . . In spite of the intolerable African heat the Emperor set out with his army on July 20 upon the march to Tunis. Before they reached the latter place they had to fight with Barbarossa, who had taken up an advantageous position and lay in wait for them. He was put to flight, however; and the fettered Christian slaves in Tunis. . . . broke their chains and opened the gates to the Emperor. On July 21 Charles entered the conquered city, and, yielding to the demand of the Spanish contingent, delivered it up to his troops for a two days' loot. The Spaniards

behaved like wild beasts, plundering and murdering to their hearts' content, destroying mosques and schools, and laying buildings and precious sculptures alike in ruins. From the plundered town the Moslem inhabitants who had escaped the sword were led into slavery. Charles betook himself to La Goletta, where he reinstalled Muley Hassan, whom Barbarossa had banished, in the government of Tunis, on condition of homage and the payment of a quit-rent' (Vol. 3)

For The Emperor Charles V, the successful attack on the Barbary Coast city of Tunis, capturing a large number of Turkish ships and liberating thousands of Christian slaves became, as we have seen, a cause of great honour and celebration. It also provided the Emperor with an inspiration to sponsor the redemptive efforts of Christian religious societies to liberate Christian slaves who were in the hands of non-Christians. As Robert C. Davis explains in his book Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast and Italy, 1500-1800 (2003),

Slave ransoming as an act of charity and piety had deep roots in the [Mediterranean] region, following a pattern established centuries before by the two main redemptive orders: the Order of the Most Holy Trinity, or the Trinitarians, founded in France by Jean of Matha and Felix of Valois in 1193; and Our Lady of Mercy, known as the Mercedarians and begun by Pedro Nolasco in Barcelona in 1203. Both had been initiated primarily for freeing Christian slaves or captives — in particular, crusaders — in the hands of Muslims or other unbelievers (149).

However, as Davis also explains, 'the Trinitarians and Mercedarians had both gone into decline by the first decades of the sixteenth century and therefore found it all the more difficult to cope with the sudden and massive upsurge of slave taking by both Christians and Muslims that occurred after 1500' (149). Davis comments that the Mercedarians always kept their close relationship with the Kings of Aragon (they had become an Aragonese military order as early as 1218) and 'would remain heavily involved with both the Spanish Crown and its ensuing crusading activities in the Riconquista' (149). Davis attributes as the main cause for the creation of new redemptive institutions the realization on the part of the different Italian states that the number of enslaved Christians had grown so considerably that the traditional orders would need state-sponsored help in order to continue their work. And David adds,

The first to respond was Naples, whose territories were not coincidentally also the most directly threatened by the corsair raids: in 1548, the Emperor Charles V chartered the Real Casa Santa della Redentione de' Cattivi there. The Neapolitan organization provided the model for many of the other Italian states . . . [, and] the Vatican decided to commission its own ransoming confraternity in 1581-82 . . . . After Rome, other principal cities and ports in Italy soon followed suit, including Bologna (1584), Lucca (1585), Venice (1586), Palermo (1596), Genoa (1597), and Malta (1607) (150).

There may be a faint suggestion of Charles V's role as the liberator of Christian slaves in Prospero's role liberating Ariel, who is a good spirit, from his confinement into a cloven pine, where he 'painfully remained' imprisoned for so many years thanks to the 'unmitigable rage' of an evil Algerian witch, a non-Christian originating from the Barbary Coast. It is true that Prospero keeps Ariel in service for another 12 years, but serving a European enchanter who, like Agrippa, could remain a Christian is not the same as serving an African non-Christian witch full of 'earthy and abhorr'd commands'. I quote from Davis again:

From 1530, when Kheir-ed-din Barbarossa solidified his power there, until the culminating decade of 1560-70, which Braudel termed 'the first brilliant age of Algiers,' the city's ra'is plundered the coast of Italy and Spain almost unopposed, repeatedly filling their galleys almost to the foundering point with Christian captives. Diego de Haëdo estimated that there were 25,000 slaves in Algiers in 1579, and considering how many slaves were pouring into the city in the decades before that, such a figure is very likely a valid minimum for much of the half-century 1530-80. Assuming that the attrition rate among slaves in the sixteenth century was no lower than in the seventeenth (deaths by plague may have been less, but in recompense there were a number of large-scale abjurations among captive Christians) the Algerian ra'is probably brought in as many as 300,000 European slaves in these fifty years (230).

### 3.9 – 'Having first seized his books': Shakespeare Adaptation and Invisibility

After the references to Tunis, Carthage, and widow Dido, Gonzalo delivers the lines which confirm that Shakespeare read Montaigne's Essays: Starting with 'Had I plantation of this isle' (2.1.141), Gonzalo presents to his audience on stage and to the audience at court or

in the theatre his conception of the ideal commonwealth. As Bullough puts it, ‘Gonzalo describes the Utopia he would set up if he ruled the island — drawing on Florio’s Montaigne no doubt, but mindful also of the travellers’ tales which both Shakespeare and Montaigne knew’ (267).<sup>76</sup>

I return to Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan’s excellent Shakespeare’s Caliban: A Cultural History (1993), where we learn that

Shakespearean scholars recognized as early as 1780 that Gonzalo’s utopian speech owes much to John Florio’s translation (1603) of Montaigne’s essay. (A copy in the British Library bears a signature that may be Shakespeare’s.) The similarities of expression between the speech and the essay are, Shakespeareans largely agree, too close to be coincidental. Even Margaret Hodgen, who marshals impressive evidence that Montaigne’s description of a barbarian/utopian society ‘fell back on a tradition that is as old as the hills in England and France,’ admits that ‘the lines in The Tempest are still more like those in Of the Caniballes than any other formulation’ (47-48).<sup>77</sup>

The passage inspired by Montaigne’s cannibals (2.1.145-66) was obviously printed in the First Folio of 1623, the only version of the text from Jacobean times which survives. Edward Capell, as we have seen in Chapter 1, first identified the connection between this passage and Montaigne in 1780. Yet not enough has been made of the Brazilian element in the play. The main reason I see for that is the phenomenon I try to characterise in this work, namely, Brazilian invisibility abroad. Since before 1780 and arguably until this day, mainstream critics and commentators have been culturally prone to focus, as we have seen in my Chapter 2, but also in my Chapter 1 and in this chapter, on Virginia or the Caribbean and not to take into specific consideration any possible suggestion of South America or Brazil.

Indeed, Shakespeare critics and commentators are not entirely to blame, and stage history has greatly contributed to Brazilian invisibility in the case of the history of Shakespeare’s reception. I mentioned The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island, John Dryden and William Davenant’s Restoration adaptation of Shakespeare’s play, earlier in this chapter in my discussion of the lack of deference with which Alonso is treated on board. Now we have to return to this particular version of The Tempest because, as Christine Dymkowski explains in her Introduction to her Shakespeare in Production series edition of The Tempest (2000), which presents and annotates the stage history of the play,

The version of The Tempest most familiar to play-goers throughout much of its performance history has not been Shakespeare's Folio text, but the adaptation by William Davenant and John Dryden, first staged on 7 November 1667 by the Duke's Company at Lincoln's Inn Fields and subsequently published in 1670 by Henry Herringman. This version, which includes less than a third of Shakespeare's text, changes the plot of the play and its cast of characters considerably (Timp. 2000 6).

Over the years, there were changes incorporated to the Dryden-Davenant version and further alterations together with gradual return to some of Shakespeare's concepts, but Dryden and Davenant's The Enchanted Island remained the basis for what audiences saw on the stage. Actually, as the entry 'The Tempest' in Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells's Oxford Companion to Shakespeare (2001) informs, 'it was not until 1838 that the original play (though supplemented with lavish special effects) was again restored by W. C. Macready' (473). Equally important, as the Vaughans attest to in Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History, the changes which Dryden and Davenant made to Shakespeare's play

influenced not only theatrical production but also seventeenth and eighteenth-century critical interpretations, for many editions of The Tempest printed the Dryden-Davenant version as if it were Shakespeare's text. Accordingly, critics who thought and wrote about The Tempest often had the Dryden-Davenant version in mind' (92).

Many of the changes introduced by Dryden and Davenant can be found in the list of dramatis personae (given by Novak and Guffey on their page 8), with necessary consequences to the plot of the play. Since Alonso is no longer a King but 'Alonzo, Duke of Savoy and Usurper of the Dukedom of Mantua,' Ferdinand, who as the heir to the throne of Naples would have been a Duke in his own right (the heir apparent to the throne of Naples had the title of 'Duke of Calabria'), is merely the heir to the Dukedom of Savoy instead of a Crown Prince of Naples. Prospero, the 'right Duke of Millain' has not one but two daughters 'that never saw man', Miranda and Dorinda. Miranda's sister Dorinda eventually falls in love with a character of Dryden and Davenant's creation called Hippolito, who is both 'one that never saw Woman', and 'right Heir of the Dukedom of Mantua.' As we have seen, Shakespeare's jester Trinculo becomes Trincalo, and is now the ship's Bosen (Boatswain). He and Stephano, who is no longer the King of Naples's butler but the Master of the Ship, get two new companions called Mustacho and Ventoso, who are respectively Stephano's Mate and

another mariner. Like Miranda, Caliban also gets a sister who, like their mother, is a witch and is called Sycorax. Caliban and his sister Sycorax are described as ‘Two Monsters of the Island’.

In the same fashion as Restoration Comedy, the Dryden-Davenant adaptation is full of that which Sir Walter Scott in the early nineteenth century defined as ‘that peculiar colouring, in which [Dryden’s] age delighted’ (Scott 91). As a rule, among the hustle and bustle of intricate plots, Restoration comedies display stylish humour and urbane wit in daringly suggestive comedy scenes full of tantalising episodes which mix unremitting (at the time, bordering on the sexually explicit) sexual intrigue and conquest. In this Restoration Tempest, the multiple pairs of lovers’ lines are full of sexual innuendo, which would lead Scott to dismiss it thus: ‘Miranda’s simplicity is converted into indelicacy, and Dorinda talks the language of prostitution before she has ever seen a man’ (91). Maybe Walter Scott exaggerates here, but the same 20<sup>th</sup>-century critics who in the ‘Commentary’ on the Dryden-Davenant version published after the text in the University of California edition say that in his condemnation Scott ‘merely revealed the perverse repressions of his period and the absurd burden of sexual purity it imposed upon women’ (Novak and Guffey 330), had shortly before described Dryden and Davenant’s Sycorax as having ‘extremely racy and sexually suggestive scenes’ (Novak and Guffey 327).

When they discuss the Restoration version of Shakespeare’s The Tempest, modern critics understandably tend to focus on two main areas of concern. Because of the nature of the most important changes, critics address either the Restoration politics or the sexual politics of the Dryden-Davenant version and do not usually comment on the possible impact that the Restoration cuts and changes may have had in the history of the reception of specific lines originally found in the play. For example, a look at the The Enchanted Island reveals that Dryden and Davenant altered Act 2 considerably, and Gonzalo makes not a single reference to Tunis, Carthage, or to widow Dido, saying instead: ‘These, Sir, ’tis true, were crimes of a black Dye, | But both of you [Alonzo and his brother Antonio] have made amends to Heav’n, By your late Voyage into Portugal Where, in defence of Christianity, Your valour has repuls’d the Moors of Spain’ (2.1.26-30). In the case of Gonzalo’s description of his utopian commonwealth, the whole passage disappears. Likewise, Christine Dymkowski informs that David Garrick in 1757 ‘retained of the commonwealth speech only Gonzalo’s dream that “I would with such perfection govern, sir | To excel the golden age” (160-1a)’ (Tmp. 2000 197).

It is therefore to Edward Capell's credit that he, who is very likely never to have heard the passage on the stage, could identify it as being based on Montaigne 'as early as 1780', as the Vaughans put it. Capell was probably reading Samuel Johnson and George Steevens's 1778 edition of Shakespeare, the first one which first makes the approximation between Caliban's and the word cannibal, the same approximation that the Vaughans practically dismiss on account of its 'late emergence in print'. Critics could still (and some such as Capell did) find the passage in certain printed editions, but obviously, the chance of Gonzalo's speech having some repercussion was greatly diminished by its being edited out by adapters of Shakespeare. The situation did not improve with the version put on by William Charles Macready, who, as we have seen, supposedly restored Shakespeare's play when he first produced it at Covent Garden on 13 October 1831. From that date, Macready certainly restored the core of Shakespeare's The Tempest just as he had earlier that same year (on 25 January) brought back to the stage the Fool in King Lear, whom Nahum Tate had famously suppressed in his happy-ending History of King Lear in 1681.

The passage inspired by Montaigne's cannibals runs from 2.1.145 to 166, whereas, as we can learn in Christine Dymkowski's invaluable Shakespeare in Production series edition of The Tempest (Tmp. 2000 196-198), Shakespeare's lines 133b (Sebastian's 'Very well') to 174 (the end of Gonzalo's speech 'You are gentlemen of brave mettle; you would lift | the moon out of her sphere, if she would continue in it five | weeks without changing') were all still cut by Macready in his restored version of the play. Samuel Phelps (whose productions had first performances in 1847; 1849; 1855 and 1860) and Charles Kean (with first performance in 1857) equally cut the same line sequence, whereas William Burton in New York (first performance in 1854) was the only actor-manager at the time who retained the whole speech. This is an indication, as Dymkowski herself remarks, that Americans already identified ideologically with Gonzalo's vision.

Dymkowski does not annotate cuts for all the productions which she mentions in her book, but she indicates that Augustin Daly (New York, 1897), Herbert Beerbohm Tree (1904), Norman Wright (first performance in 1947), and Keith Hack (first performance at the Royal Shakespeare Company's The Other Place in 1974) also cut different small parts of the speech. In fact, the whole speech was still cut in its entirety by Stuart Burge in 1972 (Tmp. 2000 198).

This is not an isolated case. Accordingly, several of the lines which I present in this chapter as relevant for my discussion are not found in the Dryden-Davenant version and in many of the most famous productions of The Tempest from the time of Shakespeare well into

the nineteenth century.<sup>78</sup> I give further examples to illustrate my case. The productions which I mark with a superscript double dagger (‡) are not systematically covered by Dymkowski, which means that they may cut other sentences which I include in the list of examples that follows.

Dryden and Davenant's version retains Miranda's 'Sir, had I not four, or five Women once that tended me?' and Prospero's 'Thou hadst, and more, Miranda:', as well as the references to Sycorax in Argier (1.2.257-270), but John Philip Kemble (1789), W. C. Macready (1838) and Charles Kean (1857) cut 263b-8, the latter also cutting 'with child' (269), 'And here was left' (270). Augustin Daly (New York, 1897) cuts 258b-9a, 260b-3a, 265-9, retaining 269's 'was hither brought', and 270a. Herbert Beerbohm Tree (1904) cuts 264-74 (retaining 274's 'did confine thee'). Keith Hack (Royal Shakespeare Company, 1974) cuts 260b-1a, and 263b-8. As for Prospero's 'The government I cast upon my brother' (1.2.75), Dryden-Davenant cuts 67-9, 70b-6 and Nicholas Hytner's RSC production in 1988 'tossed 75 away' (Tnp. 2000 131).

The word Carthage appears four times in Shakespeare's text (2.1.81; 82; 83; 84), but there is not a single mention of Carthage in Dryden-Davenant, Garrick (1756), Kemble (both versions), Macready (1838), Samuel Phelps (from 1847), Kean (1857), William Burton in New York (1854), Daly (New York, 1897), Tree (1904), Michael Benthall (Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, 1951 and 1952), or Hack (1974). Shakespeare mentions Alonso's daughter's Claribel name four times (2.1.70; 243; 256; 5.1.209) and Tunis nine times (2.1.70; 73; 81; 82; 95; 244; 253; 257; 5.1.209). Dryden-Davenant has no reference to Claribel or the King of Tunis, or to 'losing her to an African'. After these cuts were introduced, of lines 2.1.10-107a, all but 103a are cut by Garrick (1756)'; 67-99 are cut by Garrick (1757) and Kemble (both versions); 69-89 are cut by Macready (1838), Phelps (from 1847), Kean (1857), Burton (New York, 1854), Daly (New York, 1897), Benthall (SMT, 1951 and 1952) and Hack (1974); whereas 69-101 are cut by Tree (1904).

As I have mentioned, the Dryden-Davenant version deletes Gonzalo's commonwealth speech, and the only time the word 'plantation' appears (it appears also only once in Shakespeare) is in a new line in Act 2, scene 3, in a line by Ventoso, who says, 'When you are Duke you may chuse your Vice-Roy; but I am a free Subject in a new Plantation, and will have no Duke without my voice. And so fill me the other soop' (The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island 2.3.59-61). In Shakespeare, Caliban uses the word torment four times to comment on his attack by spirits, but only twice in Dryden and Davenant's play. There are

references to wood but not Ferdinand's reference to wooden slavery, which is also cut by Macready (1838) and Kean (1857), Burton (New York, 1854) and Daly (New York, 1897), as well as Tree (1904). According to Dymkowski, almost 'the entire log-bearing scene was cut by Dryden/Davenant and Shadwell', and 'Garrick (1576) cut the scene completely' (233). The line about the 'thousands of logs' is cut by Kean (1857), whereas the one about 'the patient log-man' is cut by Daly (New York, 1897).

As for Stephano and Trinculo's allusions to the New World, Dryden-Davenant lacks Trinculo's reference to a 'dead Indian' (2.2.32) and Stephano's references to 'men of Ind' (2.2.57), as well as to the jerkin being 'under the line' (4.1.236-7). The 'dead Indian' line is also cut by Macready (1838), Kean (1857), and Daly (New York, 1897); the 'men of Ind' line, by Thomas Shadwell (1674), Garrick (1756), and Daly (New York, 1897). The jerkin 'under the line' is, according to Dymkowski, 'an obscure joke cut in both Kemble versions and many subsequent productions (e.g. Phelps's, Burton's and Benthall's 1952). Kean and Tree extended the cut to . . . "none on 't'" (Dymkowski 295). The line is also cut by Randle Ayrton (1935), Eric Crozier (1946), Norman Wright (SMT, 1947), Ben Iden Payne (1941 and 1942), Hack (1974) and Ron Daniels (RSC, 1982).

In Shakespeare's text, 5.1.9-11, but not in Dryden-Davenant, Ariel informs Prospero that 'all prisoners, sir, | In the line-grove which weather-fends your cell; | They cannot budge till your release', a line which is also cut by Kemble (both versions), Garrick 1756), Tree (1904) and Hack (1974). In Dryden-Davenant, Gonzalo does not have his two last speeches, which means he does not exclaim, as he does in Shakespeare (5.1.205-206), "'Was Milan thrust from Milan that his issue | Should become kings of Naples?" or 'O rejoice | Beyond a common joy, and set it down | With gold on lasting pillars!' (5.1.207-208). The line is also cut by Garrick (1756), Macready (1838), Phelps (from 1847), Kean (1857), Burton (New York, 1854), Daly (New York, 1897) and Tree (1904), Bridges-Adams and Iden Payne (1941 and 1942), and recently by Peter Brook (SMT, the future RSC, 1957).

In Dryden-Davenant, Prospero does not say about Caliban that 'this thing of darkness I | Acknowledge mine' (5.1.275-276), and he does not announce his intention 'And thence retire me to my Milan, where | Every third thought shall be my grave' (5.1.311-312). Equally, in the end, he does not address the audience and ask 'With the help of your good hands. | Gentle breath of yours my sails | Must fill, or else my project fails, | Which was to please' (Tmp. Epilogue. 328-31) and does not tell the audience that 'And my ending is despair | Unless I be reliev'd by prayer,' (Tmp. Epilogue.333-34). The line 'this thing of darkness I |

Acknowledge mine' is also cut by Garrick 1756, Macready (1838), Phelps (from 1847) and Kean (1857), Daly (New York, 1897), Tree (1904) and Ayrton (1935).

Dymkowski informs that although 'many nineteenth-century productions cut Prospero's words, some contemporary productions make them a fulcrum of the play' (Dymkowski 321). As for the retirement to Milan, where 'Every third thought shall be my grave', the line is also cut by Garrick (1756) and Daly (New York, 1897). As for the Epilogue, it is cut in its entirety by Garrick (1756), Kemble (both versions), Daly (New York, 1897), Benson<sup>‡</sup> (several in the period 1888-1932), Tree (1904), Drinkwater<sup>‡</sup> (1915 and 1916), Ayrton (1935) and George Devine/Marius Goring<sup>‡</sup> (1940). Garrick in 1757 does not cut the entire Epilogue but he cuts 'And my ending is despair | Unless I be reliev'd by prayer'.

### 3.10 – 'Some subtleties o'th' isle': Utopia and Brazil; European Worship and Thevet; Ferdinand's Logs and Brazilwood in Antarctic France

I return to Gonzalo's commonwealth. Gonzalo's Utopian views have been traced to Montaigne and have led to comparisons between Shakespeare's The Tempest and Saint Thomas More's Utopia. An approximation between More's Utopia (the island) and Brazil and even Fort Coligny in Antarctic France is also possible. The island of Utopia is of course much bigger than Fort Coligny (or than Prospero's island, for that matter), but there are common features because both places are New World islands possibly located in the same area of the New World.

Nobody should expect Saint Thomas More to be specific about the location of the island Raphael Hythlodæus visited in the travels which, in More's Utopia, Hythlodæus describes to More in so rich detail. Too many details about the exact location of Utopia would contradict More's deliberate choice of a name for the island which he created. Both the name of the island, Utopia, and the name of Utopus, the conqueror from whose name Utopia was named, mean 'Nowhere', coming as they do from the Greek οὐ (ου, 'not') and τόπος (tópos, 'place', 'position', 'spot') (Cf. More 385 note 112/1-2). The commentary to Utopia in The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More adds further evidence in the same note when they inform that 'in early pertinent correspondence, the island is referred to as Nusquama (nusquam, "nowhere" [in Latin]).'

In a prefatory address, William Budé states that 'I . . . have made investigations and discerned for certain that Utopia lies outside the limits of the known world. Undoubtedly it is

one of the Fortunate Islands, perhaps close to the Elysian Fields, for More himself testifies that Hythlodæus has not yet stated its position by giving its definite bearings' (More 13). In his prefatory address, Peter Giles adds,

'As to More's difficulty about the geographical position of the island, Raphael did not fail to mention even that, but in very few words and as it were in passing, as if reserving the topic for another place. But, somehow or other, an unlucky accident caused us both to fail to catch what he said. While Raphael was speaking on the topic, one of More's servants had come up to him to whisper something or other in his ear. I was therefore listening all the more intently when one of our company who had, I suppose, caught cold on shipboard, coughed so loudly that I lost some phrase of what Raphael said. I shall not rest, however, till I have full information on this point so that I shall be able to tell you exactly not only the location of the island but even the longitude and latitude — provided that our friend Hythlodæus be alive and safe (More 23.27-39).

More himself, in a prefatory letter to Peter Giles, writes the following:

We forgot to ask, and he forgot to say, in what part of the new world Utopia lies. I am sorry that point was omitted, and I would be willing to pay a considerable sum to purchase that information, partly because I am rather ashamed to be ignorant in what sea lies the island of which I am saying so much, partly because there are several among us, and one in particular, a devout man and a theologian by profession, burning with an extraordinary desire to visit Utopia (More 43.1-7).

Very early in Book I of Utopia, however, when More's friend Peter Giles introduces Hythlodæus to More, Giles states that Hythlodæus,

eager to see the world, joined Amerigo Vespucci and was his constant companion in the last three of those four voyages which are now universally read of, but on the final voyage he did not return with him. He importuned and even wrested from Amerigo permission to be one of the twenty-four who at the farthest point of the last voyage were left behind in the fort. . . . However, when after Vespucci's departure he had traveled through many countries with five companions from the fort, by strange chance he was carried to Ceylon, whence

he reached Calicut. There he conveniently found some Portuguese ships, and at length arrived home again, beyond all expectation (More 51.5-21).

In Saint Thomas More's work, Peter Giles mentions 'those four voyages which are now universally read of' because Vespucci's four voyages had been the subject of Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle isole nuovamente trovate in quattro suoi viaggi ('Amerigo Vespucci's Letter Concerning the Isles Newly Discovered in His Four Voyages'), a text written in Lisbon in 1504 and which is supposed to have been first printed in Florence in 1504 or no later than 1505. This text is usually referred to as the Lettera al Soderini or just the Lettera. As the name implies, the Lettera was a letter in Italian by Vespucci addressed to Pier Soderini which presented a brief account of the four voyages to the New World which Vespucci was supposed to have made between the years 1497 and 1504. The truth and accuracy of Vespucci's narration is still the subject of controversy five hundred years after the Lettera was first written and published, but that was not yet the case when Saint Thomas More learned about them.

The reason for 'those four voyages' to have become 'now universally read of' at the time was that in the short period between the first publication of the Lettera and that of More's Utopia in the autumn of 1516, copies of the letter had circulated widely and it had been reprinted in Europe many times. The most famous version was to be a Latin translation made out of an earlier French translation of Vespucci's original which was printed in 1507 by German cartographer Martin Waldseemüller as a supplement to his book Cosmographiae introductio cum quibusdam geometriae ac astronomiae principiis ad eam rem necessariis and his accompanying Universalis cosmographia secundum Ptholomaei traditionem et Americi Vespuccii alioru[m]que lustrationes world map (Fig. 4). I have mentioned these two works in my Chapter 2 as the book and the map which first bestowed the name America on the New World (or, more specifically, as we have seen, on Brazil).

More's fictitious Hythlodæus, who, as we learn in Utopia, was Portuguese, had therefore taken part in the last three of Vespucci's known voyages. In the second of these 'four voyages which are now universally read of', Vespucci, still in the service of King Ferdinand II, the Catholic of Aragon, had sailed South-West past the Cape Verde islands, and on 27 June 1499, had reached the coast of Brazil, somewhere North-West of Cabo de São Roque. Then the three ships turned round towards the North-West, making acquaintance with the Caribs (Camballi or Caniballi) of North Guiana and Venezuela. Later still, they landed on the islands of St. Margaret, and Curaçao (the 'Isle of Giants'), sailing onto San Domingo.

Vespucci stayed in San Domingo for over two months, after which time he returned to Europe, arriving at the Spanish port of Cadiz on 8 September 1500.

In the third voyage, this time in the service of King Manuel the Fortunate of Portugal and under the command of Portuguese navigator Gaspar de Lemos, they left Lisbon in three ships in May 1501. This voyage is probably the subject of the first English book on America which Arber reproduces and about which I have written in my Chapter 2. Vespucci and others took a Southern course towards the West coast of Africa towards Besenegue, where they stayed for many days. From Africa, they sailed South-West, reaching the Brazilian coast on 16 August, the feast day of St. Roch, after whom they named the Cabo de São Roque, which they first saw in this voyage. They went on land the following day, and on August 18 they first saw the fierce native Brazilian cannibals, who ate three of the crew. On the Brazilian coast, they discovered and named the Cabo de Santo Agostinho on St. Augustine's day (August 28), and reached Bahia, named Bahia de Todos os Santos (The Bay of All Saints), on All Saint's Day. This voyage was also the first known European voyage to reach Guanabara Bay. On 1 January 1502, they reached the bay where Villegaignon, Thevet and Léry would live for a time more than fifty years later and gave it the name Rio de Janeiro ('River of January'). According to Vespucci's account, they went as far South as the future South Georgia Island, which they reached on 7 April 1502. This area was very cold, dark and stormy, so they decided to return to Europe via the African coast, reaching first Sierra Leone, where they rested for fifteen days and burned one of their ships, and then returning to Portugal via the islands of the Azores. They arrived at Lisbon on 7 September 1502.

Finally, in the fourth voyage, again in the service of King Manuel the Fortunate of Portugal, six ships left Lisbon on 10 May 1503 under the command of Gonzalo Coelho. After a failed attempt at landing in Sierra Leone, they sailed to the South-West and on August 10 they reached the island of Fernando de Noronha, where they lost the Admiral's flagship. Vespucci had been sent ahead of the other ships to find a port on the coast of Bahia and although he was informed of the loss of the flagship, he would only learn what had really become of the rest of his fleet in late 1506, when the one remaining ship of the original fleet finally returned to Lisbon. By then, Vespucci's letter had already been written and printed. From Bahia, Vespucci and his companions sailed south-west, and reached Cabo Frio, where they remained for five months, built a fort, and left a garrison of twenty-four men sufficiently provisioned to hold the fort until a greater number of Portuguese men relieved them. Vespucci then set sail for Europe, and he arrived at Lisbon on 18 June 1504.

If More informs us that Hythlodæus, the man who went to Utopia, ‘importuned and even wrested from Amerigo permission to be one of the twenty-four who at the farthest point of the last voyage were left behind in the fort’, that means that in More’s fiction Hythlodæus remains behind in Cabo Frio, which, as we have seen, is Thevet’s ‘Caape Defria’ and is about 150 kilometres East of Guanabara Bay, the geographical location of Fort Coligny, the small island in Villegaignon’s Antarctic France. Thevet himself mentions the Portuguese fort in Cabo Frio in Chapter 22 of The new Found worlde, or Antarctike, ‘Of the promentarie of good hope, and of many secrets observed in the same, likewise our Ariuall to the Indies, America, or Fraunce Antartike’:

Neuerthelesse staying there not aboue foure and twentie houres, we hoysed sayle for to drawe towarde Caape de Frie, distant from Maqueh, twentie fiue leagues.

This countrey is maruellous fayre, in tyme past inhabited by the Portingals, the which gaue it that name, which before was called Gekan, and there they reared a forte, minding there to remayne, for because of the goodnesse of the place. But within a shorte tyme after, for what cause I knowe not, but the Barbarous men of the countrey made them all to dye, and eate them up as they use customably their enimies (35v-36r).

It is from Cabo Frio that Hythlodæus first reaches Utopia, although obviously from Cabo Frio his ship could have gone in any direction and have travelled near or far. After his stay in Utopia, Hythlodæus travels to ‘Ceylon, whence he reached Calicut’. But Hythlodæus was Portuguese, and travelling from Brazil to India (meaning the East Indies) was the typical Portuguese maritime route in the Southern hemisphere. Certain authors find in this reference a clue to locate Utopia in the Indic Ocean. However, an East Indies location for Utopia does not look like a possibility because we have More’s testimony that Utopia was in the New World (a more likely term to be used of the West than of the East Indies). Besides, Utopia is far from India, because the only extra details which we learn in Utopia indicate that the island is under the equator (More 52.3) and that ‘that new world’ is ‘almost as far removed from ours by the equator as their life and character are different from ours’ (More 197.37-38).

I quote from Maria Leslie in Renaissance Utopias and the Problem of History (1999):

If Hythlodæus’s course to Utopia is difficult to trace on any map, his claim to have traveled with Vespucci on the last three of his four voyages grounds his previous travels in Brazil. The interesting double etymology of Brazil and its

dramatic cartographic migrations may have had particular resonance for Utopia, for it draws (like the Utopians themselves) on two independent languages and traditions. Long before Cabral claimed Brazil for the Portuguese in 1500, an island called Brazile appears on the Angelino Dulcert map of 1325 in the Atlantic at the latitude of Southern Ireland. The island appeared with the other mythical Atlantic Islands on numerous maps over the next two hundred years, including the influential woodcut map of the New World added by Waldseemüller to the edition of Ptolemy printed at Strassburg in 1513. . . . It has been suggested that the etymology of the insula de Brazile (alternately spelled Breasail, Brasil, Hy-Brazil, or, most commonly, Brazil) originally derives from two Gaelic words, breas and ail, which Raymond Ramsey has translated as ‘superbly fine,’ or ‘grand and wonderful,’ to yield, in his whimsical turn of phrase, ‘Most-Best Island’.

In the Romance languages, however, Brazil is linked etymologically to dye production, and it was the discovery of a red-dye wood in South America led to it being named ‘terra de brazil.’ This association may help to explain the otherwise surprising Utopian production of ‘scarlet and purple dye-stuffs’ that were not required for their own simples dress of undyed wool and bleached linen. This unresolved contradiction between Utopian practice and Utopian trade might perhaps be measured as the distance between Braesail and Brazil; that is, the distance between the land that fulfils desires and the land that generates them (36).<sup>79</sup>

Leslie concludes that whatever ‘Utopia’s topicality, it must be admitted that it is deliberately disorienting to put Noplace on the map at all, and it is clear that the Utopian map is not best understood as the technical expression of contemporary cartographic thinking. Getting to Utopia will require more than a compass’ (38). Besides this evidence which nonetheless approximates Utopia and Brasil, I have previously mentioned the fact that Utopia, Fort Coligny in Antarctic France and Prospero’s island are all islands. As Richard H. Grove suggests in Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860 (1997),

instead of being simply a paradise, the island became the medium or metaphor for a much more fundamental questioning of the nature of existence, societies and the self and consequently for fictional or experimental constructions of new

societies and analyses of old ones. The strength of the island metaphor as a basis for such questioning was particularly augmented by the use of the island as a convenient vehicle for religious dissent or reformism as well as Utopianism (Grove 225).

In the same passage, Grove adds that Thomas More, Shakespeare and Marvell had all created instances of this phenomenon. Resting the case, I would argue that in their own Utopian visions which greatly influenced Montaigne and in their competing religious views, André Thevet and Jean de Léry also created other instances of the same phenomenon. Not only that, both Thevet and Léry did so in ways which could have affected Shakespeare when he came to read about the New World before or at the time of the composition of The Tempest.

Back in the play, after Gonzalo finishes his commonwealth speech, Ariel enters playing solemn music and puts to sleep all the Europeans in that part of the island with the exception of King Alonso's brother Sebastian and Prospero's brother Antonio. Although F1 does not make explicit reference to it, Ariel is once more presumably invisible, since nobody sees him. I have already analysed Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo's drunken clowning and failed conspiracy, which is still to come in the play. It includes some of the most popular and physical comedy in The Tempest, reminiscent of the innocent clowning of the 'rude mechanicals' in A Midsummer Night's Dream, a play that has many features in common with the later comedy. Before the petty Neapolitan's drunken conspiracy is set in motion, their equally conspiratorial aristocratic counterparts Sebastian and Antonio speak and act in a way reminiscent of Macbeth, a play which, as I have mentioned in Chapter 1, had many features that probably contributed to make it a favourite of King James's. Like in the killings perpetrated by the Thane of Glamis and his wife, the idea is to 'murder sleep' (Mac. 2.2.34; 2.2.40), i.e., to kill the King and those about him while they are in their sleep.

Although he does not need to be as persuasive as Lady Macbeth is, Antonio tempts Sebastian into following his own example but this time murdering his way into the royal throne. The usurping Duke of Milan also makes use of imagery of clothes fitting the usurper well ('And look how well my garments sit upon me, | Much feater than before', 2.1.270-271), a theme which reverberates throughout Shakespeare's Scottish tragedy, which is famously full of metaphors which make reference to clothes fitting people well or (more often) not too well specially if they are usurpers like Macbeth.<sup>80</sup> But The Tempest is not a tragedy, and Prospero

is in control through the service of Ariel, who returns at the last moment and wakes the other Neapolitans before Sebastian and Antonio can kill them.

I have already mentioned the scene that follows, Act 2, scene 2, which is the moment when Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo meet. Therefore, I would like to mention only two other related details from this moment in the play. One is Caliban's offer to serve Stephano, the bearer of 'celestial liquor', whom he asks to be his god: 'CALIBAN. I'll show thee every fertile inch o' th' island — | and will kiss thy foot. I prithee be my god' (2.2.142-143).

The attempt to worship the Europeans is another theme in The Tempest which surprisingly can be referred to in contemporary cultural studies, and particularly in analyses of the roles of the monarchy and of the British Commonwealth in the late twentieth century and the early twenty-first century.<sup>81</sup> We know that such attempts were commonly reported in the Great Age of Navigation, Discovery, and Exploration and one instance is present in Thevet's The new Found worlde, or Antarctike in Chapter 28, 'Of the Americans Religion':

When that this countrey was first discouered and founde out, as before we haue shewed, which was in the yeare .1497. by the commanndement of the King of Castilia, these wilde men being amased to see the Christians in the order as they had neuer before sene the like: likewise their maner, geasture and doings, they esteemed them as Prophets and honored them as Goddes, until they perceiued that they became sicke to dye, and to be subiect to the like passions that they were, then they began to dispraise them, and to intreate them worse than they were accustomed as they that afterwards went thither Spaniards and Portingals: so that if they be angred, they force no more to kill a Christian and to eat him, than if it were one of theyr enimies: but this is in certayne places, and specially among the Canibals, that lyve with none other thing, as we doe here with biefe and mutton (44r).

I have mentioned this chapter in Thevet's The new Found worlde, or Antarctike in my Chapter 1 when I wanted to show evidence to establish that Thevet's 'description of American natives of the far north' actually referred to Brazilian Tupinambá natives, who, as we know, were not just any cannibals but in fact those about whom Montaigne writes. The patterns in Thevet's narrative and in The Tempest are once more very close. Like the Americans described by Thevet, Caliban also gets 'amased to see the Christians in the order as' he 'had neuer before sene the like' and decides to honor Stephano as his god only to perceive later that he is 'subiect to the like passions that' he was, at which time he also 'began to dispraise'

Stephano: ‘Ay, that I will; and I’ll be wise hereafter, | And seek for grace. What a thrice-double ass | Was I to take this drunkard for a god, | And worship this dull fool! (5.1.294-297)

At this point we have an apparent plot inconsistency in that Caliban, who just a few hours earlier had little previous notion of Stephano’s ‘celestial liquor’ (apparently much stronger than Prospero’s ‘Water with berries in’t’, 1.2.334), now already has a word for Stephano: drunkard. But this is hardly noticed by audience members, who have every reason to agree with Caliban’s appellation.

This is what Caliban mentions in his offer to serve Stephano in Act 2, scene 2: ‘I’ll show thee the best springs; I’ll pluck thee berries; | I’ll fish for thee, and get thee wood enough. | A plague upon the tyrant that I serve! | I’ll bear him no more sticks, but follow thee, | Thou wondrous man’ (2.2.154-158). The offers are typical offers American natives made everywhere. In Antarctic France, of the need to be shown the best springs, Thevet informed in one of his first descriptions of the island, in Chapter 25,

The which Iland with the holde that we there edified, was named Villegagnon. This Iland is very pleasaunt, for that therein growth Ceader trees, and many sweete smelling Trees that are greene throughout the yeare. In deede there is no fresh water to be had neere hand: neuerthelesse the Lord of Villegagnon fortified himselfe there, for to be sure and out of danger of the wild men that wil be sone offended. And also against the Portingals, least they shold at any time make thither, so that he strengthened himselfe in the Iland, as wel as was possible. Now as for vittails the Indians or wilde men brought us thither suche as the land or countrey bringeth forth: As fish or Wenison and other wilde beasts, for they norish them priuily, as we do here a dog or a cat. Also they brought us meale of those rootes of which we haue before shewed, hauing neither breade nor wine. The which victels we had for a small halue, as little kniues, loking glasses, & nets to take fish. Moreouer, amōg other things noted in this riuier, nere to the straight, there is a lake that procedeth out of a high stone or rock, being of a maruelous height, being to loke to, as high as the cloudes and very large, the which is a thing almoste uncredible. This rocke is enuironed or compassed with the Sea. (41r-41v)

After a dismissive remark by Trinculo, who is admired at how ridiculous Caliban is to make so much out of Stephano, Prospero’s salvage slave adds, noticeably repeating his attitude when he first met his other master years before: ‘I prithee let me bring thee where

crabs grow, | And I with my long nails will dig thee pig-nuts, | Show thee a jay's nest, and instruct thee how | To snare the nimble marmoset. I'll bring thee | To clust'ring filberts, and sometimes I'll get thee | Young scamels from the rock. Wilt thou go with me?' (2.2.161-166). Thevet and Léry mention many exotic birds, mammals, fish and oysters. About oysters, Thevet says in the beginning of Chapter 26, 'Of the fish that is in this great Riuer before named':

Before that I procede any further, I meane to treate particularly of the fish that is found in the fayre Riuer of Ganabara other wise named Ianaria, which are in great abundance, amōg the which there are oysters, of which the shell shineth like fine pearles, that which oysters, the wild mē do commonly eate with other little fish that the children fish: and these oysters are like to those that beare pearles, of the which also there are founde in that countrey, but not so fine as those of Calicut, and other places in the Easte. (41v)

Later in the same paragraph, after describing certain varieties of fish, in a passage which goes up to the end of the chapter, Thevet adds:

In this lande or coūtrey about the riuer before named, are trees growing on the sea borders or brinkes, couered with oysters alwayes to the very top: you shall understande, that when the sea swelleth, it casteth the floud very high, and far on the lande twice in .24. houres, so that the water couereth oftentimes these trees, so that the oysters being brought in by these springtides, take holde, and close against the branches, being of an incredible multitude, of the which when the wilde men minde to eat, they cut the branches of the tree being so charged and loden with oysters, as we doe bere a branch of a peare tree, being loden with oysters that are in the sea, for bicause (say they) that they are more wholesomer and haue a better taste, and that they will not engender feuers, so soone as the others. (42r)

Finally, Caliban mentions 'the nimble marmoset'. The vast majority of the species of what we today call marmosets are only found in Brazil. The word at the time of Shakespeare was used of any small monkey. Thevet describes nimble marmosets in Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique, but he uses the term 'vne espece de monnes' ('a species of monkey') (Thevet 1558 103) to describe them, and Thomas Hacket, Thevet's translator into English in The new Found worlde, or Antarctike uses the even more general term 'beast' in Chapter 54,

‘Of the Ryuer of Vases, likewise of certaine beastes that are found thereabout. And of the lande named Morpion’:

In those hills are seene rauishing beastes, as Lybards, wilde Stags, but no Lyons, nor Wolues. There is also another kynde of beast that the inhabitants name Cacuycu, hauing a beard on the chin lyke a Goate. This beast is greatly inclined to lechery. Also there is founde another kynde of yellow beast named Sagauins, not onely in this place, but in other places, & wyld men chase them for to eate them. And if they perceiue that they are followed, they will get their young ones on their necks, and runne their ways (84).

The animal whose reference is found in Thevet, either the ‘espece de monnes’ (in French) called Sagouin or the other ‘kynde of beast’ (in English) called Sagauins, is certainly ‘nimble’, but not unmistakably a ‘marmoset’. Jean de Léry, however, whom Shakespeare may also have read in French or in Latin (if not in English), described the same animal which the Brazilian savages named Sagouin using the term Marmot (‘Il se trouue aussi en ceste terre du Bresil un Marmot que les Sauuages appellent Sagouin’, Léry 1578 164).<sup>82</sup> The word in the passage in the modern English translation is duly translated as marmoset:

There is also in the land of Brazil a marmoset, which the savages call sagouin, no bigger than a squirrel and having the same kind of russet fur. It has the face, neck, front, and almost all the rest of the body like a lion, with the same proud bearing; he is the prettiest little animal that I have seen over there. (Léry 1990 84).

The final aspect of this scene on which I want to comment is Caliban’s joy at the prospect of no longer serving Prospero: First, Caliban ‘sings drunkenly’, ‘Farewell, master; farewell, | farewell!’ (2.2.172-173), after which he breaks into his celebratory freedom song: ‘No more dams I’ll make for fish, | Nor fetch in firing | At requiring, | Nor scrape trenchering, nor wash dish: | ’Ban ’Ban, Ca-Caliban | Has a new master — get a new man! | Freedom, high-day! High-day, freedom! freedom, high- | day, freedom! (2.2.175-182). Caliban, as the play makes clear, is the son of an African woman who has been transported in his mother’s womb into Prospero’s island, where Prospero eventually enslaved him for the alleged reasons discussed above. This is another element in the play which I find difficulty in reducing merely to Mediterranean terms. As we have seen, in the Mediterranean area there were many slaves, Christian and non-Christian alike, kept by both Christians and Muslims. I have myself mentioned galleys many times in this chapter, and galleys usually required galley slaves.

However, what I hear in Caliban's shouts of joy of 'Freedom, high-day! High-day, freedom!' is the shout of African and African American slaves in the New World, and I would include in them the shout of African and African Brazilian slaves too.

Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan's Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History, indicate that the first register of Caliban's having aroused the audiences' sympathies is synchronous with Macready's major restoration of Shakespeare's text in 1838 (104). According to the Vaughans,

This audience response heralds the new Caliban, no longer despised for his vices, but instead the focus of pity and human understanding. . . . And with MacDonnell, a trend began that lasts to the present day: Sympathy for Caliban entails criticism of Prospero. . . . MacDonnell's sympathy for a creature held in the 'thralldom of slavery' may also be characteristic of the mid-nineteenth century — at least in some parts of the Anglo-American world. To the eighteenth century, Caliban's enslavement was the logical result of his depravity, his rightful station in a natural hierarchy of reason over passion, virtue over vice, civility over savagery. Such complacency was about to be disturbed in the early nineteenth century by the growing fervor of the abolitionist movement in England and the United States. To many English and American observers slavery became a grim reality; whether the commentator was for or against emancipation, Caliban was perceived in a new light (104-105).

Even in a comedy, meaning a play which requires a comic resolution, Shakespeare apparently cannot help sympathising with Caliban and introducing a scene which, like Shylock's famous plea for the humanity of the Jew in Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice, can be quickly dismissed by the audience member who is merely laughing at the absurdity of the situation, but which has the potential to touch an audience member or a later reader in a different, far more sympathetic way. In The Merchant of Venice, Shylock is the stock villain and the target of most characters' prejudice and hatred. However, Shylock's words have at times not only power (a feature he shares with other non-Christian villains, such as Marlowe's Barabas in The Jew of Malta or Shakespeare's own early exotic villain Aaron the Moor in Tit.) but also a dignity not found in contemporary depictions of the Jew:

He hath disgraced me, and hindered me half a million; laughed at my losses, mocked at my gains, scorned my nation, thwarted my bargains, cooled my

friends, heated mine enemies, and what's his reason? — I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions; fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is? If you prick us do we not bleed? If you tickle us do we not laugh? If you poison us do we not die? And if you wrong us shall we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility? Revenge. If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example? Why, revenge. The villainy you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction (3.1.49-68).

As we can learn in James Haskins's Bound for America: The Forced Migration of Africans to the New World (1999), Portuguese sailors had begun shipping Africans to Europe to be slaves in the 1400's, and the first cargo of African slaves (ten people) is supposed to have arrived at Lisbon in 1441 on Antão Gonçalves's ship (44).<sup>83</sup> It is known that there were African 'servants, slaves, and explorers' who travelled to the New World as early as in Columbus's first voyage. The Spanish crown officially approved the use of African slaves in the New World in 1501, and in the following year, the Portuguese landed their first cargo of slaves there. By 1528, nearly ten thousand Africans were living in the New World, and most of them were slaves. As for the first black settlement of escaped slaves in North America, it was set up in the area of present-day Florida in 1538.

It could be argued, therefore, that at the time of Shakespeare, the enslavement of Africans was a distant reality, as it was mostly an Iberian practice. In fact, the first group of Africans to be brought to Virginia (twenty in total, three among whom were women) arrived at Jamestown on board a Dutch ship and were sold not as slaves but as indentured servants, which means that they were like Ariel, serving their masters for a set period. The year was 1619; almost a decade after Shakespeare's The Tempest was first performed at court. However, although African slaves were not common in London, they were not unheard of. Sir John Hawkins (also spelled Hawkyns, \*1532 – †1595), for instance, had been a famous English naval commander who was also a shipbuilder, a navigator, a merchant and slave trader.<sup>84</sup> He is 'the Father of the Slave Trade' and his personal flag, 'which flew from the masts of his ships, carried the image of a bound African' (Haskins 16). Sir John (knighted in 1588) was the son of the 'Worshipfull M. William Haukins of Plimmouth' who brought the

Brazilian king to Henry VIII's court in the 1530's. He is actually mentioned by Richard Hakluyt in the title of that narrative published in The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation (1589) which I discussed in my Chapter 2, since his father William is described as 'Father to Sir Iohn Haukins Knight now liuing' (Hakluyt 1589 520). James Haskins also informs that the first slaving expedition by John Hawkins was in 1562,

setting sail from England in October with three ships and a crew of one hundred. In the Sierra Leone area, Hawkins attacked Portuguese and Spanish ships and captured three hundred slaves. He then set sail for the Spanish colonies of the New World, where he sold his slave cargo and used his profits to purchase ginger, sugar, and hides. Hawkins was able to buy so much that he had to purchase two extra ships to carry it all back. Returning to England in September 1563, he sold the goods for a huge profit (Haskins 16).

John Hawkins was in at least two other slaving expeditions and in both of them, he had one or more ships on loan from Queen Elizabeth. Besides, in the early 1600's, slave trade gradually starts to reach North America in order to supply the English and French colonies there.

Finally, as Sergio Mazzarelli explains (1994), the philosophical and ethical debate about slavery had become very important in academic circles especially after the European conquest of the New World. At the time, there was a major revival of the Aristotelian theory of natural slavery, a racist formulation which constructed slavery as a condition befitting certain populations that were supposed to be inferior to others by nature. Contrary to this classical view, which has also informed the reception of characters such as Shakespeare's Caliban, there was another formulation, widespread in mediaeval Europe, according to which slavery had no basis in nature, owing its existence instead only to the 'unnatural' imposition of human law. Also according to Mazzarelli, the clash of these two theories informed Elizabethan discussions of the theme of slavery and were part of the ideological milieu within which Shakespeare's and other dramatists' presentation of slaves and other servants occurred. There was obviously a change in audiences' and readers' perspectives in the nineteenth century which allowed their age and ours to look at Caliban with new eyes, but Shakespeare anticipates this debate (even if not necessarily visible to contemporary audiences) by what he writes and presents on stage.

The next scene, Act 3, scene 1, opens with Prince Ferdinand himself reduced to the condition of a slave and serving Prospero like Jacob served Laban in Genesis before he could

marry Laban's younger daughter Rachel: 'Enter Ferdinand, bearing a log', reads the Folio stage direction. This, as I have anticipated in Chapter 1, is a detail in The Tempest which at times puzzles critics and commentators. Why should Prospero have Ferdinand bear and pile up thousands of logs, if his island is likely to be in a warm climate?

In fact, Brazil can be invisible even to Brazilians. Geraldo U. de Sousa, who, by his name and the nature of his essay, I assume is Brazilian, mentions in 'Alien Habitats in The Tempest', an essay included in Patrick Murphy's book The Tempest: Critical Essays (2001), that Montaigne's subjects were from Brazil and also that 'Ferdinand's temporary employment suggests ... Prospero's island [is] a feitoria . . . presumably dedicated to logging and . . . export of timber' (448). However, de Sousa never suggests Shakespeare might have read more about Brazil or brazilwood, and his article never mentions Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon. As a matter of fact, the only European sojourn in Brazil which de Sousa mentions is the early nineteenth-century move of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro which I mention in my Chapter 2 as part of my discussion of Brazilian invisibility abroad in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. As I anticipated there, I believe that what happened in Brazil in 1807 (the year of the Portuguese court's departure from Lisbon) and 1808 (the year of their arrival in Bahia before their transfer to Rio de Janeiro) until 1821 (the year of their return to Lisbon leaving the future Dom Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil behind) is not the experience of European presence in Brazil that is the most relevant for a full understanding of The Tempest. It is not that I do not think it may not be, as it is by de Sousa, explored in terms of what circumstances in one later historical event parallel the circumstances of the other earlier fictitious setting. What I try to do in this chapter, however, is to indicate that the circumstances of another European sojourn in Brazil which actually predates Shakespeare's composition and about which Shakespeare may have done a certain amount of reading in many aspects parallel Shakespeare's plot in a way that I believe should no longer go unnoticed. Were Brazil not invisible or not just partially visible at times even to Brazilians, Villegaignon's stay in Brazil would have probably been included in Geraldo de Sousa's explorations of The Tempest.

With a fully English frame of mind and writing for an English audience, Shakespeare repeatedly emphasizes the connection between the wood and the logs and fuel and fire, as the examples below demonstrate. Prospero himself tells Miranda, as we have seen, that Caliban is useful because 'he does make our fire, | Fetch in our wood,' (1.2.311-312). Later, he tells Caliban to 'Fetch us in fuel, and be quick, thou'rt best, | To answer other business' (1.2.365-

366). As for Caliban, he repeatedly associates wood with Prospero's own supply, and sometimes also mentions fire. He says, 'There's wood enough within' (314); 'torment me | For bringing wood in slowly' (2.2.15-16); 'I'll bring my wood | home faster' (2.2.69-70); 'I'll fish for thee, and get thee wood enough' (2.2.155); and, in his song, 'Nor fetch in firing | At requiring' (2.2.176-177).

Ferdinand, however, mentions he has to carry 'Some thousands of these logs, and pile them up, | Upon a sore injunction' (3.1.10-11); and Miranda also makes reference to 'those logs that you are enjoined to pile' (3.1.17) and offers to 'bear your logs the while. Pray give me that; | I'll carry it to the pile' (3.1.24-25). The number of logs can certainly be associated with the fairy tale element in the plot of The Tempest, as Ferdinand is serving Prospero and his future father-in-law is a powerful magician. But the fairy tale element may not be enough to explain the nature of the task and the importance which, as we have seen, a very similar task has among Caliban's duties. Prospero may also need fire for his occult experiences, but just as the wood needed for heating, he would hardly need to pile up thousands of logs unless, as de Sousa suggests, his 'island [is] a feitoria . . . presumably dedicated to logging and . . . export of timber'.

This is the impression I also have in spite of Shakespeare's own adjustment of his plot so that Caliban and Ferdinand do not seem to be carrying brazilwood as the natives probably were in the passage from which Shakespeare very likely originally had the idea. A feitoria was the Portuguese word for a small European colony which served as a trading post abroad. According to the OED, this is the first meaning of the English word factory and the word was first used with this sense in English in 1582 to translate the Portuguese feitoria. The first Portuguese feitoria in Brazil was that fort which the Portuguese established at Cabo Frio during Vespucci's fourth voyage. Villegaignon's Fort Coligny was a feitoria, a small colony which was garrisoned to protect French logging and shipping of brazilwood in the area (Cf. my note 4 below) and where native Brazilians were used as slaves.

My claim is that Shakespeare found reference to wood-cutting and log-bearing of brazilwood in one or more of his sources about Villegaignon and Antarctic France, such as Chapter 35 of Thevet's The new Found worlde, or Antarctike, entitled, 'Of visions, dreames and illusions, that these Americans haue, and of the persecution that they receiue of wicked spirites', and that is why the idea for the episode occurred to him. In Chapter 59 of Thevet's book, for instance, 'Howe and after what sorte the lande of America was discouered, and Brasil wood founde: with many other trees sene no where but in that countrey', Thevet

mentions Americus Vesputia and refers to brazilwood (usually referred to in Thevet's The new Found worlde, or Antarctike as the Brasille tree or just Brasill) in a passage where he mentions again the Trojans and the lande of Carthage. In the same chapter we learn that 'When that the Christians are there for to laade Brasill, the wylde men of the countrey cut it them selves, and sometimes they bring or carie it three or foure leagues to the shippes. I leaue to youre iudgement their paine and trauel, and al for to get some poore or course weede and shirt' (95r). A similar passage occurs in L ry's Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil (L ry 1990 100-101). My Fig. 57, an illustration from Andr  Thevet's Les singularitez de la France Antarctique shows log-bearing and wood-cutting in Antarctic France and a native at the back of the picture who may be a prototype of Caliban.

In Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare, Bullough has this to say: 'In immediate contrast [to Caliban's attitude] III.i shows Ferdinand carrying wood (like the nobler settlers, or some fairy-tale hero set an impossible task)' (Bullough, 8: 268). Bullough's reference to 'nobler settlers' relates to passages like the following: 'An incredible example of their idleness, is the report of Sir Thomas Gates, who affirmed, that after his coming thither, he hath seen some of them eat their fish raw, rather than they would go a stones cast to fetch wood and dresse it' (Bullough, 8: 297-298). This is a passage from one of the 'Bermuda Pamphlets', an anonymous document entitled 'A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia, with a Confutation of Such Scandalous Reports as Have Tended to the Disgrace of So Worthy an Enterprise'. Bullough publishes extracts from this document and labels it as a 'probable source', whereas Strachey's 'A True Reportory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight; upon and from the Ilands of the Bermudas', of which Bullough publishes longer extracts, is labelled as a 'source'. These brief references to refusing to fetch in fire may have contributed to Shakespeare's final setting. However, the idle men who refuse to behave like the nobler settlers in the Bermudas and fetch in firing as needed are in the Bermudas and, as Jeffrey Knapp reminds us in the late twenty century by recalling the point made by E. E. Stolls earlier that same century, Shakespeare goes 'out of his way to establish that the Bermudas are one place where his shipwrecked characters most definitely are not' (Knapp 220). Besides, these idle men are not slaves, but free settlers. Caliban is repeatedly called Prospero's slave, and Ferdinand leaves no doubt as to his condition when he mentions his 'wooden slavery' (3.1.62).

As I have discussed earlier in this chapter, both Shakespeare's plot of Caliban's log-bearing for The Tempest and Thevet's narrative about Antarctic France bring together in the

same context a series of elements which the ‘Bermuda Pamphlets’ do not incorporate. The same elements recur in Ferdinand’s condition. We find not only the specific reference to wood or log-bearing (which, admittedly, we can find in the Bermudas context), but also the magical or supernatural element (again thanks to Prospero’s Art, this time allowing Prospero to overpower Ferdinand and make a slave out of the young man); and the submission to enslavement (this time not out of fear of the tormenting spirits like Caliban, but out of respect for Prospero’s magic powers and mainly out of love for Miranda).

For Caliban, having to carry wood is clearly ‘a sore injunction’, the term Ferdinand uses to describe his own condition. Ferdinand is presented on this scene in direct contrast to Caliban in his previous log-bearing scene, which means that Caliban’s earlier attitude aggravates Ferdinand’s condition and makes his reaction the nobler. Accordingly, Dymkowski gives examples from different recent productions to illustrate her point that the ‘size and weight of Ferdinand’s log(s), as well as his manner of working, provide instructive comparisons with Caliban in 2.1 and can shape our responses to both characters’ (233).

In the love exchange that follows between Miranda and Ferdinand, on which a very happy Prospero eavesdrops, Ferdinand makes a profession of his love which ironically at times sounds like a mixture of Gonerill’s and Cordelia’s answers to Lear in King Lear:

O heaven, O earth, bear witness to this sound, | And crown what I profess with  
kind event | If I speak true; if hollowly, invert | What best is boded me to  
mischief: I, | Beyond all limit of what else i’ th’ world, [Cf. Gonerill’s ‘Beyond  
all manner of so much I love you’, Lr. Sc. 1.56; TLr. 1.1.61)] | Do love, prize,  
honour you [Cf. Cordelia’s ‘Obey you, love you, and most honour you’ (Lr. Sc.  
1.1.90; TLr. 1.1.98)] (3.1.68-73).

But the audience can rest assured that this is a comedy, and no betrayal will follow. After this scene, the two young lovers vow eternal love and are betrothed, and Prospero is very pleased with the latest developments.

In Act 3, scene 2, Caliban believes Trinculo to be retorting all the time and replying to what Stephano and Caliban say, when in fact it is Ariel who is doing that. In order for Trinculo to stop, Caliban tells Stephano to hit Trinculo and to hit him hard: ‘Beat him enough. After a little time | I’ll beat him too’ (3.2.82-3). In this sentence, which may at times go unnoticed on the page as well as on the stage, Shakespeare at the same time briefly glimpses at the complex politics of power in a master servant relationship and presents an insight into the workings of the human mind when it comes to the slave condition. This short utterance

demonstrates Caliban's understanding of the precarious nature of his and Trinculo's relative status and how through Trinculo's falling from grace or Caliban's rise in his new master's esteem Trinculo could eventually fall below Caliban in the island's pecking order. Only then it would be possible for Caliban, who is only a slave, to strike at Trinculo, since Stephano's first suggestion of raising both Caliban and Trinculo to viceroys comes only some twenty lines later, at 3.2.106. As for the workings of the human mind, the line shows Caliban's disposition to become himself someone who has the power to strike at others and to exert this power and physically hurt Trinculo. It is as if Caliban's enslavement has taught him no sympathy for the plight of a slave but instead the need to reproduce the same pattern of violence upon someone who happens to be socially inferior. It is the cruel logic of slavery, which allows one man to master over the other. Caliban's casual 'After a little time | I'll beat him too' reminds me of a famous scene in the fiction of Brazilian novelist Machado de Assis. Machado's character Brás Cubas comes across his former slave houseboy Prudêncio on the streets of nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro in Chapter 68 of The Posthumous Memoirs of Brás Cubas (serialized in 1880; first published in a single volume in 1881). Machado at the time of his writing lived in Brazil under Emperor Dom Pedro II, a country where slavery had not yet been abolished. As we learn in Posthumous Memoirs, Prudêncio was born a slave and had to suffer at the hands of Brás Cubas himself for a long time. However, after having been granted his freedom by Brás Cubas's father, Prudêncio not only keeps a slave himself but also feels no pangs of conscience at whipping his servant in public on the streets of Rio, where Cubas sees him.<sup>85</sup>

As we have seen in some detail, Act 3, scene 2 is the scene in which the three petty conspirators start to brew their drunken conspiracy. In Act 3, scene 3, the audience returns to Alonso, King of Naples and his company. Alonso and Gonzalo are very tired, and Sebastian and Antonio return to their secret murder plot, which again finds parallel in Macbeth in their agreement that the killing of the king shall take place later that same night. Antonio says 'Let it be tonight' (3.3.14), to which Sebastian agrees, 'I say tonight. No more' (3.3.17). (Cf. MACBETH. 'My dearest love, | Duncan comes here tonight. LADY MACBETH. And when goes hence? MACBETH. Tomorrow, as he purposes. LADY MACBETH. O, never | Shall sun that morrow see' Mac. 1.5.57-60). Immediately after that, the whole group is greeted by 'solemn and strange music'. Prospero is on top, invisible, and the action on stage should reproduce the stage direction, which tell us that 'several strange shapes' enter 'bringing in a banquet, and dance about it with gentle actions of salutations; and inviting the King, etc., to eat, they depart'.

The wonderful music and the scene touch them all. Even Sebastian and Antonio, who by now the audience knows are those among the Europeans most likely to be cynical and sceptical about what they see, apparently succumb to the enchantment of Prospero's creation. Sebastian says that he 'will believe | That there are unicorns; that in Arabia | There is one tree, the phoenix' throne, one phoenix | At this hour reigning-there' (3.3.21-24), whereas Antonio adds that 'Travellers ne'er did lie, | Though fools at home condemn 'em' (3.3.26-27).

Two famous travellers to Antarctic France who had been condemned as liars by many people at home, though the condemners were not necessarily fools, were Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon and 'that excellent learned man, master Andrewe Thevet'. The phoenix and the unicorn were universally known in Europe as fabulous beasts, and again no specific reference is probably meant. Yet Thevet in his The new Found worlde, or Antarctike mentions the phoenix (16v), and the magical properties of the horn of the unicorn (34v), and some of his most incredible tales had been confirmed by other travellers. A famous instance was his description of oysters growing on trees, which is recalled by Stephen Greenblatt in his Foreword to Frank Lestringant's Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery. Sir Walter Raleigh (knighted in 1584) had confirmed the incredible tale that in the New World there were oysters growing on trees and written about it in his 1596 Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Beautifull Empire of Guiana:

In the way betweene both were diuers little brookes of fresh water, and one salt riuier that had store of oisters upon the branches of the trees, and were very salt and well tasted. All their oisters grow upon those boughs and spraiies, and not on the ground: the like is commonly seene in other places of the West Indies, and else where. This tree is described by Andrew Theuet, in his French Antarctique, and the forme figured in the booke as a plant very strange, and by Plinie in his 12.booke of his naturall historie. But in this yland, as also in Guiana there are very many of them' (Raleigh 1600 631)

In a note to the nineteenth century Hakluyt Society reprint of Raleigh's Discoverie, Robert H. Schomburgk also confirms that the

first accounts brought to Europe of oysters growing on trees raised as great astonishment as the relation of El Dorado itself; and to those who were unacquainted with the fact that these molluscous animals select the branches of the tree, on which they fix themselves during high water, when they are immersed, it may certainly sound strange and wonderful that shells, which as

we know live in Europe on banks in the depths of the sea, should be found in the West Indies on the branches of trees (Raleigh 2005 3 note 1).

3.11 – ‘Some vanity of mine art’: Antimasques and Masques in King James’s Court and in Prospero’s Island; Ephemeral Pageantry and The Emperor Charles V; Venereal Disease and Sea Monsters under the Equator

In The Tempest, before the King and his company can eat the banquet that is lavishly displayed before them, Ariel appears in the guise of a harpy, the banquet vanishes, and Prospero’s spirit denounces Alonso, Sebastian and Antonio’s guilt:

You are three men of sin, whom Destiny, | That hath to instrument this  
lower world | And what is in’t, the never-surfeited sea | Hath caused to  
belch up you, and on this island, | Where man doth not inhabit — you  
'mongst men | Being most unfit to live. I have made you mad; | And  
even with such-like valour men hang and drown | Their proper selves’  
(3.3.53-60).

Alonso and his company are at Prospero’s mercy. Ariel’s words strike a chord in Alonso’s heart, and he feels he is to blame for having removed Prospero from power, which means that his son’s loss (he still does not know that Ferdinand is alive and on the island) was due to the sins of the father. The way is open for Alonso to purge himself of his deed by repentance and reconciliation, but in typical Shakespearian fashion, Sebastian and Antonio are disturbed like the others but they show no sign of repentance. As my note 74 below also indicates, the scene echoes Virgil’s Aeneid. As Stephen Orgel explains,

The episode is based on Aeneid iii. 225 ff.: Aeneas and his companions take shelter on the Strophades, the islands where the harpies live. The Trojans prepare a feast; but as they are about to eat, the dreadful creatures swoop down on them, befouling and devouring their food. The sailors attempt to drive the harpies off, but find them invulnerable, and their leader, the witch Celaeno, send Aeneas away with a dire prophecy (Tmp. 1994 166 note to line 52.2).

Acknowledging the classical parallel, Orgel particularly hits the mark when he adds that ‘For all its recollections of the Aeneid, the speech’s syntax and tone are Prospero’s, and he takes credit for its substance at ll 85-6’ (Tmp. 1994 166 note to lines 53-82).

Prospero is the author of the scene King Alonso and his companions have just witnessed, just as his Art is behind all the spectacle in the play and his composing mind is behind the unfolding of the plot which both the audience and the characters on stage witness. Because they are at the same time so spectacular and stylized, and because of their emblematic, allegoric nature, all the main tricks of Prospero's Art which are produced in the play have been associated with the court masque as a dramatic form. They include the banquet-vanquishing act where Ariel performs the harpy in Act 3, scene 3; the betrothal masque Prospero presents to Ferdinand and Miranda in Act 4, scene 1; and the hunting about of Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo by spirits in the shape of hunters (hunting dogs and hounds) later on that same scene. To this list is usually added the opening storm (Act 1, scene 1), also the result of Prospero's magic (or Ariel's intervention, which amounts to the same), and equally spectacular and emblematic, though whether it is more or less realistically presented on stage these days depends on directorial decisions.<sup>86</sup>

In his Introduction to his Arden edition, Kermode succinctly makes the point that The Tempest is not a dramatized masque when he argues that no one 'would deny a general influence from the court masque, but it should not be allowed to obscure the fact that Shakespeare in this play reverts to something like the formal structure which he used with varying degrees of success in his earlier attempts at romantic comedy'.<sup>87</sup> As an alternative to the view that reduces The Tempest to a dramatized masque, Kermode repeats 'Prof. D. J. Gordon[']s] . . . interesting suggestion that at the climax of each plot there is a spectacular contrivance borrowed from the masque' (Tmp. 1996 lxxiv note 2).

Shakespeare's concern with the neo-Terentian formal structure in his observance of the unity of time is such in The Tempest that it is even explicitly signalled by two exchanges between Prospero and Caliban which together serve to inform Prospero and the audience that only four hours have elapsed between the opening tempest and shipwreck and the resolution of the play. In Act 1, scene 2, the first scene Prospero is on stage, he has this conversation with Ariel:

PROSPERO. What is the time o'th' day?

ARIEL. Past the mid-season.

PROSPERO. At least two glasses. The time 'twixt six and now | Must by us both be spent most preciously (1.2.239-241).

Later, very early in Act 5, scene 1, Prospero asks the time again:

PROSPERO. . . . How's the day?

ARIEL. On the sixth hour, at which time, my lord,  
You said our work should cease.

PROSPERO. I did say so,  
When first I rais'd the tempest (5.1.3-6).

Not all masques were performed at court, but the masque was the main form of Stuart court entertainment. Sometimes believed to have originated in Italy, masques had long been performed in the British Isles together with other forms of ephemeral dramatic entertainment. However, as D. Heyward Brock explains in his A Ben Jonson Companion (1983),

When James I ascended to the throne, the court masque developed rapidly, mainly because of Queen Anne's interest in the Revels and the consequent employment of poets and dramatists such as Chapman, Beaumont, and Jonson, and of Inigo Jones, the famous architect and scene designer. During this period masques became incredibly expensive types of entertainment and, at the same time, became more dramatic in form, particularly with Jonson's development of the antimasque (170).

Often written as occasional pieces to be performed before a banquet by a company made up of both professionals and regular courtiers, masques combined stylised acting, music and dancing, elaborate scenery, costuming, and spectacle. Because Shakespeare himself introduces a masque in the plot of The Tempest and because the chaos and disharmony suggested by the three other scenes which are strongly influenced by masque elements contradict the harmony of the idealised vision of Prospero's betrothal masque, these scenes and even Caliban's entire plot with his petty fellow conspirators have been at times interpreted as antimasques. At the time of the composition of The Tempest, antimasques were a recent development in the structure of the court masque. A few earlier masques had features typical of the antimasque, but Ben Jonson had formally introduced the antimasque at court for the first time in his Masque of Queens (1609). Unlike the masques proper, antimasques were not performed by amateurs but by professional players or dancers, and they added dramatic value to the masque by introducing an element of misrule and grotesqueness which served as a foil to the beauty and perfect harmony which the masque introduced and symbolized. Written at Queen Anna's request and having the Queen herself as its leading masquer, The Masque of Queens opens with an antimasque of witches in hell who will later vanish and be supplanted by the masquers, who play Heoic Virtue, Good Fame, and virtuous warrior queens who live in harmony in the House of Fame.

I will return to how the politics of King James's court and the Jacobean court masque could have affected Shakespeare's composition of The Tempest later in this chapter, when I discuss Shakespeare's possible reasons for reading the sources which I believe he read and making the use he apparently makes of them.

The next scene, Act 4, scene 1, opens with Prospero and Ferdinand's reconciliation. Prospero announces the end of his trial of Ferdinand's virtue as he formally bestows his fair daughter Miranda's hand on the young prince. This is the scene where Prospero emphasizes the importance of continence, and in his analysis of Prospero's Art for the Arden Introduction Kermode associates chastity and self-discipline with Prospero himself. Kermode argues that 'as a mage [Prospero] exercises the supernatural powers of the holy adept' (Tmp. 1996 xlvi) and that in 'an age when "natural" conduct was fashionably associated with sexual promiscuity, chastity alone could stand as the chief function of temperance, and there is considerable emphasis on this particular restraint in The Tempest. The practice of good magic required it' (xlix). This is another aspect where an approximation between Prospero and Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon is possible. I quote from Mariz and Provençal's biography: 'It should be remembered that the knight of Malta [Villegaignon] was an intransigent religious, and he was himself rigorously chaste, which made it impossible for him to accept the idea of sex out of wedlock' (Mariz and Provençal 92-93).<sup>88</sup>

Prospero calls upon Ariel to summon the other spirits Prospero has put under Ariel's command (the rabble | O'er whom I give thee pow'r (4.1.37-38)' to perform before the eyes of the young couple 'Some vanity of mine art' (4.1.41), which the magician has promised them he would. This kind of language emphasizing the trifling nature of the masque was typical in the Jacobean period, even if, as here, the masque has an important ideological role to play. It is important to remember, as some critics do, while others prefer not to, that what follows is not Shakespeare's masque but Prospero's, which means that this is not really a masque but a dramatical representation of one.

Given the importance Prospero gives to honourable marriage and to being lawfully wedded before giving dalliance the rein, it is not surprising that the masque he puts on before the betrothed Ferdinand and Miranda is a celebration of fertility and the bounteous gifts of nature (represented by Ceres) once all the due rites and ceremonies (represented by Juno) are performed. Marriage as an institution is more important than love and specially lust and that is why Venus and Cupid are nowhere to be seen. Iris, Juno's 'many-coloured messenger' (4.1.76) sweetly informs Ceres that she has actually met 'her deity | Cutting the clouds

towards Paphos, and her son | Dove-drawn with her' (4.1.92-94), and the love blessing is presided over by Ceres and her queenly sister Juno. As 'Juno, that is queen of marriage' (Per. Sc.7 [2.3].28) and patroness of lawfully-wedded wives, 'sings her blessings on' (Temp. 4.1.109) Ferdinand and Miranda, Prospero's vision apparently reaches its climax and an important message is that a marriage of convenience can also be a love match.

It is interesting that a Shakespearian play, a work which of necessity has so few maternal figures on stage, brings not one but two Mediterranean Great Mothers to represent the ideal of wedded bliss. There are very few matrons in Shakespeare because the boys who played the young women were probably thought to look too young to play these parts and the older players who played the older female roles were usually given earthier women to play possibly because they rarely looked dignified unless they said little. In the case of the masque within the play, the players on stage are spirits that serve Prospero, and, just like Ariel, who is one of them, they were probably played by boy-actors (Cf. Sturgess 77).

As we have seen, some of Juno's main mythical attributes, such as her role as the patroness of legal marriages and her sacred bird the peacock are also related to felix Austria, the Habsburgs and their Habsburg peacock (Fig. 118). Moreover, both goddesses can be associated with the Habsburg family through being symbolic of dynastic marriages, that special form of marriage of convenience at which no other family ever matched the Austrian house. As they tended to involve repeated marriages between members of the same families, dynastic marriages many times bordered on incest, a practice which is severely condemned in the Judaeo-Christian tradition and which was not always open to mere mortals. Within the framework of Graeco-Roman mythical discourse, intermarriage was never a problem for Juno, who was legally married to her own brother Jupiter, just as sexual intercourse between close relatives was not a problem for Ceres, another sister, who bore Jupiter's daughter Proserpina. Both goddesses also represent the condemnation of unbridled sexual impulse and hasty, unwanted marriages of which parents might disapprove. Juno famously persecuted her husband's many lovers and their offspring, whereas Ceres allows an approximation between Miranda, who was assaulted by Caliban, and Proserpina, whose carrying off to the Underworld by Pluto, a god who is himself a thing of darkness, set in motion a match that, although divine (Pluto is another brother), in myth Ceres would never fully accept.

In his introduction to the 1987 Oxford Tempest, Stephen Orgel argues that

Two other prime instances of Prospero's art, the opening storm and the harpies' banquet, may also be seen as antimasques to the magician's entertainment, and

the figure of Iris is an appropriate exorcist for both. As the rainbow, she embodies, in both the classical and biblical traditions, divine providence. As God's pledge to Noah after the universal flood, she demonstrates that (as George Herbert was to put it) 'Storms are the triumph of his art.' And Iris's connection with the harpies is a family one: they are sisters, daughters of Thaumias, whose name, 'wonder', links him with both the thaumaturge Prospero and his daughter Miranda (T<sub>mp</sub>. 1994 47-48).

The sheer beauty and enchantment of the spectacle Prospero has put on before Ferdinand's and Miranda's eyes lead the young Neapolitan prince to have the following exchange with his future father-in-law:

FERDINAND. This is a most majestic vision, and | Harmonious charmingly.  
May I be bold | To think these spirits?

PROSPERO. Spirits, which by mine art |  
I have from their confines called to enact | My present fancies.

FERDINAND. Let me live here ever; |  
So rare a wondered father and a wife | Makes this place paradise (4.1.118-124).

Ferdinand's last speech is a famous Shakespearian crux<sup>89</sup> in a play which, as compared to others, does not have many difficult passages. In the First Folio, Ferdinand's line reads 'So rare a wondred Father and a wise | Makes this place Paradise'. The apparent F1 reading may be interpreted as implying that Ferdinand wants to live there for ever and calls the island paradise exclusively on account of Prospero. Consequently, only the correction ('So rare a wondered father and a wife') would add Miranda to the scenario where Ferdinand wants to live.

Kermode's annotation, besides providing Kermode's ever-useful insight, contributes to establish the history of the crux:

We may think that, in this Adam-like situation, Ferdinand must have said wife; and the rhyme is unexpected. It has long been on record that some copies of F read wife, but no editor of the play seems to have examined such a copy, though other variant readings in the Folio text of the play are amply vouched for. This is obviously a matter for further inquiry; meanwhile one must read wise. (Rowe's wife is almost certainly an emendation of F4, since he did not collate F). In any case, f : f is an easy misprint, and the true reading may be wife after all (T<sub>mp</sub>. 1996 101 note to line 123).

Orgel indicates that the F1 reading is wife and that wise is an F1 variant, and annotates the line thus:

‘This [wife for wise] has been conclusively shown by Jeanne Addison Roberts to be the reading intended by the Folio’s compositor. Early in the print run, the crossbar of the f broke off, transforming ‘wife’ to ‘wife’. Several copies of the Folio show the letter in the process of breaking. (University of Virginia Studies in Bibliography 31 (1978), pp. 203 ff.)’ (Tmp. 1994 178 note to line 123).

Orgel’s ‘conclusively’, however, proves to be short-lived. The Vaughans restore wise and in a note refer their readers to their Introduction (Tmp. 1999 136-138), where they make a compelling case for keeping the word wise based on a reading of extant copies of the First Folio in the Folger Shakespeare Library collection.<sup>90</sup> The Vaughans admit, however, that it is still possible (although impossible to confirm) that Shakespeare’s original intention had been wife, and the reading wise could have been the result of Ralph Crane’s misreading Shakespeare’s manuscript, or of compositor C’s misreading Crane’s handwriting. Another possibility the Vaughans suggest for the same substitution is an apprentice printer’s misplacing of ‘a long “s” in the type case’s (probably) adjacent compartment for “f”’, a possibility made more likely by the uncommon similarity between lower-case “f” and long “s” in the font employed by the Jaggards for the Folio’ (Tmp. 1999 138).

Earlier than that, and without some of the evidence that the Vaughans present, which only became available later, the Oxford Shakespeare Textual Companion (1988) acknowledges Roberts but already argues that

Error is none the less so easy that the matter does not end there. Whereas previous critics were divided as to what F actually read, almost all preferred ‘wise’ as the more convincing reading. F’s par rhyme is suspicious; wise/paradise is a Shakespearian rhyme. ‘Wife’ gives trite sense and demands two grammatical licences: that ‘So rare a wondred’ is extended to qualify ‘a wife’, and that ‘Makes’ has a plural subject (Wells, Taylor, Jowett, and Montgomery’s William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion 616).

Provided we annotate the line, I believe we can keep ‘So rare a wondred Father and a wise’,<sup>91</sup> and read it as including Miranda because Prospero is not only rare and wise but also wondred. I agree with those commentators who besides the meaning ‘wonderful’, which implies ‘a father to be wondered at’, ‘a father capable of producing wonders’, also see an

allusion to Miranda here, and I would add the meaning ‘a father thus wondered’, ‘a father who has a wonder (Miranda) (for his daughter)’.

Back in the play, still in masque fashion, the goddesses’ blessings are followed by a dance of nymphs and reapers which signals an idyllic Arcadian ideal which is hardly likely to characterize the lives of Ferdinand and Miranda once they return to the royal court in Naples. Prospero suddenly remembers that there are conspirators who are still on the loose on his island, and he must do something about the ‘foul conspiracy’ (4.1.139) of ‘the beast Caliban and his confederates’ (4.1.140) against his life. The force of the antimasque element in the play is heightened at this point because the betrothal masque and Prospero’s vision are interrupted by Prospero in typical antimasque fashion and because of characters (Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo) who can be themselves associated with the antimasque.

As Orgel indicates, Prospero’s proverbial ‘Our revels now are ended’ speech ‘is based on a topos descending to Shakespeare from classical times’ (Timp. 1994). The approximation between the transitory nature of drama and the brevity of human life inspired Shakespeare to write some of his most beautiful and most frequently anthologised lines both in tragedy and in comedy. Especially here, theatre becomes even more ephemeral because it is associated with the masque just presented and with Prospero’s abjuration of magic and his (some critics see Shakespeare’s) announcement of his retirement in the next scene. The masque is normally an occasional piece never to be repeated and therefore one of the most ephemeral of all dramatic forms. Prospero’s masque was even more fluid and ephemeral because spirits and not humans presented it and then Prospero was forced to interrupt it abruptly. The approximation with The Emperor Charles V continues in that all that Prospero says describing the fading of ‘this insubstantial pageant’ obviously applies to his own betrothal masque, to masques in general and to the theatre, but it equally applies to the lavish display of ephemeral pageantry (‘The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces, | The solemn temples, the great globe itself,’ 4.1.152-153) which, as we have seen, characterised the triumphal ideology and logic of Charles V’s reign over so many different lands and peoples. Moreover, The Emperor Charles V himself had already been seen on the Elizabethan stage at a magical presentation of a masque performed by spirits at the command of Cornelius Agrippa (Cf. my note 24 below).

The masque in Act 4, scene 2 of Marlowe’s Doctor Faustus relates to stories such as these which follow, here reproduced by William Godwin in his 1834 work Lives of the Necromancers: Or, an Account of the Most Eminent Persons in Successive Ages Who Have

Claimed for Themselves, Or to Whom Has Been Imputed By Others, the Exercise of Magical Power:

The earl of Surrey, we are told, became acquainted with Cornelius Agrippa at the court of John George elector of Saxony. On this occasion were present, beside the English nobleman, Erasmus, and many other persons eminent in the republic of letters. These persons . . . desired [Agrippa] before the elector to exhibit something memorable. One intreated him to call up Plautus, . . . . Another before all things desired to see Ovid. But Erasmus earnestly requested to behold Tully in the act of delivering his oration for Roscius. . . . And, after marshalling the concourse of spectators, Tully appeared, at the command of Agrippa, and from the rostrum pronounced the oration, precisely in the words in which it has been handed down to us, ‘with such astonishing animation, so fervent an exaltation of spirit, and such soul-stirring gestures, that all the persons present were ready, like the Romans of old, to pronounce his client innocent of every charge that had been brought against him.’ The story adds, that, when Sir Thomas More was at the same place, Agrippa showed him the whole destruction of Troy in a dream. To Thomas, Lord Cromwel, he exhibited in a perspective glass King Henry VIII and all his lords hunting in his forest at Windsor. To Charles V. he showed David, Solomon, Gideon, and the rest, with the Nine Worthies, in their habits and similitude as they had lived (195-196).

As Prospero leaves his daughter and Ferdinand to themselves, the couple leaves the stage and the magician again summons Ariel. The scene ends with a return to the petty conspiracy. Ariel reports that he has charmed drunken Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo with his music and led them through a variety of sharp, prickly and thorny bushes and finally into a filthy pond beyond Prospero’s cell. This reported turn of events is the subject of further comedy because Stephano and Trinculo later comment upon it in remarks full of indignation that recall to comic effect some of the most physical aspects of the degradation they have suffered. As I have had the opportunity to comment, Stephano and Trinculo, to Caliban’s great dismay, temporarily forget their murder plot as they succumb to the temptation of stealing some of the most attractive clothes among the few goods that Prospero possesses.

As he is choosing his favourite pieces of clothing to steal, Stephano says ‘Be you quiet, monster. Mistress line, is not this | my jerkin? Now is the jerkin | under the line. Now, jerkin,

you are like to lose your hair, | and prove a bald jerkin (4.1.236-238). What Stephano means literally is that, quoting Orgel's annotation, 'Stephano has taken the jerkin off the tree' (Tmp. 1994 185). But Orgel and other annotators have identified other possible allusions besides the literal sense and I believe that a play on at least some if not all of these other meanings is meant, because it makes little sense for Stephano to use a sentence which alludes to more ideas and then to expect the audience only to take him literally.

The Arden Third Series Tempest editors, for instance, have this to say about 'under the line' in their note to line 237:

under the line may mean only that the jerkin is now under, rather than on, the tree (or rope), but most editors take line in this instance to be the equator, where seafarers were believed to go bald from tropical fevers or, in a parody of that possibility, sailors sometimes shaved the heads of those crossing the equator for the first time.

A more persuasive explanation is offered by R. Levin, who modifies and extends Steeve's attribution of hair loss to venereal disease: under the line should be read anatomically, with Stephano tucking the jerkin into his trousers and associating it with the body's lower and hotter regions, where it may lose the hair from the head (or, we suggest, from the pubic region) from syphilis. (Tmp. 1999 259).

I quote the Vaughans' note because I would argue that it produces Brazilian invisibility. The note admits that 'most editors take line in this instance to be the equator', but contrary to what I believe to be Arden editorial practice, the note does not refer to another instance in the Shakespeare cannon where a similar expression is used<sup>92</sup>. Kermode's Arden edition of The Tempest supports the equator reading by doing just that before mentioning baldness from tropical fevers and headshaving among the sailors: 'by a punning transition, under the equinoctial line (as in H 8, v. iv.44)'. Before discussing it at greater length, Orgel's Oxford edition also mentions All Is True: 'Attempts to explain the wordplay on line for the most part assume that "under the line" means "at the equator", as it does in Henry VIII 5.3.41-2, referring to a man with a fiery red nose' (Tmp. 1994 185 note to line 236-7).

What Kermode calls Act 5, scene 4 following the 1865 Cambridge edition (Cf. Foakes's Arden Shakespeare H8 167) and Orgel calls Act 5, scene 3 are the same scene, namely Act 5, scene 3 in the Folio and in Foakes's Arden edition. It is the porter scene which takes place on the day of the christening of the infant Princess Elizabeth, where, as I have had

the opportunity to comment in Chapter 1, the Porter mentions ‘the strange Indian with the great tool come to court’ in what I believe to be an allusion to the Brazilian king who visited King Henry VIII’s court in the early 1530’s. As we have seen before, the Man’s next line in that scene refers to all the people who stand about a fellow outside as being ‘under the line’, an expression which Foakes interprets as meaning ‘under the equator’.

There are other editions which also fail to mention the H8 passage, but then they are usually like Barton’s New Penguin edition and the 2004 Norton Critical Edition, which subscribe to the reading that assumes a pun on the equator. The problem is that The Arden Third Series Tempest readers never learn that Shakespeare uses the same line in another passage that is similarly interpreted by critics exactly in a note that distances itself from what it acknowledges as being the majority view of critics by favouring the literal meaning or what it calls the ‘more persuasive’ reading which associates Stephano’s line with venereal disease. What the readers do not learn either is that ‘Steeve’s attribution of hair loss to venereal disease’, which is mentioned in the The Arden Third Series Tempest, also relates to the Torrid Zone, as we can learn in Orgel’s note (Tmp. 1994 185 note to line 236-7).

In my opinion, the literal meaning and the possible allusions to the equator and to venereal disease are not exclusive or incompatible but rather complementary interpretations. This is what we learn in Orgel’s edition, which mentions ‘the conventional association of the equator with steamy sex’. A return to Thevet’s The new Found worlde, or Antarctike, Chapter 45, which is entitled ‘The description of a sicknesse named Pians, to the which are subiect these people of America as well in the Ilandes as the maine land’, confirms the association in the mind of Europeans between being under the line, committing sexual excesses and being subject to venereal disease:

I am determind to write and set out here a sicknesse or disease verie rife and common in these countrewys of America, and of the West, discovered in our time. Now this sicknesse named **pians**, by the people of the countrey, cōmeth not of the corruption of the aire, for it is there verie good & tēperat, . . . Therefore it must needes bee, that it proceedeth of some misgouernementt, as to much carnall and fleshely frequentation the man with the woman, considering that thys people is very lecherous, carnal, and more than brutishe, specially the women: for they do seeke and practice all the meanes to moue man to lust. This sickness is no other thyng than the pocks that raigneth, and hath power ouer all Europe, specially among the Frenchmen : for of us it is

named the Frenche pockes,<sup>93</sup> the which disease as the Frenchmen wright, was first taken at a voyage into Naples, and thether it was broughte by the Spanyardes, from the West Indies. For before it was discovered and made subject to the Spanyardes, there was no mention therof (70r-70v).

Thevet mentions the equator many times and in Chapter 18, which is entitled ‘Of the Equinoctiall line, and of the Ilandes of S.Omer’, the equator is related to sea monsters in the shape of humans. Villegaignon’s fleet is on the Atlantic coast of Africa very near the equator (on this side the Equinoctiall about three degrees and a halfe’) when Thevet describes ‘two sea mōsters like to man and wife’: ‘I will not forget what was shewed me to haue bene sene neare to the Mine Castle: a sea monster hauing the shape of a man, that the floud had left on the shore, the which was heard crie’ (28r). Thevet then describes a female monster and adds, ‘the which is a wonderfull and straunge thing. By this may we knowen, that the Sea doeth nourish and bring for the diuers and straunge kinde of monsters, as well as the land. Being now by our iourneys come euen under the Equinoctiall, I minde not to passe any further, without noting somewhat’ (28r). These equinoctial monsters in The new Found worlde, or Antarctike resemble Caliban. Sycorax’s son is repeatedly called monster by Stephano and Trinculo and (possibly on account of his ‘very ancient and fish-like smell’) he is also called a fish many times by Trinculo and once by Antonio. There are long stage and pictorial traditions of representing Caliban in non-human shape. However, just as we have textual evidence from Prospero that Caliban is ‘misshapen’ (5.1.268) and ‘disproportioned’ (5.1.290), we also have textual evidence from Prospero (1.2.284 and 1.2.479-480), Miranda (1.2.446), Trinculo (2.2.32-35) and in a sense also Stephano (2.2.58-9; 2.2.63; 2.2.85) that Caliban, like these monsters found near the equator, has the shape of a man. In Shakespeare’s Caliban: A Cultural History (1993), for instance, Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan discuss the ‘overwhelming evidence of Caliban’s basic [human] physiology’ (12) and the several passages that suggest that Caliban is ‘barely — to Prospero, Miranda and the others (but not necessarily to Shakespeare) — on the human side of the animal kingdom’ (12), and inform that

More often, Caliban has been portrayed with fish rather than turtle attributes — scales, fins, and shiny skin — which reflect the critic’s or artist’s or actor’s fixation on offhand epithets rather than the overwhelming evidence of Caliban’s essentially human form. By contrast, Frank Kermode insists (correctly, we believe) that Caliban is occasionally called a fish ‘largely

because of his oddity, and there should be no fishiness about his appearance’ (14).<sup>94</sup>

Act 4, scene 1 finishes with another development which parallels the harpy banquet and which, as we have seen, can equally be associated with the antimasque: Prospero and Ariel set on spirits in the shape of hounds to hunt about the three petty conspirators. Prospero’s goblins here assume shapes reminiscent of descriptions of the Caniba or Cariba, the canine cannibals whose existence Christopher Columbus had related after his first voyages to the New World. Columbus had associated the Caniba or Cariba with the classical monstrous races of the cynocephali (‘dog-heads’), the anthropophagi and of the Cyclopes of Old World myth (Cf. Lestringant’s Cannibals: The Discovery and Representation of the Cannibal from Columbus to Jules Verne, Lestringant 1997 27-39). This passages, therefore, instead of Ariel’s mention of the Bermudas, is arguably the closest The Tempest ever gets to the Caribbean as a geographical location. However, the Caribbean cannibals can still be related to Brazil, because, as we have seen, the word Caribana to describe the ‘Land of the Cannibals’ was usually found on South American maps, since what was understood as the Carib territory extended from the Caribbean coast well into the North and Northeast of Brazil. Since the Caribs were fierce cannibalistic enemies who lived to the North of the coastal Tupinambá cannibals, Thevet uses the term cannibals (canibals in Hackett’s translation) to refer to both groups of anthropophagi, and dedicates his Chapter 61, entitled ‘Of the Canibals as well of the mayne lande as of the Ilands, and of a tree named Acaiou’, to the area which maps usually named Caribana: ‘This people from the Caape S. Augustine, and beyond, neere to Marignan, is the moste cruellest, and inhumayne pople that are in America’ (97r-97v).

The two limits Thevet mentions are in Brazil. The Caape S. Augustine is the Cape of Saint Augustine (Cabo de Santo Agostinho), in what is today the Brazilian Northeastern State of Pernambuco. As we have seen, the Cape of Saint Augustine had been discovered and named by the Portuguese in Vespucci’s second voyage to the New World. The promontory is mentioned as ‘the cape of saynte Augustine’ (Eden 218; Arber 250) by Antonio Pigafetta in that same passage which I have quoted and discussed above, in which Pigafetta describes Magellan’s stay in ‘the lande of Bressil which sum caule Brasilia’ and describes St Elmo’s fire shortly before mentioning the Patagonian devil Setebos. As for the name Marignan, (or Marañón in Spanish), that was one of the names given at the time to the Amazon River. Nowadays, it is the Spanish name of a tributary of the Amazon, just as Maranhão is the Portuguese name of a Northern Brazilian State near the same area.

3.12 – ‘Let your indulgence set me free’: Capturing, Displaying but Pardoning Your Enemies; Chess, Dynastic Marriages and ‘gold on lasting pillars’; Retirement and the Need for Prayer’

Having used his Art to frighten and control both groups of shipwrecked Europeans and Caliban, Prospero concludes that ‘At this hour | Lies at my mercy all my enemies’ (4.1.262-263), a sentence which is complemented by what Ariel tells him about them in the following scene: ‘They cannot budge till your release’ (5.1.11). One of the most powerful images in The Emperor Charles V’s iconography, The Emperor Charles V enthroned among his enemies (Fig. 131), seems to find echo in these two passages. The picture by Guilio Clovio, from a design of Marteen van Heemskerck, shows the crowned Emperor Charles V like a Roman emperor surrounded by the Pillars of Hercules and enthroned among his main enemies: Suleiman, the Magnificent or the Lawgiver, Pope Clement VII, King François I of France; and Philip I, Landgrave of Hesse, ‘the Magnanimous’, Johann Friedrich I, Duke of Saxony, the ‘Magnanimous elector of Saxony,’ and Wilhelm ‘the Rich,’ Duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg. ‘The imperial eagle is seen between Charles’ feet and seems to be part of the throne itself. In its beak it grasps a ring to which are attached the cords that encircle the Emperor’s opponents’ (Pinson 220). Glenn Richardson lists this work among those which were publicised to larger audiences through pamphlets and news-sheets, engravings and woodblock prints. We can equally learn in Richardson that the image was also printed in the book Divi Caroli Victoriae. Richardson, who is not thinking of Prospero, describes the image with this sentence: ‘Between his feet sits his imperial eagle tethered to whose beak by prisoners’ ropes are all Charles’ enemies’ (46). The Emperor Charles V could have used (if he did not inspire) Prospero’s words and Prospero has just this kind of control over all his enemies, and although the Tempest group may not be as grand, it includes a king (Alonso) and a duke (his brother Antonio). Finally, Ariel as a harpy can be associated with Charles V’s imperial eagle.

The transition from one speech to the other marks the break between Act 4, scene 1 and Act 5, scene 1, the last two scenes in the play. These two scenes are unique in Shakespeare because they are the only instance in Shakespeare’s works of the same characters whom the audience saw exiting the stage together at the end of the previous scene entering the stage together at the beginning of the following scene. Although John Dover Wilson interpreted it as evidence of a cut, W. W. Gregg argued for the opposite view (Tmp. 1994 187 note to line 267). Modern editors agree with the current understanding that this unique

circumstance is evidence that the play was written with act breaks in mind, evidence which Gurr interprets, as I have mentioned earlier in this chapter, as an indication that the play was written by Shakespeare specifically for the Blackfriars and not the Globe, even if it could have been later performed on the amphitheatre stage of the great Globe itself.<sup>95</sup>

As Act 5, scene 1 opens, Prospero, according to the First Folio stage directions, is wearing his magic robes and the magician uses alchemical language to indicate that we are moving apace towards the resolution he has planned. About Prospero's prisoners, Ariel informs the magician that

ARIEL. . . . Your charm so strongly works 'em

That if you now beheld them your affections

Would become tender

PROSPERO.

Dost thou think so, spirit?

ARIEL. Mine would, sir, were I human.

PROSPERO.

And mine shall (5.1.17-20).

Prospero's decision to pardon all his enemies when he has the opportunity to dispose of them as he wills emphasizes his nobility of heart and indicates that he has learned the lesson of the truly wise men that pardon is sweeter than retribution. It is curious, though, that the prompt for his option to take part 'with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury' (5.1.26) comes from a non-human source and it is Ariel's words which allow Prospero to reach a higher stance. The lines which Prospero utters next have been also identified (by Eleanor Prosser in 1961 cf. Tmp. 1994 189 note to lines 27-8) as being closely related to another passage in Montaigne's Essays, this time his essay 'Of Cruelty', Book 2, Chapter 2.

If Prospero's island is a composite of Mediterranean and New World elements to which Antarctic France in Brazil apparently contributed, it may be time to ask who the main characters in The Tempest are supposed to be. I have insisted that I do not claim that The Tempest is an allegory of the life of The Emperor Charles V or of the life of Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon. However, as I have anticipated, Shakespeare's characters may be unique creations, but there is a level at which we can understand them as a series of composites that at times share features of more than one historical personage. As a result, Shakespeare's characters may mirror but they can also contradict the facts that were available in the historical sources. Therefore, the approximation with The Emperor Charles V indicates that Prospero shares features, among others, of The Emperor Charles V himself, of Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim and of Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon.

Alonso shares features of The Emperor Charles V and of many of his enemies, including the King of France François I and his son Henri II. The latter would arguably allow another approximation between Prospero and Villegaignon. It is the interplay of these features that causes the other characters to shift roles and become at one time closely associated with one historical figure and at other times to another.

Critics have long argued that because he is the lord of a small island and the centre of the action, Prospero is at certain levels equally representative of King James. The island of Great Britain is an infinitely larger island than Prospero's, but it pales in comparison to the Spanish King's empire just as Prospero's island is considerably smaller than the dominions of the powerful Alonso, King of Naples. The approximation between King James, Prospero and Villegaignon gives the King the symbolical opportunity to rescue his own mother, as he was in a sense doing at least in terms of the restoration of her image, as we will see later in this chapter. At this point in the plot, the approximation between Prospero and both The Emperor Charles V and Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon could also indicate an undertone of religious reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants since both Charles V and Villegaignon could be considered fierce, radical, unshaken anti-Protestant Catholics who had many Protestants among their main bitter enemies. The theme of reconciliation is very strongly related to King James's ideology of pacifism. A stout believer in the theory of the Divine Right of Kings, King James saw the diligent pursue of appeasement and pacifism in international relations as the fulfilment of his duty as a Christian prince who ought to work towards the greater glory of the Christian faith. In accordance with his adopted motto, Beati Pacifici ('Blessed are the Peacemakers'), Christ's exhortation from the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5. 9), King James 'negotiated armistice between the Low Countries and Spain and marriages of his children into both Protestant and Catholic royal families' (Steven Marx).

The best treatment of how important the theme of reconciliation was for King James is W. B. Patterson's King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom (2000), in which Patterson describes the King's ecumenical and irenic ideas and initiatives from the time he was King of Scotland until the end of his reign and how he dreamed of having a role in the reunion of Christians, for which he considered the convening of a ecumenical council which could represent 'both Rome and the major Reformation traditions' (35). Meanwhile, King James advocated a mild policy and sought reconciliation and diplomatic relations with the major Christian denominations in Europe at a time which still was a time of great political and religious turmoil. At one time or other, as Patterson's book makes clear, James considered

not only an approximation between his Anglican Church and the more likely Lutheran and Calvinist churches, but also with the Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodox Church.

But as Peter Holbrook discusses in his article ‘Jacobean Masques and the Jacobean Peace’ for the book The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque (1998), which he edited with David Bevington:

[King] James’ pacifism faced a similar problem [to masque composer Samuel Daniel’s, which was how to transform a ‘vanity’ such as a masque into something kingly and powerful]: how to make a policy of inactivity appear honourable and chivalrous rather than devious and cowardly. The trick, evidently, was to look wise, and temperate, as Prospero wishes to present himself in The Tempest, rejecting vengeance not out of weakness but as ‘the rarer action’ in which the ‘nobler reason’ overcomes baser, more primitive drives (5.1.26-7) (72).

As I have indicated, in The Tempest Shakespeare turns the themes of love and redemption and of marriage as the way to political and economic power into a theatrical experience. But it is important to realise that Shakespeare in his treatment of these themes, just as at many other times, retains his unmatched ability to write scenes that are polyphonic, and which present ideas that clash within the scene and when contrasted to what comes earlier and later in the play. More often than not, therefore, Shakespeare invites us to avoid focussing on ‘authorial messages’ which can be pinpointed and making critical interpretations which are monolithic and unequivocal. Consequently, not every critic will be happy with the notion that in The Tempest the audience is offered a satisfying resolution, and there is no reason why they should be.

Prospero commands Ariel to bring Alonso and his company before him. In beautiful poetical language that is ‘a close translation of a speech of Medea’s in the Metamorphoses vii. 197-209’ (Tmp. 1994 189 note to lines 33-50), Prospero performs his last solemn ritual of magic, describes the powers he is leaving behind, abjures ‘this rough magic’, and concludes the speech by announcing that ‘I’ll break my staff, | Bury it certain fathoms in the earth, | And deeper than did ever plummet sound | I’ll drown my book (5.1.54-57). The use of Ovid’s Metamorphoses in The Tempest can also be linked to the reading I am suggesting because, as Jonathan Bate demonstrates in his excellent Shakespeare and Ovid (1993),<sup>96</sup> some of the strongest images that can find echo in The Tempest are taken from Ovid’s treatment of the myths of Jason and Medea and of the Cyclops Polyphemus. Jason and Polyphemus, as we

have seen, can also be respectively associated with The Emperor Charles V and to Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon.

Ariel returns bringing in the King of Naples and his company. According to the Folio's stage direction, Alonso, 'with frantic gesture,' is attended by Gonzalo, whereas his brother and Prospero's 'in like manner,' are attended by Adrian and Francisco. They 'all enter the circle which Prospero has made, and there stand charmed'. As the restorative power of music starts to bring Alonso and his company back to their senses, Prospero asks Ariel to bring him his hat and rapier from his cell so that he can present himself to them 'As I was sometime Milan' (5.1.84). Prospero addresses Alonso, Gonzalo, Sebastian and Antonio, and tells them that 'You do yet taste | Some subtleties o'th' isle, that will not let you | Believe things certain' (5.1.123-125). I would like to suggest that my readers mark Prospero's words when they analyse my claim that the New World element in Prospero's island is strongly influenced by details that Shakespeare could have found in his readings about Villegaignon and Antarctic France.

Prospero confronts in turns the King of Naples, the king's brother Sebastian and his own brother Antonio, but he insists he is not bent on revenge. He also addresses specially kind words to his preserver Gonzalo. When Alonso informs Prospero that it has been three hours since they were shipwrecked on that shore and that he has lost his son in the sea storm, Prospero indicate that he had the like loss in the same tempest, for he has lost his daughter. Alonso's reply ('A daughter? | O heavens, that they were living both in Naples, | The King and Queen there! That they were, I wish | Myself were mudded in that oozy bed |Where my son lies' 5.1.148-152) illustrates his own grief but can arguably allude to a series of other royal couples which are no longer alive or no longer possible to match because at least one royal personage is dead and therefore irreparably lost.

At the time of the second recorded performance of The Tempest at court, the irreparable loss closest to the heart of Shakespeare's King James, Queen Anna, the court and even the audiences at the Blackfriars or at the Globe was the death of Henry Frederick Stuart, Prince of Wales, who, as I will discuss in more detail below, died between the dates of the two recorded performances of The Tempest at court. Assuming that the text has not been altered, this line had rung much less poignantly in 1611 but could still have alluded to other royal couples who could still be thought of as joining the Prince of Wales as irreparable losses once the royal heir's death had become a reality in 1612. The possible approximation between both Alonso and Prospero and The Emperor Charles V would suggest that the dead couple could be

the dead Philip II of Spain and his wife Queen Mary of England, son and daughter-in-law to The Emperor Charles V. Assuming the approximation between Prospero and Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon, the dead couple suggested here could be King James's parents, the dead Queen Mary, Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley. I do not think that any such suggestion necessarily rules out the others, but I will return to some of their political implications later in this chapter.

Alonso formally restores Prospero to the Duchy of Milan, and the restored Duke draws aside the curtain of the central alcove or discovering place to reveal what amounts to a tableau of the heirs of Naples and of Milan as two lovebirds enthralled by each other and playing at chess. In their article 'Ferdinand and Miranda at Chess', published in *Shakespeare Survey* 35 (1982), Bryan Loughrey and Neil Taylor refer to and quote from Furness's Variorum Edition of *The Tempest* (1892) to inform that Furness contends that 'during Shakespeare's lifetime Naples had become an acclaimed centre of chess activity so that "there was a special and remarkable appropriateness in representing a Prince of Naples as a Chess-player"<sup>97</sup> (113). 'However,' Loughrey and Taylor rightly argue, 'any theory which relies on Shakespeare's supposed knowledge of contemporary chess events must remain suspect in view of the limited interest in and knowledge of the game which he displays elsewhere' (113). Loughrey and Taylor's point here is based on the evidence from Shakespeare's works, which rarely allude to chess and in which the word chess appears only in the stage direction for this moment in *The Tempest*.<sup>98</sup> The possibility remains that Shakespeare was indeed reading as much as he could about Naples and the rest of Italy, and arguably this reading was part of Shakespeare's broader reading on the life and exploits of The Emperor Charles V. Kermode very sensibly suggests that Shakespeare's choice of chess relates to the fact that in Europe the board game had always been associated with the aristocracy and also to the mediaeval literary convention which included chess in the symbology of courtship, and he concludes that the situation 'suggests the context of high-born and romantic love' (*Tmp.* 1996 123 note to line 171).

Ferdinand and Miranda are discovered at the moment when Prospero's daughter is accusing her new love of cheating at the game. Whether or not Shakespeare was aware of it, cheating at chess necessarily means not moving your pieces according to the rules, which is either a signal of Ferdinand's refusal or inability to move his chessmen correctly. Ferdinand assures Miranda that he would not play her false 'for the world' (5.1.173), to which Miranda replies, 'Yes, for a score of kingdoms you should wrangle, | And I would call it fair play' (5.1.174-175).

The consequences of Miranda's statement for the politics of their relationship and for the politics of Italy, where he will become King of Naples and Duke of Milan and she will be his Queen and Duchess, are evident and have been commented upon. Miranda may be joking, but she seems to be acknowledging that matters of state may outweigh her personal convictions. Prospero apparently instructed his daughter well in a somewhat Machiavellian approach to politics. A few lines later Alonso will register his discomfort at having to apologise to his new daughter-in-law for his earlier actions: 'But O, how oddly will it sound that I | Must ask my child forgiveness!' (5.1.197-198). By Miranda's remark, Shakespeare briefly hints at the fact that Miranda will be willing to pardon her father-in-law not only because she has a generous heart but also because she has a grasp of the importance of matters of state and doing what is best on that account.

What Miranda is specifically saying is that Ferdinand would fight and she would defend his position even if he did not have the world to gain, but instead a smaller portion of the world, namely, a score of kingdoms. However, as far as we are told, in the world of the play there is only one kingdom at stake, Naples, or two at the most, Naples and the Duchy of Milan. It is again in the world of The Emperor Charles V that Shakespeare finds the scores of kingdoms to be inherited and potentially at stake. As my Appendix F indicates, The Emperor Charles V had more than seventy titles, and his inheritance in the Old World and the New could well be referred to as 'a score of kingdoms'. Kermode argues that the 'general idea is obvious enough, but the passage is not easy to understand in detail' (*Tmp.* 1996 123 note to lines 174-175). Kermode indicates that 'Score means either "stake" or "twenty". I believe it can mean both within the logic of the dialogue and still indicate an association with what at the time was the largest inheritance of lands and territories ever amassed, The Emperor Charles V's vast dominions, the *monarquía* (or 'empire') where the sun never set. The Emperor Charles V had 'a score of kingdoms': as we can learn in Blockmans, in 1525 Charles's *monarchía* had 'twenty-seven kingdoms (twenty of them in Spain alone)' (25). Besides, his vast empire was constantly under local and external threat and it proved just impossible to keep under one single monarch and had to be divided between his brother Ferdinand (the future Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I) and his son Philip of Austria (the future Philip II of Spain, King of Naples and Duke of Milan).

There are other possible parallels in this scene to what happened to one of The Emperor Charles V's prisoners depicted in The Emperor Charles V enthroned among his enemies. After Johann Friedrich I, Duke of Saxony, the 'Magnanimous elector of Saxony'

was taken prisoner at Mühlberg on 24 April 1547, he had an interview with the Emperor in which he was forced to ‘kneel before him, pledge loyalty and ask for forgiveness’ (Kleinschmidt 185). Edward Armstrong in his book The Emperor Charles V (1902) reports that there are several versions of their meeting, and reproduces the following:

‘Most powerful and gracious Emperor,’ said the Elector, vainly endeavouring to dismount, ‘I am your prisoner.’ — ‘You recognise me as Emperor now?’ rejoined Charles. — ‘I am to-day a poor prisoner; may it please your Majesty to treat me as a born prince.’ — ‘I will treat you as you deserve,’ said Charles. Then broke in Ferdinand [Charles V’s brother]: ‘You have tried to drive me and my children from our lands’ (Armstrong 2005 Vol. 2 148).

Armstrong also mentions that ‘With rest and supper the Emperor’s anger passed away. The Bishop of Arras was sent to see how the prisoner bore himself, and found him playing chess with Ernest of Brunswick’. And he informs that ‘Charles treated [Johann Friedrich I, Duke of Saxony] honourably, giving him two pages, a valet, a doctor and a barber’ (149). More importantly, the Emperor ‘followed his advisers and spared the elector’s life’ (Kleinschmidt 186). We further learn in Kleinschmidt’s Charles V: The World Emperor that

John Frederick and Philip [Landgrave of Hesse, ‘the Magnanimous’] remained in the custody of the emperor, who treated them as private property and paraded them in formal processions, such as entries into imperial cities. John Frederick became free in 1552 and died in 1554; Philip also received a pardon and was released in 1552 after another treaty was signed between Charles and the Lutherans (186).

Philip I Landgrave of Hesse is also in the picture above, and there are further parallels in Charles’s treatment of his prisoners, in that Prospero also acts upon advice (Ariel’s comment) and only releases his enemies after making a public display of them. Obviously, The Emperor Charles V kept his prisoners for an infinitely longer period, but in the world of The Tempest all developments have to fit the four-hour limit which Prospero has established to bring the action to a close.

It should also be noted that both pardons occurred in 1552. The same decade would witness The Emperor Charles V’s abdication of the titles of King of Naples and Duke of Milan before Philip of Austria, King of Naples and Duke of Milan’s wedding to his first cousin once removed Queen Mary of England on 25 July 1554; the departure of Villegaignon’s fleet (including Thevet) for Brazil on 12 July 1555; The Emperor Charles V’s

abdication of the Spanish Netherlands and of the Franche-Comté on 25 October 1555; the arrival of Villegaignon's fleet to Antarctic France on 10 November 1555; further Charles V's abdications on 16 January 1556 (Spain and The Spanish Crown dependencies), 24 February 1556 (the throne of the Holy Roman Empire) and 03 August 1556 (the title of Holy Roman Emperor); Thevet's departure from Brazil on 31 January 1556; the Emperor's retirement to Yuste on 08 August 1556; Jean de Léry's departure for Brazil on 19 November 1556; Charles V's arrival at Yuste on 03 February 1557; Jean de Léry's arrival to Antarctic France on 7 March 1557; Jean de Léry's departure from Brazil on 4 January 1558; the first wedding of Mary, Queen of Scots (at age 15) to François, the future King of France and the son of Villegaignon's King Henri II, on 24 April 1558; Jean de Léry's arrival in France on 24 May 1558; the death of The Emperor Charles V on 21 September 1558; the death of Queen Mary of England on 17 November 1558; and Villegaignon's return to France in May 1559.

When Ferdinand tells Alonso about his betrothal to Miranda, he reassures his father of the importance of parental consent to marriage: 'I chose her when I could not ask my father | For his advice — nor thought I had one' (5.1.190-191). Ferdinand and Miranda's dynastic marriage opens the way to reconciliation and the hope of lasting peace. Overjoyed with the resolution, Gonzalo exclaims the following:

Was Milan thrust from Milan, that his issue  
Should become kings of Naples? O, rejoice  
Beyond a common joy, and set it down  
With gold on lasting pillars! In one voyage  
Did Claribel her husband find at Tunis,  
And Ferdinand, her brother, found a wife  
Where he himself was lost; Prospero his dukedom  
In a poor isle, and all of us ourselves  
When no man was his own (5.1.205-213).

I believe that just as Alonso's wish that Ferdinand and Miranda were not dead, a thought which proves to be true and which is so strongly related to this speech, Gonzalo's words can be associated with the couples I have mentioned before. If both Alonso and Prospero can be associated to The Emperor Charles V, 'Was Milan thrust from Milan that his issue | Should become kings of Naples?' (5.1.205-206) could suggest King Philip and Queen Mary of England (Fig. 132).

As we have seen, having first invested his son Philip of Austria as Duke of Milan in 1540, The Emperor Charles V formally invested him as King of Naples and Duke of Milan again in 1554 so that Philip could marry his cousin Mary, who was Queen of England, on equal terms. Upon accepting the honours, Philip ‘refused to allow any mention of Milan’ (Kamen 57), as he considered that his father had already invested him with that title long before. After the wedding, Philip and Mary’s joint title, mentioned by Richard Eden in that dedicatory letter in Latin in his 1555 book which was probably Shakespeare’s source for the name Setebos, became Philippus, & Maria Dei gratia Angliae, Franciae, Neapolis, Hierusalem, & Hiberniae Rex & Regina fidei defensores Hispaniarum & Siciliae principes, Achiduces Austriae, Duces Mediolani, Burgondiae Brabantiae, Comites Hispurgiae, Flandriae, & Tirolis (‘Philip and Mary, by the grace of God King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland; Defenders of the Faith; Princes of Spain and Sicily; Archdukes of Austria; Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; Counts of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol’ (Hughes and Larkin 45).

As The National Archives of England, Wales and the United Kingdom homepage informs,

The implications for the union were momentous, as any future children stood to inherit an Anglo-Spanish empire that claimed overlordship of the New World and the Spanish Netherlands, with Habsburg possessions on the continent completing an encirclement of France. However Mary died childless in 1558 and under the Protestant Elizabeth, England and Spain were soon at war.

About this Habsburg match, José Ignacio Tellechea Idigoras in his chapter ‘Fray Bartolomé Carranza: A Spanish Dominican in the England of Mary Tudor’, published in John Edwards and R. W. Truman’s book Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: the Achievement of Friar Bartolome Carranza (2005), mentions that a Papal Brief of 1 January 1554 granted ‘the dispensation regarding consanguinity and affinity necessary for the marriage of the Spanish prince with the Queen of England’. A week after that, Pope Julius III sends ‘congratulations, openly hoping for the Kingdom’s return “to the unity of Holy Church and its ancient devotion and reference towards the Holy See”’ (28). Dispensation regarding consanguinity and affinity were necessary because Philip and Mary were first cousins once removed and repeated intermarriages both in the House of Habsburg and in the Iberian royal houses meant that they were related by blood and by marriage many times over.

According to Tellechea, The Emperor Charles V's cession of Naples 'involved certain diplomatic complications'. As we have seen (Cf. my note 18 below), Naples had been held as a kingdom as a fief of the Papacy since 1139, and, as Tellechea explains,

its transfer to the Crown of Aragon . . . involved certain contractual undertakings that had to be duly observed. Charles had to request that his son be invested with that kingdom — a request repeated by Philip himself following the appointment of . . . his representatives at the ceremony [to] swear vassalage and obedience in the name of the new King of Naples (28).

Tellechea also informs that the investiture was on 19 October 1554 and that the 'official transfer of power to Philip took place — to Philip "Angliae et Siciliae citra Pharum Regi illustri" (28) on 23 October of that same year. The ceremony of reconciliation between England and the Holy See was held in the English Parliament on 30 November and King Philip did not wait another day to write to Pope Julius III to relate it in detail. The Pope's reply was 'a lengthy Brief, dated 27 January 1555, in which the Pope shows himself exultant at England's return and proclaims a jubilee to celebrate so great an event'. As Tellechea also informs, Julius III reply came in two Briefs. In the first, the Pope addresses the couple as 'Charissimis in Christo Filiis nostris Philippo Regi et Mariae Reginae Angliae illustribus, Fidei defensoribus'. As Tellechea explains, the 'Papal title — 'Fidei defensor' — bestowed on Henry VIII for his work against Luther is recognized here as applicable to his successor and heir, Queen Mary, and also her consort' (29). The other Brief announces separately the sending of a sword of honour to King Philip and of a golden rose to Queen Mary. 'There is express mention of the bringing back of England to the right way, 'in viam rectam', the re-establishment of Papal authority, the liberty of the Roman Church, unity within orthodox faith — all of this confirmed and increased by the support of Philip and Mary' (29).

The same lines, 'Was Milan thrust from Milan that his issue | Should become kings of Naples?' could also apply to King Philip and Queen Mary of England in their role of restorers in England of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, to which belonged narrator Antonio Pigafetta and Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon, and which, from the time of The Emperor Charles V, owed feudal loyalty to the Kings of Spain in their capacity as Kings of Naples. In the case of the future King Philip II of Spain, he did not have to wait to become King of Spain to become King of Naples and suzerain of the Order of Malta. My Figure 133 is the Charter of Philip and Mary restoring the Order of Malta in England in 1557. Henry VIII had dissolved the Priory of England, which was briefly restored under his daughter Mary only

to be suppressed again by her sister Elizabeth. 'The charter grants back to the Hospitallers many of their English properties, and gives them detail of the tenants' (Riley-Smith 87).

I have also suggested that Prospero and Miranda may owe something to Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon and Mary, Queen of Scots and her 'Four Marys'. In that case, Gonzalo's lines could also allude to King James's parents. My Figures 152 and 153 shows engravings of King James's parents by Renold Elstrack, plates to Baziliologia, A Booke of Kings (1618). Figure 152 reads ILLUSTR : PRIN : HEN : STEWARD . DOMIN DARNLEY DUX ALBANIE . OBIIT 1566 ('The Most Illustrious Prince Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, Duke of Albany, who died in 1566 [sic]'). Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, 'Father to our Soueraigne lord James' was also a Duke whose issue became kings. Henry Stewart, who was Duke of Albany, Earl of Ross and Baron Ardmannoch, was murdered on 10 February 1567. Figure 153 reads SERENISSIMA MARIA REGINA IACOB. MAG. BRIT. REG. MATER. ('The Most Serene Mary the Queen, Mother to King James of Great Britain'). Mary, Queen of Scots, 'Mother to our Soueraigne Lord James', was 'thrust from Scotland' and had to abdicate in favour of her son James on 24 July 1567 and to flee the country a second time shortly thereafter. The first time had been in 1548, at the hands of Nicolas Durand, Chevalier du Villegaignon. Queen Mary was kept as her cousin Elizabeth's prisoner in England for 18 years, and was finally executed on 8 February 1587. However, upon the death of Elizabeth on 24 March 1603, Lord Darnley and Queen Mary's issue became kings of England as well as Scotland, a line which stretches to this day.

I believe that it is possible to conclude that Shakespeare was aware of the importance which King James now gave to the memory of his mother if we consider Mary, Queen of Scots' tomb in The Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey in London (Figs. 154 and 155). Mary, Queen of Scots 'was first buried in Peterborough Cathedral with great solemnity by Elizabeth's orders but James I brought the remains to Westminster in 1612' (Westminster-Abbey.org site). As we can read in the Norton Shakespeare, according to a contemporary record, 'At this time [1612] the corpse of Queen Mary late Queen of Scotland, was translated from Peterborough to Westminster . . . and there placed in a vault, upon the Southside whereof the King had made a Royal Tomb for her, where she now resteth' (3389). As Shakespeare was probably writing The Tempest, King James was erecting 'a magnificent marble tomb' for his mother in London. The tomb is 'in the south aisle of the Lady Chapel on which there is a fine white marble effigy under an elaborate canopy. She wears a close-fitting coif, a laced ruff, and a long mantle fastened by a brooch. At her feet is the Scottish lion

crowned. The sculptors were William and Cornelius Cure' (Westminster-Abbey.org site). In fact, Queen Mary's second burial in 1612 is considered the apex of King James' restoration of his mother's public image in England.

Gonzalo adds 'And set it down | With gold on lasting pillars' (5.1.207-208). I believe this is a clear allusion to The Emperor Charles V's coat-of-arms with his adopted Pillars of Hercules badge and motto. As we have seen, the Emperor's arms feature in The Discovery of Magellan's Sea (Fig. 22), the engraving by Hans Galle after a sketch by Hans Stradan included in Theodor de Bry's Americae Pars IV, which, as I have mentioned above, I believe may have inspired Shakespeare in his composition of The Tempest.

The line, however, is not always annotated. Kermode and Barton mention the passage but not the pillars. Orgel suggests that

There may be an allusion here to the imperial emblem of Charles V, the pillars of Hercules, familiar from the triumphal iconography of the Holy Roman and the Spanish Empires, and subsequently adopted by monarchs throughout Europe, as well as by Elizabeth after the defeat of the Armada (Tmp. 1994 199 note to line 208).

Orgel's note also suggests that 'a brief summary of the iconographic tradition' can be found in Dennis C. Kay's article 'Gonzalo's "Lasting Pillars": The Tempest, v.i.208', published in Shakespeare Quarterly 35 (1984).<sup>99</sup> The Vaughans base their note on Kay, and this, as I have noticed before, is only the second time they mention Charles V, the other being their note about Sycorax and Algiers. Their note reads,

Kay describes the pillars' recognized iconographic significance: after Charles V combined the pillars of Hercules with the motto plus ultra (greater than the greatest), European monarchs, including Elizabeth, adopted the emblem to signify their imperial ambitions. 'Gonzalo's pillars', Kay concludes, 'would derive their status as an emblem of rule, ambition, dynastic continuity, and the operation of Providence' and resonate with the plays political concerns' (Tmp. 1999 277 note to line 208).

I find it curious that Gonzalo should mention lasting pillars, and I suggest he does so to oppose these lasting pillars of Ferdinand and Miranda's to ephemeral ones. There is no doubt that The Emperor Charles V's pillars (Figs. 117, 118, 119 and 120) were lasting both in their original geographical referent and in their by then inevitable association with the arms of the Kings of Spain. The Pillars of Hercules at the East end of the Mediterranean Strait of

Gibraltar, which is curiously the site of territorial dispute between England and Spain to this day, was obviously a lasting geographical feature. Equally lasting was the badge in the arms of the Kings of Spain, where the Pillars of Hercules and The Emperor Charles V's motto, Plus Ultra remain to this day.

In Milan, as we have seen, the pillars had at times been ephemeral, as in Giulio Romano's Triumphal Arch built at Milan's Porta Romana for Charles V's Entry into the city, where two Visconti Serpents wrapped the Pillars of Hercules. Even in Milan, however, The Emperor Charles V's pillars could also be lasting. As we can learn in Bruno Adorni's chapter for the Milano Architectural Guide, the Palazzo Stampa di Soncino was built for Massimiliano Stampa, castellan of Milan, by Cristoforo Lombardo, an architect who sometimes worked together with Giulio Romano in the Northern Italian city. This Milanese palace 'still has the original tower, crowned by the emblem of Charles V (the two columns of Hercules with the motto Plus Ultra)' (Ricci 82). The same tower is described by the Time Out: Milan, the Lakes and Lombardy tourist guide (2004) as being crowned 'with the golden globe, eagle, crown, and cross escutcheon (still visible today) used by Charles V to express royal ownership' (85).

As we know, King Philip and Queen Mary of England's union and the restoration of the Catholic faith in England had proved ephemeral. Yet, the Pillars of Hercules had also proved ephemeral in their adoption by Queen Mary's successor, her sister Elizabeth. My figure 121 shows Queen Elizabeth I in a print by Crispin van de Passe celebrating the successful English naval expedition to Cadiz in 1596. With the Spanish port and the English Mediterranean fleet in the background, the Queen of England is seen in full regalia standing next to an open book bearing the motto POSVI DEVM ADIVTOREM MEVM ('I have made God my helper'), a legend inspired by Psalm 53. 6, 'Ecce Deus auxiliatur mihi' ('Behold, God is mine helper'). It was used 'on many English and Irish silver coins from Edward III to 1603' and 'altered to POSSUIMUS and NOSTRUM on the coins of Philip and Mary (Mitchell and Reeds 361). Elizabeth carries a sceptre and orb and is in full control of a pair of matching Corinthian columns. Decorated with Elizabeth's royal arms and the portcullis badge her grandfather Henry VII inherited from his mother, Margaret Beaufort (Allison and Riddel 401), Elizabeth's columns are topped by a pelican in piety and a phoenix, both emblems of Jesus Christ and symbols respectively of Christ's charity and of his resurrection. Elizabeth's columns seem to stand for (or to have toppled and replaced) the Pillars of Hercules, the main symbol of Spanish imperial power.

Queen Elizabeth's pillars were not lasting because, although she used them to celebrate her success against Spain, Elizabeth did not incorporate the Spanish Pillars of Hercules into her Arms of Dominion and Sovereignty, which means that pillars did not become a lasting feature of the English coat-of-arms. Equally if not even more important, Queen Elizabeth's pillars were not lasting because she refused to accede to a dynastic marriage, offers of which included even those made by no other than King Philip II of Spain himself. Naturally, Alonso's and Prospero's issue's becoming kings of Naples is exactly what should, besides Gonzalo's wishful thinking, guarantee that Ferdinand and Miranda's union could generate a rejoicing to be set down with gold on lasting pillars.

In the play, Ariel returns with the ship Master and the Boatswain, and the latter reports that the mariners have been magically kept sleeping for the last few hours. Prospero commands Ariel this time to set Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo free, and the spirit returns with the petty conspirators, who are still wearing the shiny clothes which they have stolen from Prospero's cell.

Prospero's famous line by which he assumes his responsibility for Caliban ('this thing of darkness I | Acknowledge mine' 5.1.275-276) has been interpreted more literally (the lord acknowledges that this is his slave, since the others are Alonso's servants) or more broadly (implying that he shares the responsibility for Caliban's behaviour and maybe even his slave's darkest instincts). I once more believe the multiple layers contribute to our reading and should not be isolated or understood as ruling out the other readings.

As for the historical figures that, or so I claim, apparently contributed to Shakespeare's final conception of Prospero, they all have a darker side. It goes without saying that I only reproduce the association between being dark and being evil because this is the imagery that we find in the play. I have suggested a possible approximation between Prospero the magician and Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, who himself, as we have seen, had connections with The Emperor Charles V. It is clear that Agrippa had a 'darker' side: he was excommunicated and later pardoned and fell a few times from favour because of his fame as an occult magician. As for Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon, his 'darker' side was well established after, as we have seen, he had become for Protestant polemicists both 'a new Polyphemus' and the 'Cain of America'. As 'a new Polyphemus', Villegaignon can be associated with Caliban and consequently with those Caliban features which Prospero may share. As the 'Cain of America', Villegaignon can be associated to Sebastian and Antonio because they can be considered the Cains of The Tempest on account of their envy of and

conspiracy against their brothers and their guilt as potential brother-slayers. Likewise, The Emperor Charles V was and remains a far from controversial figure. Although many of his subjects in Europe celebrated him, it could be argued that the love and admiration which he experienced were mostly the result of the position he held. In a sense, The Emperor Charles V was in a situation similar to Prospero's according to Caliban's testimony. Caliban suggests that none of Prospero's spirits would fight for or defend him once Stephano had seized Prospero's books: 'for without them | He's but a sot, as I am, nor hath not | One spirit to command — they all do hate him | As rootedly as I' (3.2.90-93). And The Emperor was envied, feared and hated as a ruthless tyrant by many in Europe, particularly his Protestant subjects and his political enemies.

Besides Charles V's dark side, Prospero's acknowledgment of Caliban and his option to take part 'with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury' (5.1.26) can find parallel in another great symbol of The Emperor Charles V's iconography, namely El Emperador Carlos V Dominando al Furor ('The Emperor Charles V Restraining Fury') (Fig. 134), a bronze by Leone Leoni (1509-1590), variously dated 1550-1553 or 1549-1555, now in the Prado Museum in Madrid. 'The victory of Charles over the Protestants at the Battle of Mühlberg in 1547 inspired Leone Leoni to create this statue. As the personification of virtue, Charles stands triumphantly over Furor, the personification of savageness and anger'. The 1547 Battle of Mühlberg was exactly that military victory after which Johann Friedrich I, Duke of Saxony had been made The Emperor Charles V's prisoner. According to the Kaiser Karl V. 1500 – 1558: Macht und Ohnmacht Europas site, another possible motive for the image was the Emperor's conquest of Tunis. Charles is represented as the victorious hero who has subdued and conquered a savage beast, be he an infidel, a pagan, or a heretic. The same site rightly suggests that the figure of Furor ['Fury'] (Fig. 135) is 'Reminiscent of the "Dying Gaul" of antiquity' (Fig. 136) and 'also represents the heresy of Protestantism in the empire'.

In the bronze statue, it is possible to remove the armour of the emperor (Figs. 137 and 138) and 'the version with the unclothed ruler emphasises the rather general allegorical representation of the victory of a sovereign's virtue over Furor' (Kaiser Karl V. 1500 – 1558: Macht und Ohnmacht Europas site). The Prado Museum site adds that 'The naked statue of the Emperor suggests the statues of the ancient roman deified emperors'. Clearly, Charles V's statue bears a striking resemblance to classical statues of Hercules: 'In works of art Heracles is represented as the ideal of manly strength, with full, well knit, and muscular limbs, serious expression, a curling beard, short neck, and a head small in proportion to the limbs'

(Nettleship and Sandys 284). One such work is the Farnese Hercules, now in the Naples Museum (Figs. 139 and 140). According to chronicler Ulisse Aldrovandi (1592), the most famous statue of Hercules had been unearthed in 1546 in the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla. It quickly made its way into the collection of Alessandro Farnese (1545– 1592), Duke of Parma and Piacenza, nephew of Pope Paul III and the son of Duke Ottavio Farnese of Parma and of Margaret of Austria (or of Parma), the illegitimate daughter of The Emperor Charles V.

Like it had happened in his early adoption of the Pillars of Hercules as a personal badge and in visual allegories such as the Parmigianino painting (Fig. 71), the Emperor again identified himself with a virtuous Christian Hercules both in a series of triumphal entries which marked the journey in which he presented his heir Philip to his subjects throughout the Empire in 1549 and in his funeral procession in 1558. Like his Greek heroic model, Charles V had chosen the narrow and laudable path of Virtue that leads upwards towards Fame. (Cf. Pinson 221; 224). The approximation between Prospero and The Emperor Charles V at this moment in the play, when the same Prospero who has restrained fury (5.1.26) acknowledges ‘this thing of darkness’ as being his (5.1.275-276), is made stronger if we remember that Hercules was the most renowned monster-slayer of ancient mythology, and Prospero’s slave Caliban is called monster in *The Tempest* no less than forty-five times.

Back in *The Tempest*, Prospero indicates that ‘in the morn | I’ll bring you to your ship, and so to Naples, | Where I have hope to see the nuptial | Of these our dear-belov’d solemnizèd, | And thence retire me to my Milan, where | Every third thought shall be my grave’ (5.1.306-311). The theme of reconciliation as you approach your life’s end was very strong in the biography of *The Emperor Charles V*. Biographer Harald Kleinschmidt suggests that The Emperor Charles V invented retirement: ‘Charles broke with an age-old tradition when he requested that he should be relieved from his duties’ (221). There was a series of formal abdications before The Emperor Charles V could resign all his dominions. My Figure 141 is a painting which shows the moment when The Emperor finished resigning his personal empire to his son Philip II in 1556. The year before, on 25 October 1555, when Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon and André Thevet were already under the equator near Ascension Island on their way to Antarctic France in Brazil,<sup>100</sup> The Emperor Charles V abdicated the Spanish Netherlands to his son Philip and recalled the forty journeys he had made in his life, nine to Germany, six to Spain, seven to Italy, ten to Flanders, four to France, two to England and two to Africa (‘Viaje por la Europa de Carlos V’). Charles put himself in a position not unlike Lear’s in Shakespeare’s tragedy *King Lear*. Kleinschmidt reproduces the

words the mightiest monarch the world had ever seen used to address his son, who was already King of England, of Naples and of Milan:

Had you taken possession of these provinces through my death, this beautiful inheritance might have secured me a fair claim to your gratitude. But now that I pass them on to you voluntarily, so to speak dying before my time to your advantage, I expect that the love and care that you have devoted to your subjects will honour me to the degree that I deserve for the sake of such a gift (223).

The speech ends with the notion that Prospero will retire to his Milan, ‘where | every third thought shall be my grave’ (5.1.310-311). Again the image mirrors The Emperor Charles V’s circumstances. My Figure 143 is a painting of The Emperor’s death at the Jeronimite monastery of Yuste, Spain on 21 September 1558. As we have seen, Charles had retired there two years before. This is Kleinschmidt:

On 3 February 1557 Charles took up residence in a villa that had been built for him near the monastery of Yuste in Estremadura. A court of about fifty advisers, priests and servants accompanied him there. Charles brought with him a small collection of books. He also had several pictures around him, among them Titian’s portrait of the late empress, a portrait of Catherine of Aragon as queen of England and three volumes of sketches of the West Indies (219).

At the Jeronimite monastery of Yuste, the retired emperor remained busy with the politics of his empire, but his every third thought was indeed his grave. According to the Diccionario de historia de España, when he was ill at Yuste, Charles ordered the performance of a series of solemn exequies to his long-dead parents and grandparents according to some historians, or to himself according to others (549).

With Prospero’s promise of calm seas, auspicious gales, and reconciliation once they get to Europe, all the other characters leave the stage. In his epilogue, ‘unique in the Shakespeare canon in that its speaker declares himself not an actor in a play but a character in a fiction’ (Orgel Tmp. 1994 204 note to line 319), Prospero tells the audience ‘And my ending is despair | Unless I be relieved by prayer’ (Epilogue. 333-334). The need for prayer as you approach the end of your life was the theme of La Gloria, by Titian, c. 1554. It was the last picture that Titian painted for The Emperor Charles V, and, according to the Kunsthistorisches Museum site, ‘a monumental documentation of the emperor’s turning from earthly to

heavenly things'. The work 'accompanied Charles V to Spain in 1555 after his abdication. The emperor, led by an angel, humbly kneels — free from any imperial insignia except for his crown, which lies beside him — with his wife Isabella and his son Philip praying before the Trinity'. Blockmans adds that 'This was the painting that Charles had placed on the altar of the monastery church in Yuste so that he could see it from his deathbed' (176). As we have seen, if Shakespeare knew Vasari's Lives, he could have learned in that work about the existence of this painting and about its symbolism.

Not surprising in a play set on an island, Prospero asks, 'With the help of your good hands. | Gentle breath of you my sails | Must fill, or else my project fails . . . . As you from crimes would pardon'd be, | Let your indulgence set me free' (Temp. Epilogue. 328-330; 337-338). There are critics who see humour in these lines full of Catholic imagery. Again the symbolism has parallels to the symbolism which marked the exequies of The Emperor Charles V. My Figure 144 is The Ship of Salvation, a woodcut illustration by Johannes van Duetecum after Lucan van Duetecum published in the festival book La Magnifique et Sumptueuse Pompe Funèbre. Another woodcut illustration of the same ship used at the Exequies for the death of Charles V in Brussels (Fig. 145), which was published in Descrittione della pompa funerale fatta in Brussele alli xxix di decembre M. D. LVIII per la felice, [et] immortal memoria di Carlo V Imperatore, con una nave delle vittorie di sua Cesarea Maesta, a festival book in Italian which was published in Milan, reads 'Mediolano Vindicato' ('Milan revenged'). The Emperor Charles V's Exequies were widely publicised in Europe, and Shakespeare may have known images such as these because they were again published in many books in the continent.

Even in his final words, when he is breaking away from the confinement of his role as a dramatic character, Prospero uses language which finds parallel in the imagery of The Emperor Charles V's biography. Therefore, as I approach the end of this chapter, I have to present my understanding of why Shakespeare may be doing what I suggest he might be doing.

Before I do that, I must mention a very illuminating article which I only read in early January 2007, after I had pursued my own routes without having had access to it, namely David Scott Kastan's 'The Duke of Milan / And his Brave Son': Old Histories and New in The Tempest'. It was published in 2003 in Shakespeare's Romances, a New Casebook edited by Alison Thorne. In this article, Kastan associates The Tempest with the Habsburgs through an approximation between Prospero and a later Habsburg, Shakespeare's contemporary, the

Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II, whom Barbara Mowat in her article ‘Prospero, Agrippa, and Hocus Pocus’ calls an ‘emperor-magus’ and who was through his father a grandson of The Emperor Charles V’s brother Ferdinand and through his mother a grandson of Charles V himself.

I had considered the figure of Rudolph II myself while trying to make sense of the Habsburg references which I continued to find in the play, but my final conclusion was that Rudolph II was another historical figure which pointed in the direction of The Emperor Charles V. Kastan mentions The Emperor Charles V only twice and he does not mention many of the parallels I have found and which I believe remain unique to my reading of the presence of the figure of Charles V in the genesis of Shakespeare’s plot for his play. Kastan is careful to explain that he is not

suggesting here that we should substitute another allegory, not the biographical one of Prospero as Shakespeare, or the humanistic one of his magic as art, or in its recent, suspicious form as colonial domination, in order to see Prospero now as the Holy Roman Emperor [Rudolph II]; though certainly I am arguing that the world of European politics has receded too far from our view’ (237).

Kastan, however, proposes a ‘shift in focus from Bermuda to Bohemia, from Harriot to Habsburg’ which, although Kastan argues, ‘removes the play from the colonial encounter of Europe with the Americas’, he also argues to be an imperative based on what Shakespeare chooses to write about in his play. Kastan explains that

though I would say (and have said) that the play clearly engages the social and political concerns of seventeenth-century Europe, concerns that the insistent focus on the new world in recent criticism has largely obscured, I am not now claiming that European court politics must replace new world colonialism as the ‘dominant discursive con-text’ that reveals the meaning of The Tempest. Indeed, I am as much interested in the process by which a historical reading of a text is generated and grounded as I am in any particular reading (238).

Kastan also admits that ‘the critical attention to the new world is not, of course, merely wilful’ (240). However, Kastan argues, ‘Shakespeare’s relocation of the narrative from the new world to the old is not the unconscious displacement of this imperial theme as much as it is its deliberate erasure. In The Tempest, Shakespeare actively chooses not to tell the new world story that was before him’ (240). Kastan claims that post-colonial readings certainly ‘tell us something important, but arguably more about our world than about Shakespeare’s’

(240). There are many points in Kastan's reading which can contribute to my own analysis, because, as I have mentioned, Rudolph II was unmistakably related to The Emperor Charles V, but in my opinion Kastan's article also strengthens my understanding that we need to see Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon in the genesis of The Tempest as well as The Emperor Charles V in order to go beyond the Pillars of Hercules. Kastan envisages an approach that fully discusses the European politics of the play. I have mentioned that behind the external structure of The Tempest I see a mosaic where Villegaignon beautifully fits as a missing because invisible puzzle piece. It is important to state once more that I do not see any character in The Tempest as a mere allegorical version of any specific historical personage. What I see in Shakespeare's comedy instead are a series of unique characters of Shakespeare's own creation that have their roles as individuals and as groups of people, but which, as my title to this chapter suggests, I see as composites of different ideas, many of which Shakespeare could have found in his reading. Obviously, Shakespeare only incorporated into his own plot those elements which seemed suitable to the story he decided to write.

But if Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon is apparently an element in the genesis of the plot that relates to The Emperor Charles V, both elements now are partially or fully invisible, probably the result of Shakespeare's deliberate action. I believe that allusions to Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and King of Spain, King of Naples and Duke of Milan, could serve both The King's and The Queen's political agendas. As I have mentioned before, the first recorded performance of The Tempest was at King James's court on All Saints' Night. Present were The King (Fig. 149) and Queen (Fig. 151); Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales (Figs. 159 and 160), then as now the title of the heir to the throne; and his sister Elizabeth (Fig. 156). The Prince was 17 and his sister, 15, the same age as Miranda.

Although critics understand that even the plays that Shakespeare presented at court were written with the public stage in mind, the main objective in allowing player companies and public performances in England was to make available high quality entertainment for court performance. This and strict censorship meant that plays should avoid as much as possible having anything in them that might displease the King and they preferably should serve his propaganda purposes. The famous example for Shakespeare and King James is Macbeth. As we have seen, the masques were the main form of entertainment at the Jacobean court, and Queen Anna was a great lover and sponsor of the form. The current critical understanding about the masque is that it was a form 'in which rival factions at the' [court represented] their clash of view points through dancing and spectacle.' In other words, the

King could send messages to the Queen, or to the Prince of Wales, and vice-versa. It is in this context that The Tempest was written. Since the King's accession, Whitehall had seen eleven masques, and it is believed that Shakespeare's company, as Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, would have performed at them. In The Tempest itself, as we have seen, there is a masque magically designed by Prospero to celebrate Miranda's betrothal to Ferdinand and other features of the masque and the antimasque used for dramatic effect. Shakespeare's play is thought to work at some levels as a masque, with lots of music and spectacle, and sending messages to James's court and beyond, but some of the original message may be now invisible to us. In their Introduction to The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque, a book they edited in 1998, David Bevington and Peter Holbrook characterise the masque as 'the most developed courtly pastime and formal social occasion of the English Renaissance' (4), and they repeat Leah Marcus's definition of the masque as 'the most inherently topical of all seventeenth-century art forms'<sup>101</sup> to conclude that the masque was 'unavoidly and consciously political' (4). It is important to remember that King James advocated pacifism in international relations and he had sought a marriage alliance with Spain since making peace with the Spaniards at the The Somerset House Conference in 1604 (Fig. 147).

As defender of the faith, King James was fully aware of the great political importance of and deeply interested in theological debate and other religious matters. James conveyed the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 in an attempt to reach a settlement that would satisfy the King, his bishops and the English Puritans. The main result of the conference was that the King commissioned a new translation of the Bible which was first published the same year The Tempest was first performed at court (Fig. 150). The following year saw the last two burnings at the stake of heretics in England: Sentence was pronounced against Edward Wightman on 14 December 1611, and he was burned on 11 April 1612 at Lichfield. Bartholomew Legate was found guilty of heresy in February 1612, and burned to death at Smithfield on the 18 March 1612. King James 'politically preferred, that heretics hereafter, though condemned, should silently and privately waste themselves away in the prison, rather than to grace them, and amuse others, with the solemnity of a public execution, which in popular judgments usurped the honour of a persecution' (Fuller, The Church History of Britain, Book 10, Section 4).

Unfortunately for King James's intentions, the Prince of Wales liked to think of himself as a young Protestant hero and would have preferred a Protestant princess for a wife: 'when his father proposed a French marriage, he answered that he was "resolved that two

religions should not lie in his bed” (Channel 4 History site). However, although a Protestant match was not discarded and the Prince openly refused a Catholic match, possible Catholic brides considered by King James included the Infanta Anna of Spain, the eldest daughter of King Philip III, and until 8 April 1605 (New Style) heiress to the Spanish throne (there were negotiations in 1604, 1605 and 1607), the eldest daughter of the Duke of Savoy (a name considered but discarded in 1611), one of the Savoyard princesses, as well as the eldest daughter of the king of France (negotiations were attempted in 1611-1612) (DNB, XXVI, 107). In his Introduction to the Oxford edition of The Tempest, Orgel comments that ‘despite his assertion in Basilicon Doron that “I would ratherst have you to marry one that were fully of your own religion”, James was quite clear about the fact that to marry his children to Protestants would have been a waste of good diplomatic currency’ (Tmp. 1994 31). Orgel also adds that ‘There are no apparent religious overtones to the marriage of Ferdinand and Miranda, but in so far as it is designed to resolve “inveterate” territorial enmities (1.2.121-2), it has more in common with James’s plans for his children than with the actual wedding The Tempest was called upon to celebrate’.

This was the wedding of German Protestant Frederick Henry of Wittelsbach, Frederick V, Elector Palatine of the Rhine (Fig. 157) and the Princess Elizabeth Stuart, the eldest daughter of King James I of England and of Anna of Denmark on 14 February, 1613 (new style), at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall Palace, London. Usually known in England at the time as the Palsgrave (meaning the ‘Count of the Pfalz’, or Palatinate of the Rhine), Frederick had been chosen to marry the Princess Elizabeth as a leading Protestant prince who could match the alliance that would have marked the Prince of Wales’ marriage to a princess from a leading Catholic power in Europe. Although James VI had espoused Anna of Denmark exactly because of her solid Protestant background, the Queen had developed strong Catholic sympathies, and openly favoured a Spanish match for her son, Henry Frederick Stuart, Prince of Wales, or her daughter, Princess Elizabeth, or both. Queen Anne, according ‘to an apocryphal anecdote, [...] is moreover said to have objected [to the marriage of her daughter the Princess Elizabeth to Frederick V, Elector Palatine of the Rhine] as [being] below the family dignity’ (DNB, I, 437).

Even the Palsgrave can be related to The Emperor Charles V. As my Appendix H shows, complex, if distant, dynastic relations linked Frederick V and Charles V. Both the Emperor and his brother and heir Ferdinand I were second cousins once removed of Frederick’s grandfather, the Emperor Palatine Louis VI, who was also a third cousin of Philip

II, the Emperor's son and other heir. If technically no longer related, the Emperor Charles V and the Elector Palatine were still second cousins thrice removed.

The Princess Elizabeth and the Palsgrave's wedding was to have taken place in 1612 but was celebrated on 14 February 1613 (new style) because it had to be delayed due to the Prince of Wales's death in November 1612. In his biography of the King, The Cradle King: The Life of James VI & I, the First Monarch of a United Great Britain (2003) Alan Stewart gives more details:

Elizabeth's marriage was postponed. This was not only out of respect for her dead brother: with only her younger brother Prince Charles between her and the English throne, was not Elizabeth now too grand to marry the Palsgrave? By Christmas, the matter was resolved, and on 27 December 1612, Elizabeth and Frederick were formally affianced and contracted in the Banqueting House in Whitehall in the presence of the King. Anna was absent, 'as they say troubled with the gout', but widely rumored still to be set against the marriage (249-250).

As we know, during the multiple celebrations that marked the wedding, The Tempest was presented a second time at court. The festivities in the winter of 1612-1613 (new style) that marked Frederick and Elizabeth's wedding lasted from around the time of their betrothal on 27 December 1612 until their departure for the continent, on 10 April 1613. We can learn from the accounts of the Revels Office that the winter revels included a series of plays performed at court in three months, three plays by the recently formed (by patent of 27 April 1611) 'Lady Elizabeth's Men,' and 20 by Shakespeare's company, 'The King's Men,' eight of which by Shakespeare himself. The latter included Cardenio, that play which is now lost which Shakespeare wrote in collaboration with John Fletcher, besides 1H4, 2H4, IC, Ado (performed twice), Oth., Tmp., and WT (Campbell and Quinn 101, reproducing Chambers).

More importantly for The Tempest, the first recorded performance of which was, as we have seen, at court on 1 November 1611, Queen Anna, 'warmly supported a plan hatched towards the end of 1611 for a marriage between Elizabeth and King Philip of Spain' (DNB, XVII, 234). This would not have been possible before 3 October 1611, the day King Philip III of Spain's wife, 'la reina Margarita de Austria', died. This would be a very tight date, but then we must remember that October 3 in Gregorian calendar Spain was actually September 23 in Julian calendar England. Naturally, it would take some time for the news of the death to

reach London at the time, but what it shows is that the interest in a Spanish match or matches was much higher in 1611 than in February 1613.

Regarded as a tragedy for the nation, The Prince of Wales's death from typhoid at the age of eighteen in 1612 delayed any serious attempts to seek a Spanish bride for King James's heir until at least the period 1614-1615. From 1614 on, a few Catholic princesses, including a Spanish Infanta, were also considered for Henry Frederick's younger brother Charles, the future Charles I, who even travelled to Madrid in 1623 but to no avail. In the end, Charles espoused Catholic Henrietta Maria of France shortly after succeeding to the throne, in 1625. This change in outlook may have contributed to the invisibility which I have discussed in this work. I have announced my intention of discussing possible reasons why a play that has so many details that relate to The Emperor Charles V never explicitly refers to such an important historical figure. There are critics who believe The Tempest was revised for this second performance, and the only text we have, published ten years later, reflects this new reality. Unfortunately, there is no way we can confirm if there were any revisions, what changes if any were made, or whether those were incorporated into the version published in the Folio or were lost together with any foul papers.

Shakespeare might have been reading about Mary, Queen of Scots and then via Villegaignon he decided to go deeper into the life of The Emperor Charles V. But Shakespeare arguably had a lifelong interest in Charles V. In what is possibly Shakespeare's first play, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, there are references to an 'emperor' and his court which may refer to the court and the person of Silvia's father, the Duke of Milan, although he is never called 'Emperor' when he is on stage. If that is the case, it is sometimes believed that this early Shakespeare character may also owe something to Charles V. Towards the end of Shakespeare's career, there are again references to Charles V in All is True (Henry VIII), as The Emperor was Queen Katharine of Aragon's nephew and the most important man in the world at the time the play is set.

It is both as a King of Spain and as the grandfather of the then current King, Philip III, with whom James had signed a peace treaty and into whose family James would like to marry at least one of his children, that The Emperor Charles V might have inspired Shakespeare. Admittedly, The Emperor Charles V was a mighty defender of Catholicism and might not be a suitable subject for a play to set before the Protestant King of England.

It is at this point that King James's Preface ('The Avthors Preface to the Reader') to his poem The Lepanto (1591) can help us. As I mention in my note 36 below, King James

feels the need to write the Preface in justification of his intentions so that he should not seem, 'far contrary to my degree and Religion, like a Mercenary Poët, to penne a worke, ex professo, in praise of a forraine Papist bastard' (James VI and I, 1: 198). The poem, as we have seen, was mostly about The Emperor Charles V's bastard son Don John of Austria, who was, as we have also seen, the great victor of Lepanto. In his Preface, King James calls attention to a series of considerations, to finish with this unequivocal point:

And in a word: what so euer praise I haue giuen to DON-IOAN in this Poëme, it is neither in accompting him as first or second cause of that victorie, but onely as of a particular man, when he falles in my way, to speake the truth of him. For as it becomes not the honour of my estate, like an hireling, to pen the praise of any man : So becomes it far lesse the highnes of my rancke and calling, to spare for the feare of fauor of whomsoeuer liuing, to speake or write the trueth of anie (James VI and I, 1: 200).

This passage indicates that the King would not mind writing in praise of a 'forraine Papist bastard' provided that he were and could be seen to be telling the truth. Shakespeare, who is (borrowing King James's term) a hireling, very probably did not enjoy as much freedom. But that would help to explain why Shakespeare, at least in the version we have, which was published in 1623, and I believe in the original 1611 version as well, is careful to tone down the allusions and not to make any explicit reference to The Emperor Charles V. The Tempest owes its geography and a considerable number of allusions and images to the world of The Emperor Charles V, but it is not a play about The Emperor Charles V, who is not a character but is a constant focus of attention and therefore remains invisible for most of the time. Villegaignon is also an element in the play but he is not a character either, and he has the role of an invisible attendant on the equally invisible Charles V. The fact that the characters are Catholics and nobody wants to upset the King can possibly also help to explain why the world of The Tempest is mostly a secular universe. I believe that some revision is possible to have occurred between the first recorded performance and the publication of the play in the First Folio and possibly before the second presentation at court but excessive revision might make the piece inappropriate for court performance. Any changes which proved to be too substantial might attract the King's attention to them in a way that Shakespeare would advisedly be careful to avoid. I would suggest it is highly probable that to be as subtle as possible in the points he was making was always Shakespeare's intention.

Being subtle does not mean not making the point. I have quoted above the point which Jeffrey Knapp makes in his excellent 1992 book [An Empire Nowhere](#) that a large number of audience members at the time of [The Tempest](#) would certainly remember that the King of Naples and the Duke of Milan was no other than the King of Spain. That would be particularly the case, I would suggest, at the Court of King James. Therefore, it is difficult to suggest that only because Prospero is a magician and there are so many supernatural developments in [The Tempest](#), Naples and Milan would be taken as fantasy kingdoms and would in no way be remembered as two lands which were currently ruled by the same 'forraine Papist'. This would be even less probable if we remember that King James envisaged to make the said 'forraine Papist' a much closer ally by having his children marry into the 'forraine Papist''s family.

I am aware of what is called 'the small world phenomenon', what Duncan J. Watts in his 1999 book [Small Worlds: the Dynamics of Networks between Order and Randomness](#) characterises as 'a generalised version of' or the formalisation of the 'anecdotal notion that "you are only ever six 'degrees of separation' away from anybody else on the planet' (2). The phenomenon has been famously adapted to the world of cinematographic entertainment by Craig Fass, Brian Turtle and Mike Ginelli, the creators of the Six Degree of Kevin Bacon trivia game, a game which derives its name from [Six Degrees of Separation](#), a play written by John Guare in 1990. Fass, Turtle and Ginelli have also published a book about their game in 1996. Fass, Turtle and Ginelli's trivia game is based on a variation of the notion of the small world phenomenon and its objective is to find the shortest possible connection which any film actor in history has through the films in which he or she appeared to a film appearance by the actor Kevin Bacon in any of his films. Since the release of the trivia game, the Computer Science Department at the University of Virginia has developed and made available online [The Oracle of Bacon at Virginia](#), a computer program that uses information from the Internet Movie Database to calculate, among other things, the Kevin Bacon number of each actor and actress in the database. The Kevin Bacon number is the indication of how many degrees of separation there are between any given film performer and Kevin Bacon himself, who has a Kevin Bacon number of zero. On 15 February 2007, the site indicated eight hundred and thirty-two thousand, nine hundred and four linkable actors, an average Kevin Bacon number of 2.968 and a maximum Kevin Bacon number of 8, which only 17 actors have. What it means is that in a universe of eight hundred and thirty-two thousand, nine hundred and four linkable actors not a single one is removed from Kevin Bacon by more than eight degrees.

The reason I mention the small world phenomenon is to acknowledge my understanding that if the University of Virginia ever developed a computer Oracle about the sixteenth-century, the natural choice of Kevin Bacon would be The Emperor Charles V. In other words, it is relatively easy to establish a connection between someone who lived in the period and the monarch of so vast dominions who had so many subjects, so many relatives in power and so many allies and enemies on the European political and religious stages. However, I believe that this chapter has indicated that the Emperor Charles V number of all the characters in The Tempest would be very low. Hence my claim that critics need to acknowledge The Emperor Charles V when they discuss Shakespeare's The Tempest and equally need to acknowledge Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon, because if the Holy Roman Emperor is only partially visible, the Knight of Malta who lived in Antarctic France arguably remains fully invisible to Shakespeare critics on both sides of the Atlantic and beyond.

I have come to the conclusion that at this late moment in his career, Shakespeare seems to have a consistent interest, differently and never explicitly manifested in his dramatic production of the period, in 'forraine Papists', whether they be bastard or no. This is not to suggest that Shakespeare does not create Catholic characters before. Most of Shakespeare's European characters, including English ones, are Catholics, and this is not surprising, because any play set before the Reformation or in a Catholic country of necessity would have Catholic characters. However, at this point, the interest is both in the theme of reconciliation and in Catholic Spain and/or Catholic Spain's rulers, the Habsburgs. Until this point, most of Shakespeare's Europeans are Catholics from France or Italy, and although Naples and Milan are obviously in Italy, it is impossible to deny their contemporary connection to Spain. We will therefore conclude and buttress this analysis by referring briefly to the other plays by Shakespeare which were written around the time of the composition of The Tempest and identifying ways in which they also mirror a similar concern with or interest in the Habsburgs in Spain or elsewhere in Europe.

After writing The Tragedy of Coriolanus in 1608, a tragedy set in Ancient Rome, and until the composition of The Two Noble Kinsmen in collaboration with John Fletcher, a play about Medieval knights based on Chaucer's 'Knight's Tale' around 1613, Shakespeare possibly produced in succession, according to the chronology I reproduce as my Appendix 1, The Winter's Tale (1609-10); the revision of King Lear which was published in the First Folio of 1623 as The Tragedy of King Lear (1610); Cymbeline, King of Britain (1610-11); The Tempest (1610-11); Cardenio (1612-13) and All Is True (1613). If we look at the locations

Shakespeare chooses for his plays, The Winter's Tale is set in Sicilia and Bohemia; The Tragedy of King Lear is set in Ancient Britain, and mentions the old kingdoms of France and Burgundy; Cymbeline is set in Ancient Britain and Rome; The Tempest is supposedly set in the Mediterranean, with the New World being at least alluded to; Cardenio is a lost play presumably set in Spain, since it is supposed to be based on Cervantes; and All Is True is set in the England of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn but Spain is a key player, because of Katherine of Aragon and her nephew, The Emperor Charles V. Shakespeare died without knowing that, from August 1619 to 8 November 1620, the Princess Elizabeth and her husband the Palsgrave would become 'the Winter King and Queen of Bohemia,' which means that the reason for the playwright's interest in Bohemia when he wrote The Winter's Tale around 1609-10 has to lie elsewhere. At the time of the composition of Shakespeare's romance The Winter's Tale, Bohemia is a Habsburg kingdom ruled by Rudolph, the eccentric Holy Roman Emperor whom Kastan associates with Prospero. The kingdom of Bohemia had been in the hands of the Habsburg since 1526, when The Emperor Charles V's brother Ferdinand succeeded as King of Bohemia, which means that Shakespeare could have found the story he decided to adapt to the stage while looking for stories set on a location ruled by the Habsburgs. In the new version of King Lear, a play which Shakespeare is likely to have revised at this time, the negative role of the French is consistently reduced and the play is overall less anti-Catholic than the Quarto version, The History of King Lear. Shakespeare's choice of a location is not important here because he is merely rewriting a play which he had written at an earlier time. Interestingly, a Catholic concern is also possible to identify in Cymbeline, which is a romance set in Ancient Britain and Rome, because this play has been sometimes interpreted allegorically as a suggestion of reconciliation between Britain and the Church. The Tempest is admittedly set in the Mediterranean area and focuses on the Duchy of Milan and the Kingdom of Naples, but, as we have seen, the play's possible allusions include Catholic Spain, France and an area in Brazil which had once been French and which was then in the Spanish New World. The play is written in a spirit of (non-simplistic) reconciliation, and if Prospero owes anything to The Emperor Charles V or to Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon, Prospero's reconciliation with his enemies, as I have argued, more strongly suggests reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants. Both Cardenio and All Is True are plays written in collaboration which repeat a possible Spanish interest, and the latter, particularly in the dignity Shakespeare gives Katherine of Aragon, is less anti-Catholic than it could have been.

Maybe at the time of the composition of The Tempest Shakespeare was reading about Spain, the Catholic Habsburgs or The Emperor Charles V in order to find a theme pleasing to the King when he read about Villegaignon, a figure connected to Charles V, grandfather of the Spanish King, and important in the life of King James's mother. Maybe the change in circumstances and the failure to achieve a Spanish match which both the King and Queen had desired led to revisions to the play and to less explicit details for the revival celebrating a Protestant not a Catholic match. I have suggested that the idea of a revision may not be necessary. We know that Shakespeare never merely develops a theme or themes and it is foolhardy to suggest that Shakespeare is doing this instead of that or to make the claim for a single unified reading of any of his works. On the contrary, Shakespeare has long been famous for that quality which John Keats suggested he 'possessed so enormously' and which Keats first gave the poetical name 'negative capability'. This was a characteristic which made Shakespeare a favourite among the Romantics, and it was, quoting Keat's original explanation, that quality 'when a man is capable of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason' (198).

I am also aware of and agree with the Anne Barton's insightful description of the play in her Introduction to the New Penguin edition of The Tempest:

Spare, intense, concentrated to the point of being riddling, The Tempest provokes imaginative activity on the part of its audience or readers. Its very compression, the fact that it seems to hide as much as it reveals, compels a peculiarly creative response. A need to invent links between words, to expand events and characters in order to understand them, to formulate phrases which can somehow fix the significance of purely visual or musical elements is part of the ordinary experience of reading or watching this play (Tnp. 1968 19).

However, I would argue that I am not moved by a need to expand events and characters because I am not just concerned with Shakespeare's final product. My object is to identify from which sources Shakespeare may be borrowing and what he is doing with what he finds in his sources both before and while he is compressing multiple feature and composing his beautiful comedy. Provided we can just see it, I believe that enough evidence survives in the text as we have it to suggest that The Emperor Charles V, Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon and Antarctic France are many times in Shakespeare's mind as he is writing The Tempest.

The fact is that, as I have anticipated, in England there are mainstream critics who currently believe that too much has been said about The Tempest as a colonial text and it is time to look at it again as a Jacobean town comedy or as a play about the English interest in the Mediterranean and in the North of Africa. For those interested in the post-colonial, feminist and postmodern (including neo-conservative postmodern) metamorphoses of The Tempest, I recommend the last book in my bibliography and the last book I mention in this chapter, Chantal Zabus's Tempests after Shakespeare (2002). It is an important source for learning more about the multiple meanings which were given to the play, Prospero, Miranda, and particularly Sycorax and Caliban in different media in the second half of the twentieth century. In his study, Zabus includes authors from 'Australia, Britain, Canada, the Caribbean, West Africa, Latin America, and the United States, with occasional references to India, New Zealand, East and South Africa' (2). However, the word Brazil is only mentioned once, as the title of a 1961 novella by American writer of Barbadian descent Paule Marshall, a work in which Caliban is 'an aging clown' and Miranda, his 'life-long partner, . . . Germanic, tall, blue-eyed' (Zabus 47). Marshall's Caliban and Miranda's burlesque show is called 'O Grande Caliban e a Pequena Miranda' and, ironically, the story is set in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Zabus is not to blame, of course, because since Machado's 'No Alto' (1901)<sup>102</sup>, a poem which my reader can find, arguably also invisible, among the poems published by Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman in their 2004 Norton Critical Edition of The Tempest, not a lot has been made of The Tempest in Brazil or in Brazilian literature.

Therefore, if Brazilian invisibility has been created, reproduced and perpetuated in The Tempest, becoming aware of this phenomenon allows us to bring for a moment this invisible Brazilian element to the fore. Likewise, to be able to voice the possibility of the existence of an invisible Brazilian element in The Tempest is to see that we have already in Shakespeare not only the first American natives and the first African slaves in America, but also the first Brazilian natives and the first African Brazilian slaves in the New World. Besides contributing to account for the existence until this day of certain gaps in our critical perception and to our understanding of Shakespeare's creative process and his use of sources, and more specifically to a better understanding of the genesis of The Tempest, my research maybe can contribute to make Brazil less invisible among mainstream critics. As for Brazilians, maybe we can feel not guilty if we return the compliment to William Shakespeare of Stratford-upon-Avon and appropriate his work to discuss our own post-colonial anxieties.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>In the entry ‘Compositors’ in Stanley Wells and Michael Dobson’s The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare (2001), Eric Rasmussen explains how the ‘typesetters in the printing shop were the agents directly responsible for setting Shakespeare’s manuscripts into type; they were also among the earliest interpreters and editors of these texts’ (87). Rasmussen indicates that after ‘Charlton Hinman’s monumental analysis of The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare (1963)’ had identified five compositors (Compositors A, B, C, D, and E), further investigation ‘detected the presence of at least four more workmen (Compositors F, H, I, and J)’. According to The Oxford Shakespeare Textual Companion (1988), it was Howard-Hill who suggested the existence of compositor F in 1973 and John S. O’Connor repeated the claim when he revised it in 1975; whereas H, I, and J are three minor compositors put forward by Gary Taylor in 1981. However, as Shakespeare textual scholarship has generated work of very high quality based on evidence that sometimes cannot be unanimously interpreted, even the compositors of Shakespeare’s First Folio may have or lack canonical status. The Textual Companion duly informs that ‘Of these identifications, H and I are most secure, and seem to have been generally accepted, but J remains problematic’ (Wells, Taylor, Jowett, and Montgomery 148). ‘Once particular compositors have been identified and their individual stints have been established,’ Rasmussen concludes, ‘textual scholars are able to characterize each compositor’s working habits’ (87). Further details about First Folio compositor attributions and a table of Compositor Attributions by First Folio Page can be found in Wells, Taylor, Jowett, and Montgomery’s William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion 148-154.

<sup>2</sup>In the original Portuguese, ‘uma das personalidades mais expressivas da história da França no século XVI, o seu nome está esquecido em seu país, e mui injustamente’.

<sup>3</sup>In the original Portuguese, ‘suas atividades antes e depois de sua aventura na França Antártica, fatos quase desconhecidos no Brasil e que se revestem do maior interesse. Ficou claro que Villegagnon não foi um simples aventureiro valente, cruel e ignorante que comandou a expedição francesa na Guanabara, mas uma personalidade importante, não só na França como na Europa, prestigiada pessoalmente por quatro reis de França e até pelo imperador Carlos V’.

<sup>4</sup>In two texts published in 1997 (‘Military Outpost or Protestant Refuge: Villegagnon’s Expedition to Brazil in 1555,’ published as Chapter One of A. J. B. Johnston’s Essays in

French Colonial History; and ‘Villegaignon, Polyphemus, and Cain of America: Religion and Polemics in the French New World,’ an article published in Michael Wolfe’s Changing Identities in Early Modern France), Silvia Shannon briefly discusses what some of the main sources on Antarctic France have to say about Villegaignon to argue that the main purpose of Villegaignon’s expedition had always been to follow a command of King Henri II and to establish a military outpost in Brazil to protect French shipping and trading in the area which would eventually develop into a permanent colony. Shannon suggests that the fact that there were a few Protestants already in the original group which founded Antarctic France, and Calvinists were possibly invited to join the original colonists in 1557, together with all the problems that followed and the religious controversy it generated, contributed to make the enterprise famous and made historians who read the polemic tracts mistake what was originally and mainly supposed to be a military outpost for a Protestant refuge, which, Shannon argues, it was only meant to be in the mind of the Calvinists who moved there in 1557 themselves.

<sup>5</sup>The first scene unmistakably takes place on board a ship that is facing shipwreck off ‘the un-inhabited Island’ mentioned in the First Folio, but as we learn in Anne Barton’s New Penguin Shakespeare edition of The Tempest, among others, ‘the Folio (F) describes the setting merely as “an un-inhabited Island”, passing over the first scene on board Alonso’s ship’ (139). The first editor to add the explicatory stage direction many times found in modern editions, ‘On a ship at sea’, was Alexander Pope in the 1720’s.

<sup>6</sup>As Michael Dobson explains in the entry ‘Adaptation’ of The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare he published alongside Stanley Wells in 2001, even if we do not consider those plays that we have evidence that allows us to conclude were revised at the time of Shakespeare, such as Hamlet and King Lear, the practice of Shakespeare adaptation, or ‘the altering of Shakespeare’s scripts for later revivals’, ‘certainly dates to before the publication of the First Folio, which prints Macbeth in a form revised by Middleton,’ and was at its most widespread ‘between the Restoration in 1660 and the middle of the 18th century.’ (3).

Dryden and Davenant’s adaptation is typical of the Restoration period, when the return from France of the exile English King and court after a period of almost 20 years during which the public performance of plays had been officially suppressed in England caused a revolution and

drastic changes in the design of playhouses (with the inception of elaborate changeable scenery), in the composition of theatre companies (with the advent

of the professional actress), and in literary language and tastes (with the vogue for French neoclassicism, and its patriotic aftermath) motivated many playwrights and actor-managers to stage Shakespearian plays in heavily rewritten forms (Dobson and Wells 3).

<sup>7</sup>Line references to the Dryden-Davenant adaptation of The Tempest are made to the 1970 edition by Novak and Guffey, which was included as part of the 20-volume edition of The Works of John Dryden published by the University of California Press. A more recent popular edition that includes the text of Dryden and Davenant's adaptation and the full texts of other famous Restoration versions of Shakespeare was edited by Sandra Clark under the title Shakespeare Made Fit: Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare and published as an Everyman Paperback Classic in 1997. The book includes John Lacy's Sauny the Scot (a reworking of Shr.); John Dryden's All for Love (not really an adaptation of Ant., but a Restoration play based on the lives of Antony and Cleopatra); Nahum Tate's King Lear, and Colley Cibber's Richard III; plus extracts from Thomas Otway's The History and Fall of Caius Marius (a play not based on any Shakespearian Roman play, but a version of Rom. in a Roman Republican setting).

<sup>8</sup>Shakespeare's Richard II (1595) was printed in Quarto three times in the period 1597-1598, but it was only the fourth Quarto of 1608 which included certain scenes, such as the deposition of King Richard, which had been left out at the time of Elizabeth because of censorship, as they were probably deemed improper for publication (Cf. Dobson and Wells 381). Plays could not be about politics or religion (those were against the law), but they remained an important propaganda element at the time of Shakespeare. The most famous illustration of this point is Essex's Rebellion of February 1601. Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, until then a favourite of the Queen, hired Shakespeare's company to perform in the Globe the day before he marched towards London and Queen Elizabeth's palace of Whitehall, where he would lead an uprising seeking to depose the Queen. The play Essex hired was a revival of Shakespeare's Richard II, apparently because it was believed that the deposition scene could incite Londoners to support Essex's cause. Members of Shakespeare's company were interrogated about the performance but were considered not guilty, and their formal reconciliation with the Queen was on 24 February 1601, the night before Lord Essex's execution on Tower Green. Shakespeare's patron Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton (the dedicatee of both Venus and Adonis and The Rape of Lucrece, as well as one of the main contenders to be the Fair Youth of the Sonnets), was a close ally of Lord

Essex's, on account of which he was also arrested and had his titles forfeited, and was only left out of prison and had his titles restored after the accession of King James.

<sup>9</sup>Qtd. in Chambers IV 338-9.

<sup>10</sup>Elliot, John H., The Old World and the New, 1492-1650 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) 8 qtd. in Knapp 18.

<sup>11</sup>Eden, Richard, trans., The Decades of the New World or West India, 1555, trans. of Peter Martyr [Pietro Martire d'Anghiera], De Orbe Novo (1511-30), in The First Three English Books on America, ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham, 1885) 55 qtd. in Knapp 20.

<sup>12</sup>Hakluyt, Richard, Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America, 1582, ed. John W. Jones, (London: Hakluyt Soc., 1850) qtd. in Knapp 19.

<sup>13</sup>For an interesting discussion of some possible implications of Miranda's lack of a mother, I suggest the reading of Stephen Orgel's essay 'Prospero's Wife', 'a consideration of five related moments and issues' (201) in The Tempest. Orgel's essay first appeared in volume 8 of Representations (1985) and is reproduced in the 2004 Norton Critical Edition of the play.

<sup>14</sup>By 'Thomas's Prospero' here Kermode means Prospero Adorno, historical Duke of Genoa, about whom Shakespeare could have read in William Thomas's The historie of Italie, a boke excedyng profitable to be redde: Because it intreateth of the astate of many and diuers common weales, how thei haue ben, [and] now be gouerned (London: T. Berthelet, 1549). This is what we can learn about 'Thomas's Prospero' in Bullough:

The search for sources of Shakespeare's names has led to attempts to give a shadowy historical background to The Tempest. In Thomas's History of Italy (1549), which he probably knew, Shakespeare would find a confused account of Prosper[o] Adorno, Duke of Genoa, who was deposed by his rivals the Fregosi in 1561 [sic]. Sixteen years later he returned as deputy for the Duke of Milan. His cruelties alienated the people of Genoa and to save himself he made friends with Ferdinando, King of Naples. This alienated the Milanese, who attacked him but were repulsed, and it was his old enemies the Fregosi who drove him out after a short, inglorious rule. Thomas also mentions an Alfonso, King of Naples, married to the daughter of a Duke of Milan, who in 1495 'renounced his state unto his son Ferdinand . . . and sailed into Sicily, where he gave himself to study, solitariness and religion'. Ferdinand was expelled by

Charles VIII of France, and retired to Ischia. There was also a Prospero Colonna, who aided Gonzalo de Cordoba in 1495. (249)

The Bullough edition I have states that the Fregosi deposed Prospero Adorno in 1561. In fact, the events took place one hundred years earlier, in July 1461. (Kermode Tmp. 1996 lxxix mentions 1460). Unfortunately the events in Thomas's The historie of Italie did not take place in 1561 and 1577, because the Duke of Milan at the time was no other than Philip II of Spain, who was Duke of Milan from 1540 (or from 25 July 1554, q.v. my Appendixes F and G) until his death in 1598.

Though Bullough describes it as 'shadowy historical background', he does not fail to add a note to the passage above, which reads,

G. Sarrazin, an indefatigable seeker of historical parallels, in 'Neue italienische Skizzen zu Shakespeare', ShJb, xlii, 1906, 179-86, added more information, e.g. the deposed Prospero fled to the harbour where he had to jump into the water fully clothed and swim for it, while his enemies threw stones at him' (U. Folière, Hist. Gen., lib. Xii, pl 256) (249 note 2).

<sup>15</sup>In Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps, W. Karrow states that 'the importance of the Theatrum Orbis Terrarum for geographical knowledge in the last quarter of the sixteenth century is difficult to overemphasize' (9). In fact, not only was Abraham Ortelius very popular in Europe, but his Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570) also 'long remained basis for geographic works' (Webster's NBD 748). The 1570 first edition included seventy maps on fifty-three map sheets based on a variety of sources (Ortelius' Catalogus auctorum lists ninety-two names), and each map has a very interesting descriptive text on verso. In a tentative estimate which Van den Broecke published in The Map Collector, we learn that as many as '870,000 maps were printed in about 7,300 atlases, 750 Additamenta and 600 Parergons. About 108,000, or 12% of these maps survived. Of these, about 90,000 survived in an atlas, and about 18,000 in loose form' (Broecke 1986). As for the number of Ortelius Maps of Milan estimated to have been printed, the current number Van den Broecke makes available online is eight thousand one hundred and seventy-five (Broecke 'Index'). The full 1570 volume is available online in beautiful colour through the American Memory section of the Library of Congress Homepage. Another Ortelius resource that should not be missed is the Cartographica Neerlandica site, which presents analyses and full English translations of the different maps and texts in the famous atlas.

<sup>16</sup>Seaton, Ethel, 'Marlowe's Map,' Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association 10 (1924): 13-35. The essay was reprinted in Leech, Clifford, ed., Marlowe: A Collection of Critical Essays. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1964.

<sup>17</sup>Wells also adds the endearing suggestion that Shakespeare alludes to Richard Field in his work: 'metamorphosed into a Frenchman, he hovers curiously behind the text of Cymbeline, written many years later, when the disguised Innogen pretends that the body of Cloten which she believes to be that of Posthumus is actually that of her "master" Richard du Champ (4.2.379)' (115)

<sup>18</sup>What I here call and even Shakespeare and his contemporaries called 'Kingdom of Naples' and 'King of Naples' were actually officially called 'Kingdom of Sicily' and 'King of Sicily', and both I and others who use the title only use it to avoid confusion with the other kingdom of the same name that existed from 1282, as I explain below.

The Island of Sicily had been a Muslim Emirate since 831 when, in the year 1059, Pope Nicholas II created a Norman adventurer by the name of Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia and Calabria and, in case of a Christian reconquest of the Emirate, also of Sicily. Robert, his brother Roger de Hauteville and their Normans gradually managed to capture the island from the Saracens, a process which took them from 1061 to 1091. After the fall of Palermo in 1072, Robert Guiscard granted Sicily as a county to his brother Roger.

Since 1130, when the title 'King of Sicily' was granted by Antipope Anacletus II to Count Roger's son Roger II, who already was Count of Sicily and Duke of Apulia, the title 'King of Sicily' had referred to the King of both the Southern third part of mainland Italy (what Italians now refer to as the 'Mezzogiorno') and the Island of Sicily proper. Roger II obtained recognition of his title from Pope Innocent II in 1139, and he managed to unite all the Norman conquests in Southern Italy into one kingdom. The 'Kingdom of Sicily' was therefore held as a fief of the Papacy by Roger II's descendants, and then by their successors of the House of Hohenstaufen, who were also Kings of the Romans in the Holy Roman Empire. In 1265, Pope Clement IV chose Charles of Anjou to succeed as Charles I of Sicily, and he had conquered both the main land and the island from the House of Hohenstaufen by 1268. In 1282, a rising in the island against him (the famous 'Sicilian Vespers'), led the local population to indicate Peter III of Aragon as King of Sicily, and from that moment on the Kingdom of Sicily was divided into two kingdoms, both of which retained the official designation of 'Kingdom of Sicily': one on the island of Sicily itself and having Palermo as its capital, and the other on the mainland peninsula and centred on Naples. To differentiate

between the two Kingdoms of Sicily, the former is sometimes called ‘Regno di Sicilia al di là del faro’ (‘Sicily beyond the Lighthouse’), or the Kingdom of Trinacria; and the latter, the ‘Regno di Sicilia al di qua del faro’ (‘Sicily this side of the lighthouse’), or simply ‘the Kingdom of Naples’). The ‘faro’ (‘lighthouse’) is the lighthouse in Reggio di Calabria at the Straits of Messina. When Peter III of Aragon died in 1285, he was succeeded as King of Sicily by his son James as King James I. The latter went on to become King James II of Aragon upon the death of his brother Alfonso III in 1291, and although he tried to reach a settlement with the Angevin (mainland) King of Sicily Charles II and give up his claim to the island, the two kingdoms were only reunited again in 1504, under Ferdinand II, the Catholic of Aragon, maternal grandfather of The Emperor Charles V, who was the first to succeed to both titles:

In 1295 King James [II] of Aragon agreed to give up Sicily, but the inhabitants elected his younger brother Frederick to reign for his lifetime with the style of King of Trinacria: in fact he and his descendants reigned for four centuries and called themselves King of Sicily. The House of Anjou on the mainland also termed themselves Kings of Sicily ... [and when] the two were reunited under Spanish rule in the early sixteenth century, the realm was known as the Two Sicilies. Until Napoleonic times, the only formal ‘King of Naples’ was Philip II of Spain, so created in the lifetime of his father to honour his marriage to Mary of England. (Louda and Maclagan 248)

<sup>19</sup>Ariel is indeed a masculine proper name from the Hebrew אֵרִיאֵל, a word which appears in the Bible and in rabbinical literature, and has been interpreted as “‘lion of God,” or, by change of vowel, “light of God,” or “God is my light.” It is also, ‘a poetic name for Jerusalem (Isa. xxix. 1, 2, 7)’, equally used of the ‘altar’ or ‘altar hearth’ (The Jewish Encyclopedia).

<sup>20</sup>Before they discuss the biblical associations, the Vaughans first mention that both Caliban and Ariel have ‘problematic names,’ and add that “‘Ariel” must have had rich resonances for a Jacobean audience’. As they explain, Uriel was ‘the name of an angel in the Jewish cabala [which] was John Dee’s spirit-communicant during his ill-fated experiments with magic’ (27), an information they find in French’s life of Dee, 111-117. John Dee (1527-1608) was a famous English ‘mathematician, philosopher, alchemist, and astrologer’. A prolific writer, Dee was ‘in disgrace under Mary I,’ was ‘favoured by Elizabeth as an astrologer,’ but died in poverty already under James. (Palmer and Palmer 3).

<sup>21</sup>Cf. Norton editors Hulme and Sherman's note to Ariel's name in the list of characters, 'A word glossed in the Geneva Bible as "lyon of God," but which probably just denotes "airiness" (3); or Penguin editor Anne Barton's note to line 188, 'Ariel is the name of an angel, or powerful spirit, in a variety of sources. Shakespeare, however, may well have arrived at the name without assistance' (146).

<sup>22</sup>Noble, Richmond, Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge 251, qtd. in Tmp. 1996 142.

<sup>23</sup>References to the spirit Ariel in De Occulta Philosophia occur once in Book Two (as one of the 'Four rulers of the elements', Agrippa of Nettesheim 257), and three times in two different passages in Book Three. The first of these passages is as follows:

There are also four princes of the angels which are set over the four winds, and over the four parts of the world, whereof Michael is set over the eastern wind; Raphael over the western. Gabriel over the northern; Nariel, who by some is called Uriel, is over the southern.

There are also assigned to the elements these [spirits], viz, to the Air, Cherub; to the Water, Tharsis; to the Earth, Ariel; to the Fire, Seruph, or according to Philon, Nathaniel. Now every one of these spirits [among the more than fifty spirits mentioned in the full passage] is a great prince, and hath much power and freedom in the dominion of his own planets, and signs, and in their times, years, months, days, and hours, and in their elements, and parts of the world, and winds. And every one of them rules over many legions (Agrippa of Nettesheim 533).

The other passage in Agrippa's third book refers to the biblical association, and reads, 'Ariel is the name of an angel, and is the same as the Lion of God; sometimes also it is the name of an evil demon, and of a city which is thence called Ariopolis, where the idol Ariel was worshipped' (Agrippa of Nettesheim 553).

<sup>24</sup>Cornelius Agrippa's fame as a major Renaissance occultist was well established at the time of Shakespeare. This fact can be attested by Christopher Marlowe's reference to him in the first act of The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus, when Faustus himself says he will 'be as cunning as Agrippa was, | Whose shadow [the shades or spirits he invoked] made all Europe honour him' (1.1.16-17, Marlowe 269). The character of Faustus himself, though originally based on the historical figure of German occultist Johann Georg Faust, had many things in common with Agrippa, not the least of which was a connexion to the court of Charles V, who also features as a character in Marlowe's play. In Act 4, scene 2 of

Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, Faustus commands spirits to present a masque of Emperors to Charles V, and this scene is sometimes thought to echo an entertainment Agrippa reportedly once set to the same Emperor (Hopkins 282), a scene referred to in Thomas Nashe's The Unfortunate Traveller (1594), a fictional travelogue set at the time of King Henry VIII of England in which Agrippa features as a character. These connections can find parallel in Prospero's entertainment in Act 4, scene 1 of The Tempest, where Prospero commands Ariel and other spirits to present a betrothal masque of Roman goddesses to Ferdinand and Miranda.

<sup>25</sup>Agrippa's reputation has continued to this day, arguably because of the importance of his written works, and the impact they had at their time of publishing and for many years thereafter. However, his fame also rests on the fact that he is one of the occultists behind the legend of the Sorcerer's Apprentice, although the original version of the story goes back at least as far as the time of the narrative Philopseudes ('The Lover of Lies, or the Doubter'), by Lucian of Samosata (c. AD 120-180). Agrippa was clearly popular with Romantic authors of Gothic fiction, being mentioned once by William Godwin in his then very popular Gothic novel St. Leon: A Tale of the Sixteenth Century (1799), a work featuring an alchemist hero known to have influenced John Daly (New York, 1897) Burk's now mostly forgotten Bethlem Gabor, Lord of Transylvania: or, The Man Hating-Palatine. An Historical Drama, in Three Acts (Petersburg, Virginia: Printed by J. Dickson, for Somervell & Conrad, 1807), and Godwin's own future son-in-law Percy Bysshe Shelley's St. Irvyne; or, The Rosicrucian: A Romance (1811). What follows is 'Cornelius Agrippa: A Ballad, of a Young Man that would Read Unlawful Books,' Robert Southey's reworking of the Sorcerer's Apprentice motif into a ballad published in the same year that saw the publication of William Godwin's St. Leon:

CORNELIUS AGRIPPA went out one day;  
 His study he lock'd ere he went away,  
 And he gave the key of the door to his wife,  
 And charged her to keep it lock'd on her life.

'And if any one ask my Study to see,  
 I charge you to trust them not with the key;  
 Whoever may beg, and entreat, and implore,  
 On your life let nobody enter that door.'

There lived a young man in the house, who in vain  
 Access to that Study had sought to obtain;

And he begg'd and pray'd the books to see,  
Till the foolish woman gave him the key.

On the Study-table a book there lay,  
Which Agrippa himself had been reading that day;  
The letters were written with blood therein,  
And the leaves were made of dead men's skin; —

And these horrible leaves of magic between  
Were the ugliest pictures that ever were seen,  
The likeness of things so foul to behold,  
That what they were is not fit to be told.

The young man he began to read  
He knew not what; but he would proceed,  
When there was heard a sound at the door  
Which, as he read on, grew more and more.

And more and more the knocking grew;  
The young man knew not what to do;  
But, trembling, in fear he sat within,  
Till the door was broke, and the Devil came in.

Two hideous horns on his head he had got,  
Like iron heated nine times red-hot;  
The breath of his nostrils was brimstone blue,  
And his tail like a fiery serpent grew.

'What wouldst thou with me?' the Wicked One cried,  
But not a word the young man replied;  
Every hair on his head was standing upright,  
And his limbs like a palsy shook with affright.

'What wouldst thou with me?' cried the Author of ill;  
But the wretched young man was silent still;  
Not a word had his lips the power to say,  
And his marrow seem'd to be melting away.

'What wouldst thou with me?' the third time he cries,  
And a flash of lightning came from his eyes,  
And he lifted his griffin claw in the air,  
And the young man had not strength for a prayer.

His eyes red fire and fury dart  
As out he tore the young man's heart;

He grinn'd a horrible grin at his prey;  
And in a clap of thunder vanish'd away.

#### THE MORAL

Henceforth let all young men take heed  
How in a Conjuror's books they read.

Westbury, 1798

More famously, Agrippa is one of the three early 'occult scientists' (the other two being Albertus Magnus and Paracelsus) whose works Victor Frankenstein studies and admires as a curious young man in Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley's novel Frankenstein or the Modern Prometheus, a work influenced by, among others, both her father's St. Leon and her husband's St. Irvyne. Biographers of the Shelleys report that young Percy Bysshe Shelley's own admiration for Agrippa, Albertus Magnus and Paracelsus was not unlike that espoused by the young Victor Frankenstein. Agrippa also appears as a character in Mary Shelley's short story 'The Mortal Immortal: A Tale' (1833), a variation on the theme of her father's St. Leon which opens on the three hundred and twenty-third birthday of the main character, a 'very young Immortal' who had once been one of Agrippa's apprentices. As we can learn very early in the narrative: 'All the world has heard of Cornelius Agrippa. His memory is as immortal as his arts have made me. All the world has also heard of his scholar, who, unawares, raised the foul fiend during his master's absence, and was destroyed by him' (314). Finally, Mary's father William Godwin returned to Agrippa in his Lives of the Necromancers (1834), a book the main purpose of which 'is to exhibit a fair delineation of the credulity of the human mind' (v), but which also summarises the main known facts in the lives of the German occultist and of many others among, in the words of Godwin's subtitle, 'the most eminent persons in successive ages who have claimed for themselves, or to whom has been imputed by others, the exercise of magical power'.

More recently, Agrippa features as a 'chocolate frog', a kind of magical sweet in J. K. Rowling's Harry Potter popular fantasy series. 'Chocolate frogs are each packaged with a magical collectible card giving a brief biography of a famous (in the Harry Potter universe and sometimes in other magical worlds) witch or wizard' ('Magical Objects in Harry Potter', Wikipedia). Agrippa's card (apparently a hard-to-get magical trading card) is mentioned in the first book in the series, Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone (1997).

<sup>26</sup>Agrippa's epistle 21, bk. 7 is mentioned by Tyson xvi.

<sup>27</sup>Cf. Schlesinger 132, note 3.

<sup>28</sup>The Singularitez de la France Antartique passage about Quoniambec can be found online in La France en Amérique / France in America digital library maintained by the Bibliothèque nationale de France and The Library of Congress <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k109516t.chemindefer>>. The same passage can be found in Thomas Hacket's 1568 English edition of Thevet's Singularitez, The new Found worlde, or Antarctike, 84r-84v.

<sup>29</sup>Thevet's La Cosmographie universelle was part of the collection of books owned by King James VI of Scotland in 1583 (James VI and I, The Poems of James VI. of Scotland, xvii). Likewise, we can learn in William H. Sherman's John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance (1995) that Thevet was one of the many 'circumspect' (179) authorities Dee used for his General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation (1577), and that the celebrated English occultist owned in his library three copies of Thevet's cosmographical works (items nos. 238, 346 and 1096 in Roberts and Watson's Catalogue), two of which survive in the Royal College of Physicians Library (Sherman 179, 246, 258). A search of the Royal College of Physicians Library's online catalogue <[http://www.rcplondon.ac.uk/college/library/opac\\_simple.htm](http://www.rcplondon.ac.uk/college/library/opac_simple.htm)> indicates that their present collection includes one copy of the 1584 Les Vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres grecs, latins et payens, one copy of the 1554 Cosmographie de Levant (Thevet's first book, published in 1554 and reprinted twice in 1556), a copy of the 1575 La Cosmographie universelle in two volumes and an extra copy of volume 1 of the same work.

<sup>30</sup>In his biographical sketch for Patrick Cheney's The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe (2004), David Riggs lists Thevet's Universal Cosmography along with 'Abraham Ortelius's pioneering atlas, The Theatre of the World', and 'Francois Belleforest's Universal Cosmography of the Whole World' as having supplied Marlowe with material for Tamburlaine, Part Two and The Jew of Malta (28). Although Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman do not include Thevet among the authors they reproduce in their Christopher Marlowe: The Plays and Their Sources (1999), the seventh Tamburlaine source they publish is a passage about Tamburlaine in John Bishop's Beautifull Blossomes, gathered by John Byshop, from the best trees of all kyndes, Diuine, Philosophicall, Astronomicall, Cosmographical, historical, etc. (London: For Henrie Cockyn, 1577). Thomas and Tydeman believe Marlowe may have used Bishop, who mentions Thevet as a source twice in the second paragraph of his Chapter 46, dedicated to the life of 'Tamerlane the Tartar'. Thomas and

Tydeman inform their reader in a note to John Bishop's text that 'André Thevet was editor of the first French edition of La Cosmographie Universelle (1552), improved by François de Belleforest for the 1575 version' (167). Actually, Thevet's La cosmographie universelle d'André Thevet, cosmographe du roy: illustrée de diverses figures des choses plus remarquables veuës par l'auteur, & incogneuës de noz anciens & modernes was in fact published in Paris by Guillaume Chaudière in 1575, but Belleforest's revision of the first French edition of Sebastian Munster's La Cosmographie Universelle, contenant la situation de toutes les parties du monde avec leurs proprieté & appartenances (originally published in Basle in 1552 by Henry Pierre) was another cosmography collection, sometimes entitled La Cosmographie Universelle, contenant la situation de toutes les parties du monde avec leurs proprieté & appartenances. Augmentée, ornée & enrichie par F. de Belleforest, or Cosmographie universelle de tout le monde. Auteur en partie Munster, mais beaucoup plus augmentée, ornée et enrichie par François de Belle-Forest. Not to be confused with Thevet's 1575 Cosmographie universelle, these editions were also published in Paris in 1575, but by M. Sonnius or Nicolas Chesneau.

<sup>31</sup>Thus Kermodé in a note to line 200 in his New Arden edition: 'Mention of St Elmo's fire occurs twice in Eden's History of Travel, near the page which contains the allusion to Setebos' (22); and Stephen Orgel in the Oxford Tempest:

Here and at l. 200, most editors refer to St Elmo's fire and cite various travel narratives, in which, however, the phenomenon is generally treated as a comforting omen .... Strachey reports that the phenomenon appeared during the Bermuda voyage, where it was observed 'with much wonder and carefulness', but that the observers were uncertain of its significance.... See also Richard Eden's translation of Antonio Pigafetta's account of Magellan's voyages, where the mysterious fire is described two pages before the name Setebos appears: The Decades of the New World of West India (London, 1555), 217-18 (the reprint in Eden's History of Travel (1557) is cited by Kermodé). (Temp. 1994 112)

Likewise Third Series Arden editors Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan: 'Apparently a description of St Elmo's fire, perhaps based on Strachey, 1737' (163)

<sup>32</sup>The original Imperial diploma of Charles V, the Latin donation deed signed by The Emperor Charles V at Castelfranco Emilia on 23 March 1530 is Archive 70 in the Archives of the Order of Malta at the National Library of Malta (National Library Valletta, AOM 70). It is

available as part of the microfilm collection (Section 1, Malta Series II, reel 10, item 70) of the Malta Study Center, Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, MN, USA.

<sup>33</sup>Not surprisingly, the history of the Maltese Falcon, the gold statuette which is everyone's object of desire in John Huston's cult film noir classic The Maltese Falcon (1941) is directly linked to the donation of Malta by Charles V. What is curious is the fact that at the end of the film Humphrey Bogart's character Sam Spade describes the Maltese Falcon to a police officer as 'The...er...stuff that dreams are made of'. These famous words are the last but one sentence in the film and Bogart's last sentence in it. They are a clear allusion to Prospero's line in his famous 'Our revels now are ended' speech in The Tempest: 'We are such stuff | As dreams are made on, and our little life | Is rounded with a sleep' (4.1.156-158). Sam Spade's sentence is not found in Dashiell Hammett's homonymous 1930 novel and according to the IMDB (information which I have not confirmed otherwise), the 'Shakespeare reference that ends the film was suggested by Humphrey Bogart' ('Trivia for The Maltese Falcon (1941)').

John Huston's film is excellent and has deservedly become a classic, but there are a few historical inaccuracies in Huston's script. The legend that rolls up right after the credits of the film calls The Emperor Charles V 'Charles V of Spain'. This happens quite commonly even in Spain, where his official title was King Charles I. More regrettably, in the same legend Huston confuses the Knights Hospitaller with the Knights Templar (the legend reads the Knight Templars of Malta) and changes the year of the donation to 1539. As for Dashiell Hammett, whose novel The Maltese Falcon Huston is adapting, he rightly calls the King of Spain 'The Emperor Charles V', gives the year correctly as being 1530 and mentions the two orders without confusing Hospitallers with Templars. (Hammett 123-125).

<sup>34</sup>James VI and I includes in opposite pages (1: 197-259) the 1591 published Poeticall Exercises version of THE LEPANTO OF IAMES the sixt, King of Scotland and Lepanto, taken from King James's autograph manuscript, foll. 1<sup>r</sup>-15a<sup>r</sup> in MS. Bodley 165 in the Bodleyan Library at Oxford. In the 1591 Edinburgh edition (possibly the first), the King's Lepanto was published together with a translation of the same heroic poem into French by Guillaume de Salluste, Sieur Du Bartas ('La Lepanthe de Iames VI. Roy d'Ecosse, Faicte francoise par le Sieur Du Bartas'), one sonnet, and 'The Furies', King James's translation from French of Du Bartas' 'Les Furies'. According to James Craigie, 'These two poems ['The Lepanto' and 'The Furies'] set the seal of the reputation of King James as a poet within Great Britain' (James VI and I, 'Introduction', 1: xlvi). A copy of King James's Lepanto,

bearing his signature and motto on the title page, is known to have belonged to Ben Jonson (Cf. James VI and I, 'Bibliography', 1: lxxxiv-lxxxv), and Craigie's 'Appendix A', 'Some Contemporary References to James VI and I as a Poet' (274-280), lists fifteen laudatory references to King James written in English before the time of The Tempest by thirteen different authors, among whom Sir Philip Sidney, Gabriel Harvey, Thomas Churchyard, Richard Barnefield, and Francis Meres. Six of these mention The Lepanto by name, and only four date from the time of James's accession to the English throne or shortly thereafter. Three references are by Gabriel Harvey. Two are in his published works (including Harvey's description of the poem as 'his owne victorious Lepanto, a short, but heroicall, worke, in meeter, but royal meeter, fitt for a Davids harpe — Lepanto, first the glory of Christendome against the Turke, and now the garland of a soueraine crowne', 274); whereas one is a private, marginalia note ('the King of Scotland, the soyeraine of the diuine art', 275) on fol. 393r of his copy of Thomas Speght's 1598 edition of Chaucer (The Workes of our Antient and lerned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer, newly Printed), the same volume which bears another manuscript note which is used to establish the latest possible date of composition for Shakespeare's Hamlet as being early 1601 (Harvey mentions both Shakespeare's play and the Earl of Essex as being alive in a note which must therefore date from before 25 February 1601, the day Essex was beheaded at the Tower of London — q.v. my note 8 above).

This is what Francis Meres had to say about King James in the same 'Comparative Discourse of our English Poets with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets' in his Palladis Tamia, Wit's Treasury (1598) where he famously mentioned Shakespeare's 'sugared sonnets among his private friends', described Shakespeare as being 'among the English . . . the most excellent in both kinds [comedy and tragedy] for the stage', and listed, among other, the existence of Shakespeare's comedy Love Labours Won:

As noble Mæcenas, that sprang from the Hetruscan Kinges, not onely graced Poets by his bounty, but also by being a Poet himself; and as Iames the 6, nowe King of Scotland, is not only a fauorer of Poets, but a Poet, as my friend Master Richard Barnfielde hath in this disticke passing well recorded, The King of Scots now liuing is a Poet, As his Lepanto and his Furies show it : (321).

As for the Lepanto's literary merit, Craig writes that 'Opinions will vary as to the worth of the poem . . .; in his own time it was greatly and sincerely admired. Modern criticism does not rate it nearly so highly, though probably not all would condemn it quite so roundly as one of the king's fellow-countrymen has done' (lxi). The author who was 'one of

the king's fellow-countrymen' was Sir William Stirling-Maxwell of Pollock, 9<sup>th</sup> Baronet, who wrote in his Don John of Austria that

In the catalogue of poets who have sung of Lepanto is our own royal pedant King James VI of Scotland. A doggerel narrative in the ballad-measure, of above eleven hundred lines, entitled 'Lepanto,' . . . if it be . . . the work of a lad of twelve or thirteen, it is not altogether destitute of spirit and promise (William Stirling-Maxwell, Don John of Austria: Or Passages from the History of the Sixteenth Century, MDXLVII. MDLXXVII (London: Longmans, Green, 1883) 456 qtd. in James VI and I, 1: lxx)

As for Du Bartas's version of The Lepanto, it is, according to Craigie, 'a very free translation in grandiloquent language far removed from the easy, natural, and sometimes homely, diction of the original' (James VI and I, 1: 282). And if 'Du Bartas more or less rewrote the poem in his own style', he 'retained all, or nearly all of James's poem and added little or nothing of his own, but he regarded himself as at liberty to abridge, though seldom to expand, to rewrite and to strengthen as he pleased' (James VI and I, 1: 283). Besides the original printing of the French version of the poem in Edinburgh, a different printing was published in France also in 1591. James Craigie also adds that the 'rendering of Lepanto into French by Du Bartas . . . when printed with the rest of the French poet's works, established James's fame on the Continent.' (xlvii). Right after James' accession to the English throne, an English (1603) and a Latin edition (Naupactiados, sive Lepantiados, translated by Thomas Murray, 1604) were published in London.

<sup>35</sup>Miguel de Cervantes at age 24 took part and was injured in the battle of Lepanto, losing the use of his left hand and of his left arm, and earning the nickname 'el manco de Lepanto' ('the cripple of Lepanto'), of which he was very proud. Cervantes writes about the battle in the first part of Don Quixote, El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha (1605), in a chapter (Cuarta parte, Capítulo 39) which in Thomas Shelton's translation into English published in London in 1612, The History of the Valorous and Wittie Knight-Errant, Don-Quixote of the Mancha, is Chapter 12 of The Fourth Book, and is entitled 'Wherein the Captive Recounteth His Life, and Other Accidents.' This is Cervantes's character the Captive's recollection of the Battle of Lepanto in Shelton's 1612 version of Don Quixote, with the spelling modernized for the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Harvard Classics edition:

In this most fortunate journey I was present, being by this made a captain of foot, to which honourable charge I was mounted rather by my good fortune

than by my deserts. And that very day which was so fortunate to all Christendom; for therein the whole world was undeceived, and all the nations thereof freed of all the error they held, and belief they had, that the Turk was invincible at sea: in that very day I say, wherein the swelling stomach and Ottomanical pride was broken among so many happy men as were there (for the Christians that were slain were much more happy than those which they left victorious alive), I alone was unfortunate, seeing that in exchange of some naval crown which I might expect had I lived in the times of the ancient Romans, I found myself the night ensuing that so famous a day with my legs chained and my hands manacled.'

Contemporary military historians share Cervantes's Captive's opinion. In his Lepanto 1571: The Greatest Naval Battle of The Renaissance, Angus Konstam mentions John F. Guilmartin, Jr.'s assessment Galleons and Galleys (2002) that 'the greatest achievement of the battle was a moral one. Until Lepanto the Turkish fleet was seen as invincible. Even the defeat at Malta in 1565 failed to make a significant dent in Turkish military and naval prestige — Lepanto shattered this illusion of invincibility' (90).

As for Thomas Shelton's rendering of Cervantes into English, it was a translation of the first part of the novel based on a 1607 Brussels edition in Spanish. Shelton's translation of the second part was completed and printed together with a revised edition of the first part, but only in 1620. Shelton's 1612 Don Quixote is probably the Cervantes to which William Shakespeare and John Fletcher had access before they wrote together their lost play called Cardenio, which was possibly Shakespeare's next play after The Tempest, written as it probably was sometime between 1612 and 1613. The 'Brief account' of Shakespeare's Cardenio in the second edition of the Oxford William Shakespeare: The Complete Works (2005) informs that

On 9 September 1653 the London publisher Humphrey Moseley entered into the Stationers' Register a batch of plays including 'The History of Cardenio, by Mr Fletcher and Shakespeare'. Cardenio is a character in Part One of Cervantes' Don Quixote, published in English translation in 1612. Two earlier allusions suggest that the King's Men owned a play on this subject at the time that Shakespeare was collaborating with John Fletcher (1579-1625). On 20 May 1613 the Privy Council authorized payment of £20 to John Heminges, as leader of the King's Men, for the presentation at court of six plays, one listed as

‘Cardenio’. On 9 July of the same year Heminges received £6 13s. 4d. for his company’s performance of a play ‘called Cardenna’ before the ambassador of the Duke of Savoy’ (1245).

I will return to Fletcher and Shakespeare’s Cardenio later in this chapter.

<sup>36</sup>Since King James’s hero in The Lepanto was Don John of Austria, the bastard son of The Emperor Charles V’s and a half-brother of King Philip II of Spain’s, the King of Scotland had to write ‘The Avthors Preface to the Reader’ as a justification lest his intentions in writing a work ‘in praise of a forraine Papist bastard’ (James VI and I, 1: 198) be misconstrued by his readers. I will return to the King’s ‘Preface’ and present his arguments later in this chapter, when I discuss how this early position on the part of the then King of Scotland can inform the possible political implications for King James’s English court and for his and some of his Court members’ own political agendas of the broader The Tempest pattern I am presently discussing.

<sup>37</sup>This is how Frank Lestringant describes this image in his book Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery:

Sitting in his armour on the bridge of his caravel as it passes through the eponymous strait, flanked by an Apollo Citheroedus floating in the air and an arrow-eating Patagonian giant who sits enthroned with his feet muffled up on the adjacent shore, the discoverer holds in his hand the compass he is using to record measurements of angles on the armillary sphere standing in front of him. Scattered about the bridge and projecting from the sides of the ship are culverins and cannon, indicating that cosmographical calculation — even if it allowed a simultaneous grasp of space — was not, for all that, entirely disinterested (16).

<sup>38</sup>I will return to Philip of Spain and Mary Tudor as joint Kings of England, Kings of Naples and Dukes of Milan in my discussion of Ferdinand and Miranda later in this chapter. I am not the only one to have found this reference in Eden. For instance, Jeffrey Knapp, who, as I mentioned above, also makes the point that there is a Spanish connection in Shakespeare’s choice of titles, lists Eden in his book An Empire Nowhere, but as part of a different argument. Cf. Knapp’s note 22 to his Chapter 6, ‘Distraction in The Tempest’:

See, e.g., Eden’s address to Philip II and Queen Mary (1555) as, among other things, ‘Regi ac Reginae ... Neapolis’ and ‘Ducibus Mediolani’ (Decades, 46). Cf. William Warner’s reference (1596) to ‘the free-Italian States, of which the

Spaniards part have won: / As Naples, Milan, royal That, and Duchy This' (Albions England 12:75); and Giovanni Botero's assertion (1589; trans. 1606) that 'the chiefest parts of Italy; that is, the Kingdom of Naples, and the Dukedom of Milan, are subject to the King of Spain' (Cities , 79) (Knapp 334).

<sup>39</sup>While editors sometimes do not annotate this line, others merely indicate that the idea was proverbial (Orgel 1987, for instance, refers his reader back to 1.2.30, where both lines are linked to item H26.I in R. W. Dent's Shakespeare's Proverbial Language: An Index (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970). Other critics and annotators see in this line an allusion to Acts 27.34, 'there shall not an hearer of the head perish of any of you' in the Catholic Douai-Reims New Testament of 1582, in the narration of Saint Paul's shipwreck on Malta, a suggestion first made by Holt White (Cf. Kermode's annotation to this line in Tmp. 1996 23-24). Shakespeare may have never used the word Malta in his plays, just as he never used the word Brazil, but as I have suggested in this chapter, Malta may be related to The Tempest through a few minor, apparently unconnected details which contribute to the approximation between The Emperor Charles V and Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon.

<sup>40</sup>Stolls, E. E., 'Certain Fallacies and Irrelevancies in the Literary Scholarship of the Day' 487, qtd. in Knapp 220.

<sup>41</sup>The date of departure was 31 January 1556 according to Thevet's own testimony (Thevet Chapter 60 1558 118; 1568 96r; 1978 197). Other possible dates for Thevet's departure include 12 February 1556 (Mariz and Provençal 95), or at the latest 14 February 1556 (Mariz and Provençal 84).

<sup>42</sup>As my reader will remember (q.v. my Chapter 1 above), it was in this text by Thevet that a reference to native Brazilians who live near the Tropic of Capricorn was misconstrued by the editors of the Arden Shakespeare Third Series Tempest as 'André Thevet's description of American natives of the far north'.

<sup>43</sup>John Dover Wilson, Tmp. 1921 qtd. in Orgel Tmp. 1987 115.

<sup>44</sup>Kermode (Tmp. 1996), who interprets Prospero's 'O, was she so' as sarcasm but also quotes Dover Wilson's 1921 annotation, duly annotates Argier as being the 'Old name for Algiers' (27). However, in the same note Kermode also recalls his previous note to 1.2.258, where in his discussion of Sycorax's name he had mentioned that 'Incidentally there was a town called Algher in Sardinia of which the ancient name was Corax' (26).

<sup>45</sup>Purchas, Samuel, Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes (New York: AMS, 1965) 6: 108 qtd. in Callaghan 220.

<sup>46</sup>Marcus's article was originally published in Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton (London: Routledge, 1996). In her interesting discussion, Marcus invites us to avoid what she characterises as the unified dogmatic certainty of most 20<sup>th</sup>-century annotations of The Tempest which reduce the meaning of F1's 'blew ey'd' in 1.2.269 to 'blue-eyed', and then exclusively in the sense of 'having blue eyelids', which would mean Shakespeare meant unequivocally by 'blew ey'd hag' that Sycorax was 'pregnant'. Without discarding this fully documented Elizabethan meaning, Marcus presents an argument for the inclusion of alternative readings of the line, so that Sycorax could also be understood at this point as being described against the stereotype, and as having instead a more erotically charged, and typically European (and therefore infinitely more positive) physical attribute.

<sup>47</sup>Marcus, the author where I learned about this possible connexion, mentions that the Lamb article appeared in 'Nugae Criticae,' London Magazine, November, 1823; and was cited in Charles Lamb on Shakespeare, ed. Joan Coldwell (London: Colin Smythe, 1978), 62-64. W. H. Auden also mentions Charles V and the Algerian witch in his 7 May 1947 lecture on The Tempest, which he gave as part of his course on Shakespeare at the New School for Social Research in New York. Auden (299) does not mention what his source was.

<sup>48</sup>Thus Orgel 1987; Hulme and William H. Sherman 2004. Anne Barton 1968 and Virginia and Alden T. Vaughan 1999 present both the Algerian witch legend and the pregnancy versions, and confirm that the majority of critics favour the latter interpretation. The Vaughans' note on page 168 identify the source quoted by Charles Lamb as being John Ogilby's 'accurate description of Africa' (1670), and inform their readers that further theories are set forth on pages 60-1 of Furness's 1892 New Variorum Edition of the play. Barton finishes her note by adding that 'Allusion to an unexplained incident in the past would, however, be entirely in keeping with the general practice of the play'. I agree with Barton.

<sup>49</sup>Having misplaced my original notes about this entry, I owe the transcription of this reference from the ESTC to ever so helpful and prompt Kate Welch of the Shakespeare Institute Library.

<sup>50</sup>John Ogilby, Africa, being an accurate description of the regions of Ægypt, Barbary, Lybia, and Billedulgerid, the land of Negroes, Guinee, Æthiopia, and the Abyssines, with all the adjacent islands ... belonging thereunto ... Collected and translated from the most authentick authors, and augmented with later observations; illustrated with notes, and adorn'd with peculiar maps and proper sculptures, by John Ogilby (London, 1670) qtd. in Charles Lamb 1823 492-493. Charles Lamb's original two-page 'Nugae Criticae' article for the

London Magazine (Lamb 1823) is available online as a Google Book. It has also been published recently by the University of Michigan Library (Lamb 2005).

<sup>51</sup>Assam Aga, the Algerian commander in the narrative, is Hasan Agha, whom Barbarossa had appointed as his deputy in Algiers in 1533 (Cf. Abun-Nasr 153-154).

<sup>52</sup>Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan dedicate about six pages (26-32) of their fully researched and highly recommended Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History (1993) to a discussion of details about the history of the association between the name Caliban and the words cannibal and Carib. They also present a five-page (32-36) discussion of a series of alternative interpretations of Shakespeare's choice of a name for Caliban that have been suggested over the years, such as the name of the North African town of Calibia and the name of a Hindu satyr (Kalee-ban). Among others, they list different words in Arabic (kalebôn = 'vile dog'), German (kabliau = 'codfish'), Greek (a word for a 'drinking cup' which is mentioned but not given), and Romany (Cauliban or kaliban = black, things associated with blackness).

<sup>53</sup>Cf. Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan 1993 30: 'The 1778 and subsequent editions stated bluntly that "The metathesis in Caliban from Canibal is evident. FARMER.'" The Vaughans identify the Farmer to whom Samuel Johnson and George Steevens's edition refers as 'The Reverend Richard Farmer, master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, principal librarian of Cambridge University, and author of an Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare (1767)' (30), adding in a note that neither this nor any other editions of the same book discuss Caliban's name. I have not found any author who has identified an earlier printed reference to or by Farmer on this subject.

<sup>54</sup>Another fact that certainly contributes to Brazilian invisibility when it comes to Thevet in English is the fact that since Thomas Hacket's translation (The new Found worlde, or Antarctike) was published in 1568, Thevet's Les singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amérique has never been edited in its entirety in English again. There was a facsimile edition (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum; New York: Da Capo Press) published in 1971, but I found it easier to obtain a full photocopied version of the original 1568 edition than a copy of this 1971 reprint. More importantly for invisibility, the only widely available recent edition to include extracts from Les singularitez de la France antarctique in English was Roger Schlesinger and Arthur P. Stabler's André Thevet's North America. A Sixteenth-Century View (1986). As the volume's title implies, Schlesinger and Stabler's edition is making available to a modern readership only those surviving texts by

André Thevet which were about North America. The 1986 edition, therefore, includes passages taken from a variety of Thevet's works: Les singularitez de la France antarctique, Cosmographie universelle, Grand Insulaire, and the Description de plusieurs Isles (the latter two, manuscript books not published in Thevet's time). Consequently, only ten (Chapters 73-82) out of the eighty-three chapters in Les singularitez de la France antarctique or its first translation (The new Found worlde, or Antarctike) are available in André Thevet's North America. Both the 1986 edition and its title (although it is not a misnomer) contribute to Brazilian invisibility, as readers may mistake André Thevet's North America for the 83-chapter long The new Found worlde, or Antarctike.

An example occurs in Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History. When that same passage describing native Brazilians as wild and brutish people (Thevet 1568 43r misfoliated 36r) that the Vaughans will later call a 'description of American natives of the far north' in their Arden Shakespeare edition of The Tempest is quoted in Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History, the passage is not explicitly referred to as being about Canada. However, it could be so understood in the context where it occurs on page 46 of the book because it is followed by a quote which dates from a decade later which is about Canadian natives, and because the bibliographical note includes not only The new Found worlde, or Antarctike but also André Thevet's North America.

<sup>55</sup>Starting in 1537, The Emperor Charles V introduced strong anti-Egyptian (Gypsy) legislation in the Habsburg Netherlands (Cf. Fraser 103-105), including ordinances in different areas 'denying Gypsies admittance or the right to stay and extending the ban to any adventurers who had joined their ranks' (104). The same happened from 1538 in Spain (Cf. Hancock 53-54; Fraser 98-99), where Charles re-enacted his grandparents Ferdinand and Isabella's Pragmatic Sanction of Medina del Campo (1499), which had given the Gypsies the choice of becoming sedentary and seeking a master or leaving the realm within 60 days. According to new legislation Charles introduced, 'those caught wandering for the third time could be seized and enslaved for ever; and those who did not settle or depart within 60 days were to be sent to the galleys for six years if between the age of 20 and 50' (Fraser 99).

<sup>56</sup>My Figures 54-57, 73-74 and 76-77 are illustrations taken from Thevet's original volume in French; Figures 80-87 are taken from Jean de Léry's 1578 original French Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique; Figures 59-69 are taken from the American section of La Cosmographie universelle; and Figures 89-99 are taken from the third part of De Bry family's Grands Voyages in German. The Latin translation, Americae

Tertia Pars Memorabile provinciae Brasiliae Historiam contines (...) Addita est Narratio profectionis Ioannis Lerij in eandem Provinciam, quañ ille initio gallicè conscripsit, postea verò Latinam fecit. His accessit Descriptio Morum & Ferocitatis incolarum illius Regionis, atque Colloquium ipsorum idioma conscriptum, was first published in Frankfurt in 1592, was reissued in 1597, and had a second edition in 1605.

<sup>57</sup>From the time of the Romantics, who were obsessed with individual expression and particularly praised Shakespeare's unique talent as an author and creator of characters; for over one hundred years Shakespeare characters would be increasingly treated, discussed, analysed and psychoanalysed by critics as if they were real people. In his discussion of deconstruction in Wells and Orlin's Shakespeare: An Oxford Guide, Kiernan Ryan informs us that character criticism 'invites us to privilege the personality and fate of an individual as the fulcrum of the play' (509). In her discussion about character criticism for the same volume, Christy Desmet partially attributes formalism's and New Criticism's repeal of character criticism to the development of literary criticism as both a university subject and a scholarly discipline. She mentions L.C. Knights' 1933 essay 'How Many Children Had Lady Macbeth?' as a turning point where the literary assumptions behind the approach and its many excesses are challenged and satirised. Desmet also states that although in the second half of the twentieth century academic circles have 'favoured explorations of language over plot and character' (360), feminist critics have continued to resort to a new version of it, as they came to realise that performing character criticism still allows them to look at Shakespeare's plays afresh and explore their concerns with gender identities, gender roles and sexual politics within the texts and the broader social environments of Shakespeare's time and those of our own.

<sup>58</sup>The form new Hauen occurs in The new Found worlde, or Antarctike. Thevet's original French reads Hable de grace (Le Havre-de-Grâce), which was the current name for the new outer deep water military harbour built by François I in 1517 in what is today the Normandy city of Le Havre, France.

<sup>59</sup>The scene can also cause problems on stage. In her autobiographical Mainly Players, Sir Frank Benson's wife and leading lady Constance Benson relates how one night she delivered Miranda's 'No wonder, sir; | But certainly a maid' (1.2.428-429) as 'No maid, sir, and certainly no wonder!', which meant that Prospero and Ferdinand 'could hardly finish the scene' after that. Benson, Constance, Mainly Players (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1926) 96 qtd. in Tmp. 2000 176.

<sup>60</sup>In his introduction to the Cambridge edition of The English Constitution, which was published as part of the Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought series in 2001, editor Paul Smith explains that the purpose of Bagehot's book was to

lay bare the workings of British government, to consider the specific characteristics of the British people which made it possible, and to assert its merits against "its great competitor, which seems likely, unless care be taken, to outstrip it in the progress of the world" (p. 12), the presidential system of the United States (ix).

Smith also comments that The English Constitution 'bears the marks of the fascination with the psychological and sociological foundations of political institutions' (viii), and it is this approach that makes his text helpful for our discussion.

<sup>61</sup>Buckingham Palace will understandably not be drawn on the subject of mandatory virginity tests for prospective royal brides. In the case of Diana, Princess of Wales when she still was the young and bashful Lady Diana in 1981, opinions are divided between those who believe there was a virginity test and those who hold that there was no test but that there was, and that there remains to this day, a virginity requirement to be met. Both topics resurfaced recently when it was widely publicised that Diana's elder son, Prince William of Wales, had a girlfriend who might soon become his fiancée. It is usually agreed that Lady Diana Spencer's main asset as a royal bride was the fact that she was a virgin and was known to be one. In fact, it has been many times repeated by different authors that the 'royal establishment' (whatever that means) valued Lady Diana only for her virginity, ability to have children ('an heir and a spare', as the then Princess of Wales famously put it), and presumed complacency, and that is where the problems originated. On the subject of Diana, Princess of Wales I suggest the reading of Arranz; Beatrix Campbell; Davies; Richards et al.; and Christopher Wilson. Arranz's is an academic article which compares Queen Elizabeth I and Diana, Princess of Wales as constructed heroic symbols of English purity. Beatrix Campbell's is a book which analyses Diana, Princess of Wales's public role from a feminist's perspective. Davies's is a book-length academic treatment of Diana, Princess of Wales and her impact as a cultural and political phenomenon. Richards et al is another academic book in which a group of cultural critics discusses different aspects of the process through which Diana, Princess of Wales progressed from media icon to 'media saint'. The last work in the list is a newspaper article in which popular royal biographer Christopher Wilson briefly mentions (and attests to the enduring media appeal of the subject of) Diana's possible virginity test in the light of the

film 'Whatever Love Means'. 'Whatever Love Means' is a made for television unauthorised biographical film by Granada Television and Women's Entertainment which was broadcast on ITV as part of their 2005 festive season programming. It apparently subscribes to the version that there was a virginity test before Lady Diana and the Prince of Wales could be married on 29 July 1981. The film's title comes from the famous interview given by the Prince of Wales and Lady Diana after the announcement of their engagement in 1981. When asked 'Are you in love', the romantic young lady replied, 'Of course', to which the Prince of Wales philosophically but inappropriately added, 'Whatever love means'.

<sup>62</sup>As a note by Smith explains, '6 Anne, c.7 is the Regency Act of 1707, as cited in Statutes at Large (otherwise 6 Anne, c. 41), which affirmed the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement, and contained provisions to secure the Protestant succession in the event of Queen Anne's dying without heirs' (Bagehot 40 note 3).

<sup>63</sup>Neill, Stephen, A History of Christian Missions (New York: Penguin, 1964) 171 qtd. in Wiesner-Hanks 153.

<sup>64</sup>Thevet, André. La Cosmographie universelle d'André Thevet, cosmographe du roy (Paris, 1575) Volume II, Book 16, Chapter 8, p. 665 qtd. in Léry 1990 lii-liiii.

<sup>65</sup>In 'Gazing at the Borders of The Tempest: Shakespeare, Greenblatt and de Certeau', Jürgen Pieters goes as far as to set his foot, as it were, on Villegaignon's island. However, I still characterise him as being under the effects of Brazilian invisibility because he is apparently oblivious to Villegaignon's biography, and therefore to the possibility that Villegaignon rather than Jean de Léry is the main Prospero figure in Antarctic France. After he refers to the 'striking similarities' between Shakespeare's The Tempest and Jean de Léry's journey (and of course there are), Pieters adds that 'There are of course important differences between the stories of Prospero and de Léry — the most important one being that the latter at no point seems to intend to turn the Tupinambou into his slaves' (73). That, as we know, was not the case with Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon.

<sup>66</sup>Coleridge was the first author to characterize the romantic element in The Tempest in 1818, but the classical definition or 'romance' as a possible category of Shakespearian drama came from Edward Dowden:

There is a romantic element about these plays. In all there is the same romantic incident of lost children recovered by those to whom they are dear — the daughters of Pericles and Leontes, the sons of Cymbeline and Alonso. In all there is a beautiful romantic background of sea or mountain. The dramas have

a great beauty, a sweet serenity, which seem to render the name ‘comedies’ inappropriate; we may smile tenderly, but we never laugh loudly, as we read them. Let us, then, name this group consisting of four plays, Romances (Shakespeare (New York, 1877) 55-6 qtd. in Tmp. 1994 4).

I agree with Reginald Foakes when he says that

The term ‘romance’ provides a convenient label for a group of Shakespeare’s late plays, Pericles, Cymbeline, The Winter’s Tale, and The Tempest. Although Shakespeare never used the word in his plays, it usefully suggests the idea of fictions that are unrealistic, works that create a world dominated by chance rather than character or cause and effect, and plays in which we are attuned to delight and wonder at the unexpected. Such fictions may involve sudden tempests or disasters, separations between parents and children or between friends or lovers, wanderings and shipwrecks, wives and children lost and found, strange accidents and coincidences, encounters with the marvellous and eventual reconciliations and reunions (249).

<sup>67</sup>The term ‘Huguenot corpus on America’ was first suggested by Marcel Bataillon in ‘L’Admiral et les “nouveaux horizons” français’, published as part of the Actes du colloque ‘L’Admiral de Coligny et sons temps’ (Patis, 1974) 41-52. (Cf. Lestringant 1993 127). About these works, Lestringant adds,

Through the Protestant diaspora, news of these attempts [Villegaignon’s in Brazil and Jean Ribault and René de Laudonnière’s in Florida] soon reached cities such as London, Geneva, and Frankfurt, but it primarily stayed within the reformed mileiu. We can see the formation of a mythology of the conquest of the New World in a series of texts . . . [which] form a continuous chain — from Jean de Léry’s Histoire du Brésil and Urbain Chauveton’s Histoire nuvelle du Nouveau Monde to Théodore de Bry’s collection Grands voyages — that lead directly to Montaigne’s ‘Of Cannibals’ an ‘Of Coaches’ (127-128).

Janet Whatley calls the De Bry family’s Grands Voyages ‘a magnificently illustrated and widely circulated collection of volumes that was part of the great publicity movement to encourage Protestant colonization of the New World’ (Léry 1990 221). The works which were reproduced or were originated as part of this great Protestant publicity movement are the ones for which Bataillon and others suggest the appellation ‘Huguenot corpus on America’. Lestringant further explains that

this Protestant literature at the close of the Renaissance was not just anticolonialist. It appeared at the precise moment when the imperialist ambitions of England and later of Holland were awakening. Through a rewritten colonial history, it encouraged the current enterprises of Walter Raleigh in Virginia, of Martin Frobisher among the Eskimos, and of Francis Drake in his audacious circumnavigation of 1580-83 (128).

<sup>68</sup>Another valuable source for the study of pageantry and politics in the early modern age is Roy Strong's Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650 (1984). Strong dedicates a full chapter to The Emperor Charles V ('Charles V and the Imperial Progress 75-96) and refers a few times to festivals and pageantry of Philip II of Spain and Shakespeare's King James of England.

<sup>69</sup>In a note to the WT line, J. H. P. Pafford informs that it 'might be possible to trace works by Giulio which Shakespeare could have seen in England through F. Hartt, Giulio Romano, 2 vols., 1958' (WT 1994 150). Hartt's work is sometimes still described as the scholarly monograph in English on the work of Giulio Romano. The full reference is as follows: Hartt, Frederick, Giulio Romano, 2 vols, (New Haven: Yale UP, 1958). Another more recent source which may rank with Hartt and in certain aspects may have supplanted it is the 345-page catalogue of 'The Giulio Romano exhibition' which took place in Mantua in 1989, an illustrated volume with contributions from Ernst H. Gombrich, Manfredo Tafuri, Christoph L. Frommel, Amedeo Belluzzi, Kurt W. Forster, Howard Burns, Antonio Forcellino, Pier Nicola Pagliara, Francesco Paolo Fiore, Bruno Adorni, Paul Davies, David Hemsoll, Richard J. Tuttle, Jacqueline Burckhardt, and Renato Berzaghi. The full reference is: Tafuri, Manfredo, ed. Giulio Romano. Architecture in Early Modern Italy. Eds. Nicholas Adams and Paul Davies. Cambridge: CUP, 1998. I have not read either work.

<sup>70</sup>Although there are many differences in details between Vasari's description and the painting now hanging in the Prado Museum (Fig. 142), the work being described here is clearly Titian's La Gloria, as the explanatory note to the Oxford World's Classics edition of Vasari's The Lives of the Artists attests: 'completed in 1554, the work is in the Museo del Prado in Madrid' (Vasari 1998 503). Despite the different details, the description in Vasari's Lives is very vivid and more than enough to inform a reader of the overall image, theme and history of Titian's work.

<sup>71</sup>The Latin doctissimi here is the genitive form of doctissimus, which is the superlative of the adjective doctus, a word which means wise both in the sense of prudent and

of learned. A doctissimi viri was, therefore, both a ‘most learned man’ and a ‘most prudent man’, hence my translation ‘truly wise man’.

<sup>72</sup>I consider Ferrante (Ferdinand) Gonzaga and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés the best choices for historical prototypes from which Shakespeare developed his own non-historical Gonzalo. But there were other characters with similar names. Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés himself had at one time been secretary to Don Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, Prince of Maratrá, also known simply as Gonzalo de Córdoba (Italian: Consalvo di Cordova, \*1453 – †1515), who was a Spanish general and statesman who defeated the French in Naples and ruled Naples for The Emperor’s grandfather Ferdinand the Catholic. Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba was called ‘El Gran Capitán’ (‘The Great Captain’) by contemporaries and is considered ‘the Father of Trench Warfare’ by modern historians.

Then, shortly after The Emperor Charles V had resigned all his titles and had retired to the Spanish monastery of Yuste, another Gonzalo Ferdinand of Cordoba, namely Don Consalvo Ferrante de Cordova (in Spanish: Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, \*1520-†1578), Duke of Sessa, general captain, was appointed Governor of Milan by Philip II of Spain from 1557 to 1560, and again from 1563 to 1564. This Don Consalvo Ferrante de Cordova should not be confused with a third Don Consalvo Ferrante de Cordova (in Spanish: Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba) (\*1585-†1635), who was only appointed Governor of Milan in 1626, by which time The Tempest had been written and published and Shakespeare was dead.

<sup>73</sup>We can learn in Pinson’s article ‘Imperial Ideology in the Triumphal Entry into Lille of Charles V and the Crown Prince (1549)’ that

Victory over the infidels was a motif greatly nurtured by imperial mythology. It is first found in Italy, with Charles’s return as conqueror from Tunis (1536). The motif is also reflected later in the works commissioned by the court, notably the series of prints by Maarten van Heemskerck (1555-1556), devoted to Victories of Charles V. Heemskerck, it should be noted, was personally involved in decorating the triumphal arches together with Salviati. In analogy to Lille, the Emperor is seen breaking down the fortified gates of the city. The seventh print in the series is entitled: ‘The Emperor enters Tunis in triumph, victorious through his courage in the war; the African yields at once and is put to flight. 1535.’ . . . The print depicts the Imperial army advancing through the gates into the city of Tunis. On the right we can recognize the Emperor himself in full regalia, accompanied by his faithful admiral, Andrea Doria. In addition,

a series of twelve tapestries was commissioned, after cartoons by Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (1546-1547), now on display in Vienna's Museum of Art History. It should be noted that Vermeyen himself held the position of an official recorder in the Emperor's entourage that went on the "Crusade" to Tunis. In the imperial myth woven at court, this victory occupied a central place. It was therefore only natural that it continued to appear and be referred to in texts and festivities at the Hapsburg court for a prolonged period, even after the Emperor's death. (Pinson 208-209)

<sup>74</sup>In his Shakespeare and Ovid, Jonathan Bate famously states about this passage that 'One gets the impression of Shakespeare vigorously waving a flag marked Aeneid' (243). The most famous passages in The Tempest that critics have linked to Virgil's epic poem include 1.2.422; 2.1.73 ff.; 3.3.52 ff.; 4.1.59 ff. For insightful discussions of The Tempest and The Aeneid, I recommend Bate 1993; Hamilton; and Martindale.

<sup>75</sup>I quote from Jamil M. Abun-Nasr's A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period:

As in 1525 Kayr al-Din Barbarossa regained control of Algiers, after he had acquired control of 'Annaba and Contanstone, Sultan al-Hasan ruled only the northern part of Tunisia, and even there his authority was uncertain.

Sultan al-Hasan's weakness in the face of such redoubtable enemies as the Turks of Algiers led him to seek Spanish protection. When in 1534 Kayr al-Din conquered Tunis, al-Hasan went to Spain seeking help. Henceforth he was a Spanish protégé, whose authority in the north could be maintained only through the presence of a Spanish garrison at Halq al-Wad.

Of the Tunis campaign, this is what Harald Kleinschmidt has to say in Charles V: The World Emperor (2004):

In August 1534 Chaireddin Barbarossa defeated Muley Hassan, Hafsid ruler of Tunis, and forced him into exile. Muley Hassan appeared in the Italian peninsula and appealed for help. Initially, Charles tried to establish friendly relations with Chaireddin. He sent an emissary offering to cede control over all of North Africa as an imperial fief if Chaireddin converted to Christianity. But Chaireddin had the emissary executed. Charles then . . . decided to lead a campaign against Chaireddin with the intention of conquering Tunis and restoring Muley Hassan. . . . Charles insisted on leading the campaign in person, hoping to increase his honour. He . . . quickly assembled an armada of

reportedly 402 vessels to ship Spanish and Italian forces of allegedly 51,000 men to Tunis to sack the city, together with other fortresses of Chaireddin's. Indeed, the armada set sail in July 1535 and . . . accomplished its tasks. Tunis fell on 21 July 1535 after a rising of the large community of its Christian inhabitants. Charles allowed Chaireddin to escape and establish himself in Algiers, while Spanish troops were plundering Tunis and, even though Muley was again driven out of the place in 1543, the city remained under Spanish control until 1573. Charles attributed his victory to divine grace and returned safely to Sicily. The victory boosted his honour and, perhaps even more, his power as crusader and defender of Christendom. Although Tunis was of no strategic importance for the Ottoman Turkish Empire, the Turkish navy scaled down its westward advance (162).

According to Abun-Nasr, Muley Hassan sought help in Spain, whereas Kleinschmidt mentions a visit to Italy. Kleinschmidt's reference (mentioned but not quoted) is found in Hassan, Muley, Lettere inedite a Ferrante Gonzaga, vicere di sicilia (1537-1547), ed. Federico Odorici and Michele Amari (Modena, 1865). I have found sufficient evidence of a (possibly second) visit by Muley Hassan to Italy, but in 1543, the year when he was driven out of Tunis another time. Letters from that year in the Medici Granducal Archive, which the Medici Archive Project has made available online, mention an Entry into Naples by Muley Hassan, his reception in Florence where he came en route from Naples to Pavia to meet Charles V, and a loan of 500 scudi that the King of Tunis wanted to procure from Florentine bankers. One letter includes a controversy over whether or not, as an infidel, Muley should be honoured as a king when the Florentine welcomed him: 'Et perchè li pareva che se gli dovessi anco mandare cittadini ad incontralo er io risposi che non sapevo come fussi conveniente di far tal cosa a uno Re infidele, però s'è resoluta che io mandi in mano di V. S. la lettera che ha a S. Ex. Il Vicerè di Napoli, acciò vegga le ultimi dua capitoli di essa, toccanti questo Re di Tunizj . . . ' (The Medici Archive Project). Unfortunately, there are no documents online from earlier than 1537.

<sup>76</sup>I would argue that Bullough produces Brazilian invisibility here. To begin with, Bullough does not reproduce Montaigne's essay for lack of space, which is understandable if we consider the considerable number of sources, possible sources and analogues which are included in his inestimable 8-volume collection. Specifically here, to the sentence I quote Bullough adds the note, 'Montaigne got much information from a servant who had spent some

years in America (Essay on “Cannibals”)' (267 note 2). Bullough mentions and quotes from ‘the very first English book on America, Of the newe landes and of the people founde by the messengers of the kynge of portyngale named Emanuel’ (255), from Eden and from Vespucci, among other texts, but the word Brazil is not found in his index because when he needs to mention the location to which these passages refer he uses the word America for South America or Brazil.

<sup>77</sup>The Vaughans add three notes to this passage. The first, page 47 note 60 says that ‘In 1780, Edward Capell first pointed out Montaigne’s influence, according to George C. Taylor, “The Date of Edward Capell’s Notes and Various Readings to Shakespeare,” Review of English Studies, V (1929): 319”. The second, page 47 note 61 reads “S[amuel] Schoenbaum, William Shakespeare: Records and Images (Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 102-04, discusses the British Library copy’s signature and concludes that its authenticity is dubious”. The third note, page 48 note 62 suggests further reading on Montaigne and Shakespeare, including, among others, the article by Margaret Hodgen from which the Vaughans quote: ‘Margaret T. Hodgen, “Montaigne and Shakespeare Again,” The Huntington Library Quarterly, XVI (1952-53): 23-42. quotations on pp. 29, 39.’

<sup>78</sup>My source for the Dryden-Davenant version is Novak and Guffey’s 1970 edition of The Tempest for The Works of John Dryden edited by Hooker et al. Information about cuts by other adaptors, actor-managers or directors is taken from Christine Dymkowski (Tmp. 2000) and dates are those of first production or first revival. Most of the time the line numbers in Orgel (Tmp. 1994) and Dymkowski match. When they do not, I keep the Tmp. 1994 lineation because this is the edition from which I quote in the body of this work and adapt Dymkowski’s references accordingly.

<sup>79</sup>I have deliberately avoided including a discussion of the fascinating history of the pre-Columbian Atlantic island of ‘Hy Brasil’ in my discussion of Brazilian invisibility abroad. My reason was because my focus is on the history of Brazilian invisibility once a real geographical reference has been (should have been) established on European maps and on the minds of Europeans and eventually non-Europeans who come across references to the country. For a very interesting presentation of the history of the island of ‘Hy Brasil’ in history, in maps and in art, I recommend journalist Geraldo Cantarino’s Uma Ilha Chamada Brasil: o Paraíso Irlandês no Passado Brasileiro (‘An Island Called Brazil: The Irish Paradise in the Brazilian Past’), published in Rio de Janeiro in 2004. The book has a 20-page

Appendix with an annotated list of maps from ca. 1280 to 1873 which includes maps from 1325 to 1865 on which the fantasy island is actually found.

<sup>80</sup>Cf. Macbeth's 'The Thane of Cawdor lives. Why do you dress me | In borrow'd robes?', Mac. 1.3.106-7; Banquo's 'Like our strange garments, cleave not to their mould | But with the aid of use', Mac. 1.3.144-145; Macduff's 'Lest our old robes sit easier than our new', Mac. 2.4.39; Caithness's 'but for certain, | He cannot buckle his distempered cause | Within the belt of rule', Mac. 5.2.14-16; and Angus's 'now does he feel his title | Hang loose about him, like a giant's robe | Upon a dwarfish thief', Mac. 5.2.20-22).

<sup>81</sup>I believe that the passages which I quote speak for themselves. The first is from Tim Heald's book The Duke: a Portrait of Prince Philip, a biography of the Duke of Edinburgh published in the 1990's:

. . . Vanuatu, 1,500 miles east of Queensland and the only place in the world, as far as I am aware, where the Duke of Edinburgh is worshipped quite independently of Her Majesty the Queen. . . . These people, the Iounhanan, are described by [Alexander] Frater [, a writer who was born in Vanuatu,] as being 'permanently spaced out on kava', the local root-based hooch which is very considerably stronger than Scotch. . . . [Frater] even says that the chief, who in those days was an elderly man named Kalpapung, has sent a namba [a traditional straw penis gourd or codpiece] to Buckingham Palace so that the Duke may wear it on his visit. If the Queen accompanies him she must be careful not to see him drinking kava because, if she does, the local rules insist that she be executed summarily and on the spot with a single blow on the head with a giant root. If she does not accompany him the Duke will be allocated three wives bearing a dowry of pigs and pillows. . . . None of the tribesmen could remember how the Duke came to be their god but the local tradition is that it was a coup by a British Resident Commissioner in the running war with the French. The Commissioner heard that the Iounhanan were on the look-out for a god who would have to be a Big Man. The Duke was the biggest man he could think of and the tribe accepted his suggestion with alacrity (144-145).

This is what The Royal Insight, an online magazine available on the official web site of the British Monarchy has to say about the topic in an item published in March 2003: 'His Royal Highness is worshipped as a god in a cargo cult on the island of Tanna in Vanuatu,

another island group in the South Pacific'. And they add the following question and official answer:

Q: M. Weich - South Africa: I have heard before that people on the island of Tanna worship Prince Philip as a god, and I recently read that on your site again. How did that happen?

There seems to be little consensus as to how Prince Philip came to be worshipped as a divine figure! It is the Iounhanan tribe on the island of Tanna in Vanuatu, an island group in the South Pacific, that holds this to be true. Although His Royal Highness has never visited the island, he sent a signed picture on hearing of his status on the island. The photograph is minded by an official guardian, while the Duke of Edinburgh Stone is an integral part of the tribe's daily life ('Royal Insight Magazine, March 2003').

The site informs about itself that: 'Written and managed by the Royal Household at Buckingham Palace, the site aims to provide an authoritative resource of information about the Monarchy and Royal Family, past and present.'

According to the BBC, besides the fifty facts about the Queen which Buckingham Palace published to mark Her Majesty's Golden Jubilee in 2002, 'The Palace also released 50 facts about the Duke of Edinburgh. They reveal that he appointed the Goons as his royal champions after Cambridge students challenged him to a tiddlywinks match and is worshipped as a god on the island of Tanna, in Vanuatu in the south-west Pacific'. ('Palace publishes Jubilee facts on Queen.' 25 January 2002. [BBC News UK](#)). Finally, a June 2006 article on the Mail on Sunday online confirmed the story and published a photograph of the many pictures of the Duke of Edinburgh which the Iounhanan tribe keeps (Shears).

<sup>82</sup>The OED registers that Marmoset in English 'can hardly be unconnected with F. marmot little child, . . ., in early use also "monkey", "grotesque statuette"' and attests to Marmosettes or marmusetes being used for a French original marmos already in the 1400's. The English Marmot, according to the OED, would derive from Old French marmotte, and be an altered form, due to assimilation to marmotte and marmot, of murmon, derived from Latin muren montis, 'mountain mouse'.

<sup>83</sup>Unless otherwise stated, information on African slavery is from Haskins 44.

<sup>84</sup>The first person from whom I learned about Hawkins' slaving activities was my friend Sergio Mazzarelli in a research seminar about the Renaissance debate on the nature of slavery and the role of the servant in Elizabethan England which he presented at the

Shakespeare Institute in the 1990's (Mazzarelli 1994). At the time, Mazzarelli was working on his translation from Latin into English and his edition of chapters from John Case's Sphaera Civitatis for his PhD in Shakespeare Studies. He naturally returned to the topic in his 'Contextualizing Shakespeare: The Renaissance Debate on the Nature of Slavery', published in the book Hot Questrists After the English Renaissance: Essays on Shakespeare and His Contemporaries, edited by Yasunari Takahashi in 2000.

<sup>85</sup>I reproduce Machado's original Portuguese as found in the Obra Completa edition published by Nova Aguilar followed by the translation into English by Gregory Rabassa published by Oxford University Press:

TAIS ERAM as reflexões que eu vinha fazendo, por aquele Valongo fora, logo depois de ver e ajustar a casa. Interrompeu-mas um ajuntamento; era um preto que vergalhava outro na praça. O outro não se atrevia a fugir; gemia somente estas únicas palavras: — “Não, perdão meu senhor; meu senhor, perdão!” Mas o primeiro não fazia caso, e, a cada súplica, respondia com uma vergalhada nova.

— Toma, diabo! dizia ele; toma mais perdão, bêbado! [Aguilar 581]

— Meu senhor! gemia o outro.

— Cala a boca, besta! replicava o vergalho.

Parei, olhei... Justos céus! Quem havia de ser o do vergalho? Nada menos que o meu moleque Prudêncio, — o que meu pai libertara alguns anos antes. Cheguei-me; ele deteve-se logo e pediu-me a bênção; perguntei-lhe se aquele preto era escravo dele.

— É sim, nhonhô.

— Fez-te alguma cousa?

— É um vadio e um bêbado muito grande. Ainda hoje deixei ele na quitanda, enquanto eu ia lá embaixo na cidade, e ele deixou a quitanda para ir na venda beber.

— Está bom, perdoa-lhe, disse eu.

— Pois não, nhonhô. Nhonhô manda, não pede. Entra para casa, bêbado!

Saí do grupo, que me olhava espantado e cochichava as suas conjeturas. Segui caminho, a desfiar uma infinidade de reflexões, que sinto haver inteiramente perdido; aliás, seria matéria para um bom capítulo, e talvez alegre. Eu gosto dos capítulos alegres; é o meu fraco. Exteriormente, era torvo o episódio do Valongo; mas só exteriormente. Logo que meti mais dentro a faca do raciocínio achei-lhe um miolo gaiato, fino, e até profundo. Era um modo que o Prudêncio tinha de se desfazer das pancadas recebidas, — transmitindo-as a outro. Eu, em criança, montava-o, punha-lhe um freio na boca e desancava-o sem compaixão; ele gemia e sofria. Agora, porem, que era livre, dispunha de si mesmo, dos braços, das pernas, podia trabalhar, folgar, dormir, desagrilhoado da antiga condição, agora é que ele se desbancava: comprou um escravo, e ia-lhe pagando, com alto juro, as quantias que de mim recebera. Vejam as subtilezas do maroto! (581-582)

Such were my reflections as I walked along Valongo right after seeing and arranging for the house. There were interrupted by a gathering of people. It was because of a black man whipping another in the square. The other one didn't try to run away. He only moaned these words: "Please, I'm sorry, master. Master, I'm sorry!" but the first one paid no attention and each entreaty was answered with a new lashing.

"Take that, you devil!" he was saying. "There's sorry for you, you drunk!"

"Master!" the other one was moaning.

"Shut your mouth, you animal" the whipper replied.

I stopped to look . . . Good Lord! And who did the one with the whip turn out to be? None other than my houseboy Prudêncio — the one my father had freed some years before. He came over to me, having ceased immediately, and asked for my blessing. In inquired if that black man was his slave.

"He is, yes, little master."

"What did he do?"

"He's a loafer and a big drunk. Only today I left him in the store while I went downtown and he went off to a bar to drink."

"It's all right, forgive him," I said.

"Of course, little master. Your word is my command. Get on home with you, you drunkard!"

I left the crowd of people who were looking at me with wonder and whispering conjectures. I went on my way, unravelling an infinite number of reflections that I think I've lost completely. They would have been material for a good and maybe happy chapter. I like happy chapters, they're my weakness. On the outside the Valongo episode was dreadful, but only on the outside. As soon as I stuck the knife of rationality deeper into it I found it to have a happy, delicate, and even profound marrow. It was the way Prudêncio had to rid himself of the beatings he'd received by transmit[ing] them to someone else. As a child I used to ride on his back, put a bit into his mouth, and whip him mercilessly. He would moan and suffer. Now that he was free, however, he had the free use of himself, his arms, his legs, he could work, rest, sleep unfettered from his previous status. Now he could make up for everything. He bought a slave and was paying him back with high interest the amount he'd received from me. Just look at the subtlety of the rogue! (108-109)

<sup>86</sup>Dymkowski (Tmp. 2000 95-107) has a very interesting presentation of different approaches to the staging of the opening storm over the years.

<sup>87</sup>As Kermode himself explains shortly before this point, 'the play is divided into five acts in accordance with contemporary theory, and . . . its action proceeds in accordance with the scheme of classical development which the Renaissance commentators worked out in the tradition of Donatus and the later editors of Terence' (Tmp. 1996 lxxiv).

<sup>88</sup>In the original Portuguese, ‘Lembramos que o cavaleiro de Malta era um religioso intransigente, ele mesmo rigorosamente casto, e não podia conformar-se com a idéia do sexo fora do casamento’.

<sup>89</sup>Not every edition annotates the passage, though. In both Anne Barton’s New Penguin edition (Tmp. 1968) and Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman’s Norton Critical Edition (Tmp. 2004), the reading is ‘wise’ but the word is not annotated. Tmp. 2004, however, includes Orgel’s article ‘Prospero’s Wife’ (Orgel 2004), which includes a discussion of the passage.

<sup>90</sup>The Vaughans identify the original emendator as being Rowe in 1709, and they claim that the word is probably wise ‘in all copies of F-F4’. The Vaughans indicate that most eighteenth-century editors followed Rowe, whereas many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century editors restored wise, ‘but often with the assertion that a few copies of F (which they admittedly had not seen) had “wife”’. The Vaughans mention that Jeanne Addison Roberts persuaded most subsequent editors to emendate the passage, but before further justifying the reading by indicating that wise is far from impossible in terms of syntactical or poetical considerations, they conclude that

However much one would like to read the words as ‘wife’ in some copies of the Folio, we have been counter-persuaded by Peter W.M. Blayney’s exegesis of early seventeenth-century casting and printing techniques, supported by his magnification to the 200th power of all relevant instances of the key word in the Folger Shakespeare Library extensive Folio collection. The letter in question appears to be ‘s’ in all instances, including the few that Roberts identified with ‘f’; blotted ink, not a broken crossbar, encouraged such readings.

<sup>91</sup>I only quote the passage with the reading wife first, because, as I have informed my reader, my basic text for quotations from The Tempest is Orgel’s Oxford World’s Classics/Oxford Shakespeare edition (Tmp. 1994).

<sup>92</sup>The practice is attested, for instance, in the Arden Third Series Tempest note to line 222 of the same scene, where we learn that Trinculo’s line ‘O King Stephano! O peer!’ is ‘a reference to the old ballad “King Stephen was a worthy peer”, which links clothing with social status. Iago sings it in Oth 2.3.89-96’ (Tmp. 1999 258).

<sup>93</sup>Here as in other passages, Thevet’s translator Thomas Hacket contradicts Thevet’s original intention. In Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique, Thevet takes the opportunity

of describing Pians, which is the tropical bacterial disease framboesia or yaws (cf. Thevet 1978 147 note 47 and 148 note 48), and of mentioning syphilis, which he calls la verole and equates to Pians, to make his case against associating syphilis and the French and calling it ‘the French evil’:

ceste belle verolle auiourdhuy tant commune en nostre Euope, laquelle fausement on attribue aux François, comme si les autres n’y estoient aucunemēt subiets : de maniere que maintenant les estrangers l’appellent mal Frãçois. Chacun sçait cõbie veritablemēt elle luxurie en la France, mas nõ moins autrepert’ (Thevet 1558 87).

Hacket, who makes the case for associating syphilis to the French instead, does not include the considerations above he found in Thevet’s original French text and he also leaves out Thevet’s suggestion that the ‘French evil’ be called the ‘Spanish evil’: ‘Pourtant seroit à mon iugement mieux seant & plus raisonnable l’appeler mal Espagnol, ayant de là origine pour l’egard du païs deçà, qu’autrement’ (Thevet 1558 87). Finally, Hacket repeats Thevet’s consideration that ‘Nowe this evill taketh the parties, as well wilde men as Christians that are there, by contagion or touching’, but to this sentence he adds his own comment in clear contradiction of Thevet’s original intention, ‘euen as the pockes dothe in the realme of Fraunce’ (Thevet 1568 70v). References to the ‘French disease’ or ‘French pox’ were very common in England. In Shakespeare’s works alone, a French crown, which was also a French coin, is many times associated to syphilis, with examples occurring in 2H6, LLL, MND, 2H4, H5, Tro., MM, AWW.

<sup>94</sup>Tmp. 1996 62 qtd. in Vaughan and Vaughan 1993 14.

<sup>95</sup>As we can learn in Andrew Gurr’s ‘The Tempest’s Tempest at Blackfriars’,

Plays on the amphitheatre stages ran non-stop, without pauses for an interval or between acts. On the hall stages, however, either as an acknowledgment of the formal five-act structure or for the more practical purpose of getting time to trim the candles that lit the stage and the auditorium, brief pauses between the acts were standard. . . . Some such pause, at least for music, must have been designed to intervene between Acts 4 and 5 of The Tempest (252-253)’

About the topic of act breaks in the Globe, Gurr adds that he ‘cannot find any amphitheatre play which clearly calls for a pause between the acts’ (253 note 8).

<sup>96</sup>For a discussion of the Ovidian element in The Tempest I strongly recommend Jonathan Bate’s Shakespeare and Ovid (1993) and particularly pages 239-263. The only point

where I depart from Bate's reading is in Bate's insistence in support of the Ovidian features in The Tempest that an acknowledgement of these features is necessarily detrimental to a full acknowledgement of the New World element in the play.

<sup>97</sup>Furness, Horace Howard, ed., The Tempest, A New Variorum Edition (New York, 1892) 250 qtd. in Loughrey and Taylor 113.

<sup>98</sup>About Shakespearian allusions to chess, Loughrey and Taylor have the following to say: 'Probably only occurring at King John, 2.1.122-3 and 5.2.141, and King Lear, 1.1.155 (though none of these is a definite allusion). We are doubtful whether any of the various instances of the terms mate, mates, mated (e.g. 2 Henry VI, 3.1.264-5; The Taming of the Shrew, 1.1.58; Macbeth, 5.1.78) really refer to chess' (13 note 2).

<sup>99</sup>Dennis C. Kay, 'Gonzalo's "Lasting Pillars": The Tempest, v.i.208', ShQ, 35 (1984): 322-4.

<sup>100</sup>According to Thevet's testimony in The new Found worlde, or Antarctike, they sighted Ascension Island on October 26:

The twentie sixth day of October, being eight degrees beyonde our lyne Equinoctiall, we found an Ilande not inhabited', the which at the fiste we thought to name the Ile of Birdes, because of the greate multitude of Birdes that ae in the sayde Ilande, but looking in our carde Marin, we found that before tyme it was founde out by the Portingals, and named the Ile of the Ascention, because that on that day, they ariued thither (Thevet 1568 33r).

<sup>101</sup>Marcus, Leah, "'Present Occasions'" and the shaping of Ben Jonson's masques', English Literary History 45 (1978) 201 qtd. in David Bevington and Peter Holbrook 4).

<sup>102</sup>I reproduce Machado's original Portuguese as found in the Obra Completa edition published by Nova Aguilar followed by the translation into English by Lúcia Sá and Gordon Brotherston published in Tmp. 2004:

### No Alto

O poeta chegou ao alto da montanha,  
E quando ia a descer a vertente do oeste,  
Viu uma coisa estranha,  
Uma figura má.

Então, volvendo o olhar ao subtil, ao celeste,  
 Ao gracioso Ariel, que de baixo o acompanha,  
     Num tom medroso e agreste  
     Pergunta o que será.

Como se perde no ar um som festivo e doce,  
     Ou bem como se fosse  
     Um pensamento vão,

Ariel se desfez sem lhe dar mais resposta.  
     Para descer a encosta  
     O outro estendeu-lhe a mão. (179)

### At the Top

A poet had reached the mountain peak;  
 Wending his way down the western slope,  
 he saw a strange thing,  
 a fell figure.

He turns his eyes to the subtle, the sky-born,  
 delightful Ariel, his companion from the start,  
 and fearfully asks  
 who or what is that?

Like a merry sweet sound lost in the air  
 or as it were  
 a vain thought

Ariel dissolved without further word.  
 To help him down the hill  
 the other one held out his hand. (337)

## CONCLUSION

As we can learn by reading Geoffrey Bullough's collection and works by many other critics, William Shakespeare usually selects one or two main stories which he finds in his sources and many times carefully adapts the narrative he is consulting, setting full passages from the same author into blank verse, as his need may be. This, as I have mentioned, was the case with Shakespeare's readings from the second edition of Holinshed's Chronicles (1587) for his history plays and for other plays set in Britain, such as King Lear, Macbeth, or Cymbeline; or his readings from Thomas North's translation of Plutarch's Lives (1579) for his Roman plays. As I have mentioned before, there is no single main source that has been identified for The Tempest. The natural conclusion is that this time Shakespeare simply does not have one. However, after my research, when I see The Tempest on the stage or on the screen or when I read the play, I find it hard to conclude that Shakespeare did not have The Emperor Charles V many times in his mind as he started to create his plot and he started to read and jot down ideas for his late comedy.

Admittedly, Shakespeare is not likely to produce fully allegorical drama, even if situations and themes in his sources which could parallel a topical theme or event in the England where he is writing are very unlikely to go unnoticed by his poetical and creative composing mind. As I have tried to demonstrate, I believe that The Tempest is not a mere allegory or a dramatic predecessor of the roman-à-clef, but it may up to a point be an exception because a considerable number of its imagery and plot developments, however faintly they may be actually presented, seem repeatedly to point in the same historical directions. Although I am not alone in having identified scattered allusions to The Emperor Charles V, I have also found in certain passages further allusions to The Emperor Charles V which I have not seen annotated elsewhere.

More importantly to my theme of Brazilian invisibility abroad, I also see traces of Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon and of his island under the equator in Antarctic France, Brazil. I would characterize these traces as other invisible elements at play which add to the list of features which indicate an original concern with the Holy Roman Emperor. They may be also understood as evidence of a possible proto-textual concern with the biography of Shakespeare's King James which survives just as traces which Shakespeare himself apparently chooses not to develop. Shakespeare's interest in Villegaignon's location in the New World, however, seems to have extended further into the plot of the play. In fact, practically every detail about Caliban in The Tempest can be related to Shakespeare's possible readings about Antarctic France and/or details in Villegaignon's biography. However, Brazilian invisibility is so strong that Antarctic France remains invisible despite its partial contribution both to Shakespeare's own setting and to plot developments and details. In fact, critics rarely acknowledge Antarctic France even when Montaigne, one of Shakespeare's only known sources, actually mentions it by name. They give even less attention to Villegaignon, who is also mentioned by Montaigne.

I believe that an author's intentions with a work of art are indeed a thorny subject, and given the distinctive nature of Shakespeare's works, his motivations will remain forever impossible to determine. All these important considerations notwithstanding, if I suggest that we should incorporate certain historical subjects into the list of Shakespeare's concerns and a few items into his reading list for The Tempest, the discussion may become inescapable. I am not suggesting that we should reduce this or any other play by William Shakespeare into one single unified theme. I believe that one of the factors among many others that contributed to make Shakespeare become Shakespeare, meaning, contributed to make a successful Elizabethan dramatist into the 'not of an age, but for all time' phenomenon whose work we still love and study was his negative capability.

I do not know if an interest in Villegaignon led to Charles V or if an interest in Charles V led to Villegaignon. Maybe Shakespeare already knew of their connection and they had both been in his mind from the beginning. I can even envisage a scenario in which there are those who will accept that Shakespeare was thinking about The Emperor Charles V but because Charles V can lead us directly to Magellan and Pigafetta and Pigafetta via Eden's translation can lead us directly to Setebos, we do not need to incorporate Villegaignon or Antarctic France.

I do not want to suggest that my reading of The Tempest is any better or more complete than any of the readings that have been offered over the years. However, if some of my readers have followed my analysis up to this point and they do not believe that Villegaignon and Antarctic France merit at least a mention in the critical apparatus (introduction, notes and/or appendixes) of scholarly editions which are made available to academic readers of Shakespeare, then I would like to suggest that these readers will merely perpetuate Brazilian invisibility abroad. I suggest a note or a paragraph to give other academic readers the opportunity to explore these possible themes or elements according to their own background and academic agendas and even to make the informed decision of dismissing them as mere speculation.

I believe the main contribution of this work is to put Brazil and Villegaignon on the Shakespeare map and add to the list of Brazilian invisibility abroad the realization that ironically the most visible geographical feature of my country, Guanabara Bay, where Rio de Janeiro, Sugar Loaf and the Cristo Redentor (Christ the Redeemer statue) on top Corcovado mountain are found, is invisible in Shakespeare studies. Shakespeare may not be writing about Brazil but he is certainly reading about it. He is doing just that when he reads Montaigne's essay 'Of the Caniballes' and Richard Eden's version of Pigafetta's narrative and, as I have tried to demonstrate in this work, he is probably doing that much more systematically than mainstream critics have been able or willing to acknowledge in the past. Maybe Brazilians can take their cue from Shakespeare and his unique and arguably at times uniquely Brazilian creature Caliban, who is prompting us to adapt his words to Prospero and say instead of 'This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother, | Which thou tak'st from me', 'This island's at least partially mine, by Shakespeare the author, | Which thou tak'st from me'. I know that Prospero's island is not Fort Coligny in Antarctic France, but I believe that Antarctic France has contributed to Shakespeare's composite which became Prospero's island and also to Shakespeare's plot.

As I have indicated, I see Villegaignon as a piece in the puzzle and making him visible helps to form a more complete mosaic that indicates a possible concern with the Knights of Malta, a possible concern with Catholic restoration and clearly confirms a definite concern with appeasement and establishing an alliance with the Habsburgs of Catholic Spain. Maybe because Shakespeare himself already considered retirement, very likely because it suited his King James's and his Queen Anna's many times discordant political agendas, Shakespeare

probably decided to write a piece that celebrates the theme of peace and reconciliation, and of love (or a dynastic marriage) as an answer to political conflict.

Ironically, the dynastic marriage which actually took place was the Protestant match from which sprang both the House of Hanover, the royal house under which the United Kingdom's identity eventually developed, and the House of Windsor, the royal line which still is on the British throne. Frederick V, Elector Palatine of the Rhine and the Princess Elizabeth Stuart were to prove the lasting pillars upon which King James and Queen Anna would set their hopes once their son the Prince of Wales was dead. Although neither Shakespeare nor his King and Queen could have foreseen it, it was the Palsgrave and Elizabeth's line, not that of her younger brother Charles, which would live to fulfil Shakespeare's prophecy in *Macbeth* and 'stretch out to the crack of doom'. Prince Charles would be invested as Prince of Wales four years after the death of his brother and would live to be crowned King Charles and to be beheaded by Parliament on 30 January 1649. As for the Elector Palatine and his wife, they would live to become the parents of the future Electress Sophia of Hanover, who before marrying Ernst August, Elector of Hanover, was Sophia, Princess Palatine of the Rhine. In 1701, the Act of Settlement secured the Protestant succession to the British throne and determined that the succession would fall on the Electress Sophia 'and the heirs of her body, being Protestants' (Allison and Riddell 4). Every British king and queen after that, including Queen Elizabeth II, has succeeded to the throne on account of not being married to a Catholic provided they were themselves a Protestant descendant of the Electress Sophia.

I do not claim that Shakespeare was, like his Queen Anna, a crypto-Catholic. The evidence is inconclusive. It would not alter my appreciation of his work if he was or was not Catholic. The irony does not escape me, however, that the National Poet was more sympathetic to Catholics than his contemporaries were. In fact, Shakespeare was as a rule more sympathetic to his fellow human beings than his contemporaries usually were, even if he could also denounce their contradictions in a unique way which was also unique to Shakespeare.

I believe that the present investigation contributes to our understanding of Shakespeare's practices as an author. It suggests more affirmatively Shakespeare's indebtedness to André Thevet and very likely other sources about Antarctic France and Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon. Curiously, Thevet's brute beasts, as we have seen, are sometimes suggested as possibly having contributed to Shakespeare's view of American natives but even at this point Brazil remains invisible. It gives an insight into

Shakespeare's use of these sources for his own unique aesthetic and political purposes as a dramatist because specially in its suggested amplification of the role of The Emperor Charles V, I believe I contribute to the discussion of how The Tempest relates to King James and to the Jacobean court.

There were areas which I had to leave unexplored given the size and the scope of the present work and I believe I have contributed a few ideas and paths that those who read my thesis or I myself might pursue in the future. This is particularly the case with the identification of other sources where Shakespeare could have learned the facts and details which I suggested he incorporated into the plot of The Tempest.

I am aware that I have set myself a daunting task. I have selected an unorthodox claim about a very familiar work about which some of the best Shakespeare scholars have produced thousands of pages which have illuminated the work in ways to which I cannot aspire. I also understand that I run the risk of overstating my point, because I deliberately set myself the task of finding evidence in the text which could convince me that I could convince others that what I claim to be invisible is actually there.

The nature of the claim I am making, i.e., that critics have failed to acknowledge Brazil as they should have, puts me in the apparently easy position of a Devil's advocate full of scholarly hubris. I must again recognize my great indebtedness to all the Shakespeare critics whose works I have read and particularly those who sometimes I am forced to denounce as apparently being blind, careless or inaccurate. I have learned infinitely more from their scholarship and insights than my theme possibly allows me to indicate. Given the broad scope of my work, I probably make about this and other topics just the same kind of mistake at which I so noticeably point my finger in this work.

My other contribution is to call attention to certain ideas which have not been fully explored so that wiser and less prolific authors can incorporate the African and Mediterranean element in The Tempest without losing the American element. My repeated suggestion that we follow The Emperor Charles V's motto and go Plus Ultra is a reminder that there is more to the New World than Virginia or the Caribbean. I do not suggest, though, that the Virginian or Caribbean element was not topical to Shakespeare and cannot be relevant to us. It is just a suggestion that Brazilian invisibility abroad in the case of The Tempest may have been produced and reproduced but it is hoped that this time it is not perpetuated.

My conclusion is that The Tempest is as much a play about The Emperor Charles V and Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon and Antarctic France in Brazil as it is about

the more topical Bermuda Pamphlets. It is also a play to set before the king, or simply a play about a powerful, intelligent man learning humility and thinking of a more rational world upon retirement. For better or worse, we live in far too cynical an age to grant Prospero the status which Shakespeare, without leaving out any of his creation's contradictions, invite us to give him because he chooses to write Prospero along these lines. The Tempest is a comedy not just because it suggests the celebration of a marriage, in itself a necessary and mostly positive development, at the end, but because at its epilogue Shakespeare's most powerful human character, arguably more powerful than 'the dragon' Lear, Julius Caesar, who 'doth bestride the narrow world | Like a Colossus', that 'triple pillar of the world' Antony, or that 'lass unparallel'd' Cleopatra, acknowledges not only the need to pardon others but also his dependence upon everyone in the audience for his own existence. Prospero is just a character but he is human and at this crucial moment, he tells the audience that he needs applause, or prayer, or mere acceptance. This is a lesson which islanders of all nationalities in this brave world of ours still badly need.

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### **Epigraph Illustration:**

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**JOSÉ CARLOS MARQUES VOLCATO**

**PILING UP LOGS IN A BRAVE NEW WORLD:  
BRAZILIAN INVISIBILITY ABROAD AND THE GENESIS  
OF SHAKESPEARE'S THE TEMPEST**

**PORTO ALEGRE, ABRIL DE 2007**

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OF SHAKESPEARE'S THE TEMPEST**

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Available at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b2000031d>

Access on: 31 December 2006.

Figure 85, Page 516: Two 16th-century Caraïbe natives with a parrot and a monkey in the 1580 (second) edition of Jean de Léry's 1578 Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Léry.

Available at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b2000031d>

Access on: 31 December 2006.

Figure 86, Page 517: A couple of 16th-century American (Brazilian) natives offer a warm welcome to a European visitor in the 1580 (second) edition of Jean de Léry's 1578 Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Léry.

Available at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b2000031d>

Access on: 31 December 2006.

Figure 87, Page 518: A group of 16th-century American (Brazilian) natives lamenting over their dead in the 1580 (second) edition of Jean de Léry's 1578 Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Léry.

Available at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b2000031d>

Access on: 31 December 2006.

Figure 88, Page 519: Frontispiece to the 1586 (first) Latin edition of Jean de Léry's Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil.

Available at: <http://lal.tulane.edu/brasiliam.html>

Access on: 26 April 2006.

Figure 89, Page 520: The title page of the German third volume of the De Bry family's Grands Voyages (1583).

Available at:

[http://international.loc.gov/cgi-](http://international.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=rbdk&fileName=d0321/rbdkd0321.db&recNum=211&itemLink=r?intlId/rbdkbib:@field(NUMBER+@od1(rbdk+d0321_0212))&linkText=0&presId=rbdkbib)

[bin/ampage?collId=rbdk&fileName=d0321/rbdkd0321.db&recNum=211&itemLink=r?intlId/rbdkbib:@field\(NUMBER+@od1\(rbdk+d0321\\_0212\)\)&linkText=0&presId=rbdkbib](http://international.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=rbdk&fileName=d0321/rbdkd0321.db&recNum=211&itemLink=r?intlId/rbdkbib:@field(NUMBER+@od1(rbdk+d0321_0212))&linkText=0&presId=rbdkbib)

Access on: 25 May 2006.

Figure 90-99, Pages 521-526: De Bry's illustrations for the third volume of the De Bry family's Grands Voyages of Hans Staden's, Jean de Léry's and Nicolas Barré's narratives about Brazil (1583).

Available at:

[http://international.loc.gov/cgi-](http://international.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=rbdk&fileName=d0321/rbdkd0321.db&recNum=211&itemLink=r?intlId/rbdkbib:@field(NUMBER+@od1(rbdk+d0321_0212))&linkText=0&presId=rbdkbib)

[bin/ampage?collId=rbdk&fileName=d0321/rbdkd0321.db&recNum=211&itemLink=r?intlId/rbdkbib:@field\(NUMBER+@od1\(rbdk+d0321\\_0212\)\)&linkText=0&presId=rbdkbib](http://international.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=rbdk&fileName=d0321/rbdkd0321.db&recNum=211&itemLink=r?intlId/rbdkbib:@field(NUMBER+@od1(rbdk+d0321_0212))&linkText=0&presId=rbdkbib)

<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3200m.gct00003>

Access on: 28 May 2006.

Figure 100, Page 527: An enlarged version of Figure 94 in the first Latin edition of the third volume (1583) of the De Bry family's Grands Voyages.

Available at: <http://www.newberry.org/smith/slidesets/images/14-5.jpg>

Access on: 1 May 2006.

Figure 101 Page 528: Ptolemaic World Map (1486).

Available at: <http://www.dac.neu.edu/english/kakelly/med/ptol.jpg>

Access on: 26 January 2007.

Figure 102, Page 529: The Emperor Charles V, by Titian. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Available at: <http://tudorhistory.org/people/charles5/charlesv.jpg>

Access on: 26 April 2006.

Figure 103, Page 530: The Emperor Charles V Receiving the World, by Parmigianino (ca. 1530).

Available at: <http://www.khm.at/karl5/index-e.html>

Access on: 10 May 2006.

Figure 104, Page 531: La herencia de Carlos V.

Available at: [http://iris.cnice.mec.es/kairos/mediateca/cartoteca/bach\\_espana\\_t06.html](http://iris.cnice.mec.es/kairos/mediateca/cartoteca/bach_espana_t06.html)

Access on: 26 April 2006.

Figure 105, Page 532: The Empire of Charles V.

Printed in: Kinder, Hermann, and Werner Hilgemann. The Penguin Atlas of World History. Vol. 1: From the Beginning to the Eve of the French Revolution. Trans. Ernest A. Menze. London: Penguin, 1978. p. 236.

Figure 106, Page 533: The Emperor Charles V's travels.

Available at: <http://www.fundacionyuste.org/documentacion/carlosv/viajes/viajes.htm>

Access on: 26 April 2006.

Figure 107, Page 534: Asimov's map for The Tempest.

Printed in: Asimov, Isaac. Asimov's Guide to Shakespeare. Vol. 1. New York: Wings, 1970. p. 650.

Figure 108, Page 535: Lo Stato de Milano nel 1535.

Available at: <http://www.rosate.net/estensducato.jpg>

Access on: 29 April 2006.

Figure 109, Page 536: The Milan canals ('navigli') in 1457.

Available at: <http://www.amicideinavigli.org/sistema.htm>

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Figure 110, Page 537: The Duchy of Milan or DVCATVS MEDIOLANEN : | SIS, FINITIMA: | RVMQ REGIONV/ DESCRIPTIO, AVC | TORE IOANNE GE: |ORGIO SEPTALA | MEDIOLA: | NENSE. ('A depiction of the Duchy of Milan and the surrounding area by Ioannes Georgio Septala of Milan') in Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570).

Reproduced from a 52.5 x 40 cm modern reproduction in my own collection, with my additions.

Figure 111, Page 538: The Duchy of Milan in Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570) (detail).

Detail of Fig. 110 above, with my additions.

Figure 112, Page 539: The Duchy of Milan in Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570) (detail).

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Figure 113, Page 540: The Emperor Charles V's New World 'Monarquia' (Empire) in red and the Portuguese New World Empire in green.

Available at: <http://www.diomedes.com/caamerica.jpg>

Access on: 29 April 2006.

Figure 114, Page 541: Voyages of discovery and the claims of Spain and Portugal to overseas empires ca. 1550.

Available at:

[http://wps.ablongman.com/wps/media/objects/262/268312/art/figures/KISH\\_12\\_271.gif](http://wps.ablongman.com/wps/media/objects/262/268312/art/figures/KISH_12_271.gif)

Access on: 27 April 2006.

Figure 115, Page 542: The Spanish-Portuguese colonial empire, c. 1580.

Printed in: Kinder, Hermann, and Werner Hilgemann. The Penguin Atlas of World History. Vol. 1: From the Beginning to the Eve of the French Revolution. Trans. Ernest A. Menze. London: Penguin, 1978. p. 242.

Figure 116, Page 543: The Emperor Charles V's Shield.

Available at: <http://www.bozzle.com/ImagesHeraldic2/charlesV.gif>

Access on: 26 April 2006.

Figure 117, Page 543: The Emperor Charles V's Coat-of-arms.

Available at: <http://canales.ideal.es/especiales/carlosV/imagenes/escudo.jpg>

Access on: 26 April 2006.

Figure 118, Page 544: Habsburger Pfau (1550 or 1555).

Available at: [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bild:Habsburger\\_Pfau\\_1555.jpg](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bild:Habsburger_Pfau_1555.jpg)

Access on: 19 May 2006.

Figure 119, Page 545: The Emperor's coat-of-arms in the front cover of La Magnifique et Sumptueuse Pompe Funèbre faite Aus obseques, et funnerailles du Tresgrand, et tresvictorieus Empereur Charles Cinquième, celebrées en la ville de Bruxelles le XXIX jour du mois de Decembre M.D.LVIII par Philippes Roy Catholique d'Espagne son fils (1559).

Available at: [http://www.flwi.ugent.be/nl/upload/courses/rvermeir/Plus\\_Ultra.jpg](http://www.flwi.ugent.be/nl/upload/courses/rvermeir/Plus_Ultra.jpg)

Access on: 29 April 2006.

Figure 120, Page 546: Triumphal Arch at Porta Romana for Charles V's Entry into Milan in Giovanni Alberto Albicante's Trattato del'intrar in Milano di Carlo V. (Milan, 1541.) Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Rpt. in: Fiorani, Francesca. The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography, and Politics in Renaissance Italy. New Haven: Yale UP, 2005. 39.

Figure 121, Page 547: Queen Elizabeth I, a print by Crispin van de Passe (ca. 1596).

Available at: <http://www.marileecody.com/gloriana/elizabethvandepasse.jpg>

Access on: 15 June 2006.

Figure 122, Page 548: Frontispiece to De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres (1531).

Available at:

[http://www.espacioarcano.com/imagebank/Agrippa\\_De\\_Occulta\\_Philosophia\\_Cover\\_1933.jpg](http://www.espacioarcano.com/imagebank/Agrippa_De_Occulta_Philosophia_Cover_1933.jpg)

Access on: 08 December 2006.

Figure 123, Page 549: The Emperor Charles V assigns his Austrian possessions to his brother Ferdinand.

Available at: <http://www.diomedes.com/caentregfernG.jpg>

Access on: 29 April 2006.

Figure 124, Page 550: The Marriage at Cana or The Wedding Feast at Cana, by Paolo Veronese (1562-63). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Available at: [http://etudeedl.free.fr/cliches/Veronese\\_The\\_Marriage\\_at\\_Cana.JPG](http://etudeedl.free.fr/cliches/Veronese_The_Marriage_at_Cana.JPG)

Access on: 29 May 2006.

Figure 125, Page 551: The Marriage at Cana or The Wedding Feast at Cana, by Paolo Veronese (1562-63) (detail). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Detail of image available at: [http://www.louvre.fr/llv/commun/home\\_flash.jsp](http://www.louvre.fr/llv/commun/home_flash.jsp)

Figure 126, Page 552: Carthaginis | celeberrimi | sinus typys ('A map of the bay of most famous Carthage'), by Abraham Ortelius, published by Jan B. Vrients (1609).

Available at: [http://www.oldworldauctions.com/Auction111/detail.asp?owa\\_id=2145217998](http://www.oldworldauctions.com/Auction111/detail.asp?owa_id=2145217998)

Access on: 28 May 2006.

Figure 127, Page 553: Carthaginis | celeberrimi | sinus typys ('A map of the bay of most famous Carthage'), by Abraham Ortelius (1570).

Available at: <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3200m.gct00003>

Access on: 19 June 2006.

Figure 128, Page 554: 'The porte of Carthage,' from Abraham Ortelius, An epitome of Ortelius his Theater of the vvorld... London [i.e.] Antwerp, 1601[?], p. 107.

Rpt. in: Hulme, Peter, and William H. Sherman, eds. *The Tempest and its Travels. Critical Views.* London: Reaktion, 2000. p. 71.

Figure 129, Page 555: Muley-Haçan [Muley Hassan] souverain de Tunis de la dynastie des Hastides [Hafsides] vivait en 1543, by Jules Porreau (19th-century print). New York Public Library.

Available at: <http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/index.cfm>

Access on: 19 September 2006.

Figure 130, Page 556: Charles V liberating Christian slaves at Tunis (1883). New York Public Library.

Available at: <http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/index.cfm>

Access on: 19 September 2006.

Figure 131, Page 557: The Emperor Charles V enthroned among his enemies, by Guilio Clovio, from a design of Marteen van Heemskerck (Italy, 16th century). British Library.

Available

at:

<http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/britishlibrary/controller/textsearch?text=%22Emperor%22+%22Charles%22&y=2&x=12&&idx=1&startid=6669>

Access on: 24 May 2006.

Figure 132, Page 558: Portrait of King Philip and Queen Mary in a plea roll from the Court of King's Bench (1558).

Available at: <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/utk/england/beyond.htm>

Access on: 26 May 2006.

Figure 133, Page 559: Charter of Philip and Mary restoring the Order of Malta in England in 1557.

Rpt. in: Riley-Smith, Jonathan. Hospitallers: The History of the Orders of St. John. London: Hambledon & London, 2003. p. 87.

Figure 134, Page 560: El Emperador Carlos V Dominando al Furor ('The Emperor Charles V Restraining Fury'), bronze by Leone Leoni (variously dated 1550-1553 or 1549-1555). Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Available at: <http://www.khm.at/karl5/index-e.html>

Access on: 24 June 2006.

Figure 135, Page 561: El Emperador Carlos V Dominando al Furor ('The Emperor Charles V Restraining Fury'), bronze by Leone Leoni (variously dated 1550-1553 or 1549-1555) (detail). Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Available at: <http://www.khm.at/karl5/index-e.html>

Access on: 24 May 2006.

Figure 136, Page 561: The Dying Gaul. Museo Capitolino, Rome.

Available at: <http://ccwf.cc.utexas.edu/~cmw/1995/Pergamon1b.jpg>

Access on: 24 June 2006.

Figure 137, Page 562: El Emperador Carlos V Dominando al Furor ('The Emperor Charles V Restraining Fury'), bronze by Leone Leoni (variously dated 1550-1553 or 1549-1555) (detail). Museo del Prado, Madrid.  
Available at: <http://www.khm.at/karl5/index-e.html>  
Access on: 24 May 2006.

Figure 138, Page 562: El Emperador Carlos V Dominando al Furor ('The Emperor Charles V Restraining Fury'), bronze by Leone Leoni (variously dated 1550-1553 or 1549-1555) (detail). Museo del Prado, Madrid.  
Available at: <http://museoprado.mcu.es/>  
Access on: 24 May 2006.

Figure 139, Page 563: The Farnese Hercules. Naples Museum.  
Available at: <http://sights.seindal.dk/img/orig/9225.jpg>  
Access on: 24 June 2006.

Figure 140, Page 563: The Farnese Hercules. Naples Museum.  
Available at: <http://www.uwm.edu/Course/mythology/0900/1506.jpg>  
Access on: 24 June 2006.

Figure 141, Page 564: The Emperor finishes resigning his personal empire to his son in 1556.  
Available at: <http://www.diomedes.com/caabdicaG.jpg>  
Access on: 29 April 2006.

Figure 142, Page 565: La Gloria, by Titian (ca. 1554). Museo del Prado, Madrid.  
Available at: [http://museoprado.mcu.es/exposiciones/html/tiziano/home\\_sobre\\_06.html](http://museoprado.mcu.es/exposiciones/html/tiziano/home_sobre_06.html)  
Access on: 24 May 2006.

Figure 143, Page 566: The Emperor's death at the monastery of Yuste, Spain in 1558.  
Available at: <http://www.diomedes.com/cayusmuerteG.jpg>  
Access on: 29 April 2006.

Figure 144, Page 567: The Ship of Salvation, by Johannes van Duetecum after Lucan van Duetecum, from La Magnifique et Sumptueuse Pompe Funèbre. Antwerp, 1559.  
Available at: <http://www.khm.at/karl5/index-e.html>  
Access on: 24 May 2006.

Figure 145, Page 568: Ship of victories (1559). British Library.  
Available at: <http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0126>  
Access on: 19 May 2006.

Figure 146, Page 569: Allegory on Emperor Charles V as Ruler of Vast Realms, by Rubens (ca. 1604).  
Available at: [http://www.residenzgalerie.at/en/WE392\\_2.jpg](http://www.residenzgalerie.at/en/WE392_2.jpg)  
Access on: 19 May 2006.

Figure 147, Page 570: The Somerset House Conference, 1604, by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz.  
Available at:  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:The\\_Somerset\\_House\\_Conference.\\_19\\_August\\_1604..jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:The_Somerset_House_Conference._19_August_1604..jpg)  
Access on: 25 June 2006.

Figure 148, Page 571: A Page from The Book of Reuells for the Year 1611-1612.  
Rpt. in: Campbell, Oscar James, and Edward G. Quinn, eds. The Reader's Encyclopedia of Shakespeare. 1966. New York: MJF, s.d. 683.

Figure 149, Page 572: King James I, by John I. Decritz (ca. 1610). National Maritime Museum, London.

Available at: <http://www.nmm.ac.uk/upload/img/BHC2796.jpg>

Access on: 22 June 2006.

Figure 150, Page 573: Frontispiece to the first edition of the Authorized Version of the Bible (1611).

Available at: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Kjv.png>

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Figure 151, Page 574: Anne of Denmark, attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (ca. 1612).

Available at:

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Anne\\_of\\_Denmark\\_mourning\\_the\\_death\\_of\\_her\\_son\\_Henry\\_in\\_1612.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Anne_of_Denmark_mourning_the_death_of_her_son_Henry_in_1612.jpg)

Access on: 22 June 2006.

Figure 152, Page 575: ILLUSTR : PRIN : HEN : STEWARD . DOMIN DARNLEY DUX ALBANIE . OBIIT 1566 ('The Most Illustrious Prince Henry Steward, Lord Darnley, Duke of Albany, who died in 1566 [Old Style]'), by Renold Elstrack (Engraving, 1618).

Rpt. in: Barkley, Harold. Likenesses in Line: An Anthology of Tudor and Stuart Engraved Portraits. London: HMSO, 1982. p. 29.

Figure 153, Page 576: SERENISSIMA MARIA REGINA IACOB. MAG. BRIT. REG. MATER. ('The Most Serene Mary the Queen, Mother to King James of Great Britain'), by Renold Elstrack (Engraving, 1618).

Rpt. in: Barkley, Harold. Likenesses in Line: An Anthology of Tudor and Stuart Engraved Portraits. London: HMSO, 1982. p. 25.

Figure 154, Page 577: Mary, Queen of Scots' tomb at The Lady Chapel, Westminster Abbey, London.

Available at: [http://www.westminster-abbey.org/tour/lady\\_chapel/mary\\_scots.htm](http://www.westminster-abbey.org/tour/lady_chapel/mary_scots.htm)

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Figure 155, Page 577: Mary, Queen of Scots' tomb at the Westminster Abbey, London.

Taken by the author.

Figure 156, Page 578: Princess Elizabeth Stuart, by Robert Peake the Elder (ca. 1606).

Available at: [http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/ho/09/euwb/hob\\_51.194.1.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/ho/09/euwb/hob_51.194.1.htm)

Access on: 22 June 2006.

Figure 157, Page 579: Frederick V, Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

Available at: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Friedrich\\_V\\_von\\_der\\_Pfalz.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Friedrich_V_von_der_Pfalz.jpg)

Access on: 25 April 2006.

Figure 158, Page 580: Illustration Figures of Iris, Juno, Neptune, Glaucus, Meleager, Castor, Oileus, Pollux, Ancaeus and Admetus, by W. Harnister (1612) (detail).

Available at:

<http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/pageview.aspx?strFest=0243&strPage=147>

Access on: 21 May 2006.

Figure 159, Page 581: Henry Frederick Stuart, Prince of Wales.

Available at: [http://www.nmm.ac.uk/mag/images/700/BHC4181\\_700.jpg](http://www.nmm.ac.uk/mag/images/700/BHC4181_700.jpg)

Access on: 25 April 2006.

Figure 160, Page 582: Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, by Isaac Oliver (ca.1610-12). The Royal Collection.

Available at: [http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/egallery/images/collection\\_large/420058.jpg](http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/egallery/images/collection_large/420058.jpg)

Access on: 22 June 2006.

## **NOTE ON THIS VOLUME**

This volume includes the Appendixes and Annexes to 'Piling Up Logs in a Brave New World: A Genetic Study of Shakespeare's The Tempest', a doctoral dissertation submitted by José Carlos Marques Volcato to the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor in Letters in April 2007.

## APPENDIX A: Shakespeare's Works — A Chronology and Abbreviations

Although it will probably remain forever impossible to ascertain unequivocally the correct order of composition of all Shakespeare's works, in my analysis I assume the following chronology for the dating of his plays and poems. Accordingly, whenever I find the need to abbreviate the title of one of Shakespeare's works, the abbreviations below are used.

Works	Possible dates of composition based on the <u>Oxford</u> <u>Shakespeare</u> <sup>1</sup>	Traditional abbreviations listed in the <u>MLA</u> <u>Handbook</u> <sup>2</sup>
<u>The Two Gentlemen of Verona</u>	1589-91	<u>TGV</u>
<u>The Taming of the Shrew</u>	1590-1	<u>Shr.</u>
<u>The First Part of the Contention of the Two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster</u>	1590-1	<u>2H6</u>
<u>The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York and the Good King Henry the Sixth</u>	1591	<u>3H6</u>
<u>The First Part of Henry the Sixth</u>	1592	<u>1H6</u>
<u>The Most Lamentable Tragedy of Titus Andronicus</u>	1592	<u>Tit.</u>

<u>The Tragedy of King Richard the Third</u>	1592-3	<u>R3</u>
<u>Venus and Adonis</u>	1592-3	<u>Ven.</u>
<u>The Rape of Lucrece</u>	1593-4	<u>Luc.</u>
<u>The Reign of King Edward the Third</u>	1594	<u>E3</u> *
<u>The Comedy of Errors</u>	1594	<u>Err.</u>
<u>Love's Labour's Lost</u>	1594-5	<u>LLL</u>
<u>Love's Labour's Won</u>	1595-6	<u>LLW</u> *
<u>The Tragedy of King Richard the Second</u>	1595	<u>R2</u>
<u>The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet</u>	1595	<u>Rom.</u>
<u>A Midsummer Night's Dream</u>	1595	<u>MND</u>
<u>The Life and Death of King John</u>	1596	<u>Jn.</u>
<u>The Comical History of the Merchant of Venice, or Otherwise Called the Jew of Venice</u>	1596-7	<u>MV</u>
<u>The History of Henry the Fourth</u>	1596-7	<u>1H4</u>
<u>The Merry Wives of Windsor</u>	1597-8	<u>Wiv.</u>
<u>The Second Part of Henry the Fourth</u>	1597-8	<u>2H4</u>
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u>	1598-9	<u>Ado</u>
<u>The Life of Henry the Fifth</u>	1598-9	<u>H5</u>
<u>The Tragedy of Julius Caesar</u>	1599	<u>JC</u>
<u>As You Like It</u>	1599-1600	<u>AYL</u>
<u>The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark</u>	1600-1	<u>Ham.</u>

<u>Twelfth Night, or What You Will</u>	1601	<u>TN</u>
<u>Troilus and Cressida</u>	1602	<u>Tro.</u>
<u>Sonnets</u>	1593-1603	<u>Son.</u>
‘A Lover’s Complaint’	1603-4	<u>LC</u>
<u>Various Poems</u> (including ‘The Phoenix and the Turtle’ and ‘The Passionate Pilgrim’)	1593-1616	<u>PhT</u> <u>PP</u>
<u>The Book of Sir Thomas More</u>	1603-4	<u>STM</u> *
<u>Measure for Measure</u>	1603-4; adapted 1621	<u>MM</u>
<u>The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice</u>	1603-4	<u>Oth.</u>
<u>The History of King Lear</u> (Quarto text)	1605-6	<u>Lr.</u>
<u>The Life of Timon of Athens</u>	1606	<u>Tim.</u>
<u>The Tragedy of Macbeth</u>	1606; adapted 1616	<u>Mac.</u>
<u>The Tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra</u>	1606	<u>Ant.</u>
<u>All’s Well That Ends Well</u>	1606-7	<u>AWW</u>
<u>Pericles Prince of Tyre</u>	1607	<u>Per.</u>
<u>The Tragedy of Coriolanus</u>	1608	<u>Cor.</u>
<u>The Winter’s Tale</u>	1609-10	<u>WT</u>
<u>The Tragedy of King Lear</u> (F1 text)	1610	<u>TLr.</u> *
<u>Cymbeline, King of Britain</u>	1610-11	<u>Cym.</u>
<u>The Tempest</u>	1610-11	<u>Tmp.</u>
<u>Cardenio</u>	1612-13	<u>Car.</u> *
<u>All Is True</u>	1613	<u>H8</u>
<u>The Two Noble Kinsmen</u>	1613	<u>TNK</u>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>This chronology is based on the reprint edition (1997) of Wells, Taylor, Jowett, and Montgomery's 1988 William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion and the update information about the dating of the plays published in the 2005 second edition of the Complete Works of Shakespeare by the same editors. My reason to adopt this chronology and list the forms of the titles of the works as given is because I believe The Oxford Shakespeare represents the most thorough research and the best updated scholarship on the topic of Shakespeare chronology available in print as of my writing.

<sup>2</sup>Gibaldi, Joseph. MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers. 6th ed. New York: MLA, 2003. I have provided abbreviations for those Shakespeare works in the table above which are not listed in the MLA Handbook. These works are marked by a superscript asterisk (\*).

## **APPENDIX B: A List of Modern European Works Containing References to the Words Brazil, Brazils, Brazilian or Brazilians**

The words Brazil, Brazils, Brazilian or Brazilians appear in 1068 works in the Publicly-Accessible Collections of the University of Virginia Library Electronic Text Center. Below is the list of the most famous works in that collection that have these words in order of occurrence, from those works with the least frequent references to those with the largest number of occurrences. The list is not meant to be exhaustive but is illustrative of the fact that Brazilian visibility does not preclude Brazilian invisibility. Among all the 135 references in the 31 works in the list below, only once the reference is to 'Brazil nuts', namely, in Charles Dickens's 1850 novel David Copperfield.

<b>Total number of occurrences</b>	<b>Author's name, work title, and date of first publication</b>
One	Conrad, Joseph, <u>Nostromo: a Tale of the Seaboard</u> , 1904
One	Conrad, Joseph, 'The End of the Tether', chapter XIV, in <u>Youth And Two Other Stories</u> , 1899
One	Dickens, Charles, <u>David Copperfield</u> , 1850
One	Doyle, Arthur Conan, <u>The Sign of Four</u> , 1890
One	Einstein, Albert, <u>Relativity: The Special and General Theory</u> , 1917

- One Hugo, Victor, Les Miserables, Volume II, 'Cosette', 1862
- One Locke, John, Two Treatises of Government: of Civil Government Book II, 1698
- One Malthus, T. R., An essay on the principle of population, as it affects the future improvement of society. With remarks on the speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and other writers, 1798
- One Marx, Karl, Capital: a critical analysis of capitalist production, 1867
- One Melville, Herman, The Confidence-Man, 1857
- One Thoreau, Henry David, The Maine Woods, 1858
- One Twain, Mark (Clemens, Samuel Langhorne), The Gilded Age: A Tale of To-Day, 1874
- One Twain, Mark (Clemens, Samuel Langhorne), The Regular Toast. Woman — God Bless Her, 1882
- One Verne, Jules, Around the World in Eighty Days, 1873
- One Verne, Jules, Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea, 1873
- One Whitman, Walt, Leaves of Grass, 1891-1892
- One Wilde, Oscar, The Picture of Dorian Gray, 1890
- Two Burroughs, Edgar Rice, The Lost Continent, 1916
- Two Dostoevsky, Fyodor, Notes from the Underground, 1918
- Two Doyle, Arthur Conan, The Stark Munro Letters, 1894
- Two Stevenson, Robert Louis, Essays of Travel, 1905
- Four Montesquieu, Baron de, The Spirit of the Laws, 1748
- Four Verne, Jules, In Search of the Castaways, 1873
- Five Darwin, Charles, On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life, 1859
- Seven Doyle, Arthur Conan, The Lost World, 1912
- Seven Locke, John, An essay concerning human understanding, 1690. Of these, 6

times in Ch. XXVII, 'Of Identity and Diversity', item 'A rational Parrot.' and once in Ch. III, 'Other considerations concerning Innate Principles, both Speculative and Practical', item 8, 'Idea of God not innate.'

Eight	Frazer, James George, <u>The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion</u> , 1922
Eleven	Maupassant, Guy de, 'The Horla', in <u>Short Stories of the Tragedy and Comedy of Life</u> , 1883-1891
Eighteen	Hardy, Thomas, <u>Tess of the d'Urbervilles</u> , 1891
Eighteen	Smith, Adam, <u>An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations</u> , 1776
Forty-six	Defoe, Daniel, <u>Robinson Crusoe</u> , 1719

This table was created by using the search tool in the Publicly-Accessible Collections of the University of Virginia Library Electronic Text Center, which is available online at:

University of Virginia Library Electronic Text Center. University of Virginia Library. 21

May 2006. <<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/>>

## **APPENDIX C: Dom Pedro II of Brazil's Dynastic Relations**

The tables below illustrate the royal European background and immediate family connections of Emperor Dom Pedro II of Brazil (1825-1891). When Pedro II was born in Rio on 2 December 1825, his father Dom Pedro, a direct descendant of the Portuguese House of Braganza and the Spanish House of Bourbon, was the first Emperor of Brazil and the heir to the Portuguese throne. As for his mother Donna Leopoldina (Maria Leopoldina Josepha Caroline of Austria), a direct descendant of the Austrian House of Habsburg-Lorraine (Lothringen), and the Spanish/Neapolitan House of Bourbon-Sicily, she was the first Empress of Brazil and an Archduchess of Austria, Princess of Hungary and Bohemia, Princess of Lorraine and of Bar, and Princess of Habsburg-Lorraine in her own right. As one can learn in Roderick J. Barman's Citizen Emperor: Pedro II and the Making of Brazil, 1825-1891, Pedro's 'grandfathers were the king of Portugal and the emperor of Austria, his grandmothers daughters of the kings of Spain and Naples. His cousins included the monarchs of Great Britain, France, Bavaria, and Sardinia. The infant prince was, in truth, related by blood to virtually all the reigning houses of Europe' (1). Tables 1 and 2 show respectively the Brazilian Emperor's paternal and maternal ancestors, and Table 3 gives his wife the Empress Donna Theresa Christina's family background, whereas Table 4 and 5 illustrate their two daughters' and sons-in-law's connections in the French royal house of Orleans and in the German ducal house of Saxe-Coburg.



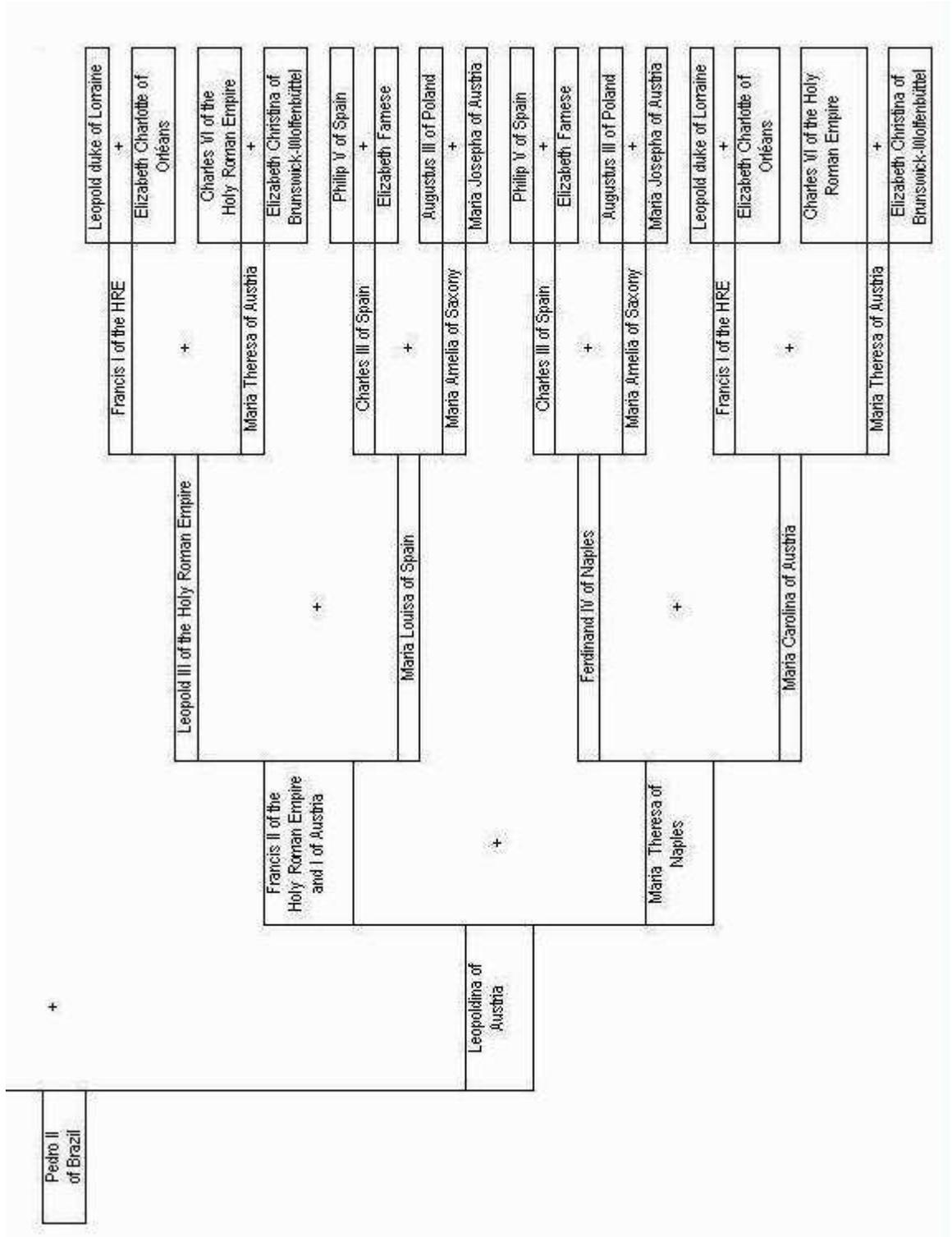


Table 2. Dom Pedro II's immediate maternal ancestry

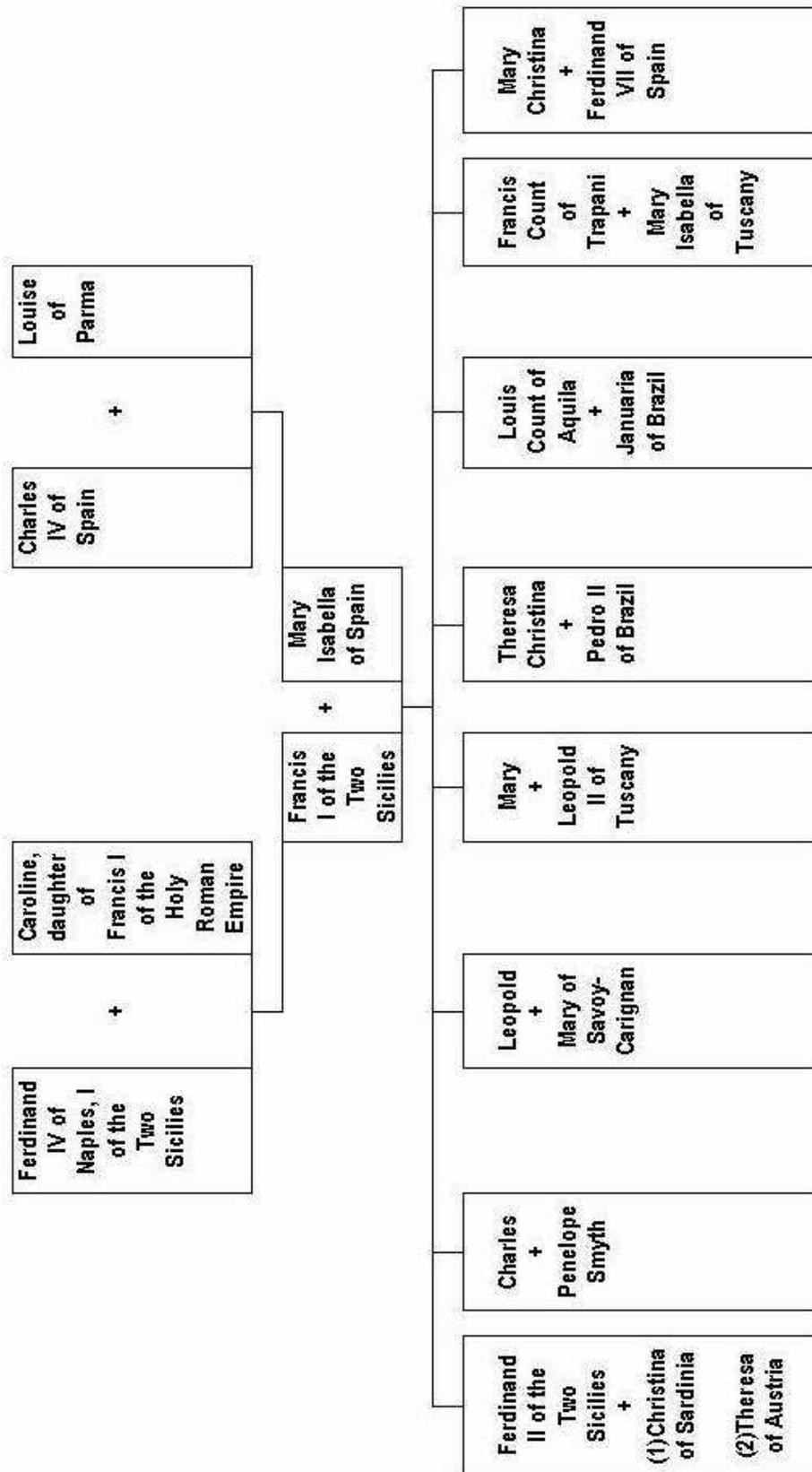


Table 3. Donna Theresa Christina’s immediate family



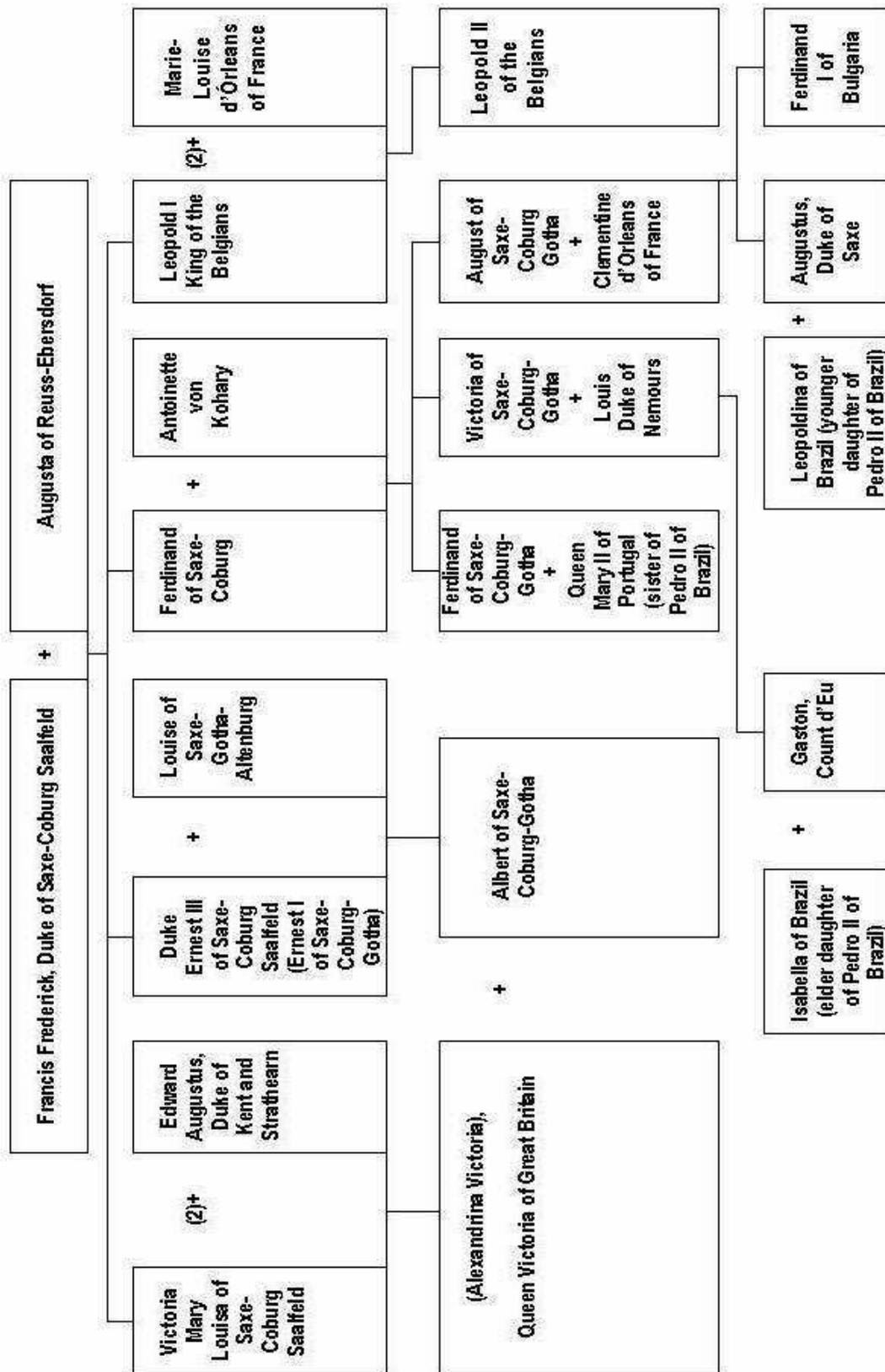


Table 5. Brazilian relations in the family of Saxe-Coburg

## APPENDIX D: Villegaignon's Life

This appendix presents the main dates and facts in the life of Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon as found in different sources about his life.

- 1510 — Provins, near Villegaignon, Seine et Marne, Île-de-France, France — Nicolas Durand is born at number 18, rue du Murot, nowadays rue Saint-Thibault, the son of Louis Durand and Jeanne de Fresnoy. Louis Durand is not a nobleman, but he is a state councillor, a jurist and a magistrate, and the bailli (a bailiff, the king's representative, charged with the application of justice and control of the administration) in the bailliage (royal court) of Provins. In total, Louis Durand and Jeanne de Fresnoy have 13 children.
- 1513 or 1516 — Having acquired land in the neighbouring village of Villegaignon, Louis Durand (Nicolas Durand's father) is raised to the nobility by being granted the lesser nobility title of "seigneur de Villegaignon" by King François I.
- 1521 — Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon's father dies and his mother sends him to Paris to study law. He lives at the Hôtel des Anges, he studies at Le Marche and Montaigu schools, and then joins the University of Paris. Mariz and Provençal mention that according to Calvin's biographer Bernard Cotret, Villegaignon and Calvin were contemporaries both at La Marche and Montaigu and then at the

University of Paris and at the Orleans Law School. Other biographers doubt they were classmates at school, but (again according to Mariz and Provençal) Alciat has confirmed they were together at law school.

- 1530 — Paris, France — Villegaignon graduates from his law studies. He tries to join the Parliament of France but is not accepted.
- 1531 — France — Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon enters the Order of Malta (the Order of St. John of Jerusalem) and becomes a Knight Hospitaller in 1531 on the recommendation of Philippe Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, grand maître de l'ordre (grand master of the order). Apparently, Philippe Villiers de l'Isle-Adam was a family friend but no relation, though some sources inform that he was Nicolas Durand's uncle.
- 1531-1540 — Nicolas Durand's apprenticeship in the Order of St. John (Order of Malta).
- 1540 — Villegaignon is sent on an embassy to Venice and then to Constantinople as an emissary of François I to Suleyman the Magnificent, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. He takes Suleyman's response back to François as far as Turin.
- 1541 — October — Turin and Algiers — Villegaignon joins, as a knight of the Order of St. John (Malta), the attack against Algiers under the command of The Emperor Charles V, of which he writes a famous account. Like it happened in Charles V's attack on Tunis in 1535, the Emperor led the expedition in person, once again with the help of the Order of St. John. This time, when Charles reached Algiers in October he was disappointed in his hope that Hassan Aga, the Turkish military commander of Algiers, would surrender without a fight; and on 28th October, confirming the fame of the mariners' dread day of the 'bad star' of Saints Simon and Jude, a storm arose and shattered the Christian fleet. The coast of Algiers was littered with corpses of men and of horses, with masts and timbers from the wrecked vessels. The three galleys of the

Order escaped and, after sheltering for a while in Tunis, returned safely to Malta on December 8.

- 1542 — The first edition of Villegaignon's 24-page book Relation de l'expédition de Charles-Quint contre Alger appeared in Latin in 1542 under the title Caroli V. Imperatoris Expeditio in Africam ad Argieram. Villegaignon 'demonstrated his impressive knowledge of Latin' (Shannon 1997b n. 39) and became a European bestseller, with other Latin editions (published in Venice, Antwerp, and Nuremberg), and a French translation (published in Lyon, Relation, below) all published that same year (Mariz and Provençal 59), which also saw the first English translation, from the French, A lamentable and piteous treatise, published in London.)
- End of 1542 — Villegaignon returns to Paris to relate the Algiers campaign in person to King François I.
- 1543-1547 — Villegaignon spends more than four years in the North of Italy in military and diplomatic missions.
- 1547 — The new king of France, Henri II sends Villegaignon to escort the Italian count Flaminio dell' Anguillara on his trip back to Rome. The nobleman was returning to Italy to serve French interests, he was related to the Strozzi, fierce enemies of the Florence Medici, and his life was in danger.
- 1547-1548 — Henri II send Villegaignon to rid the Brittany coast of English pirates.
- 1548 — August — Scotland and England - Villegaignon commands the French naval fleet that takes Mary Stuart, then five years old, from Scotland to France, as she is promised to marry the Dauphin of France. Villegaignon lands safely in France with the young Mary, Queen of Scots and her 'Four Marys' on 13 August 1548. Villegaignon wins the hearts and minds of the French court, and he is sent back to Scotland with gold to sponsor Catholic resistance in Scotland. Villegaignon fights to

defend Firth, attacks English garrisons in Guernsey, and English ships in the English Channel.

- 1551 — July — Malta in the Mediterranean — Villegaignon arrives in Malta. ‘This great noble told the Grand Master to his face that he was neglecting his duty, that the expedition of the Grand Turk was bound for Malta and Tripoli: further, that he was charged by Anne de Montmorency, Constable and First Minister of France, to advise the Grand Master that this armament was directed against “the Religion.” . . . when the Commandeur had finished speaking, he was coldly thanked by D’Omedes, who then bowed him out. Turning to the Knights Grand Cross he said with a sneer, “Either this Frenchman is the dupe of the Constable or he wishes to make us his.” He then proceeded to give at length the reasons why Soliman would not direct so huge an expedition against “the Religion.” Many of the Knights dissented vehemently from his conclusions, but D’Omedes refused to listen to their arguments.’ (Currey, Chap. 17)

Villegaignon tries in vain, from Malta, to defend Tripoli against the Turks, who take it after failing to take Malta. He distinguishes himself for the stout resistance he puts up at the old Maltese capital of Medina. The French are accused of being responsible for the loss of Tripoli.
- 1553 — Villegaignon writes and publishes in Paris De bello Melitensi, & eius eventu Francis imposito, ad Carolum Caesarem V. Nicolai Villagagnonis commentarius, an eye-witness account of the 1551 Malta campaign where he tries to exculpate the French and blame the Grand Master of the Order and the Spaniards at Tripoli for the outcome of the fight. The same publisher prints a French version, Traicté de la guerre de Malte & de l’issue d’icelle faulsement imputée aux Francois. A l’empereur Charles V. Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, that same year.

- 1555 — July 12 — Le Havre, France — Villegaignon sails out of Le Havre, France on board the ship La Grande Ramberge with a fleet of three ships and a ‘tough collection of potential settlers’ (Hemming 120). André Thevet is with them. Villegaignon led 600 soldiers and colonists, including French Huguenots and Swiss Calvinists who were unsatisfied with Catholic persecution in Europe. His main objective was probably to secure a permanent base in Brazil in order to explore brazilwood and precious metals and stones, which the Europeans believed to exist in abundance in the land. Brazilwood, the product which gave the name to what was to become Brazil, was then a very valuable source of red dye and hard wood for construction, and the main commodity Europeans from different countries explored legally and illegally along the Brazilian coast. The King of France, King Henri II, also knew of and approved the expedition, and had provided the fleet for the trip.
- 1555 — November 10 — Brazil/America, New World — Villegaignon and his fleet arrive in modern day Rio de Janeiro, where they find a colony on an island. They ‘fortified themselves on a small island at the mouth of [Guanabara] Bay, and gave their tiny colony the grandiose title of Antarctic France’. The French first landed at an island they called Ratier (today Ilha da Laje), not much more than a rock at the mouth of the bay. Unable to establish a permanent settlement there, they moved to a nearby island about a league away, where they built a fort they gave the name Fort Coligny. The island where they built Fort Coligny was a small island that today Brazilians call Ilha de Villegaignon. The French themselves named the Island Coligny, in honour of Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, a Huguenot admiral who supported the expedition in order to protect his co-religionists. For the Portuguese it already was Monte das Palmeiras (‘Palm Hill’), Ilha das Palmeiras or das Palmas (‘Palm Island’), whereas for the Tamoios, the Tupinambás who lived nearby, it was called Serigipe (siri ‘y-pe, ‘in

the river of the crabs', 'towards the river of the crabs', or 'crab stinger' in Old Tupi), and for other Tupis, Itamoguaia ('hewn rock'). To the mainland village the French settlers may have founded in what is today Praia do Flamengo, Villegaignon apparently gave the name of Henriville, in honour of King Henri II of France. The Huguenot colony was hailed in Europe as 'a new era in history. It was the actual beginning of the movement which brought to the New World, as a place where they might worship God in their own way, the Puritans of New England, the Quakers of Pennsylvania and the Catholics of Maryland. Scholars called it the Expedition of the Indonauts; and a French pedant, after the fashion of the time, celebrated its departure in an indifferent Greek epigram. God looked down, he said, from heaven, and saw that the corrupt Christians of Europe had utterly forgotten both Himself and His Son. He therefore resolved to transfer the Christian Mysteries to a New World, and to destroy the sinful Old World to which they had been entrusted in vain' (E.J. Payne).

- 1556 — January 31 at 4 am? (Thevet Chapter 60 1558 118; 1568 96; 1978 197), February 12? (Mariz and Provençal 95), February 14? (Mariz and Provençal 84) — Thevet leaves Antarctic France and returns to Europe with The Sieur De Bois le Comte.
- 1556 — September 10 — Jean de Léry and thirteen other Calvinists leave Geneva on their way to Brazil.
- 1556 — November 19 — The Sieur De Bois le Comte leaves for Brazil in three ships fitted out for war at the king's expense. They are the Petite Roberge (80 people, including soldiers and sailors); the Grande Roberge (120, including Léry); and the Rosée (90 people, including 10 young boys and 5 young girls, cf. Léry 1990 42, with a woman to watch over them).

- 1557 — February 26 — The Sieur De Bois le Comte's fleet first sights 'West India, the Land of Brazil, the fourth part of the world, unknown to the Ancients: otherwise called "America"' (Léry 1990 25).
- 1557 — Sunday, March 7 — The Sieur De Bois le Comte's fleet reaches Antarctic France. They find Villegaignon settled 'on a little island situated in this estuary' (Léry 1990 32).
- 1558 — January 4 — Jean de Léry and fourteen others return to France on board the Jacques. There are forty-five people on board (Léry 1990 197). They reach France on May 24 (Mariz and Provençal 119).
- 1558 — January — One Norman had been among the Tupinambá since long before Villegaignon's arrival. He refused to marry or abandon his native woman 'with whom he had lived – as they all do – in the greatest abomination and Epicurean manner . . . for seven years'. This man decided to do away with Villegaignon rather than lose his concubine. He incited the Indians by telling them that Villegaignon was responsible for the epidemic of fevers that had killed so many of them. He also enlisted some frustrated Normans with visions of the good life to be enjoyed among the native women.
- 1558 — February — Five of the Protestants who had left Antarctic France with Jean de Léry had been forced by the master of the ship to return to the colony. The five rebelled and tried to escape but only one managed to, and was later executed by the Portuguese in 1567 (Mariz and Provençal 120). The other four were arrested and tried for sedition, desertion and treason. One of the Calvinists was tried and found not guilty, whereas the other three (Pierre Bourdon, Jean du Bordel, and Matthieu Verneuil) were tried, found guilty and executed by drowning in Antarctic France.

They were to become famous in polemic literature of the period as the first Protestant martyrs in America.

- 1559 — May — Villegaignon returns to France (Mariz and Provençal 122) disgusted with the infighting between Catholics and Protestants in the small colony. After the events during his stay in Antarctic France, Villegaignon would find himself at the centre of Catholic versus Calvinist polemic. He was attacked in many publications and published many answers to these attacks. Villegaignon was variously described by Calvinist pamphlets sometimes as a new Polyphemus (the natives' cannibalism being compared to his Catholic beliefs about the real presence), and as the Cain of America, as he became the first person ever to order the execution of Protestants in the New World.
- 1560 — May 18 — A bull signed on this date by Jean Parisot de Valette [now universally known as 'de la Valette'], Grand Master of the Order of Malta since 21 August 1557, donates the commandery of Beauvais-in-Gâtinais, close to Nemours, to Villegaignon. Grande Master de Valette has long been a personal friend of Villegaignon's. He was a young Provençal of the Order at the time of the Order's transfer to Malta in 1530, was Villegaignon's second-in-command and right-hand man when the French naval fleet took the five-year-old Mary, Queen of Scots from Scotland to France in 1548, and he will live to command his Knights when they manage to repel the Turks' Great Siege of Malta in 1565.
- 1561 — Having become a young widow, Queen Mary returns to Scotland with the Four Marys. The Queen travels with a small flotilla, and as 'on her outward voyage, the captain of her galley [is] Nicolas de Villegaignon' (Guy 127). The eighteen-year-old Queen of Scots lands safely in her home realm on August 19.

- 1566 — July — Villegaignon accepts to escort Henri, the 16 year-old Duke of Guise, son of his recently murdered friend, to Hungary, and returns to Beauvais via Germany.
- 1567 — January 20 — After a number of battles against the Portuguese, the French colonists in Antarctic France are defeated by Estácio de Sá, a nephew of Mem de Sá, the third Portuguese Governor-General of Brazil.
- 1567 — Villegaignon is appointed Governor of the town of Sens.
- 1570 — Villegaignon is appointed to the prestigious position of the Order of Malta's Ambassador to the Court of France.
- 1572 (1571 OS) — January 9 — Villegaignon dies in Beauvais, leaving his small estate 'à ceux condamnés à l'éternelle misère, le peuple de Paris' ('to those condemned to eternal misery, the people of Paris', Mariz and Provençal 148).

## APPENDIX E: Villegaignon Bibliography up to 1611

An annotated list of texts, biographical and otherwise, by and on Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon to versions of which Shakespeare might have had access in the process of creating the plot of The Tempest. Although this list is not meant to be exhaustive, it is representative, as it includes (mostly) extant English, Latin, French, and a few Italian works in the collections of the British Library, the Brazilian Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, the Acervo Bibliográfico da Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and in the following collections in France: Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Côte d'Or; Bibliothèque Méjanes, Aix-en-Provence, Bouches-du-Rhône; Bibliothèque Municipale Auxerre, Yonne; Bibliothèque Municipale d'études et de conservation. Besançon, Doubs; Bibliothèque Municipale Versailles, Yvelines; Bibliothèque Municipale, Avignon, Vaucluse; Bibliothèque Municipale, Nancy, Meurthe-et-Moselle; Bibliothèque Municipale, Angers, Maine-et-Loire; Bibliothèque Municipale, Lyon, Rhône; Bibliothèque Municipale, Grenoble, Isère; Médiathèque Municipale Jean Lévy, Lille, Nord. We indicate the shelfmark number of items in the British Library collection because they can help to illustrate the variety of texts on the subject that have at one time or another made their way to England and which are arguably more likely to have been already available to a reader in England in the early 1610's.

L'Amende honorable de N. D. [An attack upon D. de V. for his 'Lettres ... à la Royne Mère du Roy.'] [Paris?] 1561. 8°. British Library: 700.b.29.(6.) (Anonymous work. The latter, below.)

B[arré?], N[icolas?]. Copie de Quelques Lettres sur la Navigation du Cheuallier de Villegaignon [i.e. Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon] es terres de l'Amerique outre l'Æquinocial, iusques soubz le tropique de Capricorne: contenat sommairement les fortunes encourues en ce voyage, avec les meurs et façons de vivre des Sauvages du pais: envoyées par un des gens du dict Seigneur. [Two letters, each signed: N. B.] Paris: Martin le Jeune, 1557. 8°. Humanities G.7279. British Library: 699.a.19.(11.), G.7279. (These Protestant letters, together with Thevet's 1557 Singularitez de la France Antarctique, below, are the earliest published accounts of Villegaignon's voyage to Antarctic France. Also published in Latin in Theodor de Bry's Americae tertia pars, below.)

---. Discours de Nicolas Barré sur la navigation du chevalier de Villegaignon en Amérique.  
Paris : Le Jeune, 1558.

[Bèze, Théodore de?]. Histoire ecclesiastique des Eglises reformées au Royaume de France, en laquelle est descrite au vray la renaissance & accroissement d'icelles depuis l'an M.D.XXI. iusques en l'annee M.D.LXIII. leur reiglement ou discipline, Synodes, persecutions ... noms & labeurs de ceux qui ont heureusement trauaillé ... avec le discours des premiers troubles ou guerres ciuiles, desquelles la vraye cause est aussi declaree. [Variously attributed to T. de Bèze, and to T. de Bèze in collaboration with Nicolas Des Gallars.] 3 tom. J. Remy: Anvers [Geneva], 1580. 8°. British Library: 295.i.25-27. (Anonymous work. The imprint is false.)

Boemus, Johannes, Aubanus. The Manners, Lawes and Customes of All Nations ...The Like Also out of the History of America, or Brasill, written by John Lerijs. Trans. E.

Aston. London, 1611. British Library: 10001.de.17. (English translation of Mores, Leges et Ritus omnium Gentium, below, it includes excerpts from Jean de Léry's 1578 Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil, further below.)

---. Mores, Leges et Ritus omnium Gentium, per I. Boemum ... collecti. Ex Nicol. Damasceni Historia excerpta eiusdem argumenti. Itidem et ex Brasiliana I. Lerii Historia. Fides, religio et mores Æthiopum, ac deploratio Lappianæ gentis, a Goes auctore. De Æthiopibus nonnulla ex I. Scaligeri lib. VII. de Emendatione Temporum. [Geneva,] 1604. 12°. British Library: 10026.a.30., 793.a.2.(1.), 799.a.20.(1.) (Latin original by Boemus. The popularity of this work is attested by the fact that the British Library has many copies from at least ten different editions of this work from as early as 1520 (Omnium gentium mores leges et ritus ex multis clarissimis rerum scriptoribus ... collectos: & in libros tris distinctos Aphricam, Asiam, Europam, first edition) to 1596. New editions from 1604 include Excerpta quaedam de America sue Brasilia ex Joan. Lerij or Ex Brasiliana J. Lerii historia, a Latin translation of (excerpts from) Jean de Léry's 1578 Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil, below.)

---. Mores, Leges et Ritus omnium Gentium ... Geneva, 1610. 12°. British Library: 10026.a.30. (Another edition of the same, which includes Léry's 1578 narrative.)

Bref recueil de l'affliction et dispersion de l'eglise des fidèles, partie de l'Amerique Australe, où est contenue sommairement le voyage et navigation faictes par Nicolas de Villegagnon audict pays du Brésil et ce que est advenu. N.p., 1563. (Anonymous Protestant pamphlet.)

Bref recueil de l'affliction et dispersion de l'eglise des fidèles, partie de l'Amerique Australe, où est contenue sommairement le voyage et navigation faictes par Nicolas de Villegagnon audict pays du Brésil et ce que est advenu. Paris, 1564. (Anonymous Protestant pamphlet.)

Bref recueil de l'affliction et dispersion de l'Eglise des fideles au pays du Bresil, ... Ou est contenu ... le voyage ... faicte par N. de Villegaignon, au dict pays du Bresil, etc. [Orleans:] 1565. 8°. British Library: G.20044.(4.) (Anonymous Protestant pamphlet, an abridged version of Léry's 'La Persécution des fidèles en terre d'Amérique,' below.)

Bry, Theodor de. [America.-Part III.-Latin.] Americae tertia pars memorabile[m] provinciae Brasiliae historiam contine[n]s, Germanico primum sermone scriptam a Ioa[n]ne Stadio ... nunc autem latinitate donatam à Teucro Annæo Priuato Colchanthe [i.e. J. A. Lonicer] ... Addita est Narratio profectionis Ioannis Lerij in eamdem provinciam, qua[e] ille initio a Gallicè conscripsit, postea verò Latinam fecit. His accessit Descriptio morum & ferocitatis incolarum illius regionis atque colloquium ipsorum idioma conscriptum. Omnia recens evulgata & eiconibus ... illustrata ... studio & diligentia T. de Bry. (Exemplar duarum litterarum quibus ... explicantur et nauigatio N. Uillagagnonis ... in illam Americæ prouinciam, quæ ... ad Tropicum usque Capricorni extenditur; & mores consuetudinesque incolarum euis regionis ... nunc ... recèns Latio donata a C. C. A. [i.e. Carolus Clusius Atrebatensis.]) [With a preface by J. Dryander, and a map of Central and South America.] Francofurti: T. de Bry, 1592. fol. British Library: C.115.h.2.(3.), G.6627.(4.) (Latin translation of Léry's 1578 Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil, below. It forms part of the third volume (1583) of the De Bry family's Grands Voyages, 'a magnificently illustrated and widely circulated collection of volumes that was part of the great publicity movement to encourage Protestant colonization of the New World.' (Léry 1990 221). The volume also includes the Latin versions of Nicolas Barré's Copie de quelques lettres, above, and Hans Staden's narrative about his stay in Brazil. Reissued in 1597 or later; second

edition, 1605. fol.; [Another edition.], 1605. With the engraving of Adam and Eve on S4 verso. fol. British Library: C.74.g.4.(3.), G.6633.(4.), 579.k.14.(3.).

Crespin, Jean. Actes des martyrs deduits en sept livres, depuis le temps de Wiclef et de Hus.

[Genève], 1564. (A book that includes the anonymous 1561 Histoire des choses mémorables, below.)

[---?.] Histoire des choses mémorables advenues en la terre du Brésil, partie de l'Amérique Australe, sous le gouvernement de M. de Villegagnon depuis l'an 1555 jusques à l'an 1558. Genève, 1561. (Anonymous Protestant work maybe by Lois de Rozu.)

[---?.] Histoire des choses mémorables advenues en la terre du Brésil, partie de l'Amérique Australe, sous le gouvernement de M. de Villegagnon depuis l'an 1555. N.p., n.d. (Another edition of same.)

[---?.] Histoire des choses memorables advenues en la Terre du Bresil, sous le gouvernement de N. de Villeg. depuis l'an 1555 jusques à l'an 1558. [Geneva,] 1561. 8°. British Library: 700.b.29.(4.) (Another edition of same.)

[---?.] Histoire des choses mémorables survenues en la terre du Brésil depuis l'an 1555 jusqu'à l'an 1558. Genève, 1561. (Another edition of same.)

---. Histoire des Martyrs persécutez et mis à mort pour la vérité de l'Évangile. Genève, 1570. (Established title from 1570 of Crespin's Actes des martyrs, above.)

---. Histoire des martyrs, persécutez et mis à mort pour la vérité de l'Évangile depuis les temps des apôtres. Genève, 1597. (Another edition of same.)

---. Histoire des martyrs persécutez et mis à mort pour la vérité de l'Éuangile, depuis le temps des Apostres iusques à l'an 1574. Comprinse en dix liures ... Reueuë [by Eustache Vignon], & augmentee d'un tiers [by Simon Goulart] en ceste derniere Edition [of "Le Livre des martyrs"] ... Auec deux indices, etc. [Eustache Vignon: Geneva,] 1582. fol. British Library: 487.1.23. (Another edition of same.)

---. Histoire des martyrs, persécutez et mis à mort pour la vérité de l'Évangile ... Comprinse en douze liures ... Reueuë [by E. Vignon], & augmentee [by S. Goulart] en ceste Edition [of "Le Livre des martyrs"], des deux derniers liures, item de plusieurs histoires, & choses remarquables es precedens [sic] ... Avec deux indces [sic] etc. [Jean Vignon?: Geneva,] 1608. fol. British Library: C.73.f.9. (Another edition of same.)

---. Histoire des martyrs, persécutez et mis à mort pour la vérité de l'Évangile ... Comprinse en douze liures ... Reueuë [by E. Vignon], & augmentee [by S. Goulart] en ceste Edition [of "Le Livre des martyrs"], des deux derniers liures, item de plusieurs histoires, & choses remarquables es precedens [sic] ... Avec deux indces [sic] etc. Paris, 1609. (Another edition of same.)

[---?.] 'La Persécution des fidèles en terre d'Amérique.' Histoire des choses memorables advenues en la terre du Bresil. By Jean Crespin ?. [Genève, 1564.] (Same as Histoire des choses memorables advenues en la terre du Brésil, above, with minor modifications. An abridged version appeared in the 1565 anonymous Bref recueil de l'affliction et dispersion de l'Eglise des fideles au pays du Bresil, above.)

L'estrille de N. D. dict le Chevallier de Villegaignon [an attack upon him]. [Paris?,] 1561. 8°. British Library: 700.b.29.(2.) (Anonymous Protestant pamphlet).

L'Estrille de Nicolas Durand, dict le chevalier de Villegagnon. Paris, 1561. (Another edition of same.)

L'Estrille de Nicolas Durand, dict le sieur de Villegagnon. Paris, 1561. (Anonymous Protestant pamphlet).

La Popelinière, Lancelot Voisin, sieur de. Les Trois Mondes du seigneur de la Popelinière. Paris: Oliuier de Pierre l'Huillier, 1582. ('This work had three editions, all published in 1582, one in 4°, and the other two in 8°. Bibliographers are not sure about which of

the three editions was the first. As a Protestant, La Popelinière bases his attack on Villegaignon on L ry. His description of Brazil and the Brazilian Indians is based on [Magalh es] Gandavo [below] and Thevet.’  
<<http://www.obrasraras.usp.br/mais.php?obra=000237> >)

L ry, Jean de. Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de L ry. [Gen ve], 1578. (First edition. Together with Richer’s La r futation des folles reseveries, ex crables blasph mes, below, L ry’s is the most important account of the Huguenot’s voyage to join Villegaignon in Antarctic France and of their presence there from March 1557 to 1558.)

---. Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de L ry. ‘Seconde Edition.’ ‘A Gen ve. Pour Antoine Chuppin’, 1580.

---. Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de L ry. ‘Troisieme Edition.’ ‘[Gen ve,] Pour Antoine Chuppin’, 1585.

---. Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de L ry. [False] ‘Troisieme Edition.’ ‘[Gen ve,] Pour les heritiers d’Eustache Vignon’, 1594. (This false third edition is a reprint of the 1580 second edition).

---. Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de L ry. ‘Quatrieme Edition. Dediee a Madame la Princesse d’Orange.’ ‘[Gen ve,] Pour les heritiers d’Eustache Vignon’, 1599. (This and the next entry are two printings of the fourth edition).

- . Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Léry. 'Quatrieme Edition. Dediee a Madame la Princesse d'Orange.' [Genève,] Pour les heritiers d'Eustache Vignon', 1600.
- . Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Léry. 'Cinquieme Edition. Dediee a Madame la Princesse d'Orange. A Genève, pour Jean Vignon', 1611.
- . Historia navigationis in Brasiliam quae et America dicitur. Qua describitur autoris navigatio, quaeque in mari vidit memoriae prodenda: Villagagnonis in America gesta: Brasiliensium Victus et mores, a nostri admodum alieni, cum eorum linguae dialogo: animalia etiam, arbores, arque herbae, reliquaque singularia et nobis penitus incognita / a Ioanne Lerio Burgundo Gallicè scripta. Nunco vero primum latinitate donata, 7 varii figuris illustrata. [Geneva:] Eustathius Vignon, 1586. 8°. British Library: 1061.a.27, G.15693, 1197.c.15. (Latin translation of Léry's 1578 Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil, above. Reprinted in 1594 (Secunda editio. Genevæ. British Library: 978.b.26.) with some slight alterations. It was also issued by the same publisher that same year along with the Latin translation of Benzoni's Historia Indiae Occidentalis.)
- Lescarbot, Marc. Histoire de la Nouvelle France, contenat les navigations, découvertes et habitations faites par les François és Indes Occidentales & Nouvelle-France, par commission de noz Roys Très-Chrestiens [...] En quoy est comprise l'Histoire Moral, Naturele et Geographique de ladite province [...]. Paris, 1609.
- Magalhães Gandavo, Pedro de. Historia da provincia sãcta Cruz a qui 'vulgarmete' chamamos Brasil, etc. [With "tercetos" in praise of the book addressed to Dom Lionis Pereira, to whom it is dedicated, and a sonnet on his victory over the King of Achem, both by Luis de Camoens]. A. Gonsalvez: Lisboa, 1576. 4°. British Library: G.6217.

(Though not likely to have been read by Shakespeare, this was the source for many contemporary texts about Brazil, such as La Popelinière's Les Trois Mondes, above.)

Marlorat, Augustin. Remonstrance à la Royne mère du Roy, par ceux qui sont persécutez pour la parole de Dieu [Texte imprimé]. En laquelle ils rendent raison des principaux articles de la religion, & qui sont aujourd'hui en dispute. Paris, 1560. (A Protestant pamphlet.)

---. Remonstrance à la Royne mère du Roy, par ceux qui sont persécutez pour la parole de Dieu [Texte imprimé]. En laquelle ils rendent raison des principaux articles de la religion, & qui sont aujourd'hui en dispute. N.p., 1561. (Another edition of same.)

Palissy, Bernard. Recepte Véritable, par laquelle tous les hommes de la France pourront apprendre à multiplier et augmenter leurs trésors. (A 1563 Protestant pamphlet.)

La Response aux Lettres de N. D. ... adressées à la Royne mere du Roy. Ensemble la confutation d'une heresie mise en avant par ledict Villegaignon, contre la souveraine puissance ... des Rois. [Paris? 1561.] 8°. British Library: 700.b.29.(1.) (A Protestant pamphlet.)

[La Response aux Lettres de N. D. ... adressées à la Royne mere du Roy. Ensemble la confutation d'une heresie mise en avant par ledict Villegaignon, contre la souveraine puissance ... des Rois.] [Another edition.] Paris, 1561. 4°. British Library: 699.k.1.(4.)

La response aux lettres de Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon, adressées à la Royne mère du Roy. Paris, 1561.

La response aux lettres de Villegaignon. N.p., n.d. (This and the two previous works are other editions of similar Protestant pamphlets.)

[Richer, Pierre (?)]. Contre les exécrables impostures, impietés, et blasphèmes de Durand, bordelier qui se nomme Villegaignon. [Paris], [1561]. (8-page Protestant pamphlet)

published in Paris in 1561. It was published anonymously, without publisher and without place of publication.)

[---?]. L'espousete des armories de Villegaignon pour bien faire liure la fleur de lis, que l'Estrille n'a point touche'e. [Paris], [1561]. (Anonymous Protestant pamphlet.)

---. La réfutation des folles reseveries, exécrales blasphèmes, erreurs et mensonges de Nicolas Durand, qui se nomme Villegagnon, divisée en deux livres. [Paris], 1561. (Another edition of the Contre les exécrales impostures Protestant pamphlet above. This and Léry's Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique, above, are the major accounts of Antarctic France in the period March 1557-1558.)

---. La réfutation des folles resveries, exécrales blasphèmes, erreurs et mensonges de Nicolas Durand, qui se nomme Villegagnon, divisée en deux livres. Paris, 1562. (Another edition of same.)

Richerius, Petrus. Petri Richerii Libri duo apologetici ad refutandas nænias, & coarguendos blasphemus errores, detegendaque mendacia Nicolai Durandi qui se Villagagnonem cognominat. per Thrasybulum Phœnicum: Hierapoli, 1561. 4°. The imprint is fictitious. Printed at Geneva. British Library: 1492.a.65. (Latin version of Richer's La refutation des folles reseveries, above.)

Scepper (Schepper), C. D., ed. Rerum a Carolo V Cesare Augusto in Africa bello gestarum commentarii. Antwerpen: J. Bellère, 1554. (A 1554 Latin version of descriptions of The Emperor Charles V's expedition against the North African Pirate-States. Offered at an October 2003 Auction Sale by booksellers Reiss and Sohn <[http://www.reiss-sohn.de/kat91/pdf/91\\_3.pdf](http://www.reiss-sohn.de/kat91/pdf/91_3.pdf)> Described as a 'First edition ... Compiled by Schepper, including extracts from writings by N. de Villegaignon, I. C. Calvete, P. Giovio and

others. Illustr. with plans and views of Algiers, Tunis, and El Kef. — Some browning, small stain to 1 plate, small tear to another. — Later vellum, a bit dusty.’)

Thevet, André. La Cosmographie universelle d’André Thevet, cosmographe du roy: illustreé de diverses figures des choses plus remarquables veues par l’auteur, & incogneuës de noz anciens & modernes. 2 tom. A Paris: Chez Guillaume Chandière ..., 1575. fol. British Library: 568.h.3., 568.h.4.

---. La Grand Insulaire et Pilotage d’André Thevet Angoumoisain, Cosmographe du Roy. Dans lequel sont contenus plusieurs plants d’isles habitées et deshabetées, et description d’icelles. (Ms.circa 1586-1587)

---. Histoire d’André Thevet Angoumoisain, Cosmographe du Roy, de deuz voyages par luy faits aus Indes Australes, et Occidentales description d’icelles. (Ms.circa 1587-1588)

---. Historia dell’India America, detta altramente Francia Antartica, . . . tradotta di Francese in Lingua Italiana, da M. Giuseppe Horologgi. Venice, 1561. 8°. British Library: 278.a.36. (Italian translation, by Giuseppe Dondi Dall’Orologio, of Singularitez de la France Antarctique, below, reissued in 1583 and 1584.)

---. The new Found worlde, or Antarctike, wherein is contained wonderful and strange things, as well of humaine creatures, as Beastes, Fishes, Foules, and Serpents, Trees, Plants, Mines of Golde and Silver: garnished with many learned aauthorities, travailed and written in the French tong, by that excellent learned man, master Andrewe Thevet. And now newly translated into Englishe, wherein is reformed the errors of the auncient Cosmographers. London: Imprinted by Henrie Bynneman for Thomas Hacket, 1568. 8°. British Library: 798.c.34 and G. 7107. (First English translation (1568) of Singularitez de la France Antarctique.)

---. Singularitez de la France Antarctique, autrement nommée Amérique: & de plusieurs Terres & Isles decouvertes de nostre temps. N.p., 1557. 4°. (First edition.)

- . Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique, antrement nommée Amérique: & de plusieurs Terres & Isles decouvertes de notre temps. Paris, 1558. 4°. British Library: G.2474.?
- . [Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique, antrement nommée Amérique: & de plusieurs Terres & Isles decouvertes de notre temps.] [Another edition.] C. Plantin: Anvers, 1558. 8°. British Library: G.2474.?
- . Les vrais pourtraits et vies des Hommes illustres Grecz, Latins et Payens, recueillez de leurs tableaux, livres, medalles antiques et modernes. Par André Thevet Angoumoysin, Premier Cosmographe du Roy. 2 vols. Paris, 1584. fol.
- Villegaignon, Nicolas Durand de. Ad articulos Calvinianae, de sacramento eucharistiae, traditions, ab eius Ministris in Francia Antarctica euulgatae responsiones. N.p., 1562.
- . Ad Articulos Calvinianæ de Sacramento Eucharistiæ Traditionis, ab ejus Ministris in Francia Antarctica euulgatæ responsiones. ... Editio secunda ... aucta. MS. notes. Parisiis, 1562. 4°. [With a prefatory letter by Calvin.] British Library: 700.d.2.(1.)
- . Articulos Calvinianae traditionis de Eucharistia responsiones. N.p., 1560.
- . Articulos Calvinianae traditionis de Eucharistia responsiones. N.p., 1562.
- . Articulos Calvinianae traditionis de Eucharistia responsiones. N.p., 1562. (Another edition of same.)
- . Bello melitensi ad Carolum caesare ... N.p., 1553. (The first, Latin, edition of Villegaignon's eye-witness account of the 1551 Malta campaign against the Turks.)
- . Bello melitensi, [et] eius eventu Francis imposito, ad Carolu[m] Caesarem V. Nicolai Villagagnonis ... N.p., 1553.
- . De bello Melitensi, & eius euentu Francis imposito, ad Carolu[m] Caesarem V. Carolum Stephanu, 1553.
- . De bello Melitensi ... co[m]mentarius. Parisiis, 1553. 4°. Humanities 174.d.15.(1.)  
British Library: 174.d.15.(1.)

- . [Another copy.] With a different titlepage. Humanities G.3305.(2.) Shelfmark British Library: G.3305.(2.)
- . [Another copy.] De bello Melitensi ... commentarius. C. Stephanus: Parisiis, 1553. 4°. British Library: 795.g.6.(2.)
- . ‘Caroli V. Cæsaris expeditio in Africam ad Argieram’. Rerum a Carolo V. ... in Africa bello gestarum commentarii, etc. Ed. By C. D. Scepper. 1554. 12°. British Library: 168.a.1.
- . ‘Carolo V. Cæsaris expeditio, etc.’ Rerum a Carolo V. in Africa gestarum commentarii. 1555. Ed. By C. D. Scepper. 8°. British Library: 1054.a.2.
- . ‘Caroli V. expeditio, etc.’ Historicum opus, etc. tom. 2. Ed. By S. Schardius. [1574.] fol. British Library: 9366.i.11.
- . Caroli V. Imperatoris Expeditio in Africam ad Argieram. Parisiis: Ioannem Royni, uia ad D. Iacobum, 1542. (The first edition of Villegaignon’s 24-page book Relation de l’expédition de Charles-Quint contre Alger appeared in Latin in 1542. Villegaignon ‘demonstrated his impressive knowledge of Latin’ (Shannon 1997b n. 39) and became a European bestseller, with other Latin editions (published in Venice, Antwerp, and Nuremberg), and a French translation (published in Lyon, Relation, below) all published that same year (Mariz and Provençal 59), which also saw the first English translation, from the French (A lamentable and piteous treatise, below) published in London.)
- . ‘Caroli V. Imp. Expeditio in Africam ad Argieram.’ L. C. de origine et rebus gestis Turcorum, etc. Ed. By L. Chalkokondulas. 1556. fol. British Library: C.80.f.8.
- . Caroli V. Imperatoris expeditio in Africam ad Argieriam, etc. Parisiis, 1542. 8°. British Library: B.509.(1.)

- . [Caroli V. Imperatoris expeditio in Africam ad Argieriam, etc.] [Another edition.]  
Argentorati, 1542. 8°. British Library: T.1929.(6.)
- . [Caroli V. Imperatoris expeditio in Africam ad Argieriam, etc.] [Another edition.]
- . Caroli V. Imperatoris expeditio in Africam, etc. Apud J. Petreium: Norimbergæ, 1542.  
4°. British Library: G.6207.(1.)
- . Clarissimi ... N. Villagagnonis ... adversus novitiu[m] Calvini, Melanchthonis, at? id  
genus sectarioru[m] dogma de sacramento Eucharistiæ opuscula tria (1. Ad articulos  
Calvinianæ de Sacramento Eucharisti[a]e traditionis ... Responsiones, etc.-2. De  
Cœnæ controversiæ P. Melanchthonis judicio, etc.-3. De venera[n]dissimo Ecclesiæ  
Sacrificio, etc.), etc. Coloniae, 1563. 8°. MELANCHTHON, Philipp. Separate  
Works. Judicium ... de Controversia Coenae Domini, scriptum ad Principem quendam  
Electoraalem. Cum necessariis annotationibus [by N. Gallus], etc. (Lutheri quædam  
dicta ad commonefaciendum lectorem ... adversus ... Sententiam Philippi.) Few MS.  
notes. British Library: 4323.aa.12.
- . De Coenae contriversiæ Philippi Melanchthonis judicio. Ad serenissimum Ferdinandum  
Caesarem semper Augustum, et as illustrissimos sacri imperii Electores, Per Nicolaum  
Villegagnonem equitem Rhodium Francum. Paris, 1561.
- . De Cœnæ Controversiæ P. Melancthonis judicio. Parisiis, 1561. 4°. Few MS. notes.  
British Library: 700.d.2.(2.)
- . De Consecratione, mystico Sacrificio, et Duplici Christi oblatione adversus Vannium  
Lutherologiae profeforum etc... a Nicolao Villagagnone. N.p., 1569.
- . De Consecratione, mystico sacrificio, et duplici Christi Oblatione adversus Vannium. ...  
De Judaici Paschatis implemento adversus Calvinologos. De Poculo Sanguinis Christi  
... adversus Bezam. ... Pronuntiata quæ ad confirmationem superiorum pertinent, N.

- Villagogne authore. Latetiæ, 1569. 8°. Bèze, Théodore de. Appendix. Vannius, Valentin. British Library: 1018.c.16.
- . D. Nicolai Villagagnonis... adversus novitiu [m] Calvini, Melanchthonis, atq [ue] id genus sectatoru [m] dogma de Sacramento Eucharistiae, opuscula tria, recens conscripta, et in lucem edita... N.p., 1563.
- . [Le] Discours de la guerre de Malte, contenant la perte de Tripoli et autres forteresses, faulcement imposées aux François, escrit en latin à Charles V par le seigneur Nicolas de Villegagnon, puis traduit en nostre vulgaire, par M. N. Edoard. N.p., 1553. (The French version of the Bello melitensi, above, published in the same year.)
- . [Le discours de la guerre de Malte, contenant la perte de Tripolis et autres forteresses, faulcement imposee aux Fran[ç]ois, escrit en Latin, ... traduit en nostre vulgaire par M. N. Edoard.] British Library: 795.g.6.(3.)
- . Le discours de la guerre de Malte, contenant la perte de Tripolis et autres forteresses, faulcement imposee aux Fran[ç]ois, escrit en Latin, ... traduit en nostre vulgaire par M. N. Edoard. Lyon, 1553. 8°. British Library: 1313.c.33.
- . Estrille povr blason d'armoiries de la Cheuallairie de Villegaignon. Paris, 1561.
- . [?] Histoire memorable de la guerre faite par le Duc de Savoye contre ses subjectz des Vallées. N.p., [1562?]
- . Historicum opus, in quatuor tomos divisum, quorum tomus I Germaniae antiquae illustrationem continet, in qua veterum autorum descriptiones... elaboratis commentariis explicantur... Tomus II comprehendit ea quae sub imperio Caroli V,.... acciderunt... Tomus III historias complectitur quae venerunt in gubernationem Ferdinandi I,.... una cum epitoma rerum gestarum in variis orbis terrarum partibus a confirmatione ejusdem Caesaris... usque ad finem anni 1564. Tomus IIII res gestas in se continet, quae incurrerunt in Maximiliani II,.... imperium, una cum epitoma rerum

quae sub eodem Cesare... variis in orbis terrarum plagis peractae sunt... A viro quodam erudito [Simone Schardio]... collectum... N.p., 1574.

- . Lettre inédite de Villegagnon sur l'expédition de Charles-Quint contre Alger, publiée par A. Dujarric-Descombes,... N.p., 1895. (Although called 'inédite' as late as 1895, this letter could have been available as a manuscript copy from as early as the 1540's.)
- . Lettres ... sur les Remonstrances, à la Royne Mere du Roy. Paris, 1561. 4°. Humanities 699.k.1.(2.) British Library: 699.k.1.(2.)
- . [Another copy.] British Library: 699.k.1.(3.)
- . Lettres du chevalier de Villegaignon, sur les Remonstrances, à la Royne mère du Roy, sa souveraine. Paris, 1561.
- . Lettres du chevalier de Villegagnon sur les Remonstrances faites à la Royne mère du Roy, sa souveraine Dame, 10 de Mai, 1561. N.p., 1561.
- . Paraphrase du chevalier de Villegaignon sur la résolution des sacremens, de Maistre Jehan Calvin, Ministre de Geneve. N.p., 1561.
- . Paraphrase ... sur la resolution des sacremens, de Maistre Jehan Caluin. André Wechel: Paris, 1561. 4°. British Library: 1492.m.1.(5.)
- . Paraphrase ... sur la Resolution des Sacremens de Maistre J. Calvin ... Seconde édition ... augmentée. Paris, 1562. 4°. [With a prefatory letter by Calvin.] British Library: 699.k.1.(6.)
- . Paraphrase sur la resolution des sacremens de Calvin. N.p., 1561.
- . Propositions contensieuses entre le chevalier de Villegagnon et Jean Calvin, concernant la vérité de la Sainte Eucharistie. Paris, 1563.
- . Les propositions contensieuses entre le chevalier de Villegagnon et maitre Jehan Calvin concernant la vérité de l'Evangile. Paris, 1560.

- . [Les] propositions contentieuses entre le chevalier de Villegaignon, et maistre Jehan Calvin, concernant la vérité de l'Eucharistie. Paris, 1561.
- . Les propositions contentieuses entre le chevalier de Villegaignon, & maistre Jehan Caluin, concernants la vérité de l'Eucharistie. A la Royne, mere du Roy. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Lyon?, 1562.
- . Les Propositions contentieuses entre le Chevalier de Villegaignon et maistre J. Calvin, concernant la vérité de l'Eucharistie ... Seconde édition ... augmentée. Paris, 1562. 4<sup>o</sup>.  
British Library: 699.k.1.(5.)
- . Propositions contentieuses entre Villagaignon et Calvin sur l'Eucharistie. N.p., 1561.
- . Relation de l'expédition de Charles-Quint contre Alger. / par Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon suivie de la traduction du texte latin para Pierre Tolet. Publiées avec avant-propos, notice biographique, notes et appendice par H.-D. de Grammont. N.p., 1542.
- . Rerum a Carolo V.,... in Africa bello gestarum commentarii, elegantissimis iconibus ad historiam accomodis illustrati...A Cornelio Sceppero editi. N.p., 1555.
- . Responce par le Chevalier de Villegaignon aux Remonstrances faictes à la Royne mère du Roy. Paris, 1561. (A work where Villegaignon 'uses Richer as [his] adversary to counter Calvin's views on two hundred theological issues.' Shannon 1997b n. 13.)
- . Response au livre inscrit Pour la majorité du roy François second, ensemble ledit livre. N.p., 1565.
- . Response aux libelles d'injures publiez contre le Chevalier de Villegaignon. Paris, 1561.  
4<sup>o</sup>. British Library: 699.k.1.(1.)
- . Response aux libelles d'injures publiez contre le chevalier de Villegaignon. Au lecteur Chrestien. Lyon, 1561.
- . Response aux libelles d'injures publiez contre le chevalier de Villegaignon, Au lecteur Chrestien. Paris, 1561.

- . La Suffisance de Maistre Colas D. ... pour sa retenue en l'Etat du Roy. Item. L'espoussete des armories de Villegaignon pour bien faire liure la fleur de lis, que l'Estrille n'a point touchée. [Paris?,] 1561. 8°. British Library: 700.b.29.(5.)
- . [Another edition.] La suffisance de maistre Colas Durand ... pour sa retenue en l'estat du Roy, etc. 1561. 4°. British Library: 8050.bbb.20.(26.)
- . La Suffisance de Maistre Colas D. ... pour sa retenue en l'Etat du Roy. Item. L'espoussete des armories de Villegaignon pour bien faire liure la fleur de lis, que l'Estrille n'a point touche'e. [Paris?] 1561. 8°. 700.b.29.(5.)
- . Themata quae Villagagno in suis adversus Calvinum libris propugnanda suscepit. N.p., 1561.
- . Themata quae Villagagno in suis adversus Calvinum libris propugnanda suscepit. Parisiis, 1561. 4°. British Library: 700.d.2.(3.)
- . Traicté de la guerre de Malte, et de l'issue d'icelle faulusement imputée aux François. A l'empereur Charles V. N.p., 1553. (Another edition of Le discours de la guerre de Malte, contenant la perte de Tripolis, above)
- . Traicté de la guerre de Malte, et de l'issue d'icelle faulsem[n]t imputée aux Fran[ç]ois. Paris, 1553. 4°. Humanities 174.d.15.(2.) [2 copies.] British Library: 174.d.15.(2.) (Another edition of Le discours de la guerre de Malte, contenant la perte de Tripolis, above)
- . De venerandissimo ecclesiae Sacrificio ... aduersus Caluiniani Euangelij sectatores. Apud Andream Wechelum: Parisiis, 1561. 4°. British Library: 1492.m.1.(4.)
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- . De Venerandissimo ecclesiae sacrificio ad Ludovicum Herquivillerum regium in senatu Parisiensi consiliarum; per Nicolaum Villagagnonem... N.p., 1562.

---. De Venerandissimo ecclesiae sacrificio... N.p., 1563.

Vyllagon or Villegagnon, Sir Nicholas [i.e. Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon]. A lamentable and piteous treatise, ... wherin is containd, not onely the enterprise of Charles V. to Angier in Affrique. But also the myserable chaunces of wynde and wether. Tr. out of Latyn into Frenche, and out of French into English. 1542. 8o. R. Grafton, [1542] L2 (not found). The description above is taken from Hazlitt, Handbook, p.635. (A lost 1542 edition in English, item 24894 in The English Short Title Catalogue)

---. 'A lamentable and piteous Treatise, veye necessarye for euerie Christen Manne to read, wherin is containd, not onely the high Entreprise and Valeauntnes of Themperour Charles the. v. and his Army (in his voyage made to the Towne of Argier, in Affrique, agaynst the Turckes, the Enemyes of the Christen Fayth, Thinhabitoures of the same) but also the myserable Chaunces of Wynde and Wether, with dyuerse other Aduersites, hable to moue euen a stonye Heart to bewayle the same, and to pray to God for his Ayde and Succoure. Whiche was written and sent unto the Lorde of Langest. Truly and dilygently translated out of Latyn into Frenche, and out of Frenche into English. 1542. Ricardus Grafton excudebat, cum Priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. Octavo, containing twenty-seven Pages'. 1542. The Harleian Miscelanny: a Collection of Scarce, Curious, and entertaining Pamphlets and tracts, as well in Manuscript as in Print, Found in the Late Earl of Oxford's Library. Interspersed with Historical, Political, and Critical Notes. Ed. Samuel Johnson. Vol. 4. London: T. Osborne, 1745. 504-514. 8 vols. 1744-1746. (A 1745 republishing of the 1542 Lamentable and Piteous Treatise English translation above, whose original edition is now lost. It appeared as part of the Harleian Miscellany, a chronologically arranged collection of rare and entertaining tracts and pamphlets in manuscript and printed form found in the

library of Edward Harley, second earl of Oxford. The Harleian Collection was one of the finest of the great collections brought together in England in the late 17th and early 18th centuries and it formed one of the basic collections at the inauguration of the British Museum. The Harleian Miscellany was originally edited (1744-1746) by Harley's secretary, William Oldys, and Samuel Johnson, who also wrote the introduction to the 8-volume work. As Johnson explains in his introduction, 'this valuable political, historical and antiquarian record, an indispensable auxiliary in the illustration of British history, contains between 600 and 700 rare and curious tracts.' A note to the 1745 text of the 'Lamentable and piteous Treatise' informs that 'This is the 71<sup>st</sup> Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian Library*'. We include this item because it confirms the English STC information about A lamentable and piteous treatise, above, and provides the text of the first English translation, whose text would otherwise have been lost.)

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## APPENDIX F: The Emperor Charles V's Main Titles

The Emperor Charles V, 'El Dorado' (Spanish: 'the golden one') (\*24 February 1500 - †21 September 1558), Holy Roman Emperor, King of Spain. In 1556, having abdicated all his de facto and de jure titles<sup>1</sup> and given his personal empire to his son, Philip II of Spain, and the Holy Empire and the Habsburg hereditary lands to his brother, Ferdinand, the Emperor retired to a villa built for him near the Spanish monastery of Yuste, where he died two years later.

<b>Predecessor, blood relationship (if any), and dates</b>	<b>Titles and dates</b>	<b>Successor, blood relationship, titles and dates</b>
<p>Ferdinand II (Spanish: <i>Fernando II</i>, '<u>El Católico</u>'), maternal grandfather (*10 May 1452 – †23 January 1516)</p> <p>19/01/1479 - 23/01/1516</p>	<p>King of Aragon, Majorca and Valencia, Count of Barcelona</p> <p>23/01/1516 – 16/01/1556 (with his mother, Joanna the Mad, until 13/04/1555)</p> <hr/> <p>King of Naples, Jerusalem (claim), and Sicily, Duke of Athens and Neopatria (claim)</p> <p>23/01/1516 – 1554 (with his mother, Joanna the Mad)</p>	<p>Philip II (Spanish: Felipe II de Habsburg), son (*21 May 1527 - †3/13 Sept 1598)</p> <p>King of Spain and the Spanish Crown dependencies, including all the Spanish kingdoms, the Two Sicilies, the Spanish islands in the Western Mediterranean (such as the Balears, Sardinia, Mallorca, Corsica), Tunis (until 1574), the Canaries, and the New World ('the Indian islands</p>

<sup>1</sup> I have found no source listing all the titles. Kleinschmidt (123) mentions the use from 1530 of four styles in different areas without giving them in full. Blockmans merely informs that in 1525, Charles V had '72 official titles, including 27 kingdoms (20 of them in Spain alone), 13 duchies, 22 counties and nine seignories. A few more in the Low Countries would be added later' (25). The title to add to Blockmans' count is obviously King of the Romans.

<p>Francis II Sforza (Italian: <u>Francesco II Sforza</u>), no relation (* - †1535)</p> <p>1521-1524, 1525, 1529-1535</p>	<p>Duke of Milan</p> <p>1535 - 1554</p>	<p>and the islands and the firm lands of the Ocean Sea' (from 16/01/1556), Portugal (Portuguese: <u>Felipe I</u>, inherited through his mother, the Infanta Isabel of Portugal, from 31/01/1580), Naples, Jerusalem, and Sicily (from 25/07/1554), England, France and Ireland (English: <u>King Philip</u>, king consort, co-regent with his second wife, Mary I of England, from 25/07/1554 to 17/11/1558<sup>2</sup>), King of Chile (1554-1556), Duke of Athens, Milan (first invested with the title in 1540, <u>de facto</u> from 25/07/1554), Brabant, Guelders, Limburg, Lothier and Luxembourg, Count of Artois, Flanders, Hainault, Namur (from 25/10/1555), Holland, Zeeland and Zutphen (from 25/10/1555 to 1581), Burgundy (Franche-Comté, from 16/01/1556), Margrave of Antwerp, Lord of Mechlin, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen (from 25/10/1555), Friesland (from 25/10/1555 to 1572), Archduke of Austria, Count of Habsburg and Tyrol</p>
<p>Joanna the Mad (Spanish: <u>Juana 'la Loca'</u>), mother (*6 November 1479 - †13 April 1555) and Philip the Handsome, <u>infra</u>, father</p> <p>26/11/1504 - 13/4/1555</p>	<p>King of Castile and Leon</p> <p>13/4/1555 – 16/01/1556 (Guardian and Regent since 1516, when of his own motion he assumed the title of King)</p>	
	<p>King of Spain (first king officially to use the title, which would come to incorporate the 20 Spanish Kingdoms).</p> <p>The Spanish Crown dependencies at the time other than the ones mentioned above included the Spanish islands in the Western Mediterranean, the Algarve, Algeciras, Gibraltar, Tunis (from 21 July 1535), the Canary Islands, and (from 12 October 1492) the New World ('the Indian islands and the islands and the firm lands of the Ocean Sea')</p> <p>23/01/1516-16/01/1556</p>	

<sup>2</sup> Their style in England, announced in a proclamation dated 25 July 1554, when Philip had not yet succeeded to the Spanish throne, was 'Philip and Mary, by the grace of God King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland; Defenders of the Faith; Princes of Spain and Sicily; Archdukes of Austria; Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; Counts of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol' (Hughes and Larkin 45).

<p>Philip the Handsome (Spanish: <u>Felipe ‘el Hermoso’ de Borgoña</u>), father (*22 June 1478 - †25 September 1506)</p>	<p>Duke of Brabant, Burgundy (French: <u>Duc de Bourgogne</u>, only the title and the rest of the ‘Burgundian inheritance,’ but not the land), Limburg, Lothier and Luxembourg, Count of Artois, Burgundy (or Franche-Comté, French: <u>Franc-Comté de Bourgogne</u>, German: <u>Graf von Burgund</u> — <u>Freigrafschaft</u>), Flanders, Hainault, Holland, Namur, and Zeeland, Margrave of Antwerp, Lord of Mechlin, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen</p> <p>25/09/1506 (under the regency of his aunt, Margaret of Austria, until 5 January 1515, when he was declared to be of age) – 25/10/1555 (except for the Franche- Comté, which he only resigned in 16/01/1556)</p>	
<p>George the Bearded of Saxe – Meissen (German: <u>Georg</u> <u>‘der Bärtige’</u>), Duke of Saxony, no relation (*27 August 1471 - †17 April 1539)</p>	<p>Lord of Friesland</p> <p>1515 (bought the rights to Friesland) or 1523-1524 (annexed it) – 25/10/1555</p>	
<p>Wilhelm, Duke of Jülich- Cleves-Berg (*28 July 1516 - †05 January 1592)</p>	<p>Duke of Guelders and Zutphen</p> <p>1543 – 25/10/1555</p>	

Maximilian I, paternal grandfather (*22 March 1459 - †12/01/1519)	King of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia (claims), Archduke of Austria, Duke of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, Count of Tyrol  12/01/1519 – 1521	Ferdinand I, brother (*10 March 1503 - †25 July 1564)  King of Hungary (claim by marriage, from 1527), 1538 ( <u>de facto</u> in Croatia, Slavonia and Western Hungary) or 1540 ( <u>de facto</u> over all of Hungary); <u>Bohemia</u> (by marriage, from 24/10/1526), Germany (from 24/02/1556), King of the Romans ('Holy Roman Emperor-Elect', from 05 January 1531), then Holy Roman Emperor (from 24/02/1556 – succeeds to Imperial throne – or 03/08/1556 – succeeds to Imperial title – or 14/03/1558 – proclaimed Emperor <sup>3</sup> ), Archduke of Austria, Regent of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, Regent of Tyrol and Further Austria (from 1521, takes office in 1522)
	King of Germany  12/01/1519 – 24/02/1556	
	King of the Romans ('Holy Roman Emperor-Elect', from 28/06/1519), Holy Roman Emperor  24/02/1530 – 24/02/1556 (renounces imperial throne) or 03/08/1556 (renounces imperial title)	

The table above was expanded from:

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<sup>3</sup> According to Kleinschmidt, the transition 'from Charles to Ferdinand was unique in the history of the Holy Roman Empire as Ferdinand was neither elected nor crowned' (219).

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## APPENDIX G: Ruler Lists

Below is a list of European and North African rulers of areas relevant to this analysis in the period 1492-1611, from the discovery of America to the date of composition of The Tempest. For rulers of areas which are only relevant for a shorter period, only the relevant period is covered. Unless otherwise state, the rulers were kings. Rulers whose dates are left open were in power by 1612. Names cited in other parts of this work are given in bold.

### ENGLAND

**Henry VII**, 1485-1509  
**Henry VIII**, 1509-47  
Edward VI, 1547-53  
**Mary**, 1553-58  
**Elizabeth**, 1558-1603  
**James (James VI of Scotland)**, 1603-  
SPAIN  
    ○ Aragon  
**Ferdinand II, the Catholic**, 1479-1516  
**Joanna, the Mad**, 1516-1555 with  
**Charles I (The Emperor Charles V)**, 1516-  
56, renounced, died 1558  
    ○ Castile  
**Isabella I**, 1474-1504  
**Joanna the Mad**, 1504-55  
    • with **Philip I, the Handsome**, 1504-  
    06  
    • with **Charles I (The Emperor  
    Charles V)**, 1516-55  
    ○ Spain  
**Charles I (The Emperor Charles V)**, 1516-  
56 d. 1558

### SCOTLAND

James IV, 1488-1513  
**James V**, 1513-1542  
**Mary, Queen of Scots**, 1542-1567, deposed,  
executed 1587  
**James VI (King of England as James I  
from 1603)**, 1567-  
FRANCE  
**Charles VIII**, 1483-98  
**Louis XII**, 1498-1515  
**François I**, 1515-47  
**Henri II**, 1547-59  
**François II**, 1559-60  
Charles IX, 1560-74  
Henri III, 1574-89  
Henri IV, 1589-1610  
Louis XIII, 1610-

**Philip II**, 1556-98

**Philip III**, 1598-

#### HOLY ROMAN EMPERORS

**Maximilian I**, 1493-1519

**Charles V (The Emperor Charles V)**, 1519-58

**Ferdinand I**, 1556-1564

**Maximilian II**, 1564-76

**Rudolph II**, 1576-

#### GRAND MASTERS OF THE ORDER OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM

**Philippe de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam**, 1521-1534

Piero de Ponte, 1534-35

Didier de Saint-Jaille, 1535-36

**Jean de Homedes (Juan d'Omedes)**, 1536-53

Claude de la Sengle, 1553-57

**Jean de Valette (de la Vallette)**, 1557-68

Pierre de Monte, 1568-72

Jean de la Cassiere, 1572-81

Hugues Loubenx de Verdala, 1581-95

Martin Garzez, 1595-1601

Alof de Wignacourt, 1601-

#### POPES

**Alexander VI**, 11 Aug 1492 - 18 Aug 1503

Pius III, 22 Sep 1503 - 18 Oct 1503

Julius II, 31 Oct 1503 - 21 February 1513

Leo X, 9 March 1513 - 1 December 1521

Hadrian VI, 9 Jan 1522 - 14 Sep 1523

**Clement VII**, 26 Nov 1523 - 25 Sep 1534

**Paul III**, 13 Oct 1534 - 10 Nov 1549

**Julius III**, 7 Feb 1550 - 23 March 1555

Marcellus II, 9 April 1555 - 1 May 1555

Paul IV, 23 May 1555 - 18 August 1559

**Pius IV**, 25 Dec 1559 - 9 Dec 1565

**Saint Pius V**, 7 Jan 1566 - 1 May 1572

Gregory XIII, 13 May 1572 - 10 April 1585

Sixtus V, 24 April 1585 - 27 August 1590

Urban VII, 15 Sep 1590 - 27 Sep 1590

Gregory XIV, 5 Dec 1590 - 16 Oct 1591

Innocent IX, 29 Oct 1591 - 30 Dec 1591

Clement VIII, 30 Jan 1592 - 3 March 1605

Leo XI, 1 April 1605 - 27 April 1605

Paul V, 16 May 1605 -

#### DUKES OF MILAN

**John Galeazzo II Sforza**, 1476-94

**Louis the Moor Sforza**, 1494-99

To France, 1499-1500

**Louis the Moor (restored)**, 1500 d. 1508

To France, 1500-12

**Maximilian Sforza**, 1512-15 d. 1530

To France, 1515-21

**Francis II Sforza**, 1521-24

To France, 1524-25

**Francis II Sforza**, 1525

To France, 1525-29

**Francis II Sforza**, 1529-35 d. 1535

**Charles I (The Emperor Charles V, King**

**Charles I of Spain)**, 1535-40 d. 1558

**Philip I (Philip II of Spain)**, 1540-98

**Philip II (Philip III of Spain)**, 1598-

#### SICILY (NAPLES)

**Ferdinand I**, 1458-94

**Alphonso II**, 1494-95

To France, 1495

**Ferdinand II**, 1495-96

**Frederick II**, 1496-1501 d. 1502

To France, 1501-03

**Ferdinand III (Ferdinand II, the Catholic of Aragon)**, 1503-16

**Charles IV (The Emperor Charles V, King Charles I of Spain)**, 1516-55 d. 1558

**Philip I (Philip II of Spain)**, 1555-98

**Philip II (Philip III of Spain)**, 1598-

## SICILY (TRINACIA)

**Ferdinand II the Catholic (Ferdinand II of Aragon)**, 1479-1516

**Charles II (The Emperor Charles V, King Charles I of Spain)**, 1516-55 d. 1558

**Philip I (Philip II of Spain)**, 1555-98

**Philip II (Philip III of Spain)**, 1598-

## SULTANS OF TUNIS

Zakariyah II, 1490-93

Muhammad V, 1493-1526

**al-Hassan (Muley Hassan or Muleasses)**, 1526-34

To the Ottoman Empire, 1534-35

To Sicily (Spain), 1535-39

**al-Hassan (Muley Hassan or Muleasses)**, restored, 1539-43

Ahmad IV, 1543-70

To the Ottoman Empire, 1570-73

To Sicily (Spain), 1573-74

Muhammad VI, 1573-74

To the Ottoman Empire, 1574-

## PORTUGAL (including BRAZIL)

**John II, the Perfect Prince**, 1481-1495

**Manuel I the Fortunate**, 1495-1521

John III the Pious, 1521-57

Sebastian, 1557-78

Henry, 1578-80

**Philip I (Philip II of Spain)**, 1580-98

**Philip II (Philip III of Spain)**, 1598-

## SULTANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Bajazet (Bayezid) II, 1481-1512

Selim the Grim, 1512-20

**Suleiman I, the Lawgiver or the Magnificent**, 1520-66

Selim II, 1566-74

Murad III, 1574-95

Mehmed III, 1595-1603

Ahmed I, 1603-

## AMIRS/PASHAS OF ALGIERS

Abu Abdallah Muhammad VII at-Thabiti, 1469-1504

Abu Abdallah Muhammad VIII at-Thabiti, 1504-17

To Spain, 1512-17

Abu Hammu Musa III, 1517-28

Abu Muhammad Abdallah II, 1528-40

Abu Abdallah Muhammad IX, 1540-41

Ahmad II, 1541-1543

Abu Abdallah Muhammad IX (restored), 1543

To Spain, 1543-44

To the Ottoman Empire, 1544-50

Ahmad II (restored), 1544-50

al-Hassan, 1550-55

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o Pashas (Kings) of Algiers

Selim al-Toumi al-Tha'alibi, ? -1516

Baba 'Arūj, 1516-18

**Khidr Khayr ad-Dīn Barbarossa**, 1518

Abu al-Abbas Ahmed Belkadi, 1518-29

**Khidr Khayr ad-Dīn Barbarossa** (restored), 1529-46

To the Ottoman Empire, 1546-

## ELECTOR COUNTS-PALATINE

(KURFÜRSTEN VON DER PFALZ)

Philip the Honest, 1476-1508

Louis V the Peaceful, 1508-44

Frederick II the Wise, 1544-56

Otto Henry, 1556-59

Frederick III the Pious, 1559-76

Louis VI, 1576-83

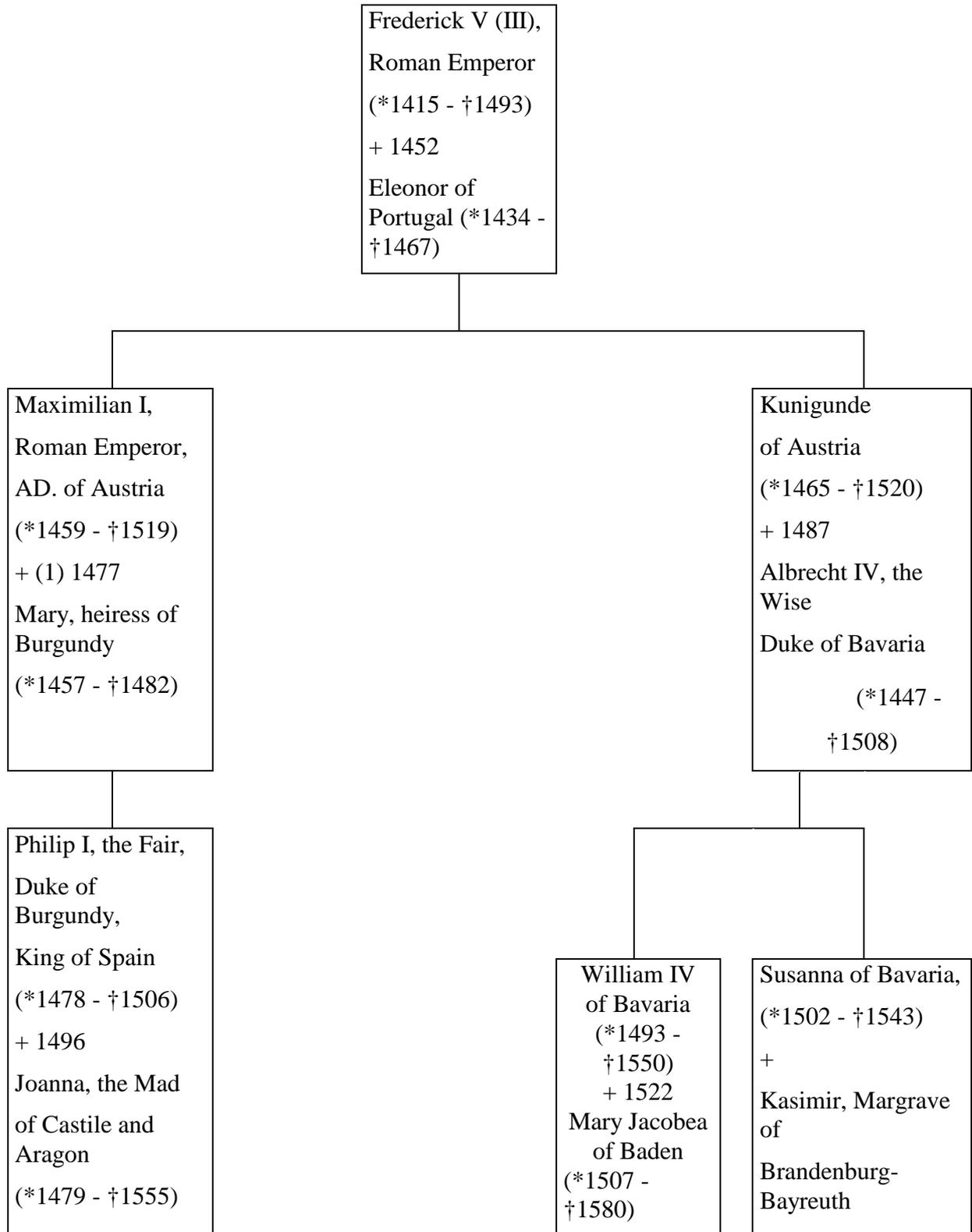
**Frederick IV the Honest**, 1583-1610

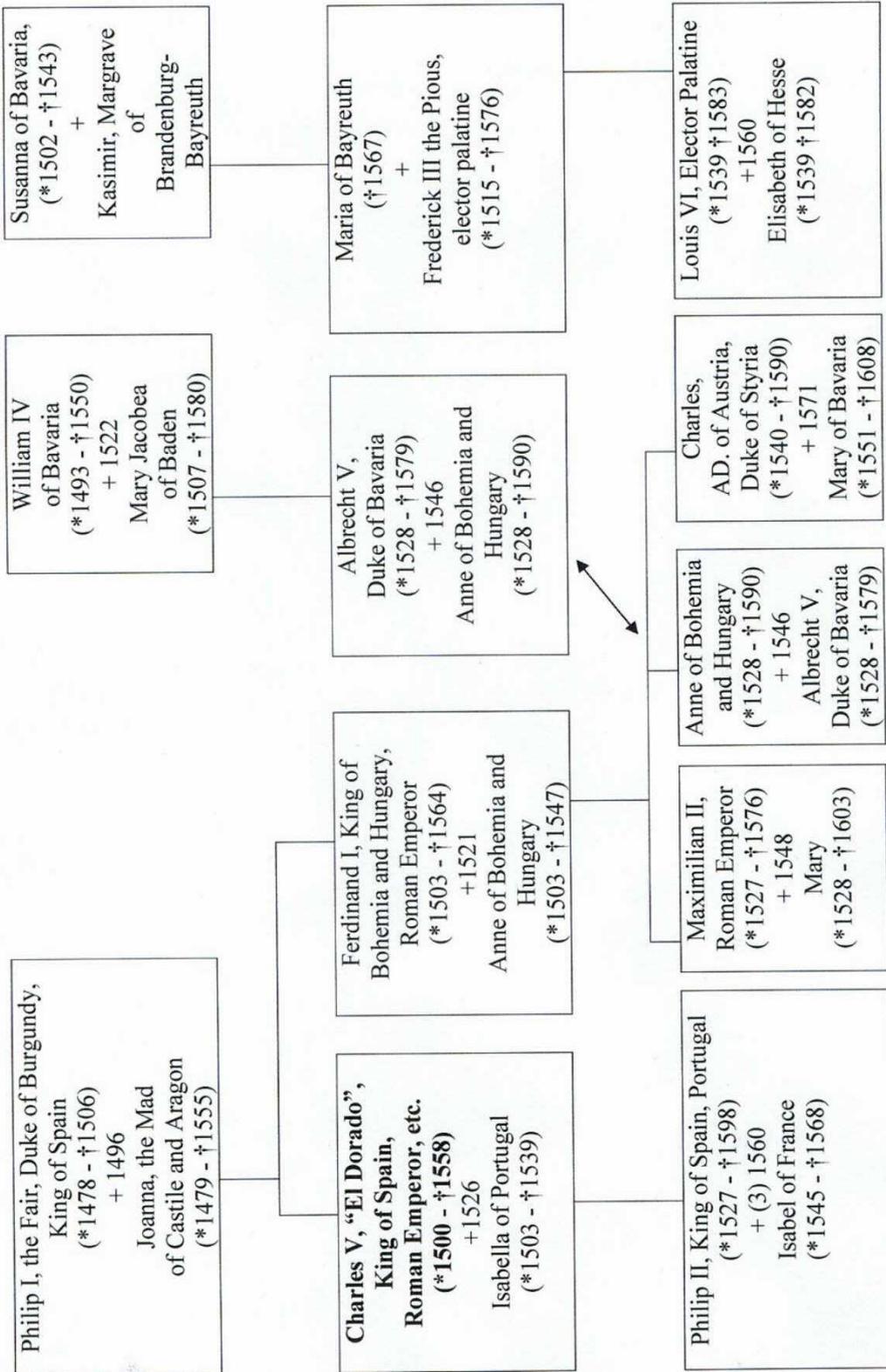
**Frederick V, (later 'the Winter King of Bohemia')**, 1610-

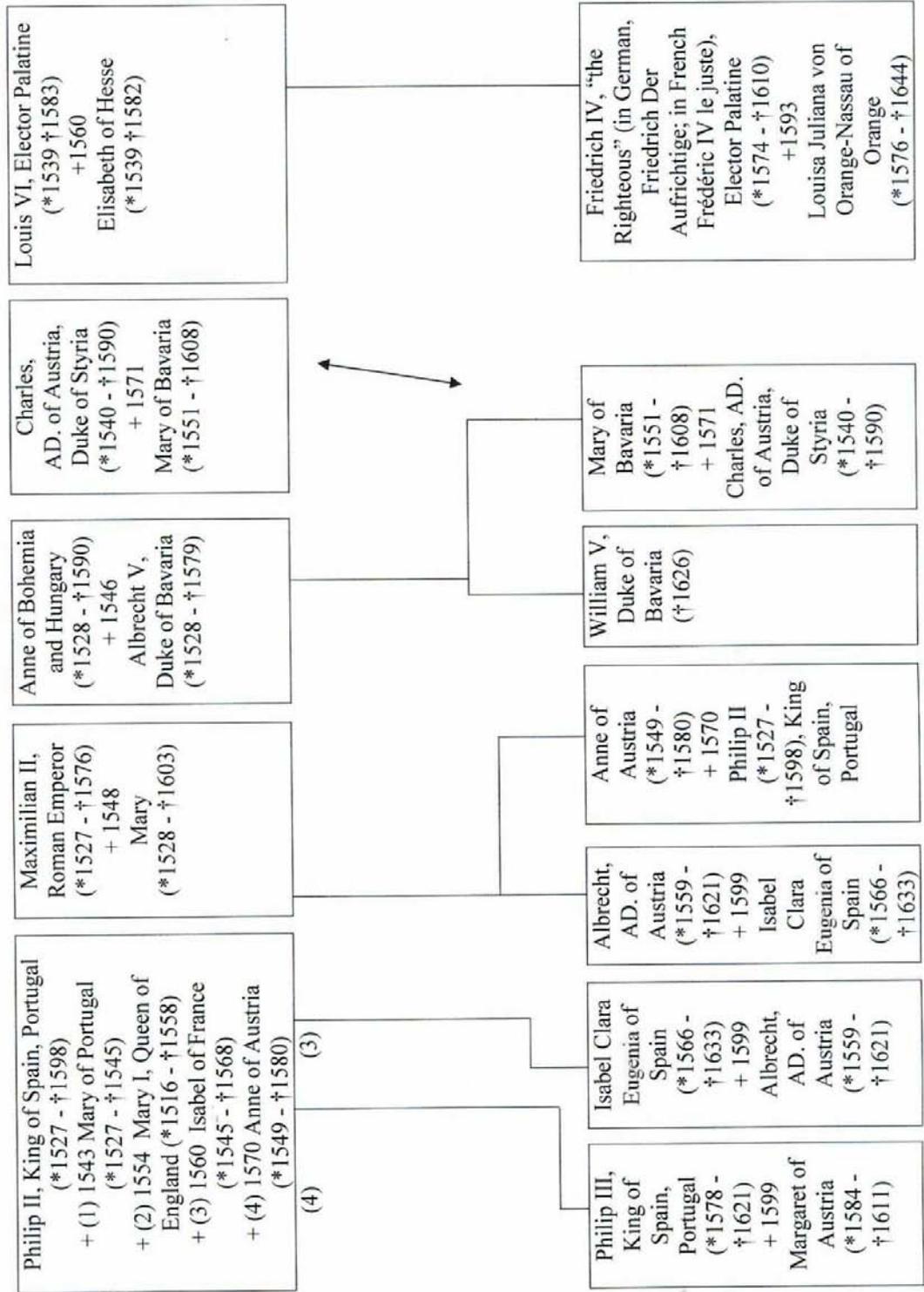
## APPENDIX H: Complex Dynastic Relations

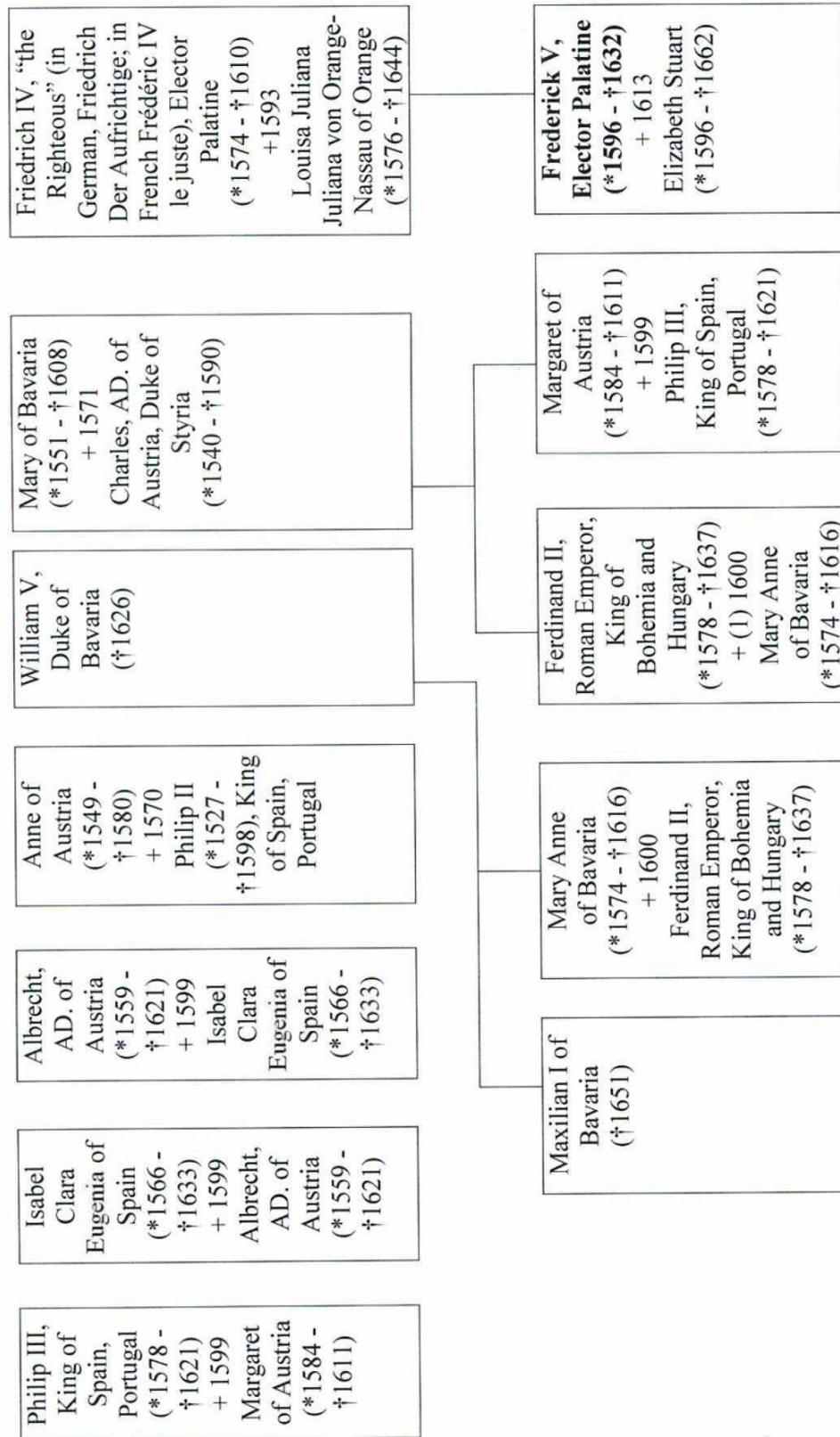
German Protestant Frederick Henry of Wittelsbach, Frederick V (German: Friedrich V), (\*16 August 1596 - †29 November 1632), Elector Palatine of the Rhine (1610–23), and later, as Frederick I (Czech: Friedrich Falcký), King of Bohemia ('The Winter King', 1619–20), married the Princess Elizabeth Stuart (\*19 August 1596 - †3, 12, 14 or 23 February 1662), the eldest daughter of King James I of England and of Anna of Denmark, on 14 February, 1613 (new style), at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall Palace, London. The Elector Palatine had arrived in London on 16 October 1612; about a fortnight later, Henry, Prince of Wales was taken ill possibly with typhoid, and died on 6 November; which meant that the wedding revels had to be postponed. The festivities in the winter of 1612-1613 (new style) that marked Frederick and Elizabeth's wedding lasted from around the time of their betrothal on December 27, 1612 until their departure for the continent, on 10 April 1613. We can learn from the accounts of the Revels Office that the winter revels included a series of plays performed at court in three months, three plays by the recently formed (by patent of 27 April 1611) 'Lady Elizabeth's Men,' and 20 by Shakespeare's company, 'The King's Men,' eight of which by Shakespeare himself. The latter included Cardenio, a play now lost that Shakespeare wrote in collaboration with John Fletcher, besides 1H4, 2H4, JC, Ado (performed twice), Oth., Tmp., and WT (Campbell and Quinn 101, reproducing Chambers).

Complex, if distant, dynastic relations linked Frederick V and The Emperor Charles V, 'El Dorado'. Both The Emperor Charles V and his brother and heir Ferdinand I were second cousins once removed of Frederick's grandfather, The Emperor Palatine Louis VI, who was also a third cousin of Philip II, the Emperor's son and other heir. If technically no longer related, the Emperor Charles V and the Elector Palatine Frederick V were still second cousins thrice removed.









## **ANNEX 1: Where the Nuts Come From<sup>1</sup>**

Brazil's latest Oscar® disappointment was followed by Grammy® recognition, as Caetano Veloso's "Livro" won the Award for Best World Music Album last February 23. But failure or success may amount to just about the same if we forget national pride and concentrate on Brazilian visibility abroad.

Less than a week elapsed between the annual announcement of Academy Award® nominations on Feb 17 and the 42nd Annual Grammy Awards® ceremony on Feb 23. Contrary to many people's expectations, for only the second time in five years Brazil's Official Oscar® Entry for Best Foreign Language Film got snubbed by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Orfeu, by Cacá Diegues, failed to follow in the steps of Fábio Barreto's O Quatrilho, Bruno Barreto's Four Days in September and Walter Sales's Central Station and Brazil did not get the nomination for the Best Foreign Language Film Academy Award®. Bad news for Orfeu, Diegues and the still-recovering national film industry.

Meanwhile, shortly before the 42nd Annual Grammy Awards® were announced at the Staples Center in Los Angeles on Feb 23, there came the news that for the third consecutive year the winner of the Grammy for Best World Music Album was a Brazilian. Milton Nascimento in 1998 and Gilberto Gil in 1999 are now joined by Caetano Veloso and his "Livro". Great news for Brazil, Caetano and the Brazilian phonographic industry. Or was it?

You could see the whole procedure as yet another celebrated Brazilian who finally gets long overdue international recognition for his or her work. Fernanda Montenegro winning many international Best Actress Awards and rubbing shoulders with Hollywood stars after her nomination for the Best Actress Oscar® last year is an example that springs to mind. But truth to tell, except for a handful of aficionados and/or experts in a certain field like music or literature, most people know very little and care even less for Brazilian cultural exports.

We do have Machado de Assis, Guimarães Rosa, Clarice Lispector, Villa-Lobos, whose genius is revered by specialized academics worldwide. But Argentina has Borges and Chile has Neruda, geniuses loved by the experts and popular beyond any Brazilian classic author's dream. In this globalized world we live in, even bad but extremely popular Paulo Coelho, an undeniably unprecedented Brazilian best seller in some parts of the world, has not become a household name despite the record sales, the translations, the honors, the awards, the invitations, the castle and his ever growing bank account. Similarly, many people have heard of Ayrton (rhyming with "air") Senna, Romário, Ronaldo (that has always been the way the Inter Milan player has been known abroad), Rivaldo and a few other Brazilian national soccer team greats. However, the only two they seem to have all heard of are still Carmen Miranda and Pelé.

In fact, the night that saw Mexican Woodstock veteran guitarist turned mystic Santana win a record-tying eight trophies (equaling Michael Jackson's 1983 feat), may prove to have done little to raise Caetano Veloso's international profile. Neither Caetano nor the World Music category are mentioned anywhere by CNN in its coverage of the Grammys 2000 <<http://www.cnn.com/SHOWBIZ/specials/2000/grammys/>>, not even when it presents the winners list <<http://www.cnn.com/SHOWBIZ/specials/2000/grammys/list.html>>. As for The Los Angeles Times, no mention is made of either Caetano or his award in the review <<http://www.calendarlive.com/calendarlive/music/grammy/winners.htm>>, although he is

mentioned once when they present the full list of winners [http://www.calendarlive.com/calendarlive/music/grammy/winners\\_list.htm](http://www.calendarlive.com/calendarlive/music/grammy/winners_list.htm). One is tempted to agree with skeptics, who denounced that the consecutive prizes were less recognition of Brazilian performers' undeniable musical talents than a public relations ploy to win the minds and hearts of an ever-growing record market, already the third largest in the world. In fact, the same has been said of the Oscar nominations, as Brazil is the sixth largest film market worldwide. Despite these isolated instances when some Brazilian personality hits the news, Brazil seems doomed to remain really famous for high criminality, major ecological disasters and serious human rights violations, the only typical occasions when Brazil really hits the international media headlines.

## NOTE

<sup>1</sup>This article is no longer available online. It appeared originally in José Carlos Volcato, 'Where the Nuts Come From,' March Breaking News, The Club, Instituto Cultural Brasileiro Norte-Americano, March-April 2000 <[http://www.cultural.org.br/clube/pgeng\\_bn.htm](http://www.cultural.org.br/clube/pgeng_bn.htm)>.

## ANNEX 2: FIGURES

### THE NEW WORLD

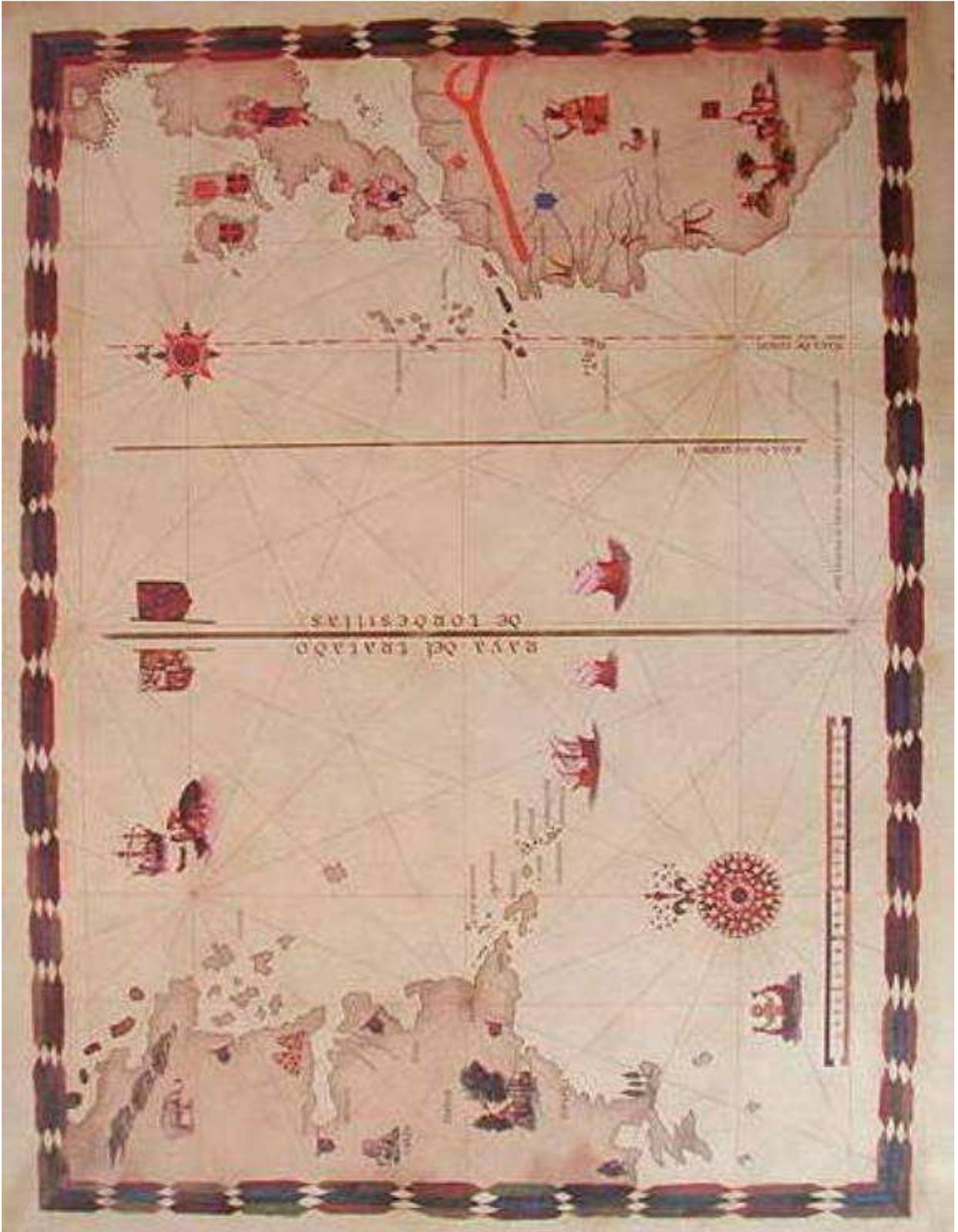


Diese figure anzeigt uns das volck vnd in die gefunden ist durch den cussenlichen künig in Portugal oder von seinen vnderthonen. Die leut sind also nackt vnd hüttsch, braun wolgefalt von leib, die heubter halbsack, scham, hüttsch, frauen vnd mann ain wenig mit ebern bedekt. Auch habe die mann waren angefschten vnd kufft vil edel gefait. Es hat auch nyemang nich so funder sind alle ding geman. Vnd die mann habe die weber welche in gefallen, es sey mütter, schwester, oder freunde, darmit haben sy nit vnderfchaydt. Sy steyen auch mit anander, Sy essen auch anander selbe die arthlag: in w eday vnd hüttschen das selbig fleisch in den rauch. Sy werden als hundert vnd funffzig iar. Vnd haben kein regiment.

Fig. 1. Five-hundred-year old invisibility. A woodcut (Nürnberg, ca. 1505, now in the British Museum) showing New World (Brazilian) Indians (cannibals). The Portuguese caravels can be seen at the distance.

One of the most famous early images of New World cannibals, it is, in Hemming's words, 'the oldest known woodcut of Brazilian Indians' (1978), 'probably to illustrate . . . Vespucci's voyage of 1501-1502'.

From the beginning, Brazilian natives were usually depicted in cannibal feasts or in logging activities.



**Fig. 2. The Tordesillas Treaty Map (1494).** Although the line is drawn across what is today Brazilian territory, as yet undiscovered Brazil (and recently discovered America, for that matter) is nowhere to be seen in the map that drew the line that divided the New World between Spain and Portugal.

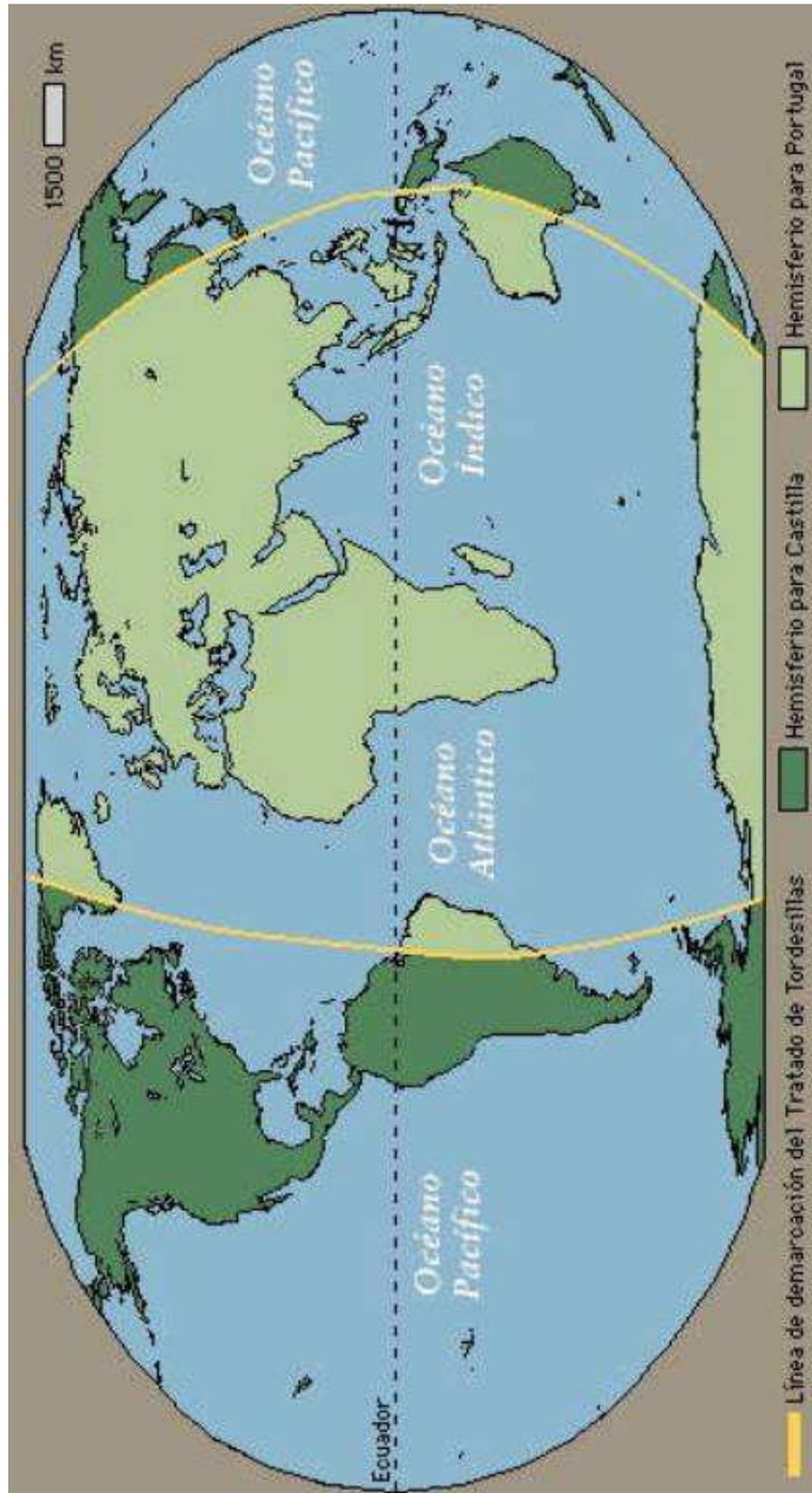


Fig. 3. The Tordesillas Treaty. A modern map showing how the World was divided between Spain and Portugal in the 1494 Tordesillas Treaty.



Fig. 4. World Map of Martin Waldseemüller. St. Dié: Walter Ludd, 1507. This map, published to accompany German cartographer Martin Waldseemüller's own Cosmographiae introductio cum quibusdam geometriae ac astronomiae principiis ad eam rem necessariis, was the map that 'bestowed the name America on the new world for the first time' (Whitfield 48).

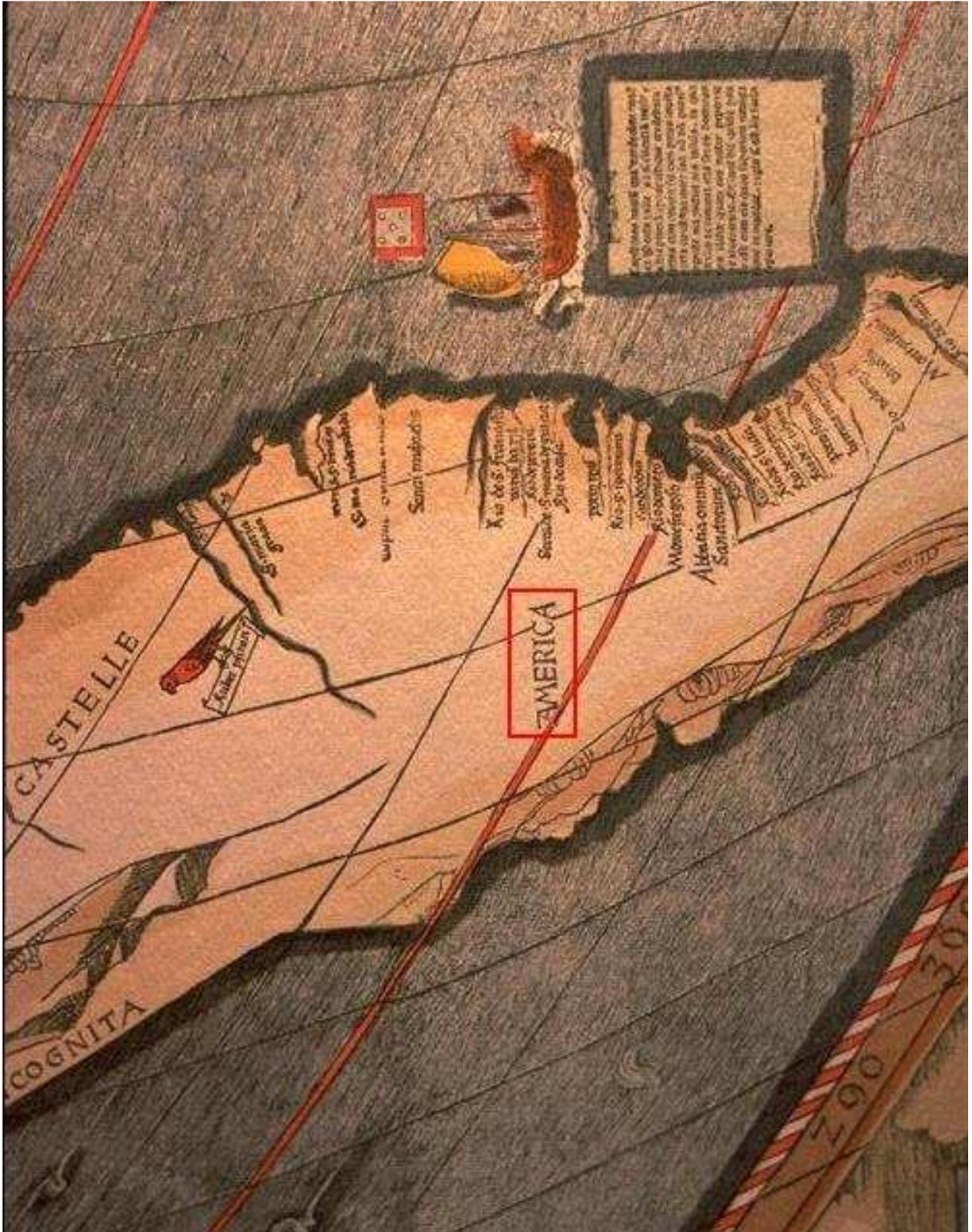


Fig. 5. Invisible again. World Map of Martin Waldseemüller, 1507 (detail). Curiously but not surprisingly if one considers Amerigo Vespucci's voyages, the part of the Americas Waldseemüller chose to write the word America is in South America, in what today is Brazilian territory.

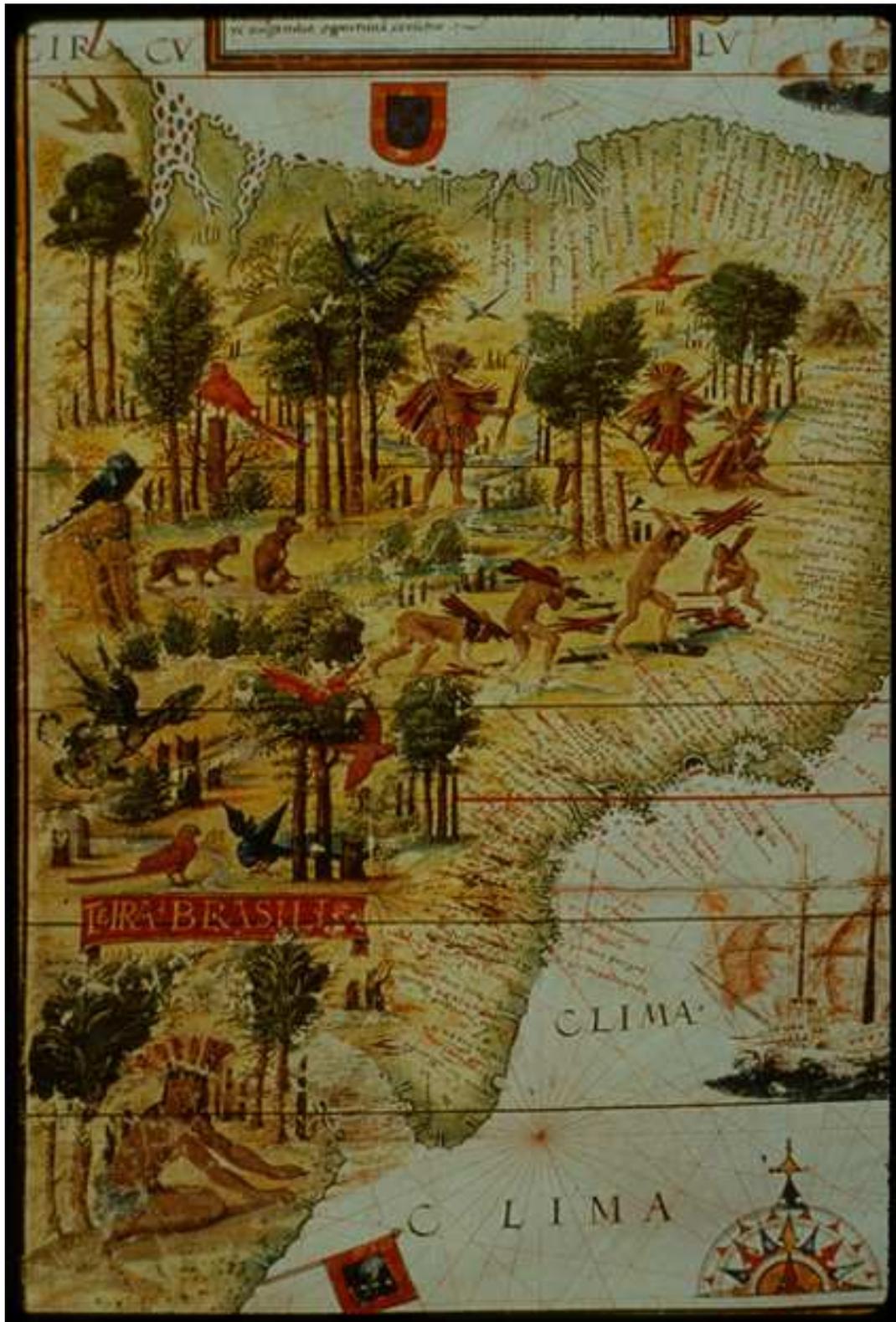


Fig. 6. Lopo Homem's map of Brazil, or Terra Brasilis (1519). Among other activities, Brazilian natives are depicted cutting brazilwood with a metal axe, and also collecting, bearing, and then piling up Brazil's first main export in a land that has many colourful, beautiful parrots, macaws and other birds, plus a monkey, a jaguar, and a fierce dragon.



### The discovery of America

Fig. 7. American voyages of discovery. Faithful to Waldseemüller's 1507 suggestion, the name 'America' is shown on what we today call 'South America' in this 20<sup>th</sup>-century European map of the main American voyages of discovery. Long after the name America became current in Europe, the Spaniards went on referring to their share of the New World, both the Caribbean islands and the main land, as 'las Indias occidentales' ('the West Indies') (Boudet 389), whereas Portugal referred to Brazil as 'Terra de Santa Cruz' or *Terra Sanctae Crucis* ('Land of the Holy Cross') and the Land of Brazil (*Terra Brasilis*). The map also shows the lines of Pope Alexander VI's 1493 *Inter Caetera* Bull and the 1494 Tordesilla Treaty as well as Vespucci's (1499, 1501) and Magellan's (1519-1521) routes but no reference is made to brazilwood, Brazil's main export at the time.



Fig. 8. World Map of Cornelius Aurelius, 1514. At the time when America was still sometimes depicted as a relatively small New World island, the location of the island corresponded to the location of Brazil.

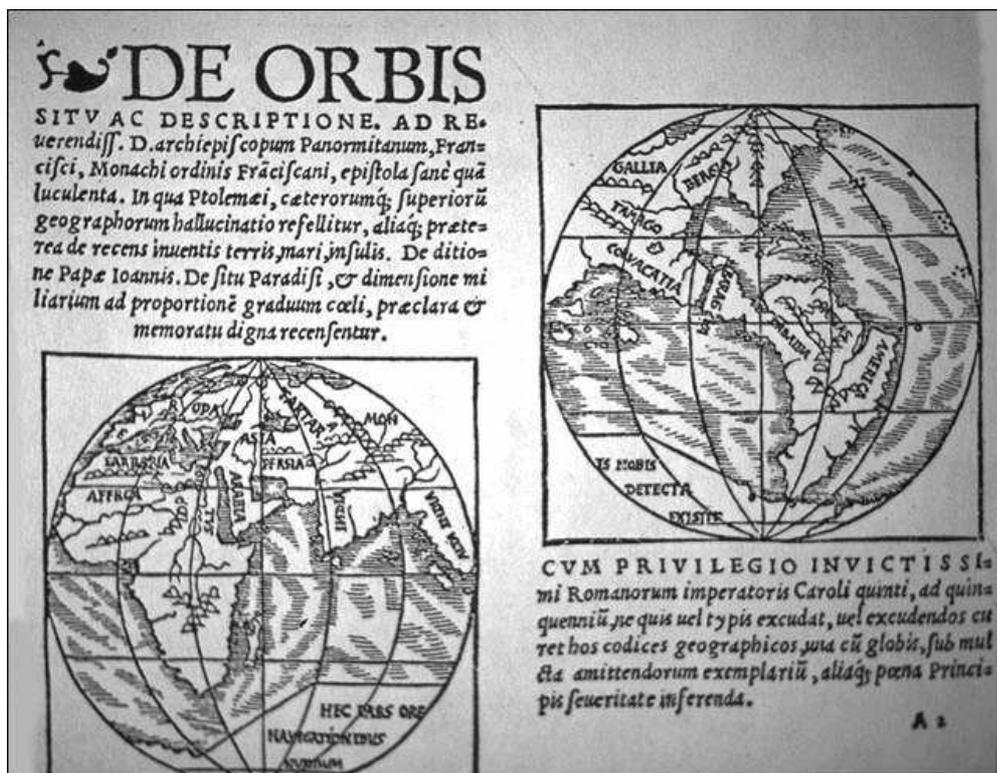


Fig. 9. De Orbis ('On the World.'). Franciscus Monachus, 1526. Even in very simple representations of the world, it is clear to which part of the New World the name America originally referred.

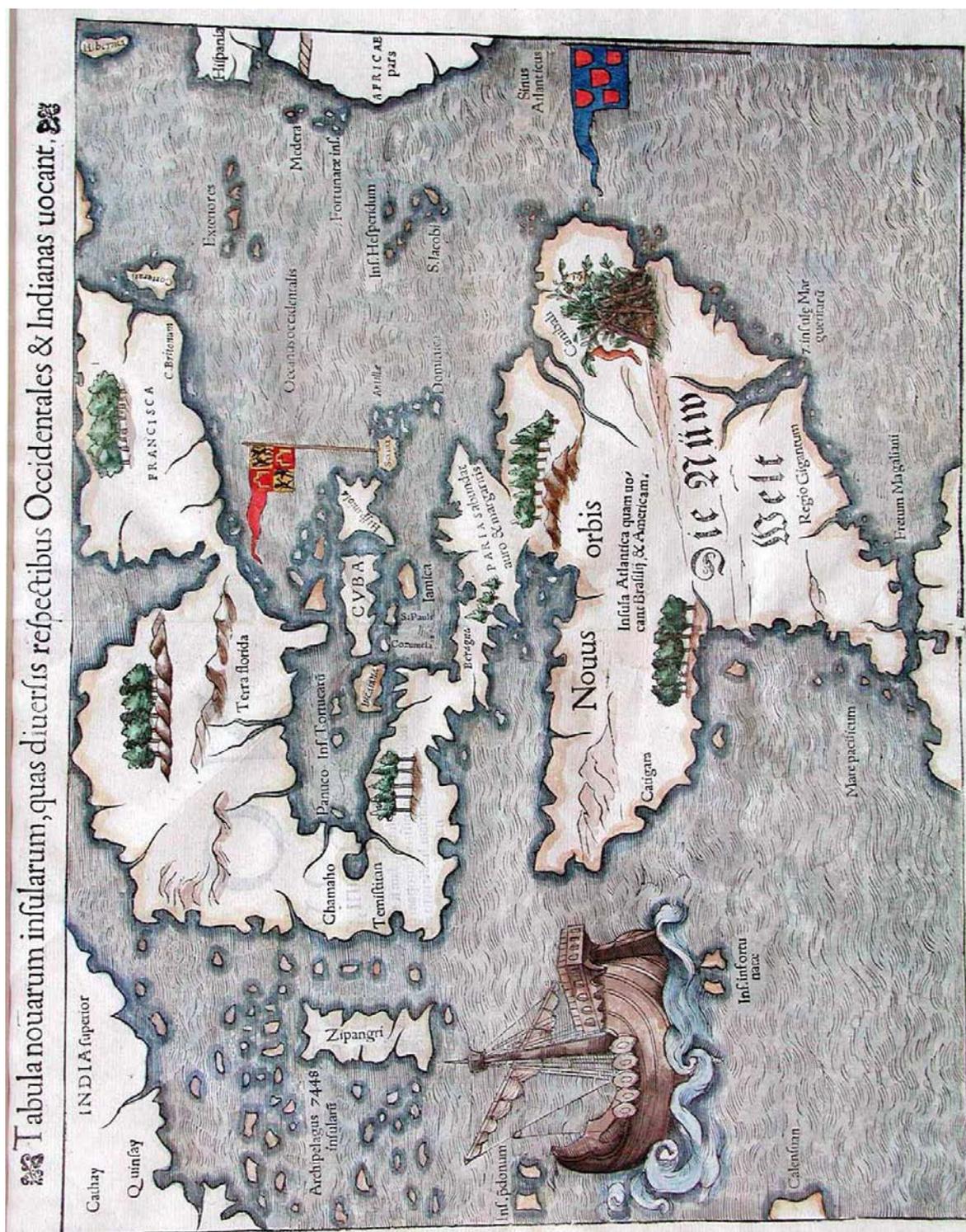


Fig. 10. *Die Nüw Welt*, Sebastian Münster, 1552. The map of South America reads, ‘*Nouus Orbis: Insula [sometimes ‘Novainsula] Atlantica quam uocant Brasilij & Americam*’ (‘The New World: [sometimes ‘new’] Atlantic island which is called [island] of Brazil and America’). The map shows the land of the *Canibali*, which is in the North of Brazil, as well as the *Regio Gigantum* (‘Land of the Giants’) and the *Fretum Magaliani* (‘Strait of Magellan’), all made famous by narratives of Magellan’s circumnavigation of the world. ‘The map was originally published in Münster’s edition of Ptolemy’s *Geographia* (Basle, 1540) as “*Novae Insulae, XVII Nova Tabula*”— and in Münster’s *Cosmographia* in 1544. *Cosmographia* was one of the most influential works on geography in the mid-sixteenth century; it was translated into five languages and published in forty different editions. Münster’s map was the most widely circulated New World map of its time.’ (Alderman Library, University of Virginia site)

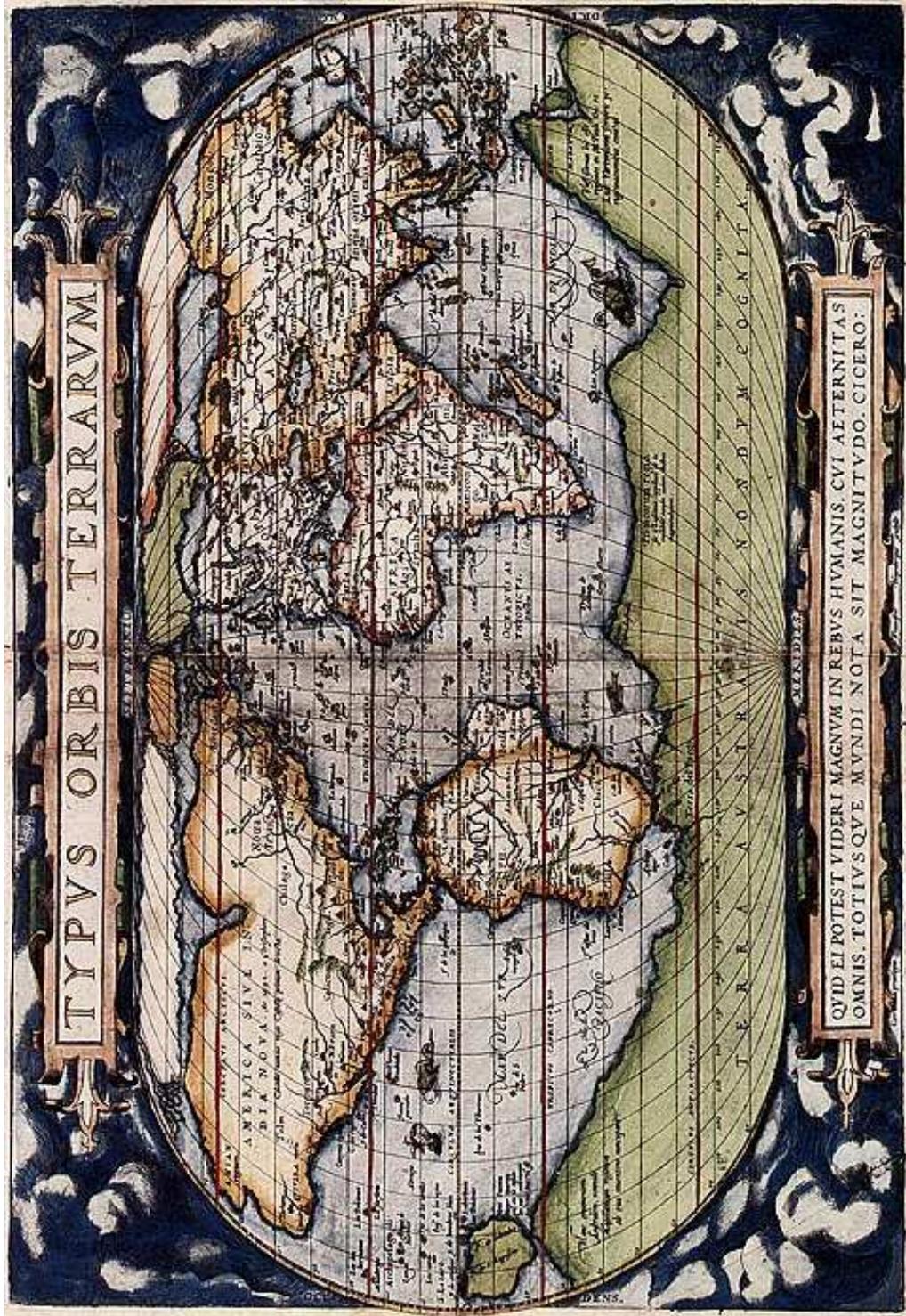


Fig. 11. A World map, or *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, by Abraham Ortelius, published in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570). The bottom cartouche reads, 'Quid ei potest videri magnum in rebus humanis, cui aeternitas | omnis, totiusque mundi nota sit magnitudo. Cicero' ('Who can consider human affairs to be great, when he comprehends the eternity and vastness of the entire world? Cicero,' [Tusculan Disputations, 4.37]). Flemish cartographer Ortelius' atlas 'long remained basis for geographic works' (Webster's NBD 748). (Spanish) North America is called *America sive India Nova* ('America or the New India'), and Brazil is in a different colour from the gold that delineates Spain's vast New World empire.



Fig. 12. *Americae sive Novi Orbis nova descriptio*. Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570). The label *America* is not found on the map, North or South, and Brazil is not set apart from the rest of the New World.



Fig. 13. *Americae sive Novi Orbis nova descriptio* (detail). Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570). **Bresilia** is clearly the region then belonging to the Portuguese in the New World, **Caribana** is shown just North of the Equinoctial line, and **Patagonum Regio** (the 'region of the Patagonians') is described as being ubi incole sunt gigantes ('where the inhabitants are giants').



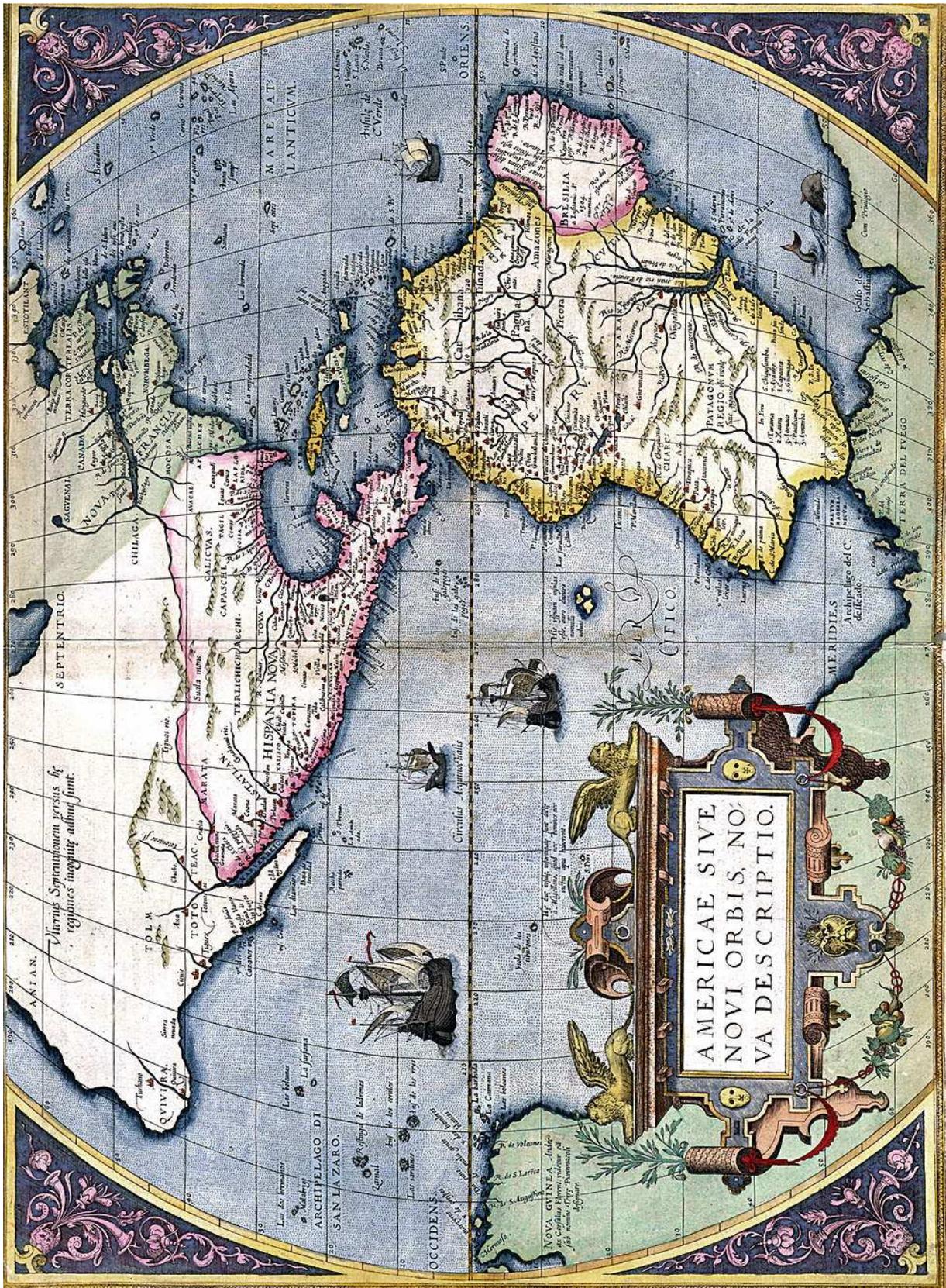


Fig. 15. *Americae sive Novi Orbis nova descriptio*. The version of the map of America or the New World which appeared in the 1579 edition of Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, and was used until the 1587 edition and in some issues of the 1588 edition. The label *America* is not found on the map, North or South, and *Bresilia* is now even set in a different colour from the rest of South America. From 1580 to 1640, Brazil would become part of the Spanish dominions in the New World.

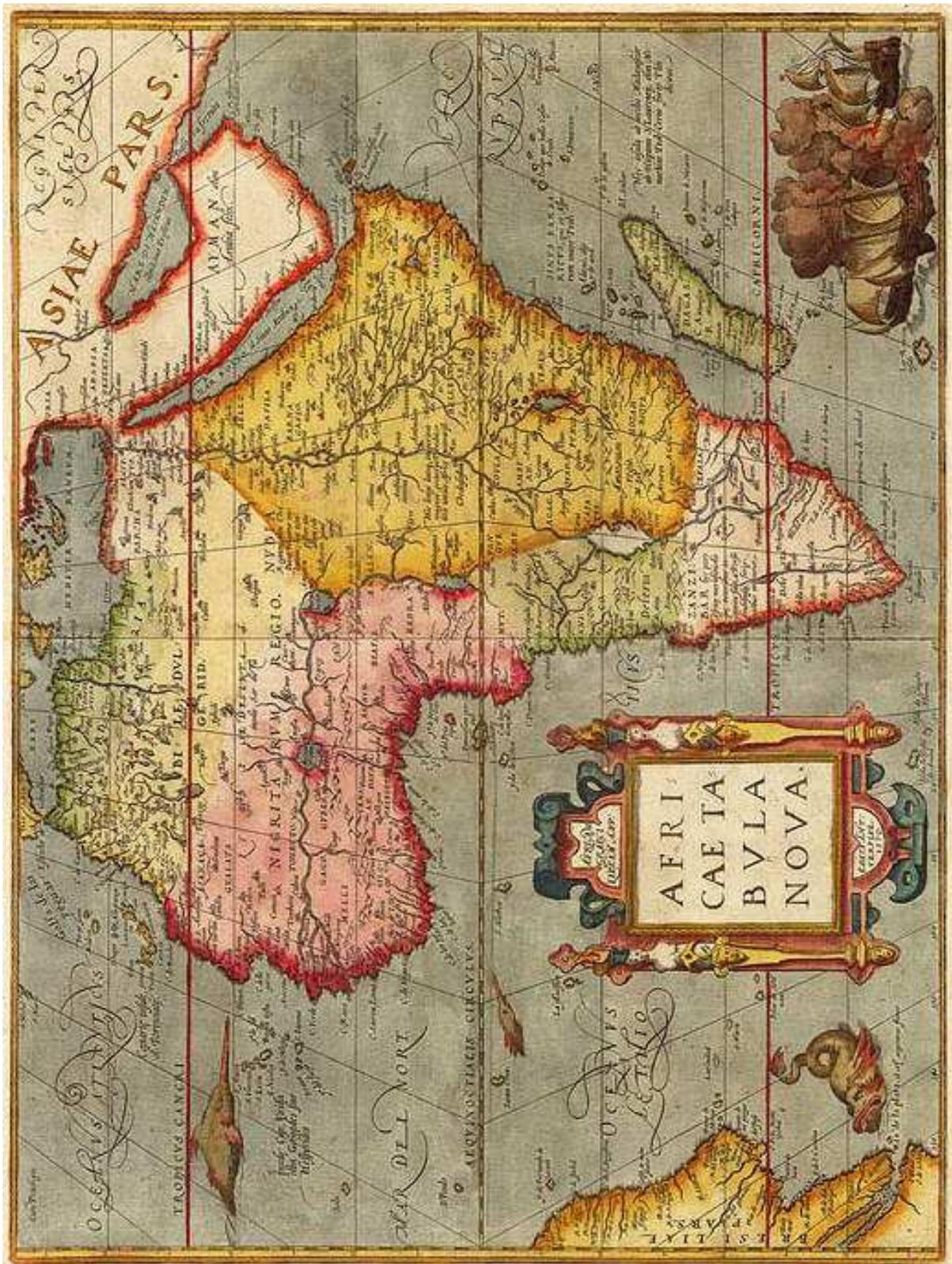


Fig. 16. *Africae Tabula Nova*. Abraham Ortelius' 'New map of Africa' in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570). The fact that Brazil is the region of America that is the closest to Africa is demonstrated by the fact that Ortelius' map of Africa also shows *Bresiliae pars* ('a part of Brazil') to the West of the African continent, a large mass of land South of the *Aequinoctialis Circulus* (the Equator or the Equinoctial line), at an apparently not very long distance across the *Oceanus Aethiopicus* (the Atlantic Ocean). 'Barbaria' (the Barbary Coast), painted green in this copy, includes both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic coasts.



Fig. 17. Africae Tabula Nova (detail). Bresiliae Pars in the map of Africa for Abraham Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570).

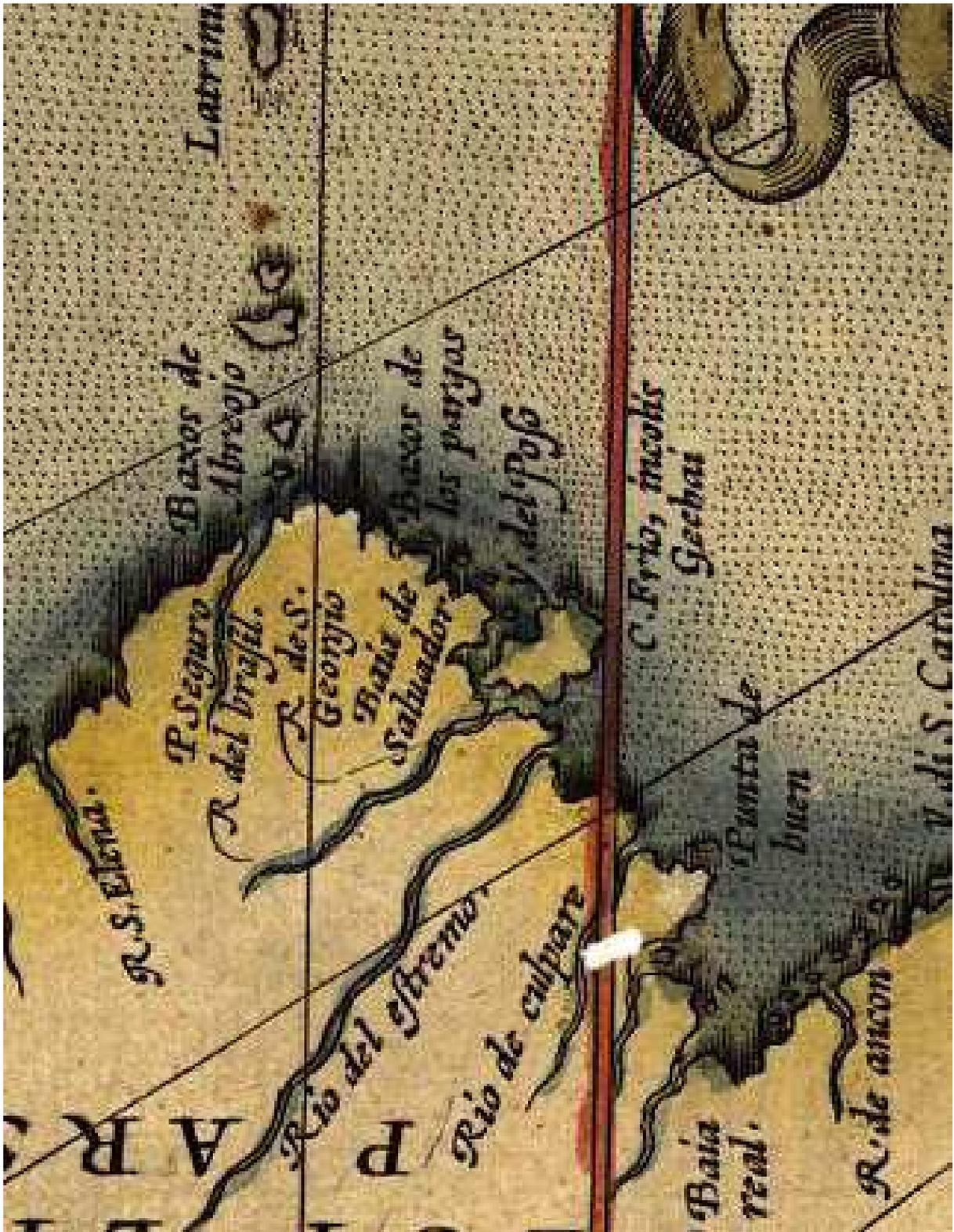


Fig. 18. *Africae Tabula Nova* (detail). *Bresiliae Pars* in the map of Africa for Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570) includes C[abo] Frio, on the Tropic of Capricorn.



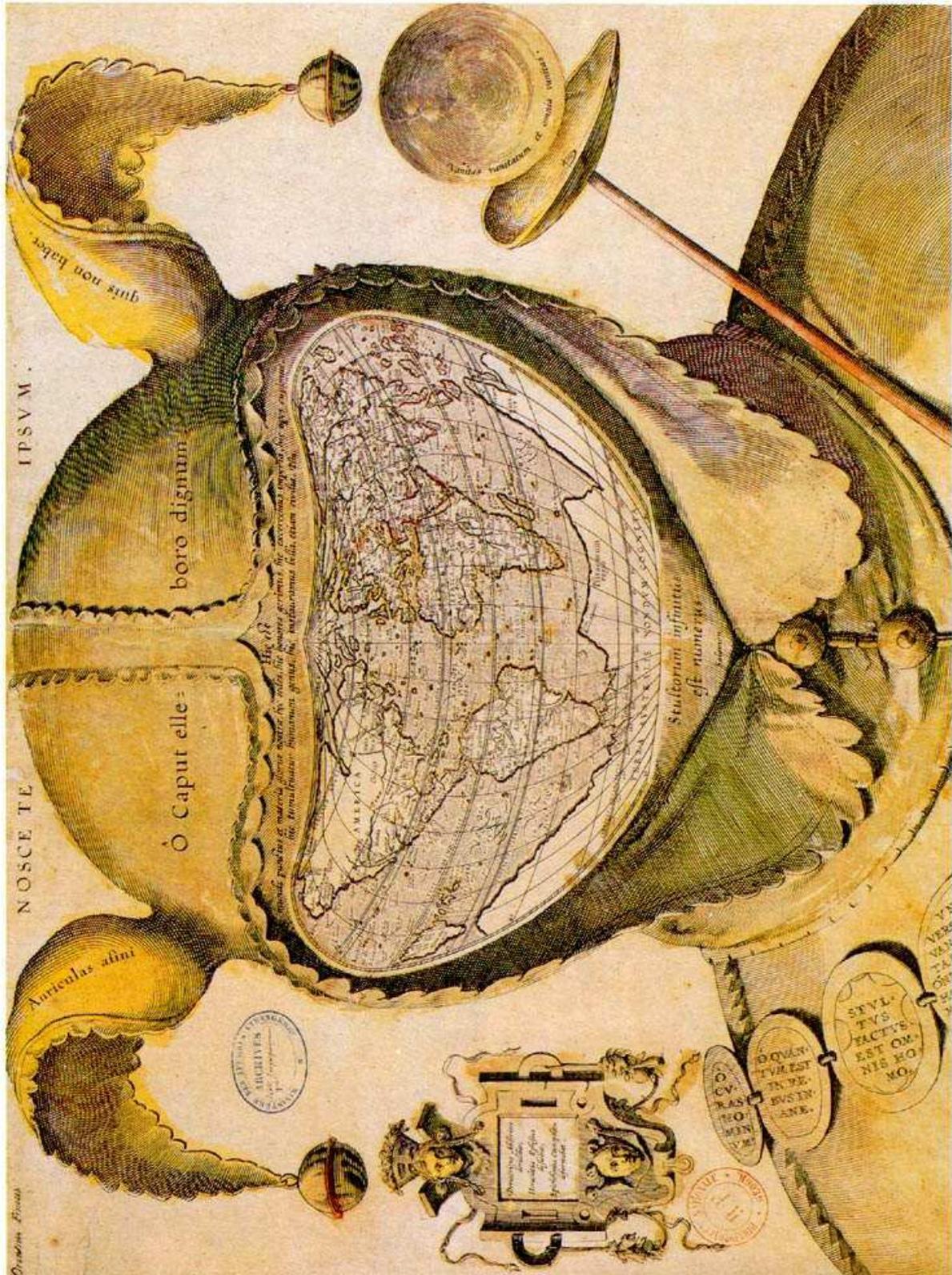


Fig. 20. Fool's Cap World, ca. 1590. 'The artist, date and place of publication are all unknown, and its purpose can only be guessed at. The geography of the map closely resembles the world maps of Ortelius published in the 1580s, giving a tentative date of c. 1590' (Whitfield 78). As it starts to be common in world maps from about this period, the word America is in North America.

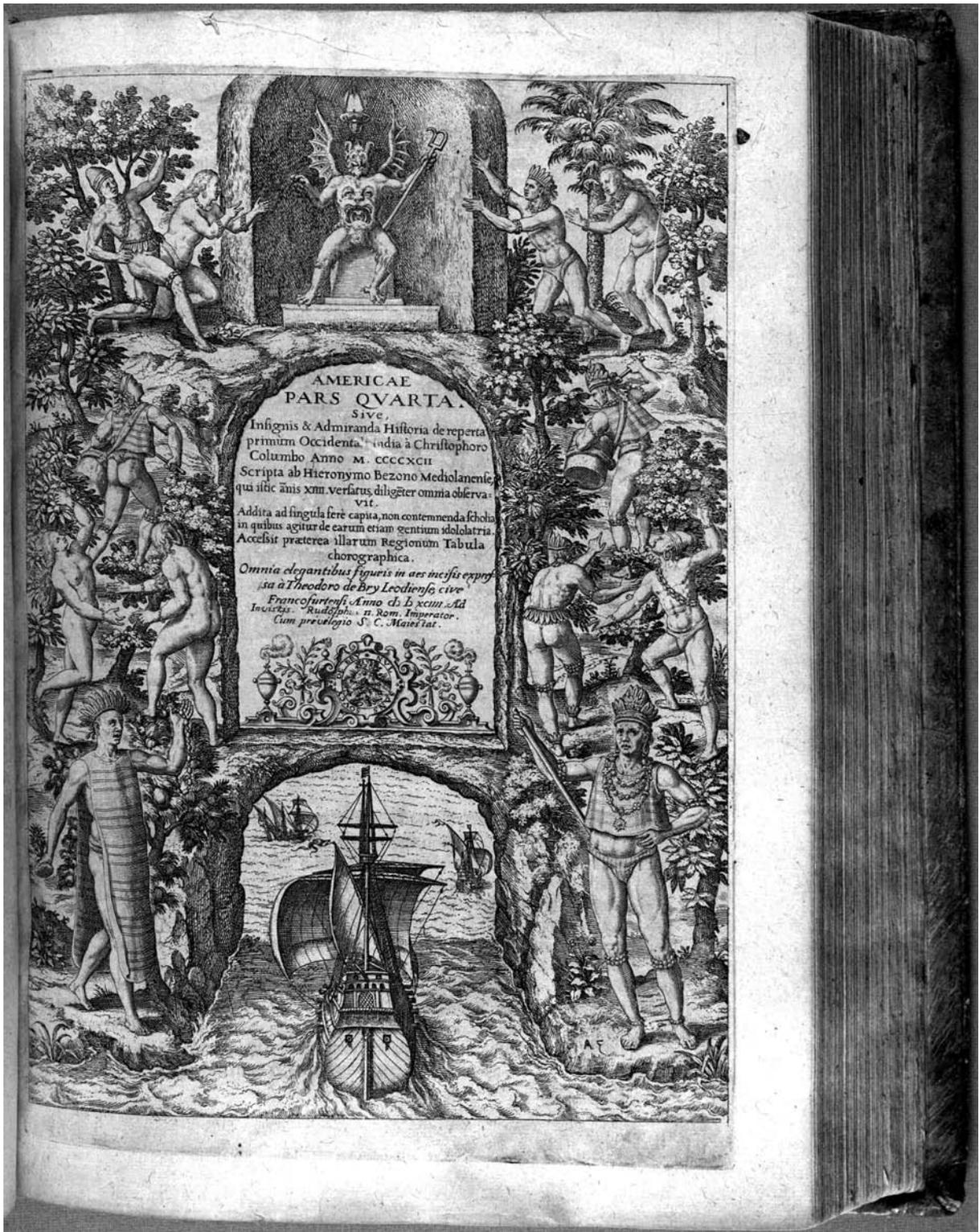


Fig. 21. Theodor de Bry's Americae Pars Quarta. Sive, insignis & admiranda historia de reperta primùm Occidentali India à Christophoro Colombo anno M.CCCCXCII. Scripta ab Hieronymo Bezono Mediolanense, ... Addita ad singula ferè capita ... scholia. Frankfurt: Feyrabend, 1594. This is Volume IV of the De Bry family's Grands Voyages, 'a magnificently illustrated and widely circulated collection of volumes that was part of the great publicity movement to encourage Protestant colonization of the New World.' (Léry 1990 221).

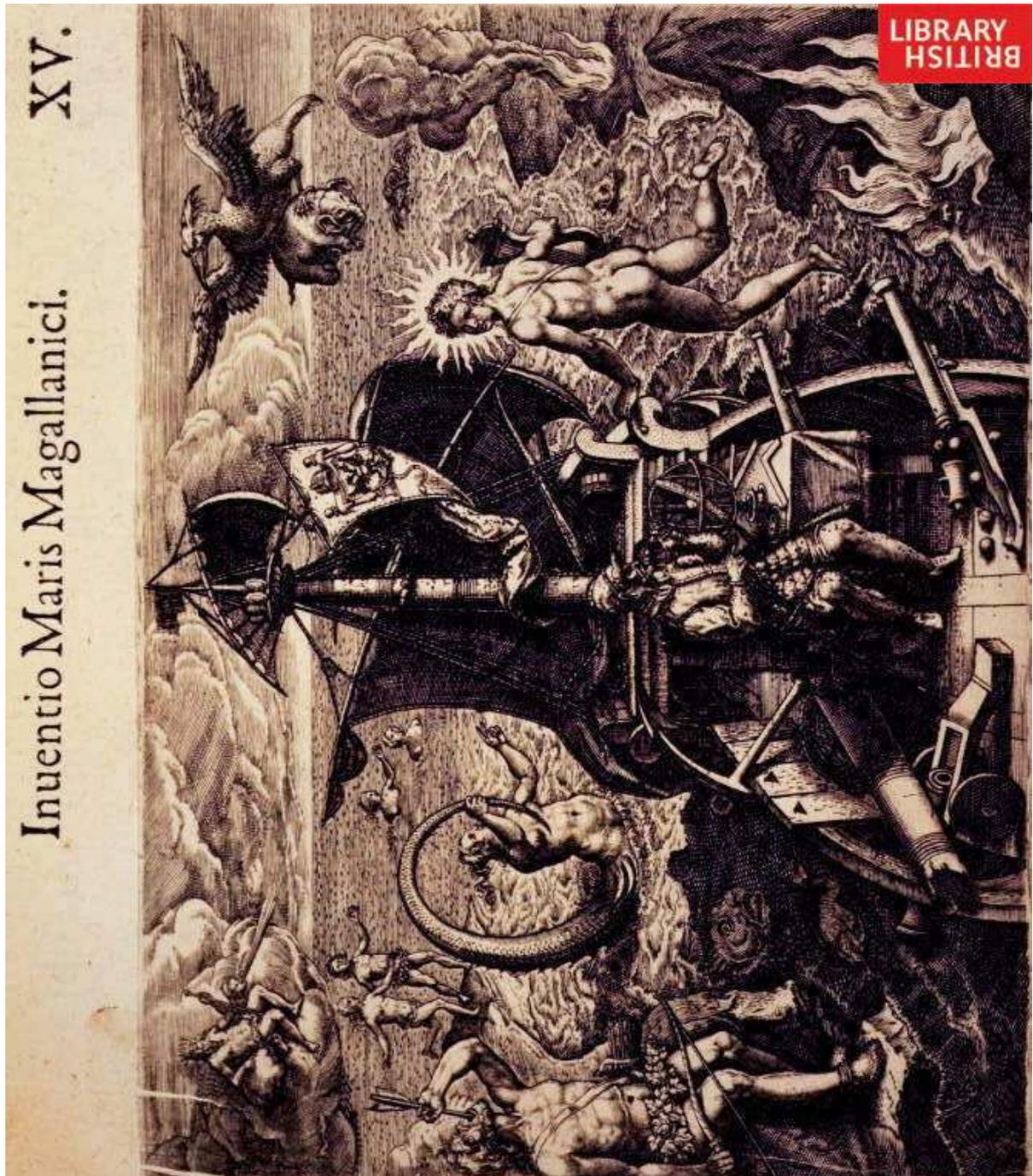


Fig. 22. **The Discovery of Magellan's Sea**, engraving by Hans Galle after a sketch by Hans Stradan included in Theodor de Bry's *Americae Pars IV* (Frankfurt, 1594; plate XV). British Museum. In an allegoric scene that resonates with images that may find echo in *The Tempest*, the sitting European navigator (the Portuguese Fernão de Magalhães, or Magellan), fully armoured as a Spanish conquistador, makes use of the spherical astrolabe (or armillary sphere) that made his feat possible. The ship's mast is decked with the arms of The Emperor Charles V, who, as King Charles I of Spain, had been the Portuguese navigator's sponsor.

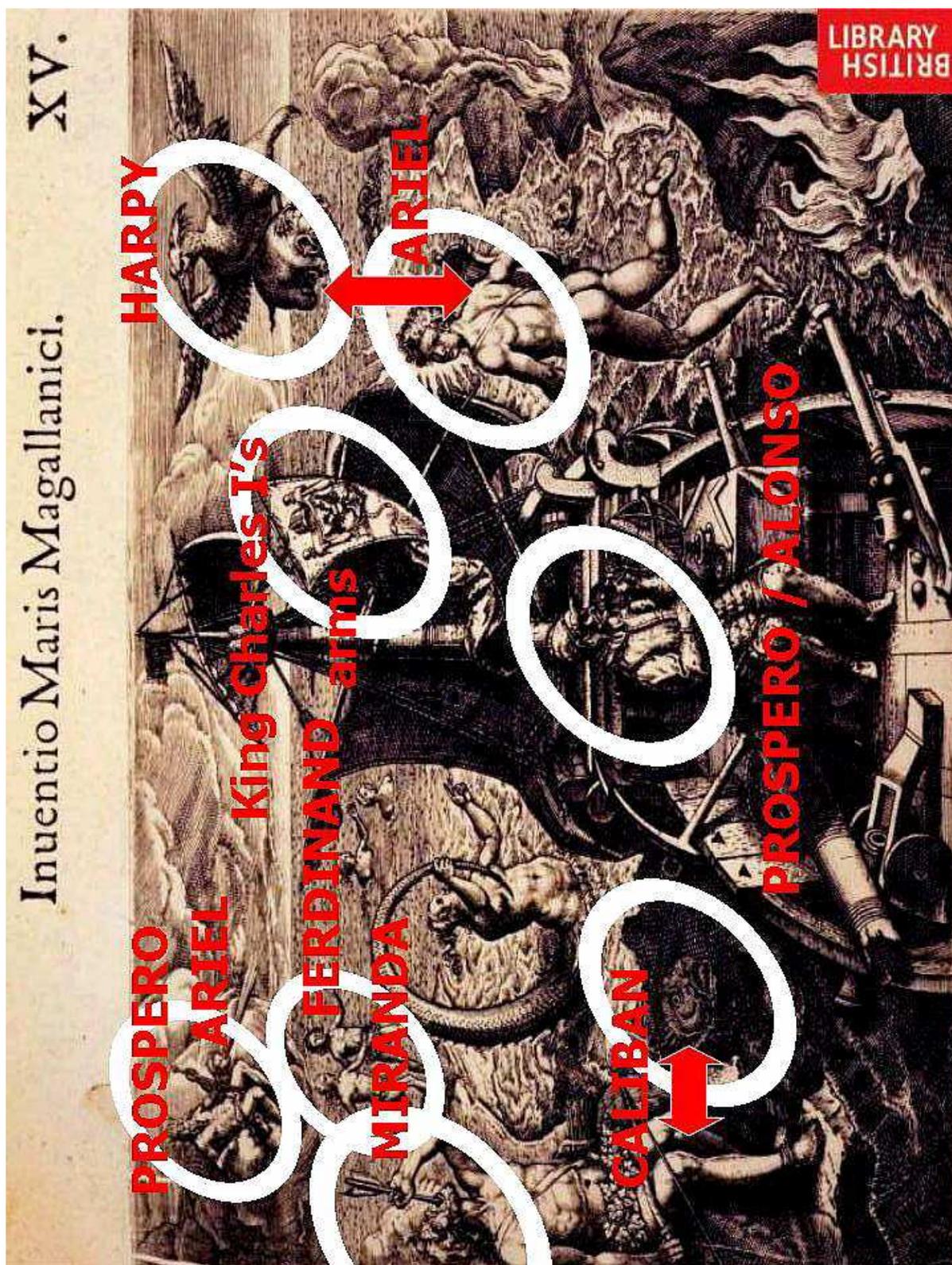


Fig. 23. The Discovery of Magellan's Sea, engraving by Hans Galle after a sketch by Hans Stradan included in Theodor de Bry's Americae Pars IV (Frankfurt, 1594; plate XV). Probably known to Shakespeare, this illustration of Magellan and Pigafetta's voyage shows not only the 'lasting pillars' in the arms of The Emperor Charles V, but also possible prototypes of Prospero and Ariel (Neptune and a god of the wind), Miranda and Ferdinand (a couple of innocent natives), Caliban (both as a savage/monster and as a fish), Alonso or Prospero (Magellan), and Ariel both as an airy spirit (Apollo Citheroedus) and as a harpy. Theodor de Bry's Americae Pars Tertia included a Latin version of Jean de Léry's Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil.



Fig. 24. **CHRISTOPHORVS COLVMBVS GENVENSIS PRIMVS NOVARVM TERRARVM DETECTOR** ('Christopher Columbus, Genoese, first discoverer of the New Lands'). Crispin van de Passe, the Elder's *Effigies Regum ac Principum, eorum scilicet, quorum vis et potentia in re nautica seu marina prae ceteris spectabilis est . . . adiecte sunt et imagines praestantissimorum ac maxime illustrium heroum, quorum virtus et solertia in expeditionibus nauticis.* 1598. Apparently, as late as 1598 the land Columbus reached in the New World was not yet always referred to as 'America'.



Fig. 25. AMERICVS VESPUTIVS FLORENTINVS TERRÆ BRESILIANÆ INVENTOR ET SVBACTOR ('Amerigo Vespucci, Florentine discoverer and subjugator of the Brazilian Land'). Crispin van de Passe, the Elder. 1598. Van de Passe calls the land discovered by that the Florentine navigator whose name was given to America 'the Land of Brazil.'



Fig. 26. **THOMAS CANDYSSH NOBILIS ANGLIUS ÆTATIS SUÆ XXX.** ('Thomas Cavendish, English nobleman, aged 30'). Crispin van de Passe, the Elder. 1598. In the globes that celebrate Englishman Cavendish's circumnavigation of the world, the name America is found in North America.



Fig. 27. **ELISABETH DEI GR: ANGL: FRAN: HIBER: ET VERGINIÆ REGINA AVSPICATISSIMA**  
 ('Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, of England, France, Ireland and Virginia, most auspicious Queen').  
 Crispin van de Passe, the Elder. 1598.



Fig. 28. PHILIPPVS II CATHOLICVS D. G. HISPANIARVM INDIARVM REX POTENTISS. DVX BRABATIAE ('Philip II, by the grace of God, of the Spains and of the Indies, most potent Catholic King, Duke of Brabant'). Crispin van de Passe, the Elder. 1598. While Elizabeth is the Queen of 'Virginia,' England's bitter enemy Philip II, the son of the great Emperor Charles V ('Patre sati Karolo, magno illo Caesare, Quinto') is the King of 'the Spains' (Spain and Portugal) and of 'the Indies' (the East and the West Indies).



Fig. 29. Americae pars VIII. Europe, Africa, and the Americas from Theodor de Bry's Americae pars VIII (1599). As it will become the standard from the turn of the century on, the name America is found in North America, and Brasililia is just the name of a region in the New World, such as Nova Francia, Florida, Nicaragua, Caribana and Peru.



Fig. 30. America Meridionalis, a 1607 reproduction of a map by Flemish cartographer Gerardus Mercator (1512-1594). South America is now America Meridionalis ('Southern America'). The map shows the lands of Cariabana, Brasilia and the Land of the Patagones. Mercator had first used the name America in his maps in 1538, where he was the first to distinguish between North and South America. A part of Africa (Africae pars) can be seen to the Northeast.

## CALIBAN AND THE TEMPEST



Fig. 31. A scene from The Tempest, by William Hogarth, ca. 1728 or 1736. The first known scene from Shakespeare by a British painter is also the first known illustration of Caliban.



**Fig. 32. Caliban in A scene from The Tempest, by William Hogarth (detail). Although Caliban's appearance has varied considerably over the centuries according to each artist's own interpretation of Shakespeare's words, bearing wood or logs has from inception become one of Caliban's trademarks, and one of the main items in Caliban's iconography.**



**Fig. 33. John Hamilton Mortimer's portrait of Caliban as a 'puppy-headed monster' (painted in 1775, engraved in 1820).**



Fig. 34. Francis Gavelot's engraving of Francis Hayman's romanticised scene from The Tempest (1744).



Fig. 35. *The Tempest*, Act 1, Scene 2. Prospero, Miranda and Caliban originally painted by the Rev. Matthew William Peters for the Boydell gallery (ca. 1789; engraved 1802). It was used to illustrate Samuel Johnson and George Steevens's edition of *The Plays of William Shakespeare* when it was printed for John Stockdale in 1807.



**Fig. 36. Prospero, Caliban, and Miranda in Shakespeare's The Tempest (Act 1, Scene 2), by Henry (Johann Heinrich) Fuseli, ca. 1806–1810.**



Fig. 37. Robert Smirke's second Caliban (1821).



Fig. 38. Sir John Gilbert's Caliban (ca. 1856). Used as the cover illustration for Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History (1991).



Fig. 39. Caliban, stain glass by Paul Vincent Woodroffe (1910).



Fig. 40. Rudolf Grossman's lithograph of Caliban (ca. 1916).



Fig. 41. Caliban, by Alfred Kubin (ca. 1918).

NICOLAS DURAND, CHEVALIER DU VILLEGAINON



Fig. 42. Villegaignon, Nemurs Museum.

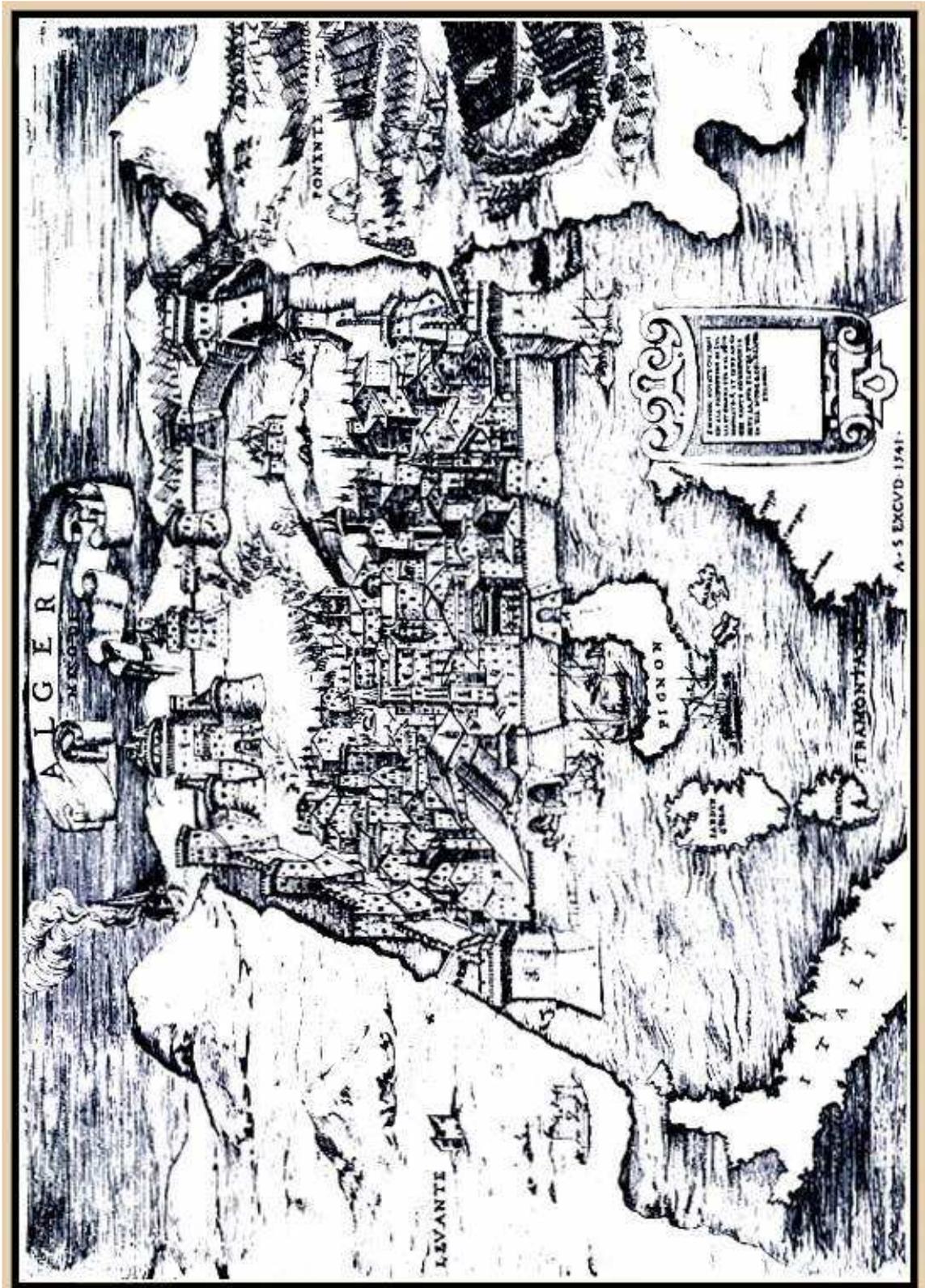


Fig. 43. 'Sir, in Algiers.' Algiers in 1541, the year of The Emperor Charles V's failed attack that made Villegaignon a famous author throughout Europe.



**Fig. 44. Mary, Queen of Scots aged 9. Villegaignon commanded the French naval fleet sent by Henri II that on 7 August 1548 managed to escape the English ships and sail back to France from Dumbarton carrying the five-year-old Queen of Scots, the future mother of Shakespeare's King James, on board. ('... hurried thence | Me and thy crying self ... In few, they hurried us aboard a bark, | Bore us some leagues to sea ...'). The 'Four Marys' escaped to France with them. ('Miranda: Had I not | Four or five women once, that tended me? | Prospero: Thou hadst, and more, Miranda.')**

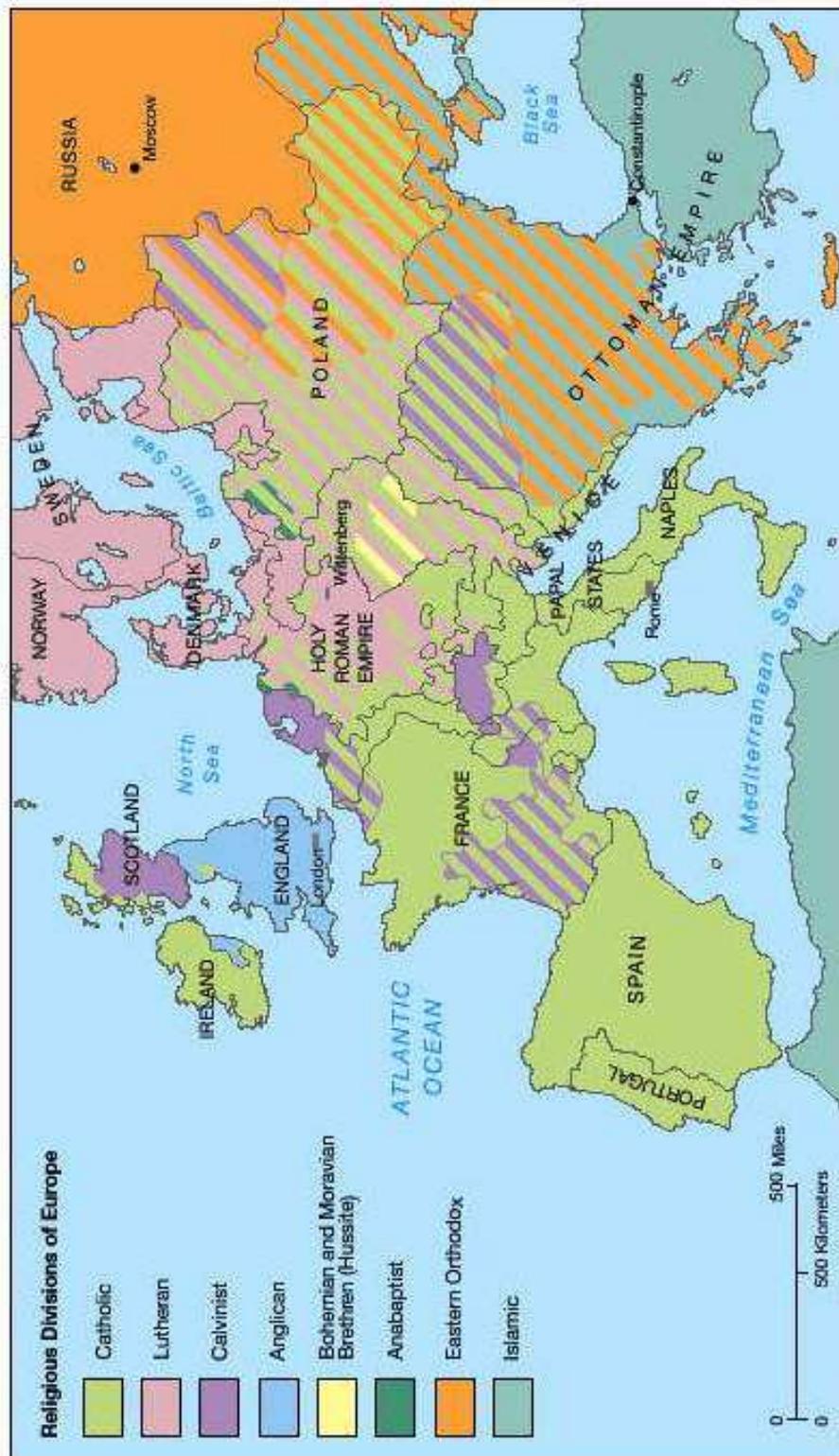


Fig. 45. Religious Divisions in Europe ca. 1555, the year Villegaignon travelled to Brazil. After the events during his stay in Antarctic France, Villegaignon would find himself at the centre of Catholic versus Calvinist polemic.

## ANTARCTIC FRANCE

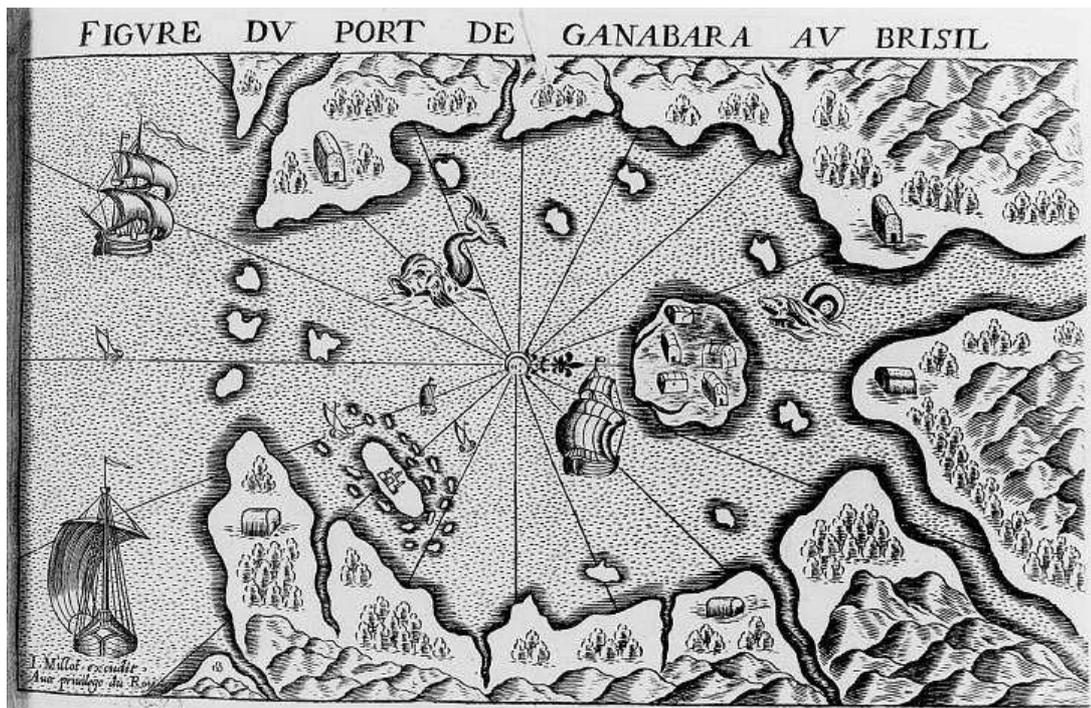


Fig. 46. Guanabara Bay ('Port de Ganabara av Brisil'). From Marc Lescarbot's Histoire de la Nouvelle France. Paris: Jean Millot, 1609.



Fig. 47. Villegaignon's 1555 landing in Guanabara Bay. Villegaignon's 1555 landing in Guanabara Bay, by Chavane. Museu Histórico Nacional, RJ.



Fig. 48. The first French mass in Antarctic France, by Carlos Oswald. The celebrant was André Thevet. Villegaignon can be seen in armour, on the far right. Palácio São Joaquim, Rio de Janeiro.



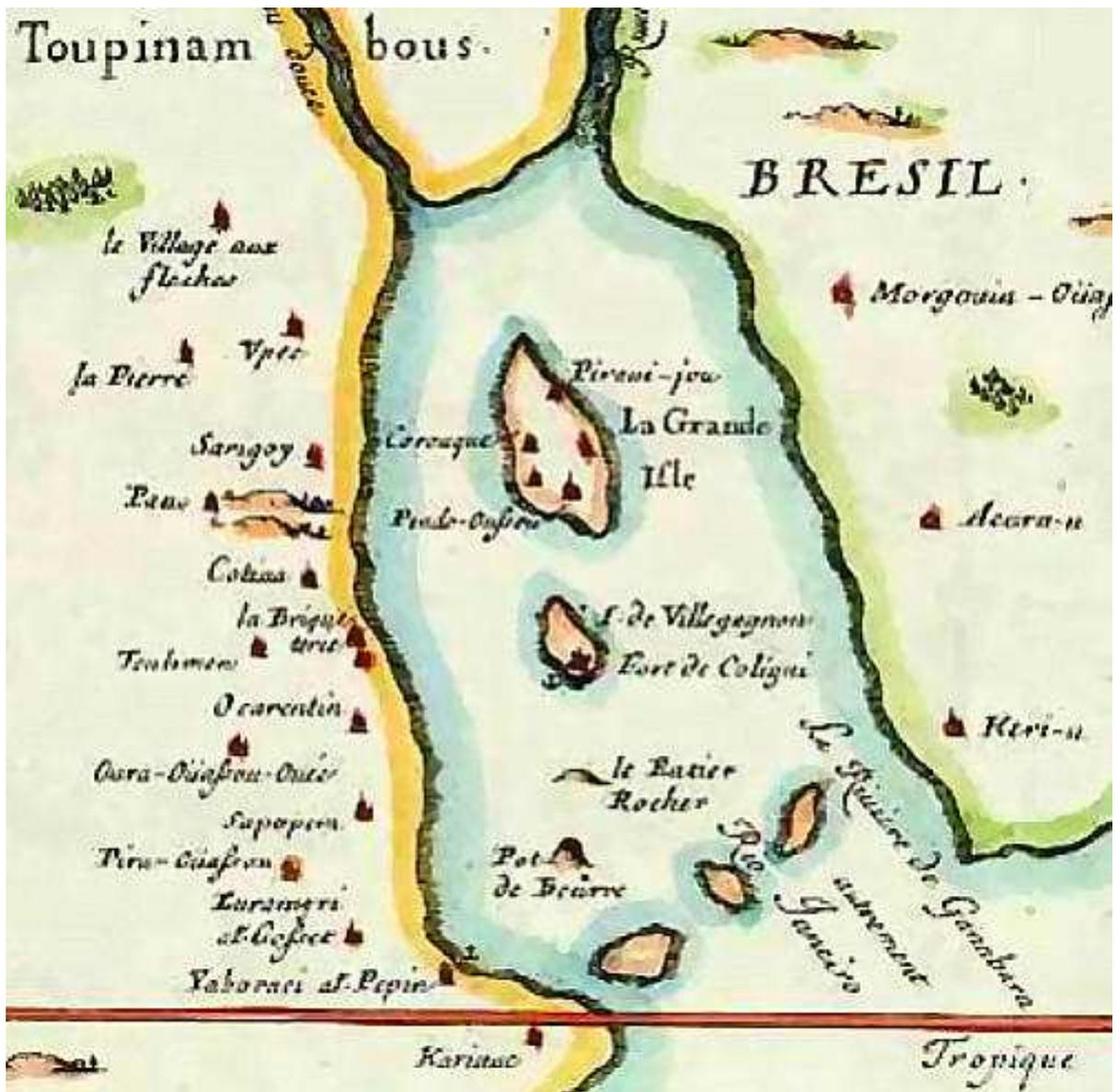


Fig. 50. A French map by Duval showing Antarctic France (Rio de Janeiro), including ‘I. de Villegaignon’ (‘Villegaignon Island’), the ‘Fort de Coligni’ and ‘le Ratier Rocher’ (‘Rat-catcher Rock,’ nowadays ‘Ilha da Laje’). Among other locations, the map shows ‘La Grande Isle,’ (‘The Great Isle,’ nowadays ‘Ilha do Governador’) and Sugar Loaf, which the French called ‘Pot de Beurre,’ (‘Butter Pot’). Sugar Loaf is shown as it originally was, a hilly island far from the beach.

ANDRÉ THEVET

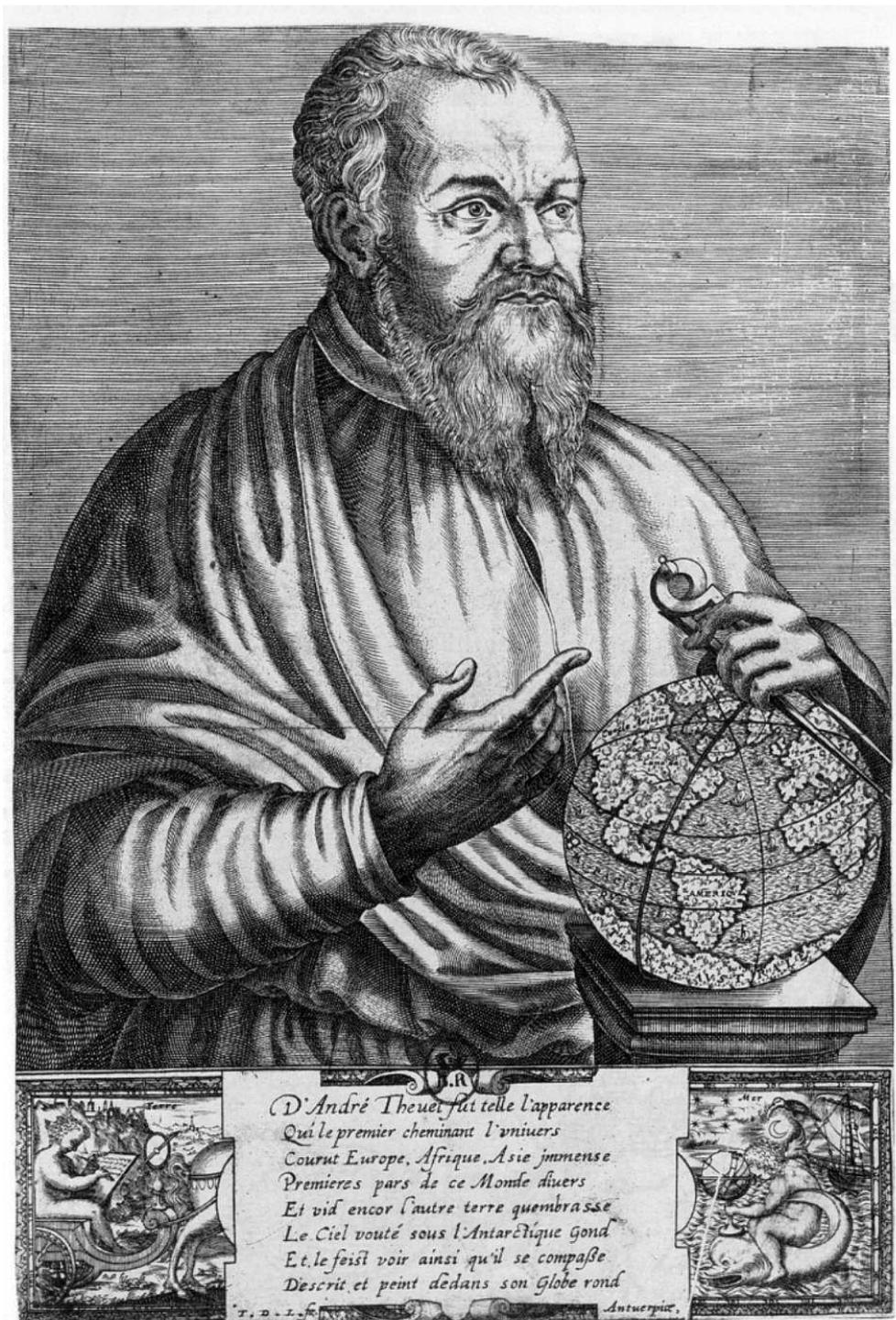


Fig. 51. André Thevet, O.F.M. A portrait by Thomas de Leu of Antwerp, ca. 1586. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Thevet holds a globe, and the name America is found on Brazil.

LES  
SINGULARI-  
TEZ DE LA FRAN-

CE ANTARCTIQUE, AV-  
trement nommée Amerique: & de  
plusieurs Terres & Isles de-  
couvertes de nostre  
temps.

*Par F. André Thevet, natif d'Angoulesme.*



A PARIS,  
Chez les heritiers de Maurice de la Porte, au Clos  
Bruneau, à l'enseigne S. Claude.

1558.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

Fig. 52. The Frontispiece of André Thevet, Les singularitez de la France Antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique: et de plusieurs terres & isles decouvertes en nostre temps. Paris: Chez les heritiers de Maurice de la Porte, au Clos Bruneau, à l'enseigne S. Claude, 1558. The first French edition was published in 1557.



Africa, 15th-17th cents.

Fig. 53. A 20<sup>th</sup>-century map of Africa in the 15th-17th centuries, showing the main maritime trade routes. It shows a route from the Cape of Good Hope to America, such as the one mentioned by Thevet in his Les singularitez de la France Antarctique.



Fig. 54. Wood-cutting and arrow-making in Brazil: Hayri cutters in Antarctic France in André Thevet, Les singularitez de la France Antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique: et de plusieurs terres & isles decouvertes en notre temps. Paris: chez les heritiers de Maurice de la Porte, au Clos Bruneau, à l'enseigne S. Claude, 1558. p. 73. 'Hayri' (modern Portuguese 'airi', 'airiri', or 'brejaúba') is a tall *astrocaryum* palm (*Astrocaryum airy*) from which Brazilian Indians made their arrows.



Fig. 55. 'Canibals' in Brazil : 'How these Barbarous and wilde men put their enimies to death, that hey haue taken in the warre, and eate them'. André Thevet, Les singularitez de la France Antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique: et de plusieurs terres & isles descouvertes en notre temps. Paris: chez les heritiers de Maurice de la Porte, au Clos Bruneau, à l'enseigne S. Claude, 1557. p. 77.



Fig. 56. 'Canibals' in Brazil : 'This prisoner being dead, his wife that hath bene giuen him, shall mourne a certain time for his deathe'. André Thevet, Les singularitez de la France Antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique: et de plusieurs terres & isles descouvertes en notre temps. Paris: chez les heritiers de Maurice de la Porte, au Clos Bruneau, à l'enseigne S. Claude, 1558. p. 83.



Fig. 57. Log-bearing and wood-cutting in Brazil: Brazilwood cutters in Antarctic France in André Thevet, Les singularitez de la France Antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique: et de plusieurs terres & isles decouvertes en notre temps. Paris: chez les heritiers de Maurice de la Porte, au Clos Bruneau, à l'enseigne S. Claude, 1558. p. 117. The native at the back of the picture may be a prototype of Caliban.



Fig. 58. Thevet's map of America. 1566. It was reproduced again in his Cosmographie universelle (1575).



Fig. 59. South America. André Thevet, *Cosmographie universelle*. A Paris: Chez Guillaume Chandièrre ..., 1575. The map shows Bresil, Caribana, the Marannon region near the Amazon, Patagona region des Geants, and France Antartique, C. de Frio and r. Janairo in the land of the Toupinambaux.

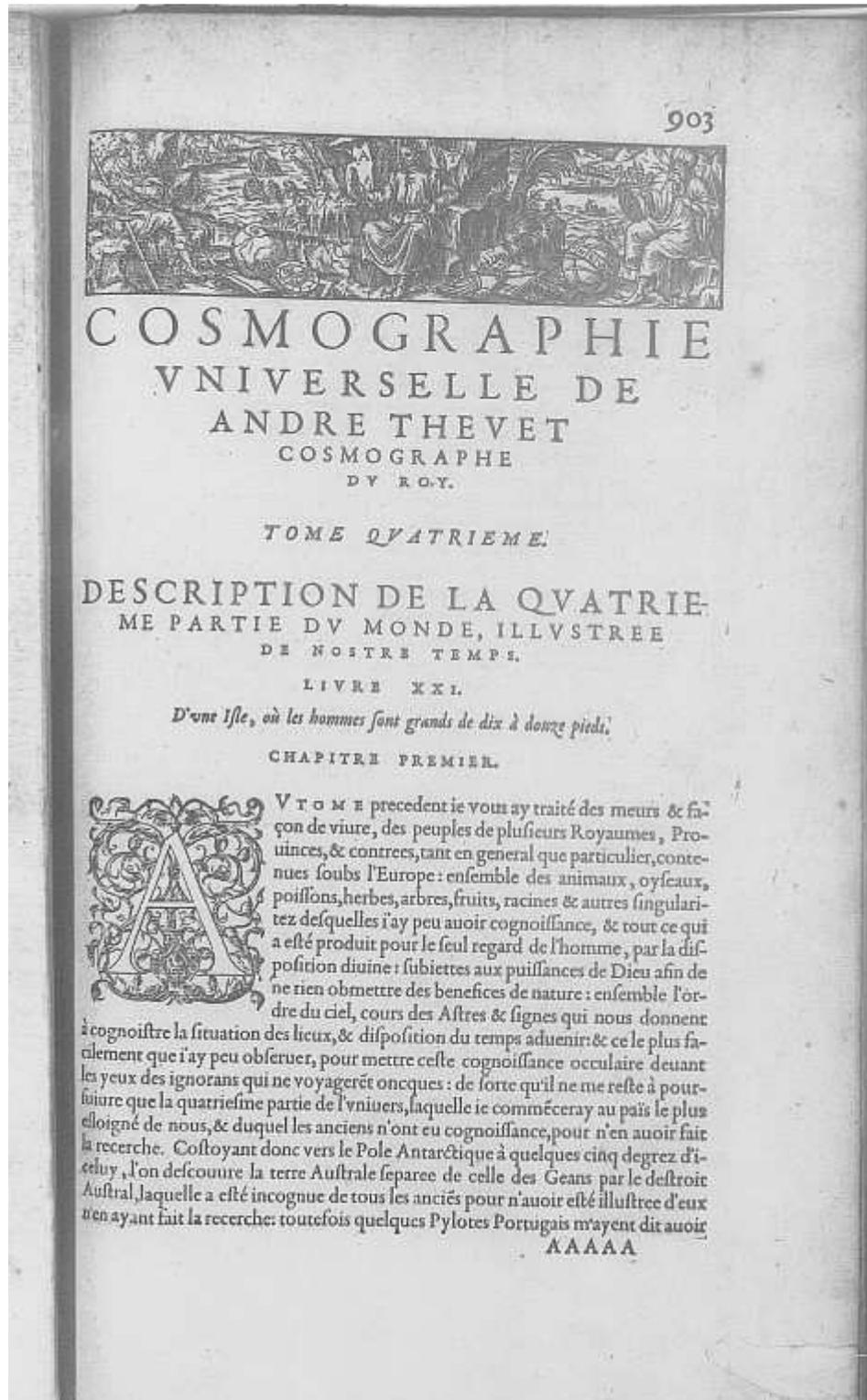


Fig. 60. Page 903 initiates the fourth tome of André Thevet's Cosmographie universelle.

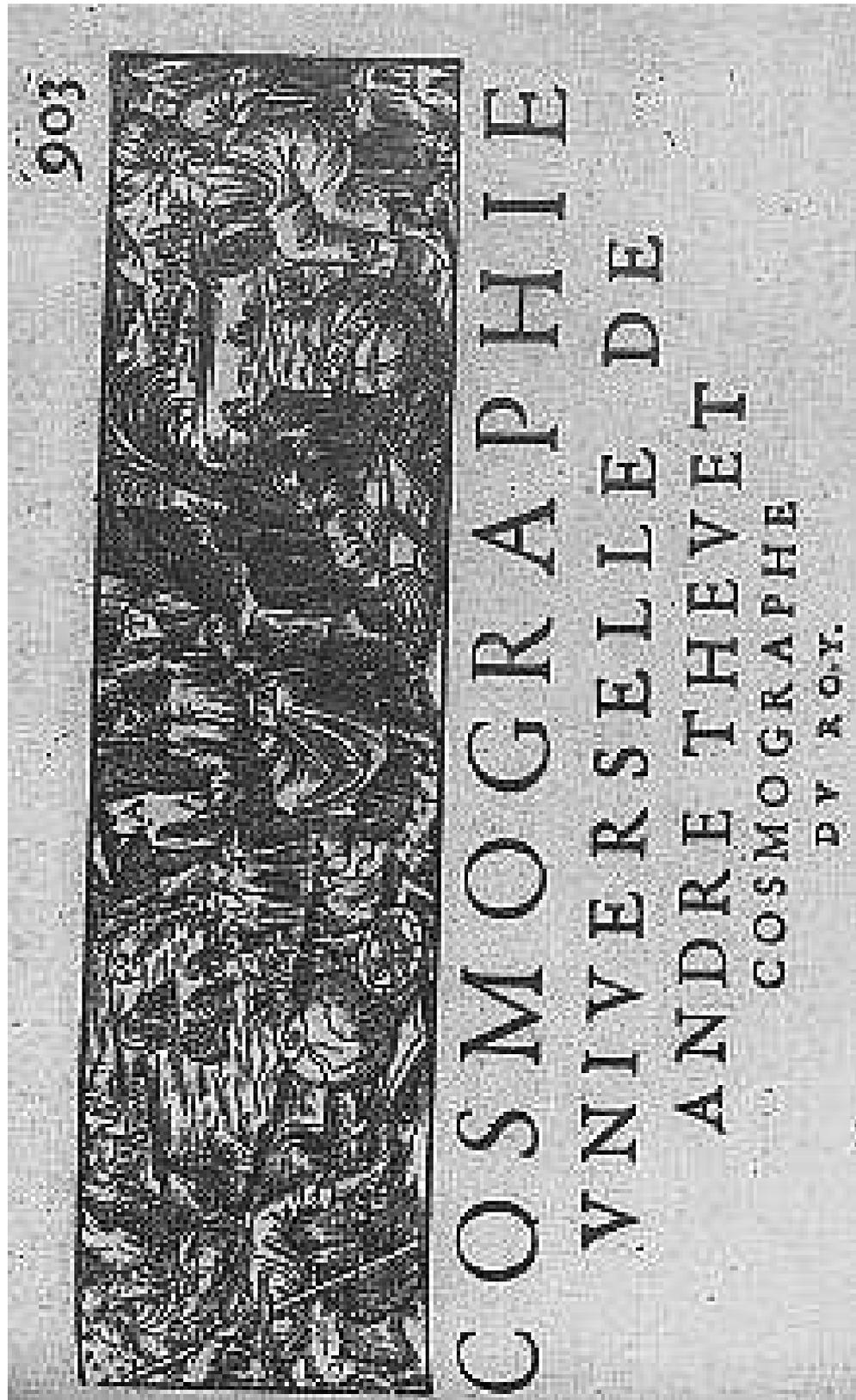


Fig. 61. The figures of the astronomer, cosmographer or geographer in page 903 of André Thevet's Cosmographie universelle.



Fig. 62. The Capture of Fort Coligny ('Fort des François') in *La Cosmographie Universelle*, by André Thevet (Paris, 1575). Tome 4. p. 909. This drawing of the Island of Villegaignon, in Antarctic France (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) depicts Fort Coligny under attack by Portuguese forces under Mem de Sá in 1560.



Fig. 63. 'Pourtraict du Roy Quoniambec'. A friendly Indian in André Thevet's Cosmographie universelle. Tome 4. p. 924.



Fig. 64. Fabulous beasts in America. André Thevet, Cosmographie universelle. Tome 4. p. 941.



Fig. 65. André Thevet, La cosmographie universelle, illustrez de diverses figures des choses plus remarquables veuës par l'Auteur, et incogneuës de noz Anciens et Modernes. 2 v. A Paris: Chez Pierre l'Huilier, rue saint Jacques, à l'Olivier, 1575. Tome 4. p. 944.

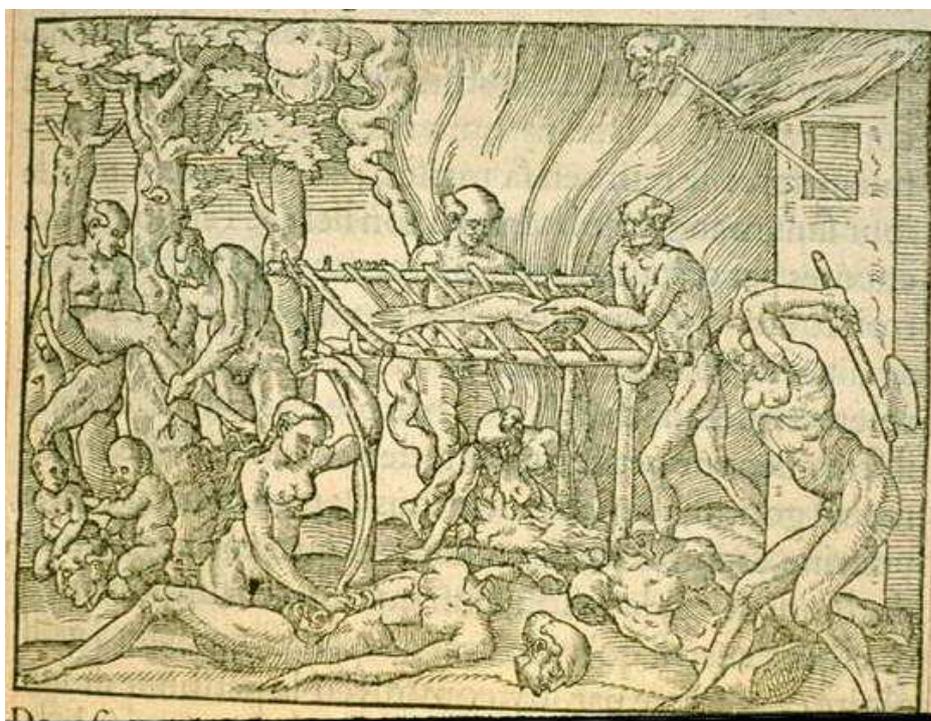


Fig. 66. André Thevet, La cosmographie universelle, illustrez de diverses figures des choses plus remarquables veuës par l'Auteur, et incogneuës de noz Anciens et Modernes. 2 v. A Paris: Chez Pierre l'Huilier, rue saint Jacques, à l'Olivier, 1575. Tome 4. p. 946.

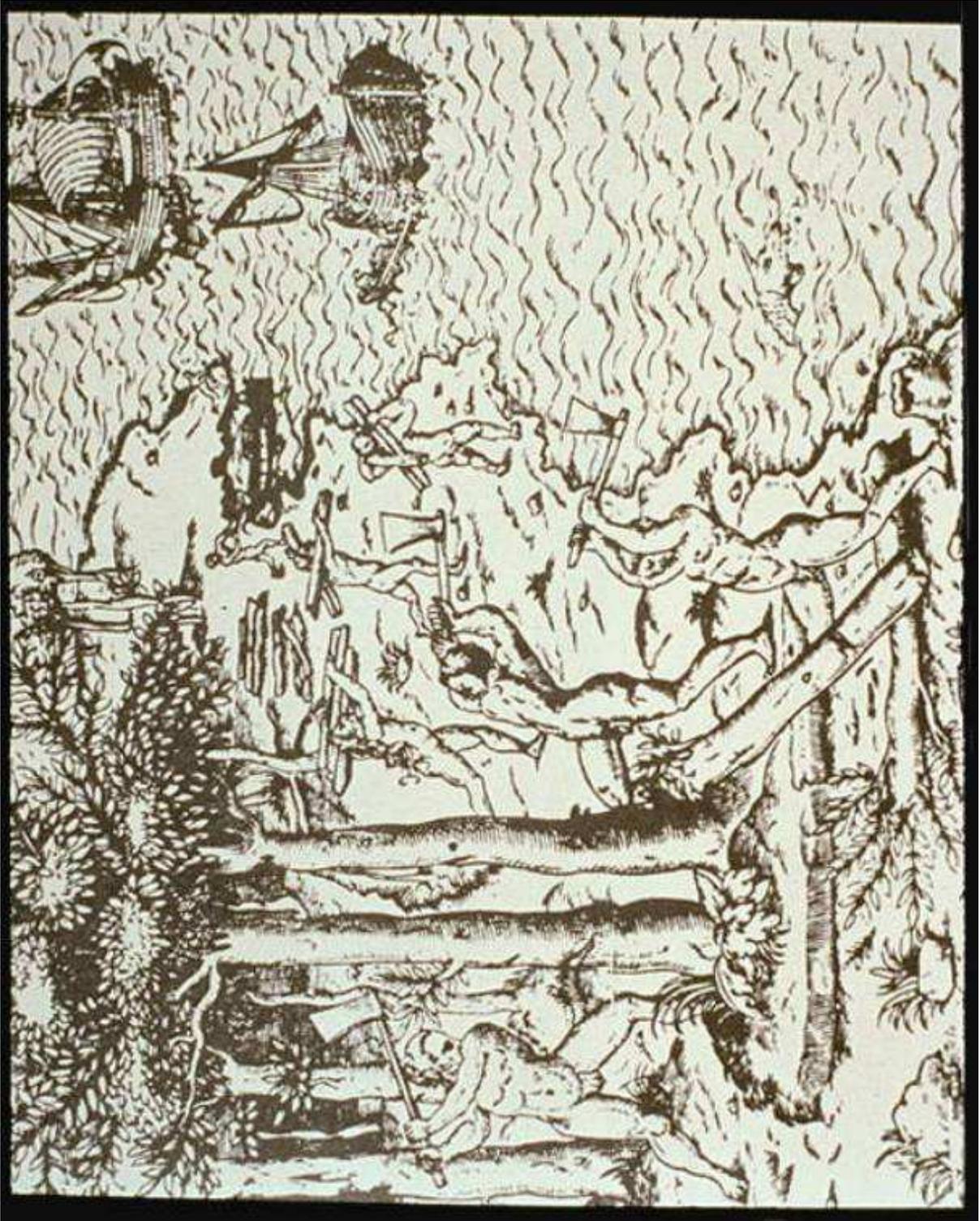


Fig. 67. Wood-cutting and log-bearing in Brazil: André Thevet, *Cosmographie universelle*, 'Comme ce peuple coupe et porte le brésil es navires,' 1575. Tome 4. p. 951.



Fig. 68. 'Ruses de Quoniamech'. André Thevet, Cosmographie universelle. Tome 4. p. 952.



Fig. 69. 'Pourtraict d'un Roy des Canibales'. A hostile Indian in André Thevet's Cosmographie universelle. Tome 4. p. 956.

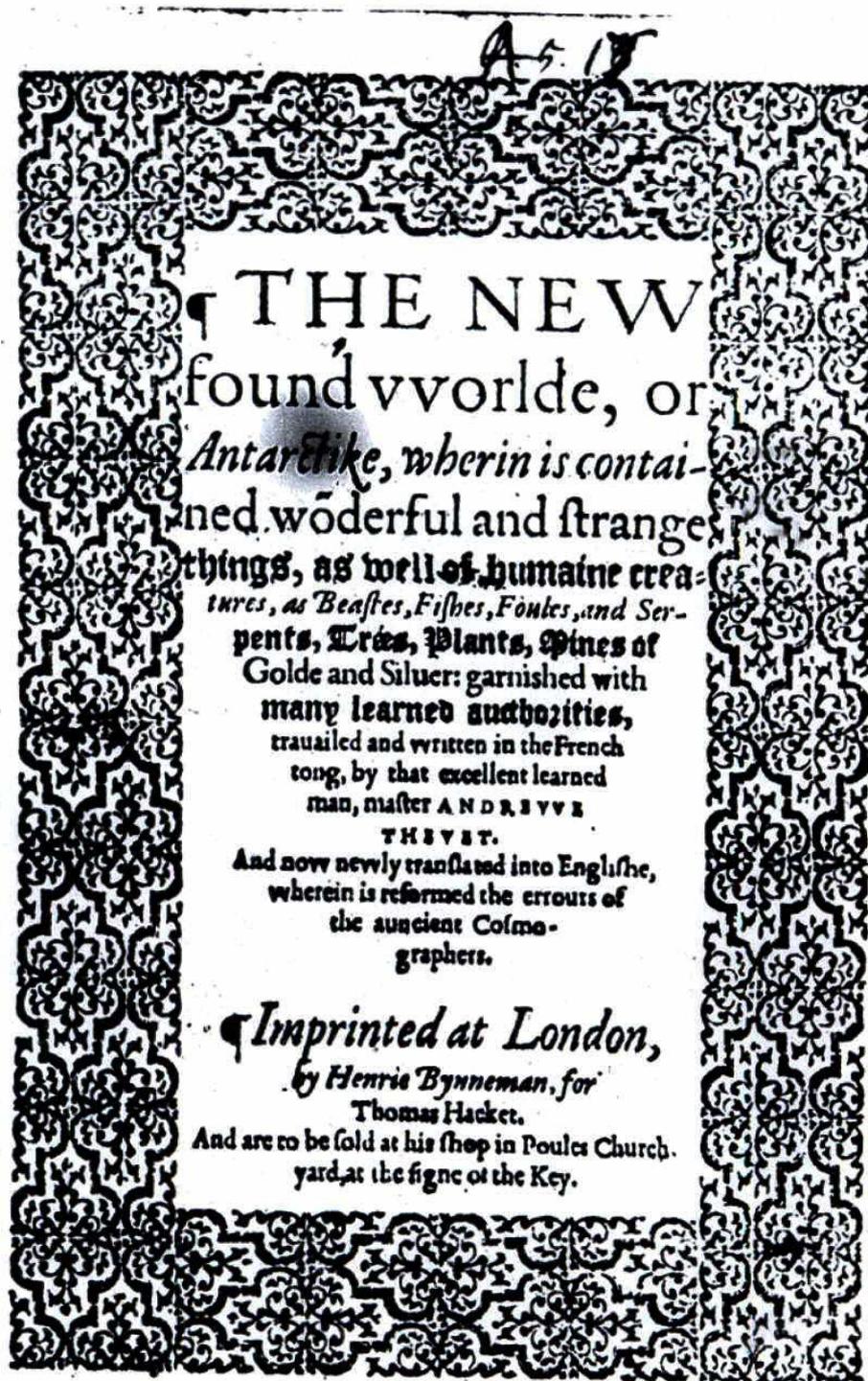


Fig. 70. The Frontispiece of The new Found worlde, or Antarctike. The new Found worlde, or Antarctike, wherin is contained wöderful and strange things, as well of humaine creatures, as Beastes, Fishes, Foules, and Serpents, Trees, Plants, Mines of Golde and Siluer: garnished with many learned auctorities, trauailed and written in the French tong, by that excellent learned man, master Andrew Thevet. And now newly translated into Englishe, wherein is reformed the errouts of the auncient Cosmographers. London: Imprinted by Henrie Bynneman for Thomas Hacket, 1568. This edition made available in England the First English translation of Thevet's Singularitez de la France Antarctique.

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# LE BRÉSIL D'ANDRÉ THEVET

*Les Singularités de la France Antarctique (1557)*

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*Édition intégrale établie, présentée & annotée  
par Frank Lestringant*



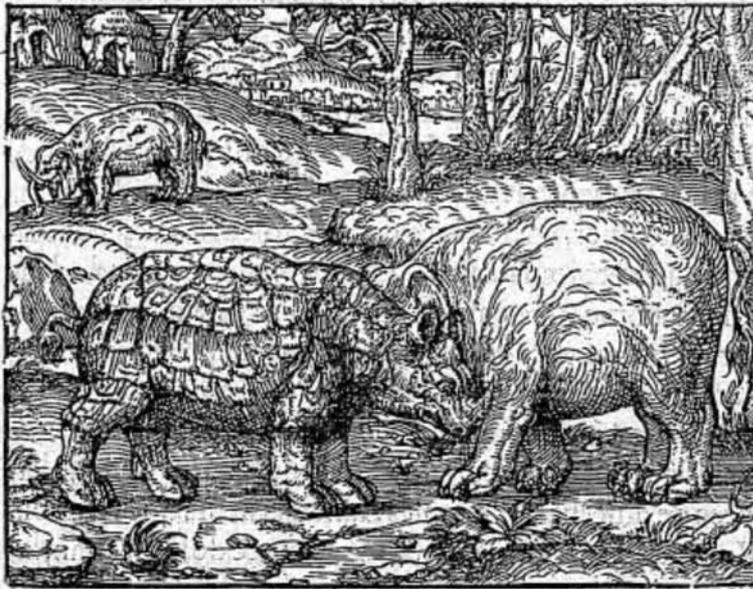
Éditions Chandeigne

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Fig. 71. Brazil fully visible. Le Brésil d'André Thevet: Les Singularités de la France Antarctique (1557). The 1997 French edition of Thevet's Singularitez de la France Antarctique, edited by Frank Lestringant.

[Fig. p.41 : rhinocéros et éléphants d'Afrique. XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.] [cote : microfilm m 1403/R42179] [Image fixe numérisée]

DE LA FRANCE ANTARCTIQUE 41  
 n'est du tout si haut que l'Elephant, ne tel que nous le de-  
 peignons par deça. Et qui me donne occasion d'en par-  
 ler, est que trauerfant d'Egypte en Arabie, ie vis vn fort  
 ancien obelisc, ou estoient grauées quelques figures d'a-  
 nimaux au lieu de lettres ainsi que lon en vsoit le temps  
 passé, entre lesquels estoit le Rhinoceros, n'ayant ne fran-  
 ge ne corne, ne aussi mailles telles, que noz peintres les re-  
 presentent: pourquoy i'en ay voulu mettre icy la figure.



Et pour se preparer à la guerre Pline recite, qu'il aguise *Li. 8.*  
 sa corne à vne certaine pierre, & tire tousiours au ventre *cha. 20.*  
 de l'Elephant, pource que c'est la partie du corps la plus  
 molle. Il s'y trouue aussi grande quantité d'asnes sauua- *Asnes*  
 ges, & vne autre espece portant vne corne entre les deux *sauua-*  
 yeux, longue de deux pieds. I'en vis vne estant en la ville *ges.*

Fig. 72. African rhinoceroses and elephants in André Thevet's Les singularitez de la France Antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique p. 41, an image available on the Bibliothèque Nationale de France's digital library, Gallica in 2006. Of the total 41 figures in Thevet's book, only the first 6 are about Africa, and are correctly identified online by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France as being so. The fact that Thevet travels to America (Brazil) via Africa may have contributed to the error in labelling the other images.

[Fig. p.77 : cannibalisme en Afrique. Dépeçage et découpage des corps des prisonniers. XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.] [cote : microfilm m 1403/R42179] [Image fixe numérisée]

DE LA FRANCE ANTARCTIQUE. 77  
 richement estoiffée de diuers plumages. Et tant plus le  
 prisonnier verra faire les preparatiues pour mourir, &  
 plus il monstrera signes de ioye. Il sera donc mené, bien  
 lié & garroté de cordes de cotton en la place publique,  
 accompagné de dix ou douze mil Sauvages du païs, ses  
 ennemis, & la fera affommé cōme vn porceau, apres plu-  
 sieurs cerimonies. Le prisonnier mort, sa femme, qui luy  
 auoit esté donnée, fera quelque petit dueil. Incontinent  
 le corps estant mis en pieces, ils en prennent le sang & en  
 lauent leurs petis enfans masles, pour les rendre plus har-  
 dis, comme ils disent, leur remonstrans, que quand ils se-  
 ront venuz à leur aage, ils font ainsi à leurs ennemis.

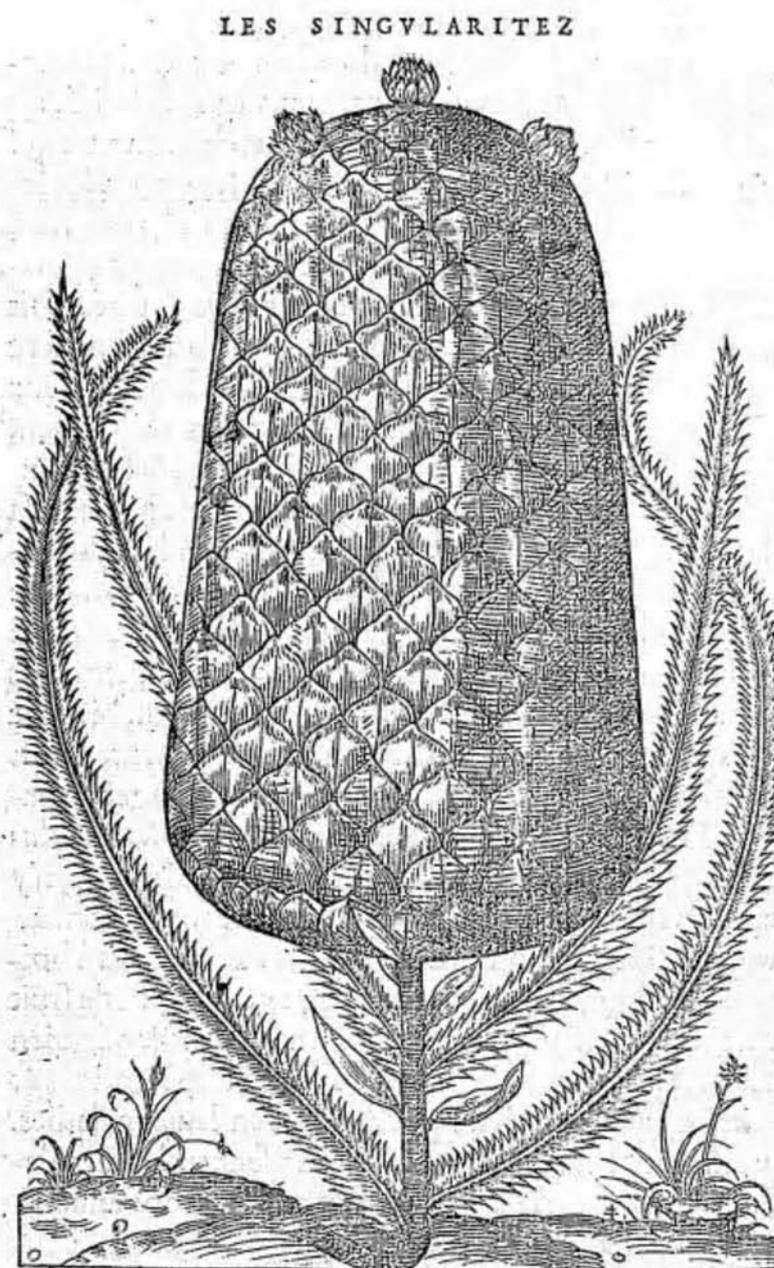


Dont faut penser, qu'on leur en fait autant de l'autre part,  
 quand ils sont pris en guerre. Ce corps ainsi mis par pie-  
 ces, & cuit à leur mode, sera distribué à tous, quelque nô-

V

Fig. 73. Brazilian invisibility in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France's digital library, Gallica: Brazilian cannibals engage in what is described as 'cannibalisme in Afrique' ('cannibalism in Africa'). Although Thevet's text about Antarctic France (Brazil) repeatedly refers to America, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France's captions consistently (if mistakenly) label the next 31 illustrations found in Les singularitez de la France Antarctique as if they were about 16th-century Africa.

[Fig. en reg. p.90 : fruit d'Afrique nommé Hiboucouhu. XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.] [cote : microfilm m 1403/R42179] [Image fixe numérisée]



**Fig. 74. Brazilian invisibility in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France's digital library, Gallica: What the BNF calls an 'African fruit called Hiboucouhu' illustrates the passage in Chapter 46 where Thevet mentions an excellent American fruit called 'Nana' [i.e., the pineapple], which, so Thevet informs, the Indians commonly eat in their sicknesses. It is only later in the same passage that Thevet mentions the 'hiboucouhu' mentioned in the label (identified by Thevet's Brazilian translator Eugenio Amado as being the Brazilian 'ucuuba'), but the picture clearly depicts a 16<sup>th</sup>-century view of the pineapple.**

[Fig. p.936 : description de l'Amérique. Flore.] Nana [Ananas],  
fruit très savoureux. [Cote : G 453/Microfilm R 122148]

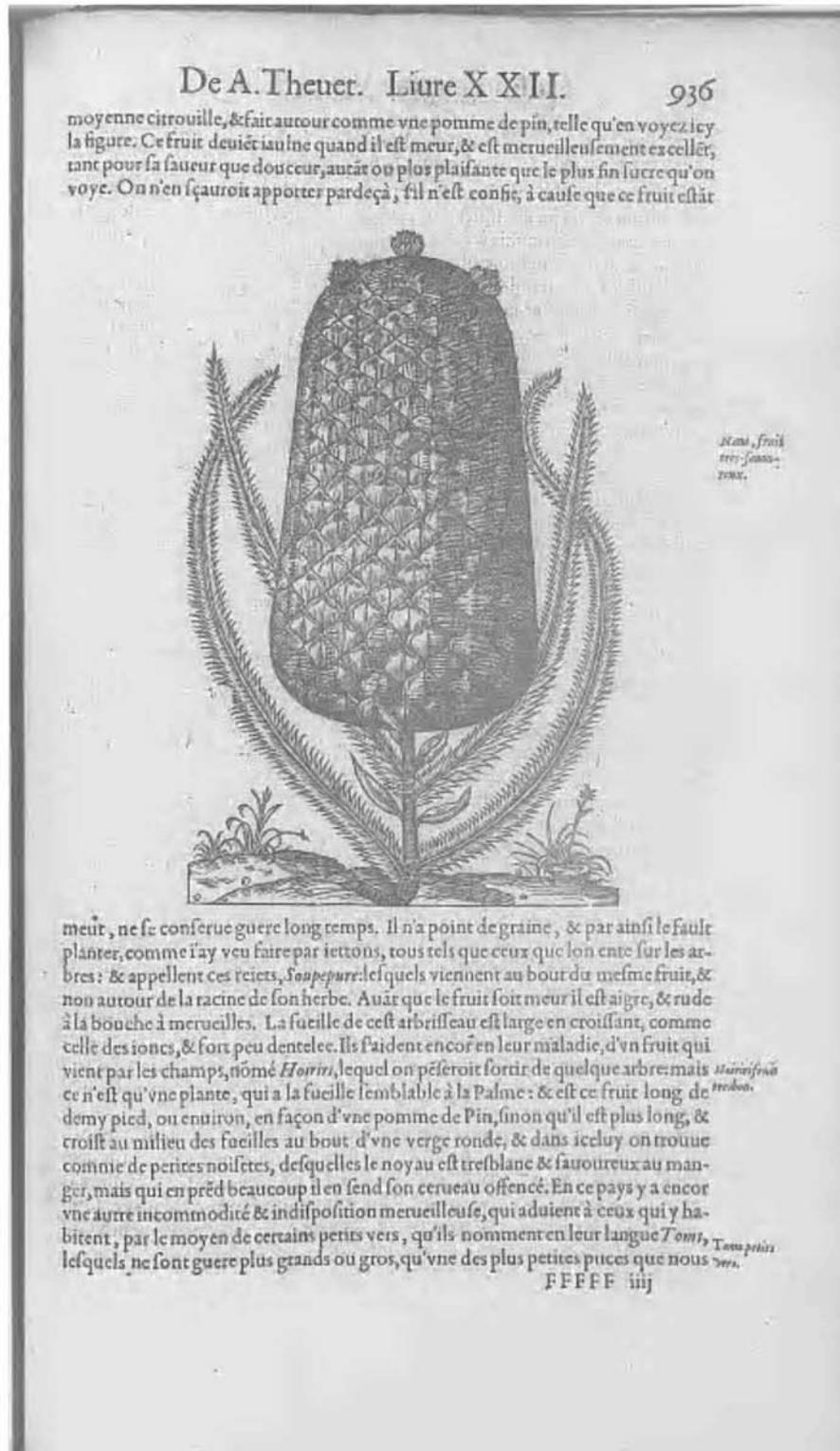


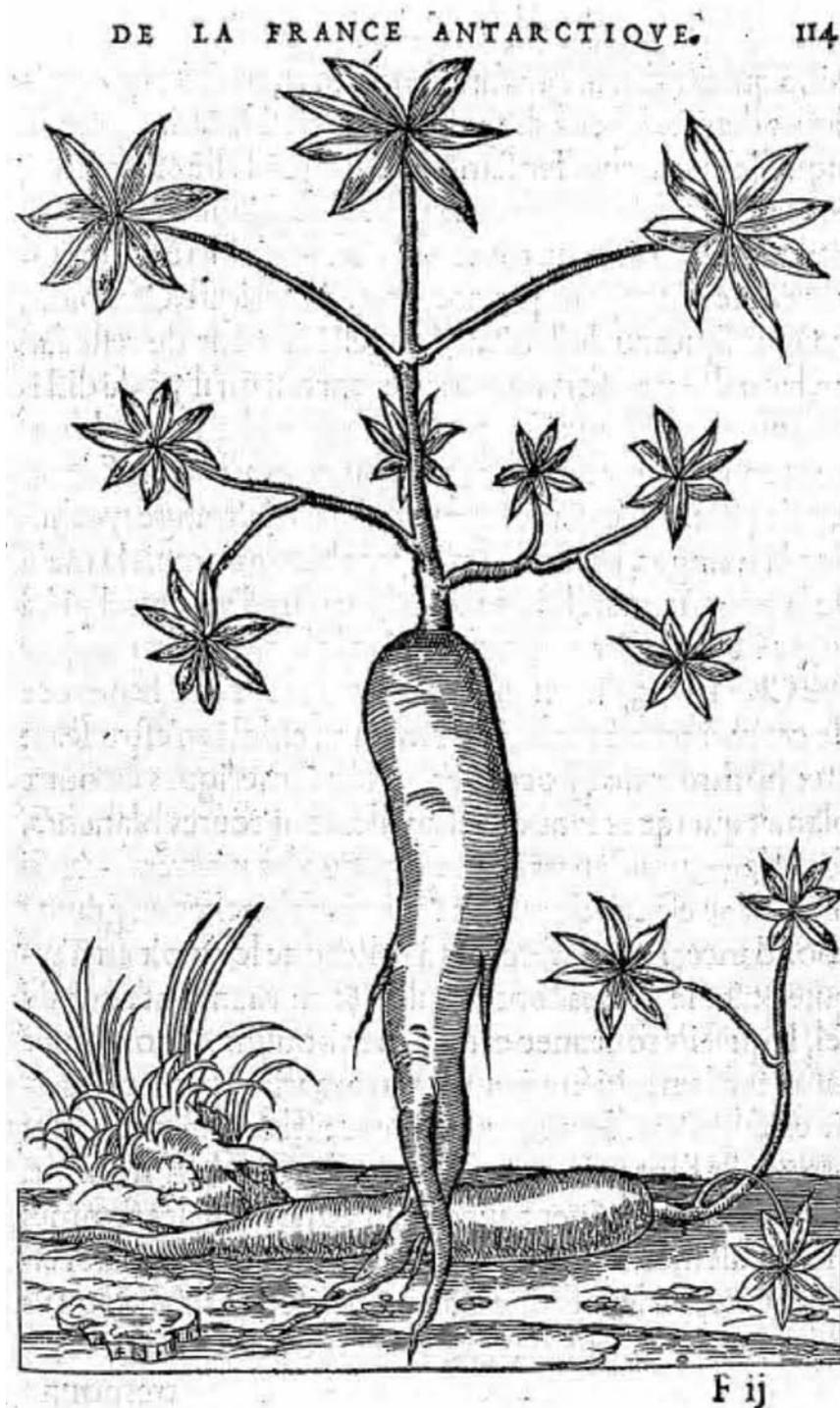
Fig. 75. Visible again. The same image of a pineapple used to illustrate another book by Thevet is correctly identified by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France as an American pineapple. This time the picture is included in the 'Description de la Amérique' in Thevet's Cosmographie universelle.

[Fig. p.91 : toucan d'Afrique. XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.] [cote : microfilm m 1403/R42179] [Image fixe numérisée]



Fig. 76. Brazilian invisibility in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France's digital library, Gallica: the BNF's caption ('Toucan d'Afrique') again contradicts Thevet's text, which unmistakably describes the 'Toucan, oyseau de l'Amerique'.

[Fig. p.114 : racine d'Afrique nommée Manihot. XVIè siècle.]  
 [cote : microfilm m 1403/R42179] [Image fixe numérisée]



**Fig. 77. Brazilian invisibility in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France's digital library, Gallica: the BNF's 'African manihot' illustrates Chapter 58 of Thevet's Les singularitez de la France Antarctique, where Thevet informs his readers that Americans make meal of manihots.**

[Fig. en reg. p.949 : description de l'Amérique. Manioc.] Plante de Manihot de laquelle ils font leur farine. [Cote : G 453/Microfilm R 122148]

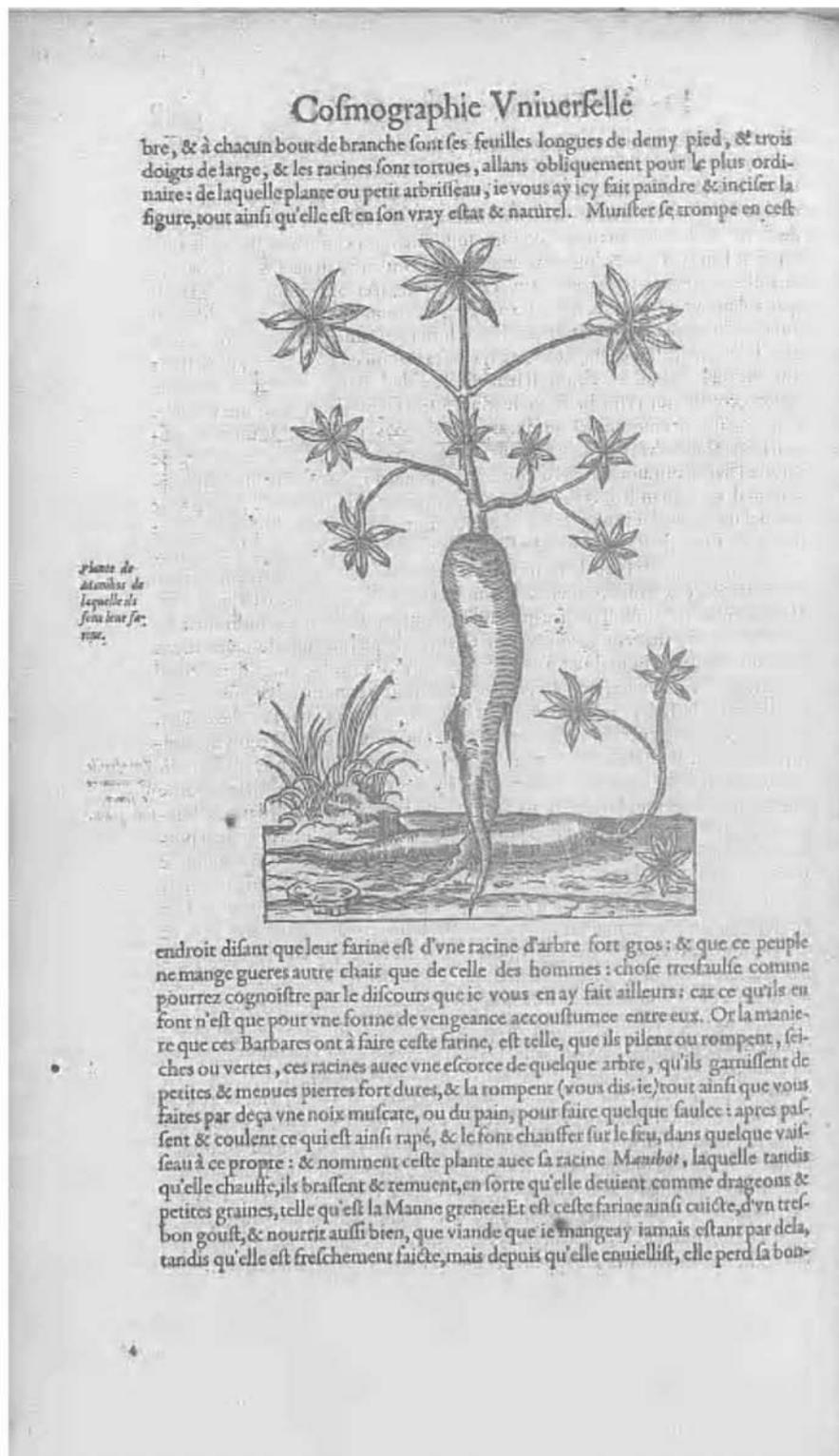


Fig. 78. The BNF's American manioc, reproducing the this-time correctly identified reference to an American root called 'Manihot' (the manioc) in Thevet's Cosmographie universelle.

[Fig. en reg. p.148 : taureau d'Afrique. XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.] Taureau sauvage. [cote : microfilm m 1403/R42179] [Image fixe numérisée]

LES SINGVLARITEZ

*Floride pour- quoy ainsi nommée.*

*Toreau sauvage.*

que, pour auoir peu esté frequenté d'autre peuple plus ci- uil. Ceste terre ainsi en pointe fut nommée Floride l'an mil cinq cens douze, par ceux qui la decouurent pre- mieremét, pource qu'elle estoit toute verdoyante, & gar- nie de fleurs d'infinies especes & couleurs. Entre ceste Floride & la riuere de Palme se trouuent diuerfes especes de bestes monstrueuses : entre lesquelles lon peut voir vne espece de grands taureaux, portans cornes longues



seulement d'un pié, & sur le dos vne tumeur ou eminence, comme vn chameau: le poil long par tout le corps, du- quel la couleur s'approche fort de celle d'une mule fauve, & encores l'est plus celuy qui est dessous le méton. Lon en amena vne fois deux tous vifs en Espagne, de l'un des- quels j'ay veu la peau, & non autre chose, & n'y peu-  
rent

Fig. 79. 'Taureau d'Afrique'. The next online picture depicts what is obviously a North American bison. The image is included in Chapter 74 of *Les singularitez de la France Antarctique*, where Thevet discusses 'Floride' (Florida). The image of the 'African bull' is the last instance of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France's mistakenly identifying an American feature as if it were an African one. Curiously, it is also the only instance in 32 mistaken references where the animal, plant or scene depicted is in North rather than in South America. Accordingly, the last three scenes in the book, which follow after the 'Taureau d'Afrique,' are correctly identified by the BNF as taking place in Canada and in Terra Nova.

JEAN DE LÉRY

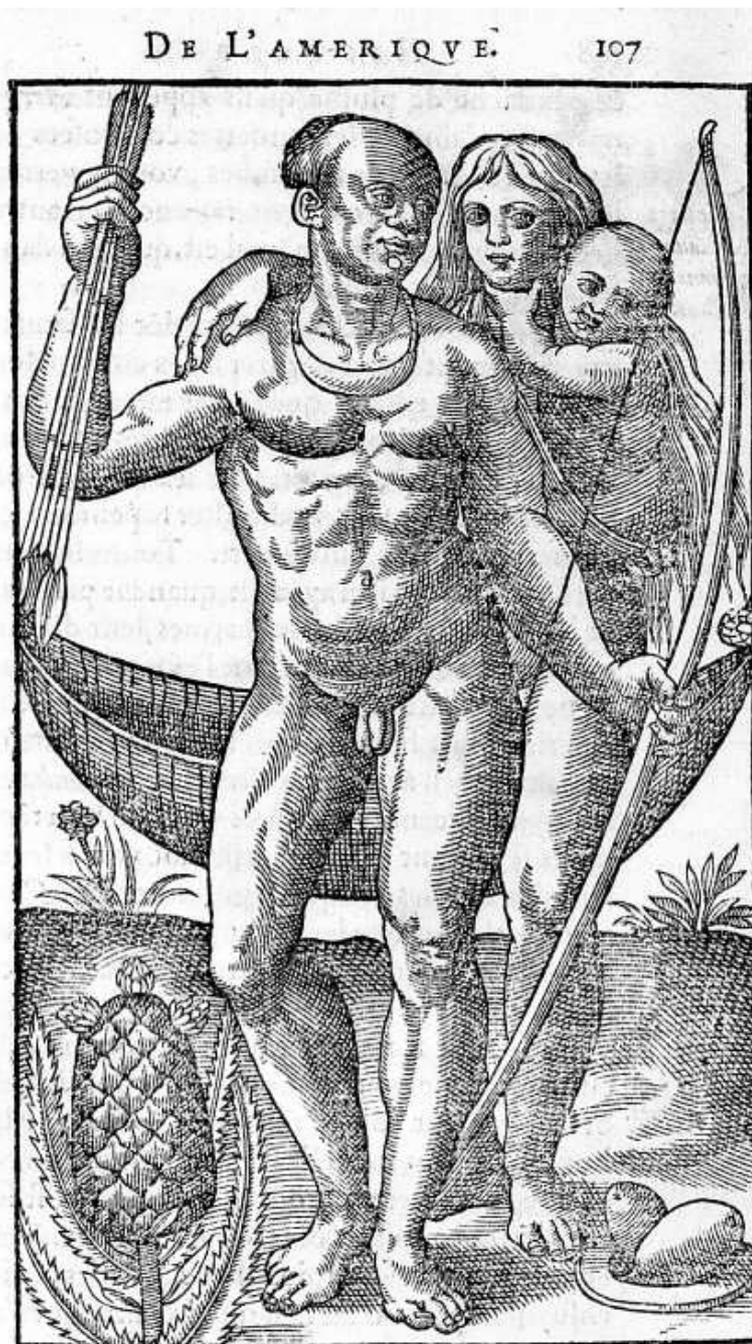


Fig. 80. An engraving showing a 16th-century native American (Brazilian) family in the 1580 (second) edition of Jean de Léry's 1578 Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Léry.



Fig. 81. A combat scene between the Tupinambás and the Margaia in 16th-century Brazil in the 1580 (second) edition of Jean de Léry's 1578 Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Léry.

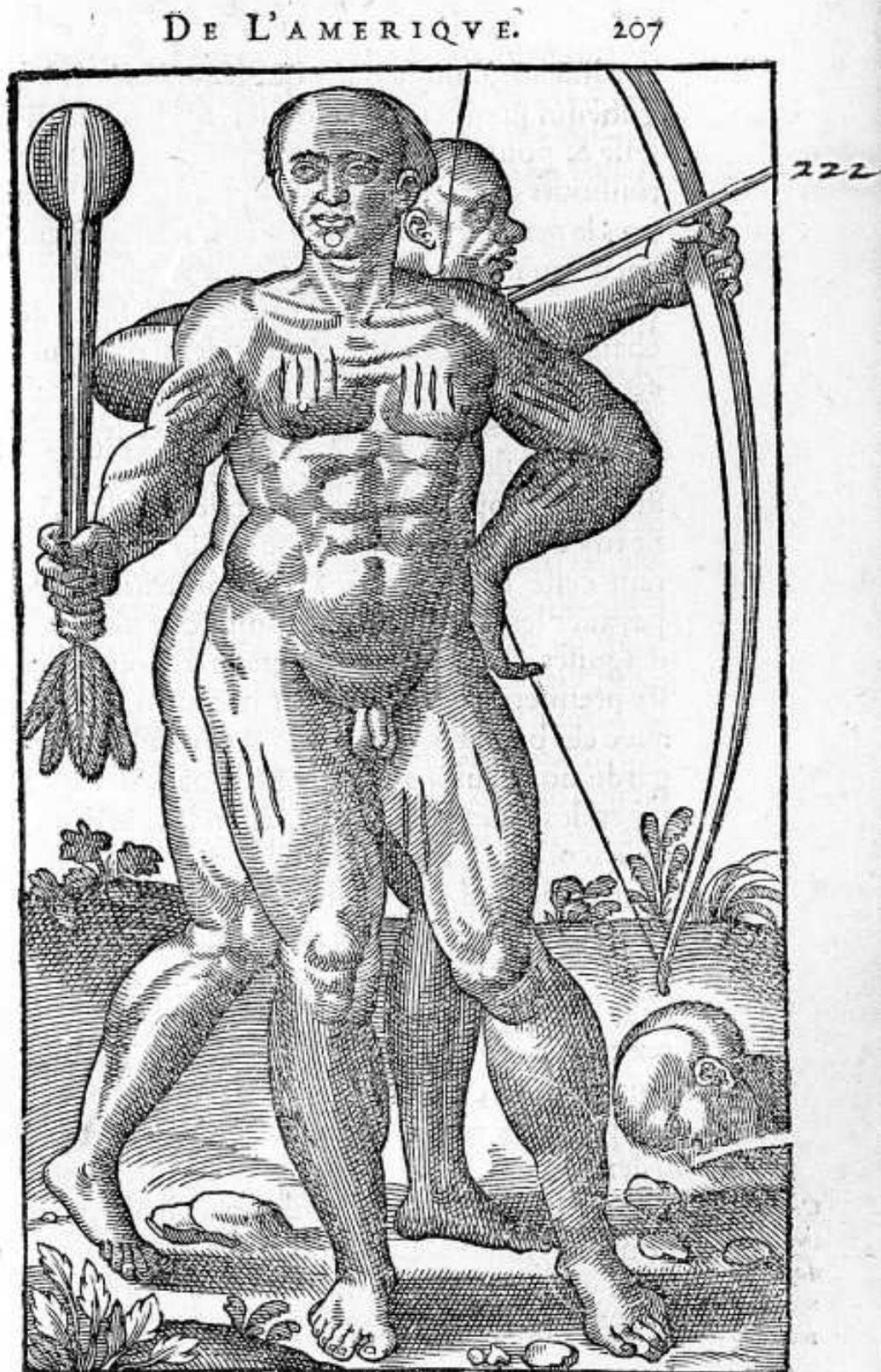


Fig. 82. A pair of fierce 16th-century native American (Brazilian Tupinambá) warriors in the 1580 (second) edition of Jean de Léry's 1578 *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Léry*. The same engraving on page 207 is repeated on page 222.

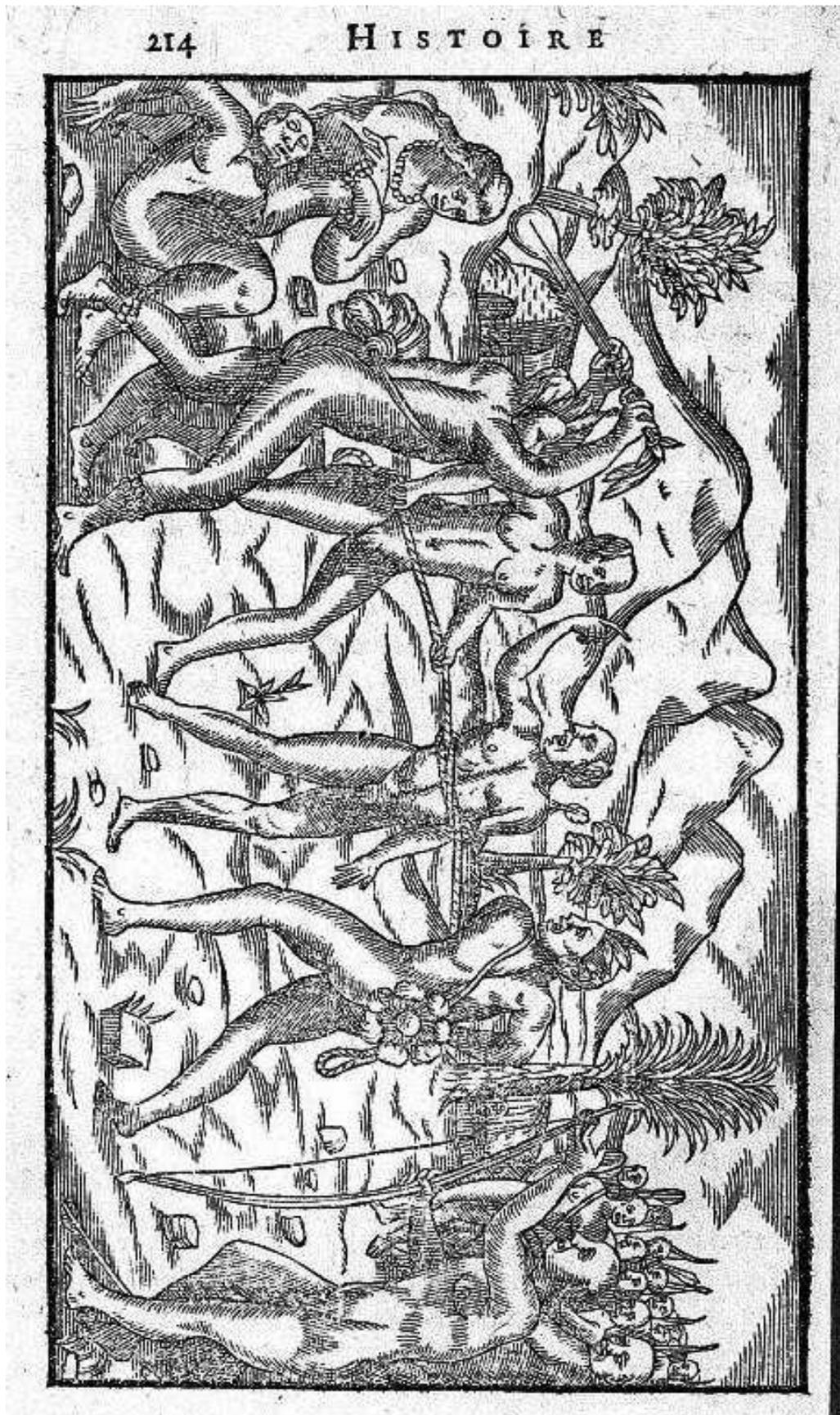


Fig. 83. A group of 16th-century native Americans (Brazilians) and their prisoner of war in the 1580 (second) edition of Jean de Léry's 1578 Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Léry.



Fig. 84. 'Religion among the savage Americans': Scores of evil spirits called Aygnan afflict 16th-century native Americans (Brazilian Tupinambás) in the 1580 (second) edition of Jean de Léry's 1578 Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Léry.

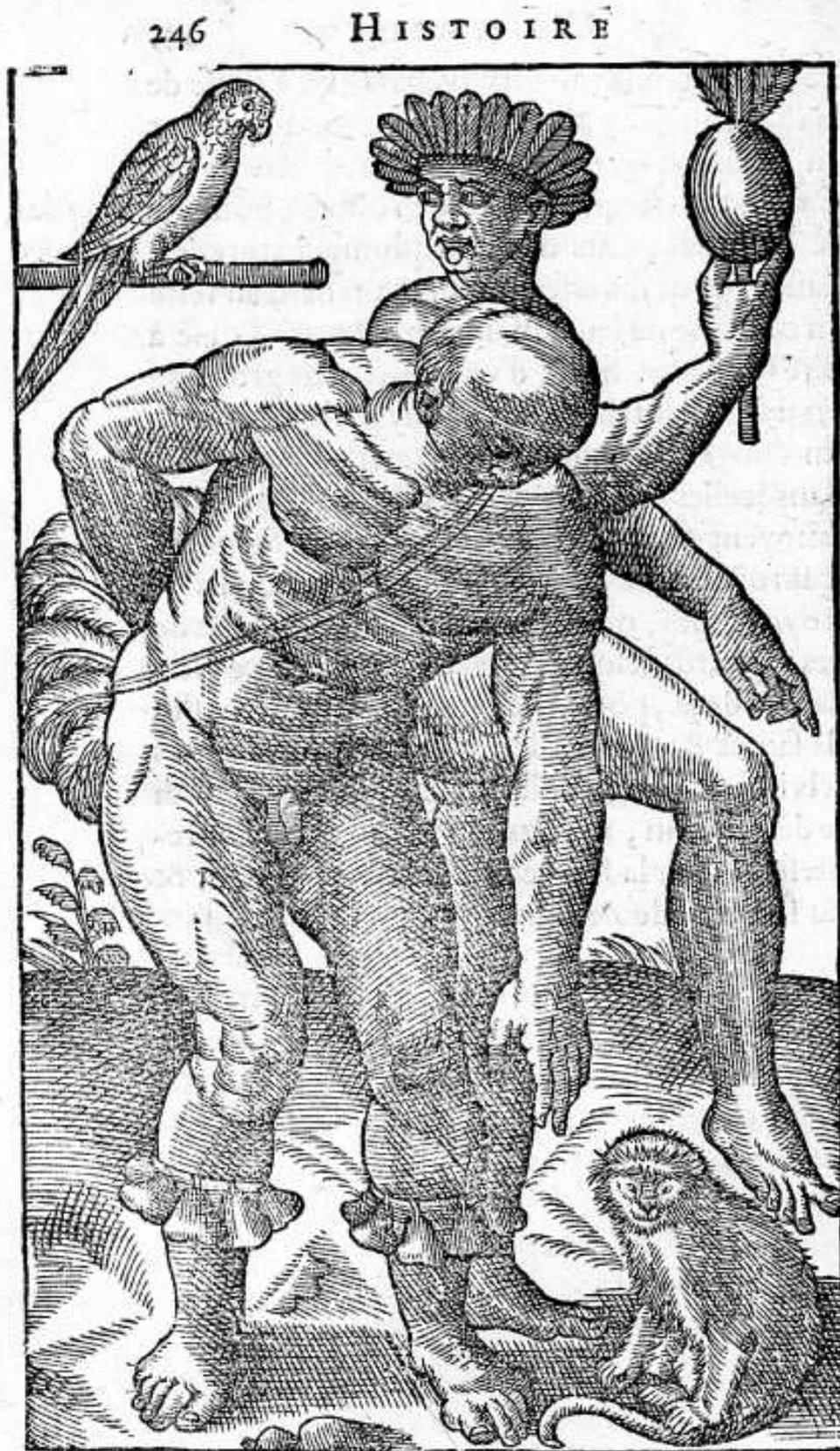


Fig. 85. Two 16th-century Caraïbe natives with a parrot and a monkey in the 1580 (second) edition of Jean de Léry's 1578 Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Léry.



Fig. 86. A couple of 16th-century American (Brazilian Tupinambá) natives offer a warm welcome to a European visitor in the 1580 (second) edition of Jean de Léry's 1578 Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Léry, full of the 'tears and joyous speeches the women make to welcome' visitors.



Fig. 87. A group of 16th-century American (Brazilian Tupinambá) natives and the 'great lamentation they make over their dead' in the 1580 (second) edition of Jean de Léry's 1578 Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique / le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Léry.



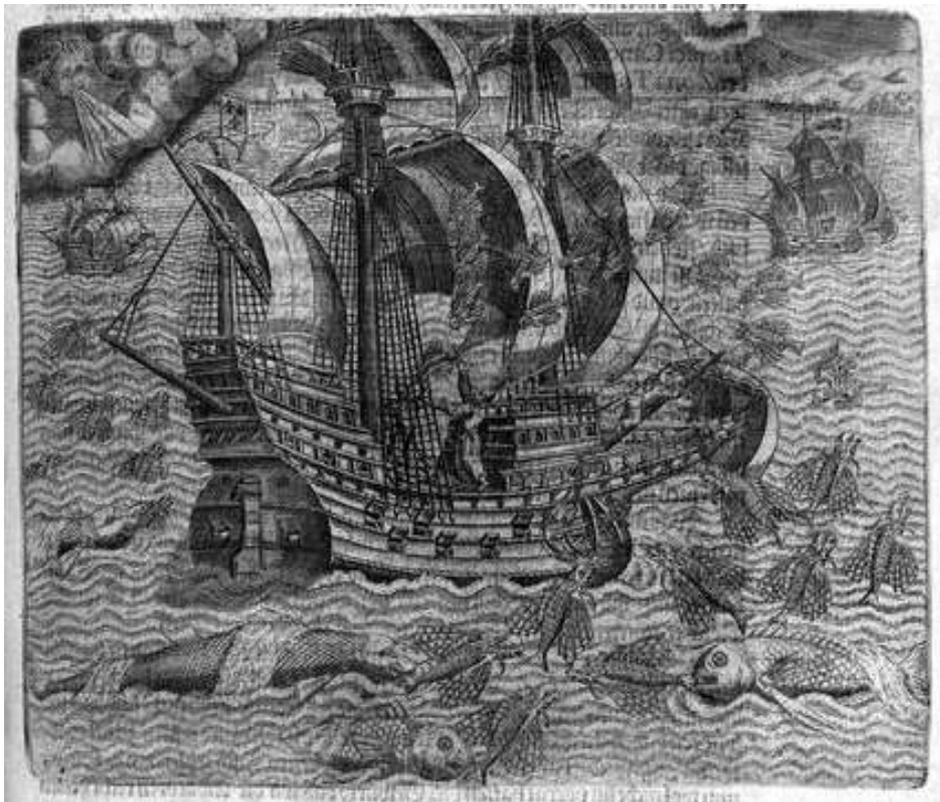
Fig. 88. The 1586 (first) Latin edition of Jean de Léry's Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil.



Fig. 89. The title page of the German third volume (1583) of the De Bry family's Grands Voyages shows American (Brazilian Tupinambá) cannibals. The book is in German and includes narratives by Hans Staden and the German translation of Léry's 1578 Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil and of Nicolas Barré's Copie de Quelques Lettres sur la Navigation du Cheuallier de Villegaignon [i.e. Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegaignon] es terres de l'Amerique oultre l'Æquinoctial, iusques soubz le tropique de Capricorne: contemat sommairement les fortunes encourues en ce voyage, avec les meurs et façons de vivre des Sauvages du pais: envoyées par un des gens du dict Seigneur. The Latin translation, Americae Tertia Pars Memorabile provinciae Brasiliae Historiam continens (...) Addita est Narratio profectionis Ioannis Lerij in eandem Provinciam, quañ ille initio gallicè conscripsit, postea verò Latinam fecit. His accessit Descriptio Morum & Ferocitatis incolarum illius Regionis, atque Colloquium ipsorum idiomate conscriptum, was first published in Frankfurt in 1592.



**Fig. 90.** Figures 90-99 are De Bry's illustrations of Hans Staden's, Jean de Léry's and Nicolas Barré's narratives about Brazil. This figure shows the Departure of ships from Lisbon for Brazil, the East Indies and America.



**Fig. 91.** Flying Fish Meet in the Torrid Zone.



Fig. 92. Brazilian Tupinambá rituals.



Fig. 93. Hans Staden and cannibals.



Fig. 94

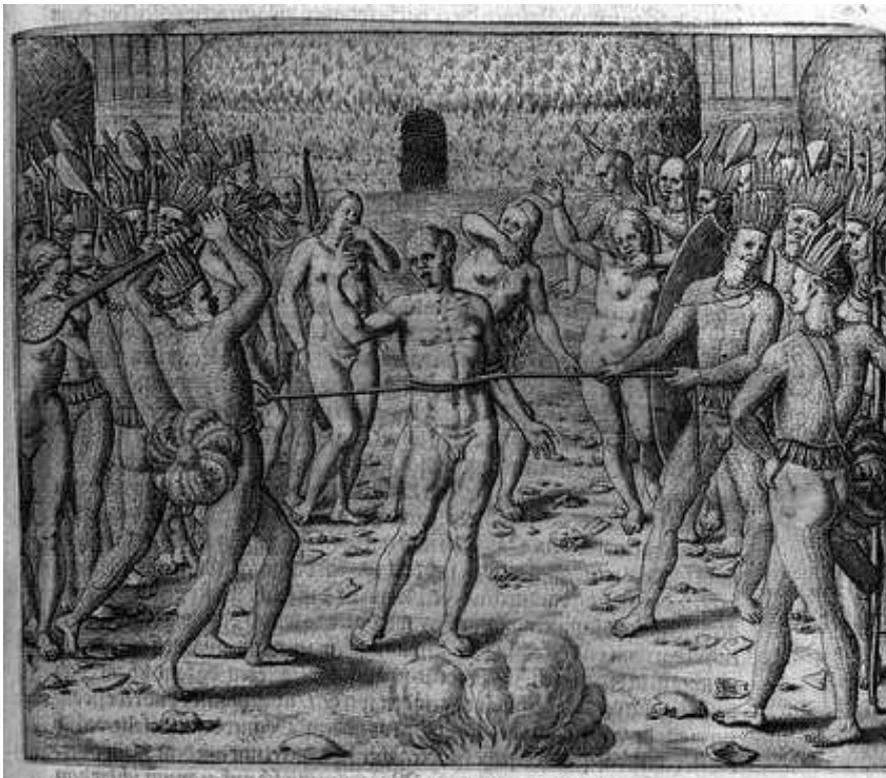


Fig. 95. A group of 16th-century native Americans (Brazilians) and their prisoner of war about to be sacrificed. De Bry's version of Fig. 83 above.



Fig. 96



Fig. 97. 'Religion among the savage Americans': Scores of evil spirits called Aygnan afflict 16th-century native Americans (Brazilian Tupinambás). De Bry's version of Fig. 84 above.

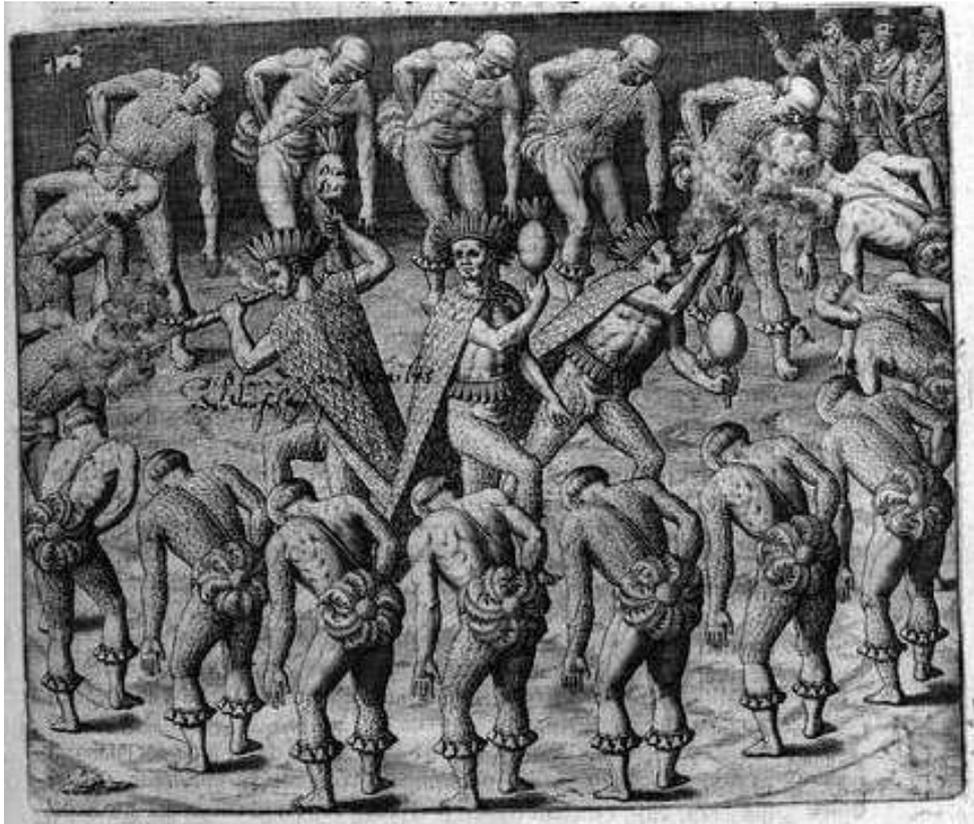


Fig. 98. A “Barbarian Celebration” in Brasil in de Bry’s Latin version of Léry’s narrative.

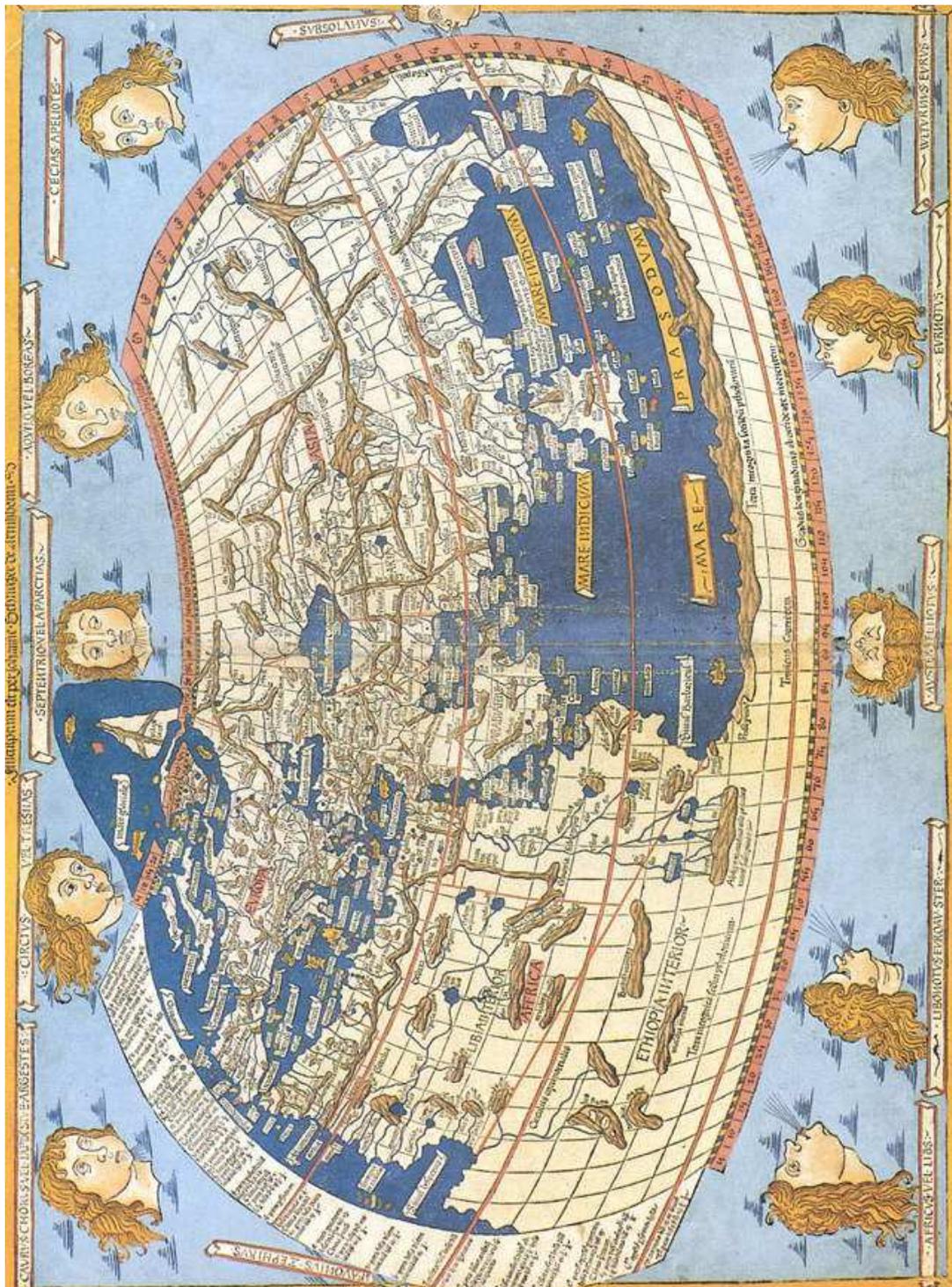


Fig. 99. A group of 16th-century American (Brazilian Tupinambá) natives and the ‘great lamentation they make over their dead’. De Bry’s version of Fig. 88 above.



Fig. 100. Theodor de Bry, Americae Tertia Pars Memorabile provinciae Brasiliae Historiam continens (...) Addita est Narratio profectionis Ioannis Lerij in eandem Provinciam, quañ ille initio gallicè conscripsit, postea verò Latinam fecit. His accessit Descriptio Morum & Ferocitatis incolarum illius Regionis, atque Colloquium ipsorum idiomate conscriptum. Frankfurt, 1592. An enlarged version of Figure 94 above in the first Latin edition of the third volume (1583) of the De Bry family's Grands Voyages.

## A PRE-COLUMBIAN VIEW OF THE WORLD



**Fig. 101. Ptolemaic World Map (1486) shows the contemporary view of the world on the eve of Christopher Columbus's first voyage West across the Atlantic Ocean. This image would be radically changed forever after the events of October 1492.**

THE EMPEROR AND HIS 'MONARQUIA'



Fig. 102. The Emperor Charles V by Titian, now in the Prado Museum.



Fig. 103. The Emperor Charles V Receiving the World, ca. 1530, by Parmigianino (Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola, ‘Il Parmigiano’ or ‘Il Parmigianino’). ‘The Emperor faces us in full armour as Commander-in-Chief of the army. Fama, the personification of fame, offers him the laurels of victory. At his feet, young Hercules approaches him, carrying a globe. In this context, Fama represents the military success of the virtuous knight while the presentation of the globe may be interpreted as an expression of territorial claims’ ([Kunsthistorisches Museum site](#)). On the way to fulfilling the ambitious claim expressed in his great grandfather the Roman Emperor Frederick III’s A.E.I.O.U (Austria Est Imperari Orbi Universo), the Emperor was the first monarch to declare that ‘En mis dominios nunca se oculta el sol’ (‘In my dominions the sun never sets.’).

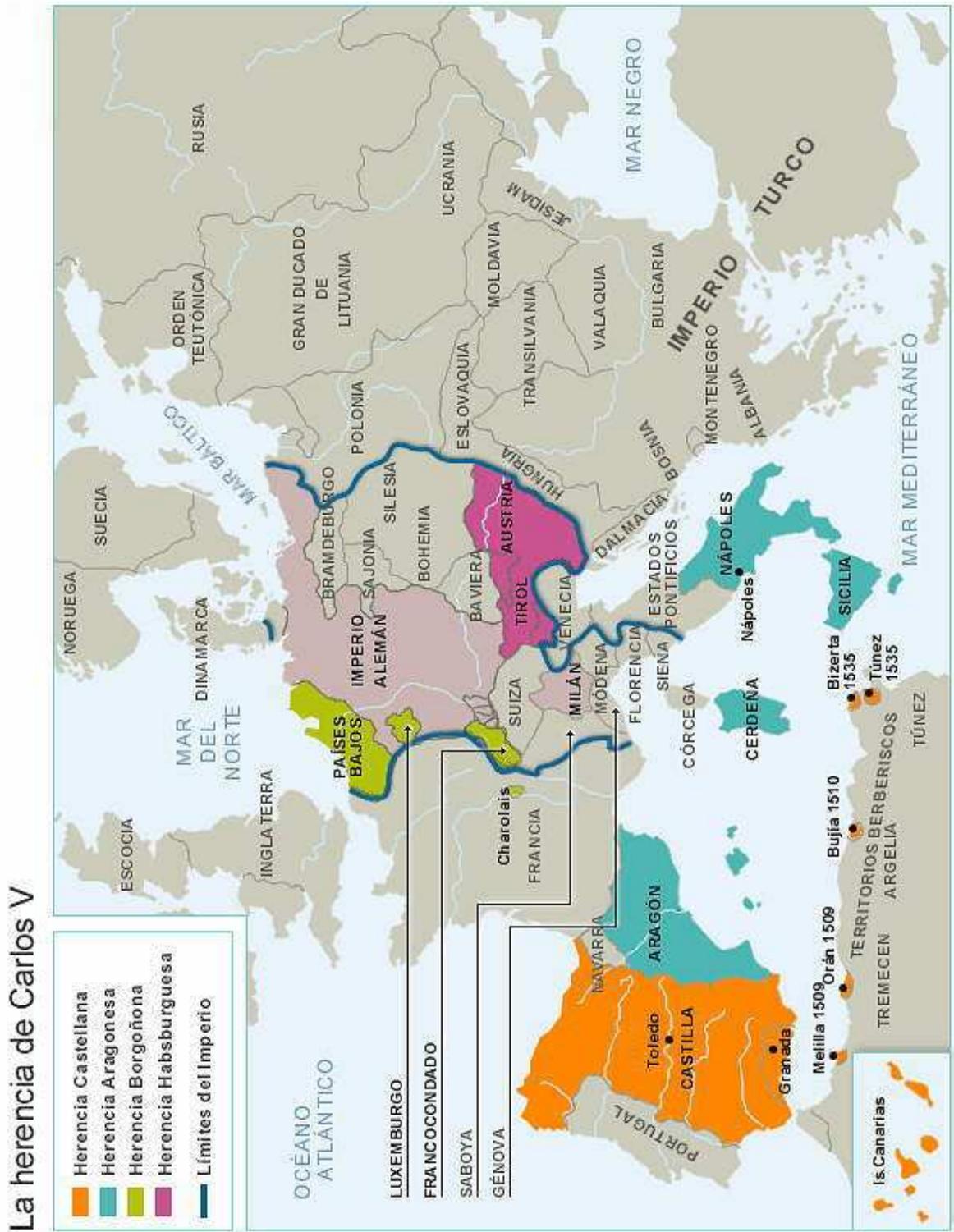
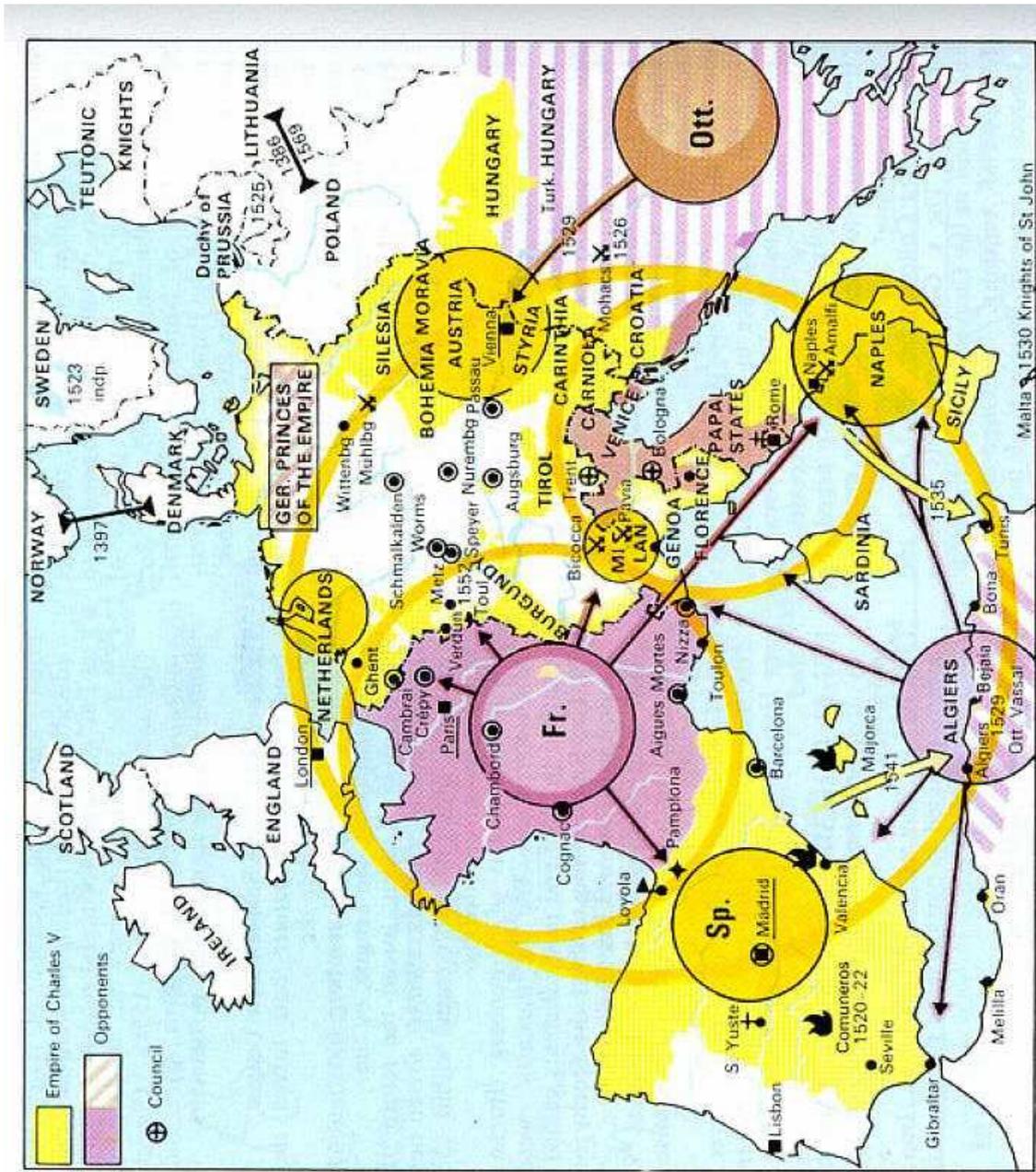


Fig. 104. The Emperor Charles V's Old World 'Monarquía' (Empire).



The empire of Charles V

Fig. 105. The Emperor Charles V's Old World 'Monarquía' (Empire).

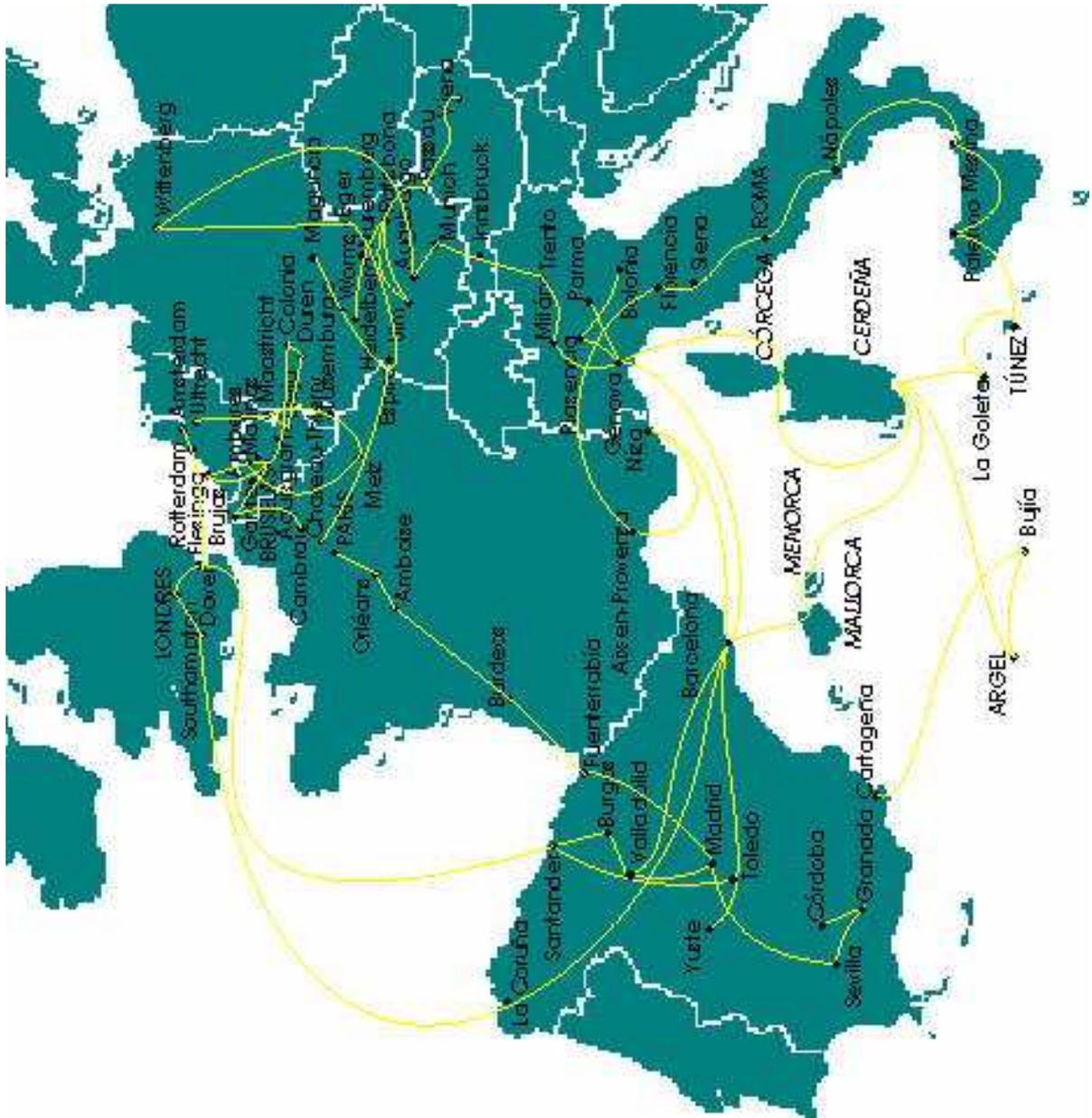


Fig. 106. The Emperor Charles V's travels.

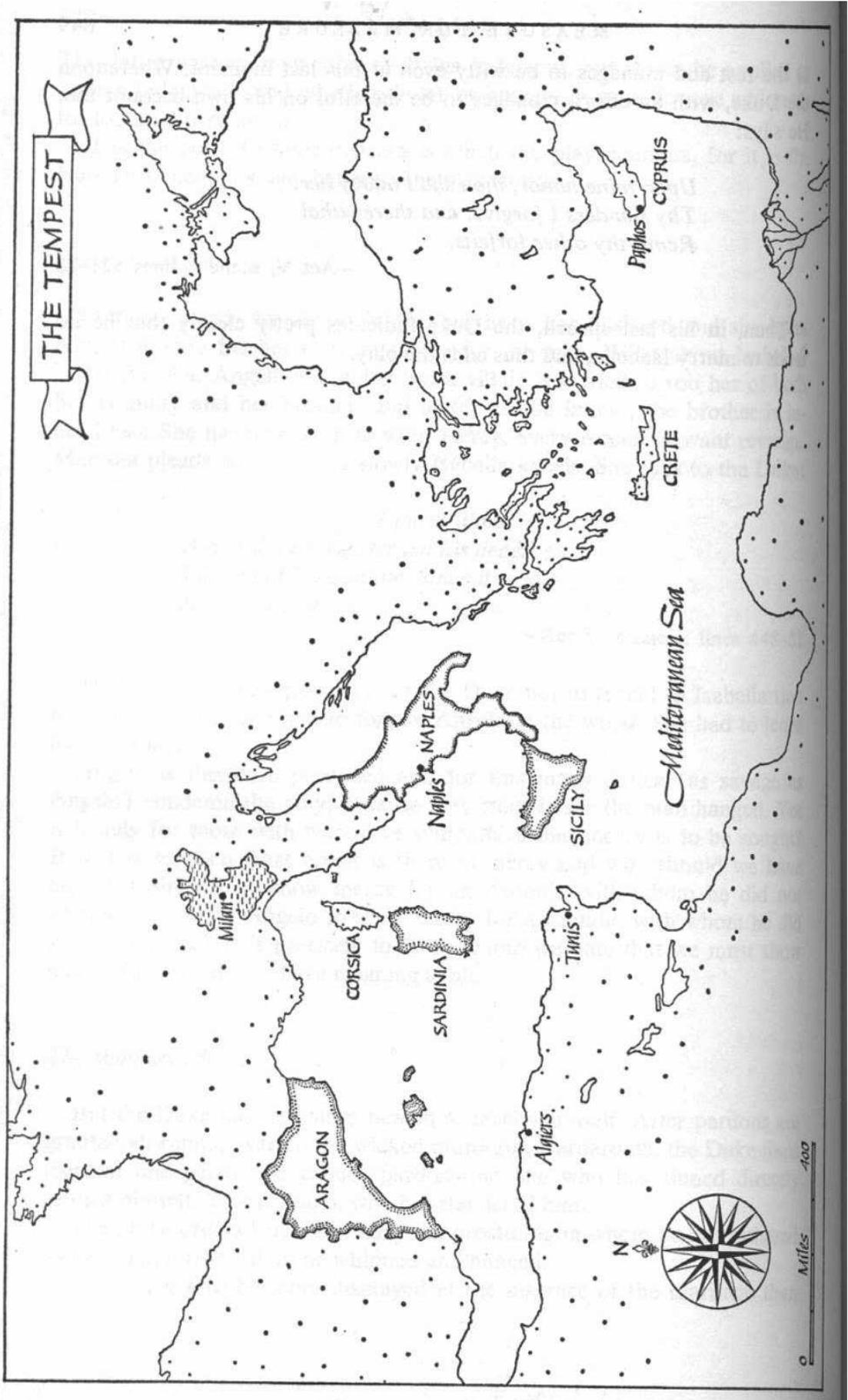


Fig. 107. Asimov's map for The Tempest in Asimov's Guide to Shakespeare (1970).



Fig. 108. The Duchy of Milan territory in 1535, the year The Emperor Charles V became Duke of Milan.

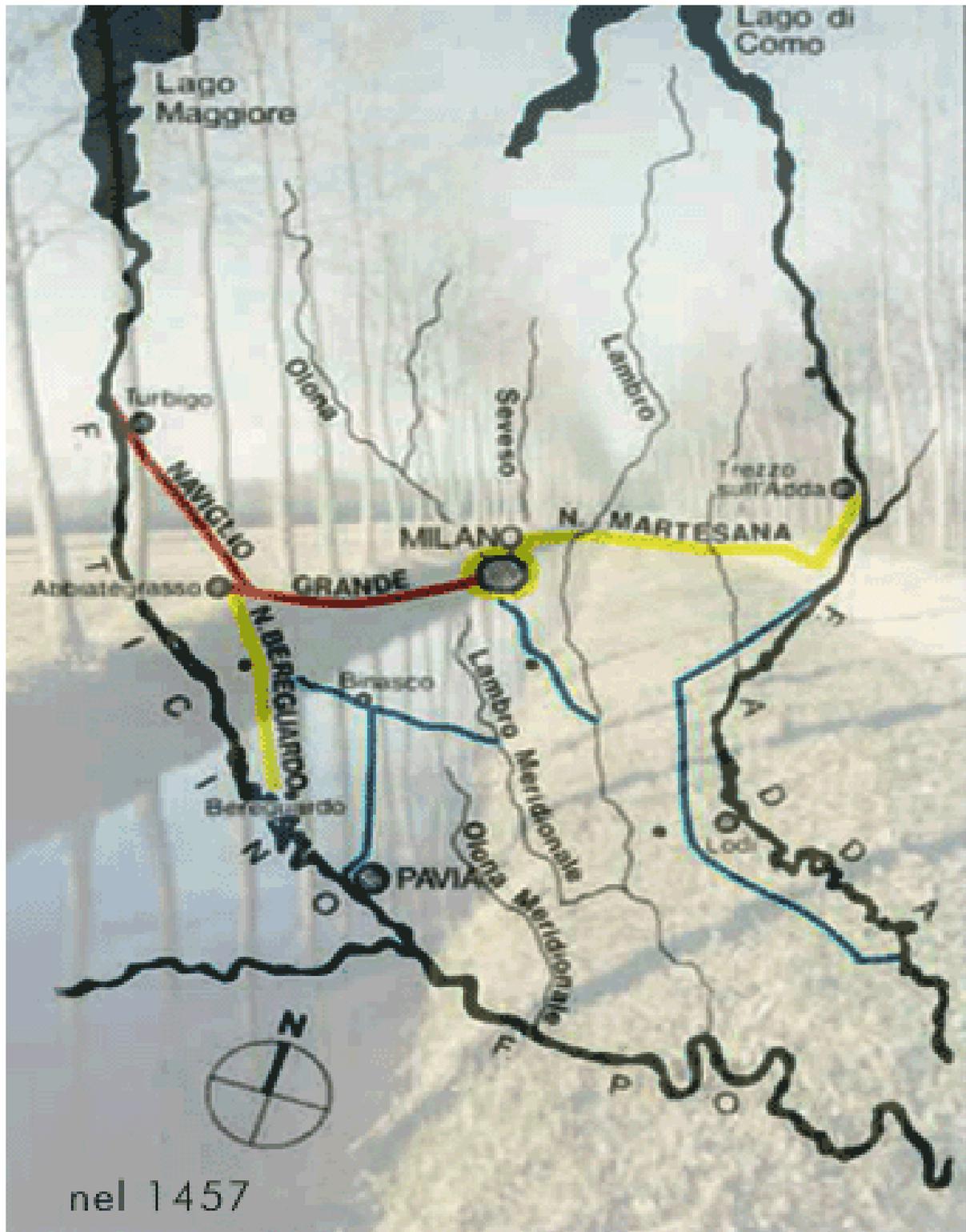


Fig. 109. The Milan canals ('navigli') in 1457, showing the earlier Naviglio Grande (built 1151-1457), and the new Naviglio Bereguardo and Naviglio Martesana. Once navigable, Milan's system of canals (some of which have since been covered) started to be built in the XII century. To this day the navigli connect the city of Milan to the main rivers in the Po valley: the Ticino, the Adda, and the Po.

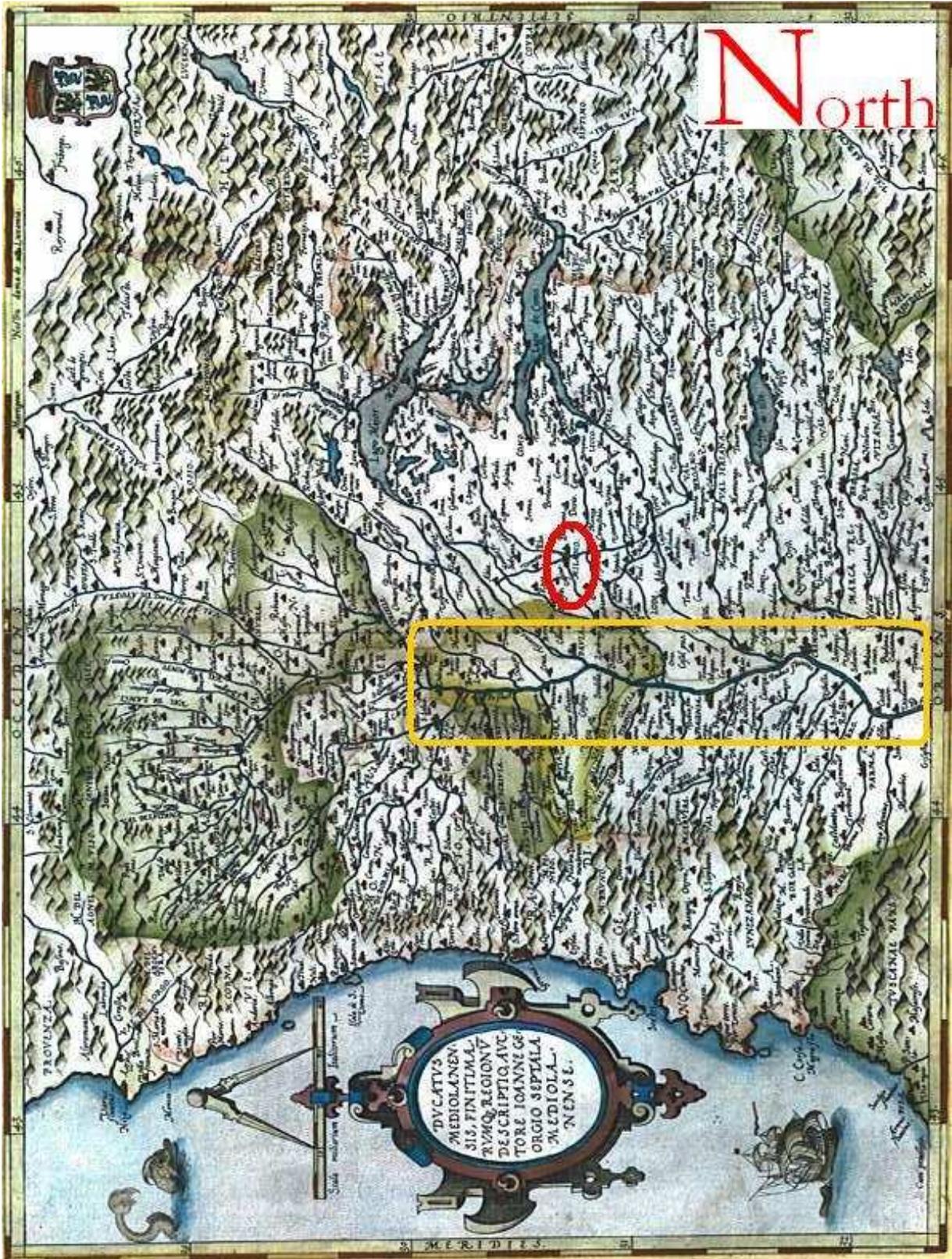


Fig. 110. The Duchy of Milan or DVCATVS MEDIOLANEN: | SIS, FINITIMA: | RVMO REGIONV/ DESCRIPTIO, AVC | TORE IOANNE GE: | ORGIO SEPTALA | MEDIOLA: | NENSE. ('A depiction of the Duchy of Milan and the surrounding area by Ioannes Georgio Septala of Milan'). Published in Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570). My red circle marks the city of Milan; and my golden rectangle, a section of the Po River.



Fig. 111. The Duchy of Milan in Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570) (detail), showing Milan (Milano), the canals (navigli), and the River Po (Padus Fluius or Po Fluius), the beginning of the river route from Milan to the Adriatic



Fig. 112. The Duchy of Milan in Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570) (detail), showing Milan (Milano), and on the Tyrrhenian coast the ports of Genoa (Genuas, circled by me in green), and Portovenere (Por Vener, marked by me in red), the ports besides Naples from which The Emperor Charles V's ships departed on the way to Algiers in Villegaignon's narrative *A lamentable and piteous treatise* (1542).



Fig. 113. The Emperor Charles V's New World 'Monarquía' (Empire) in red and the Portuguese New World Empire in green.

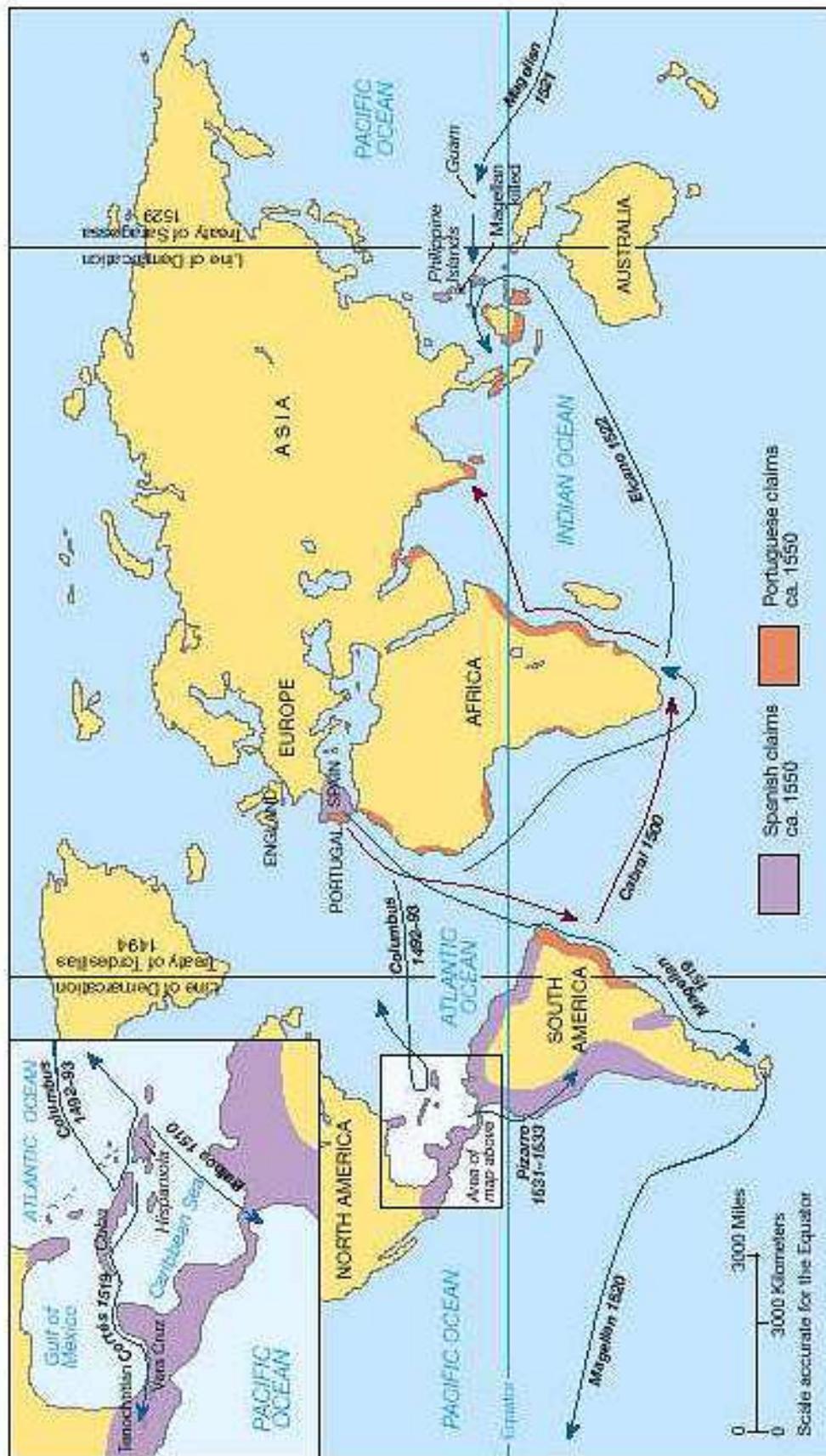
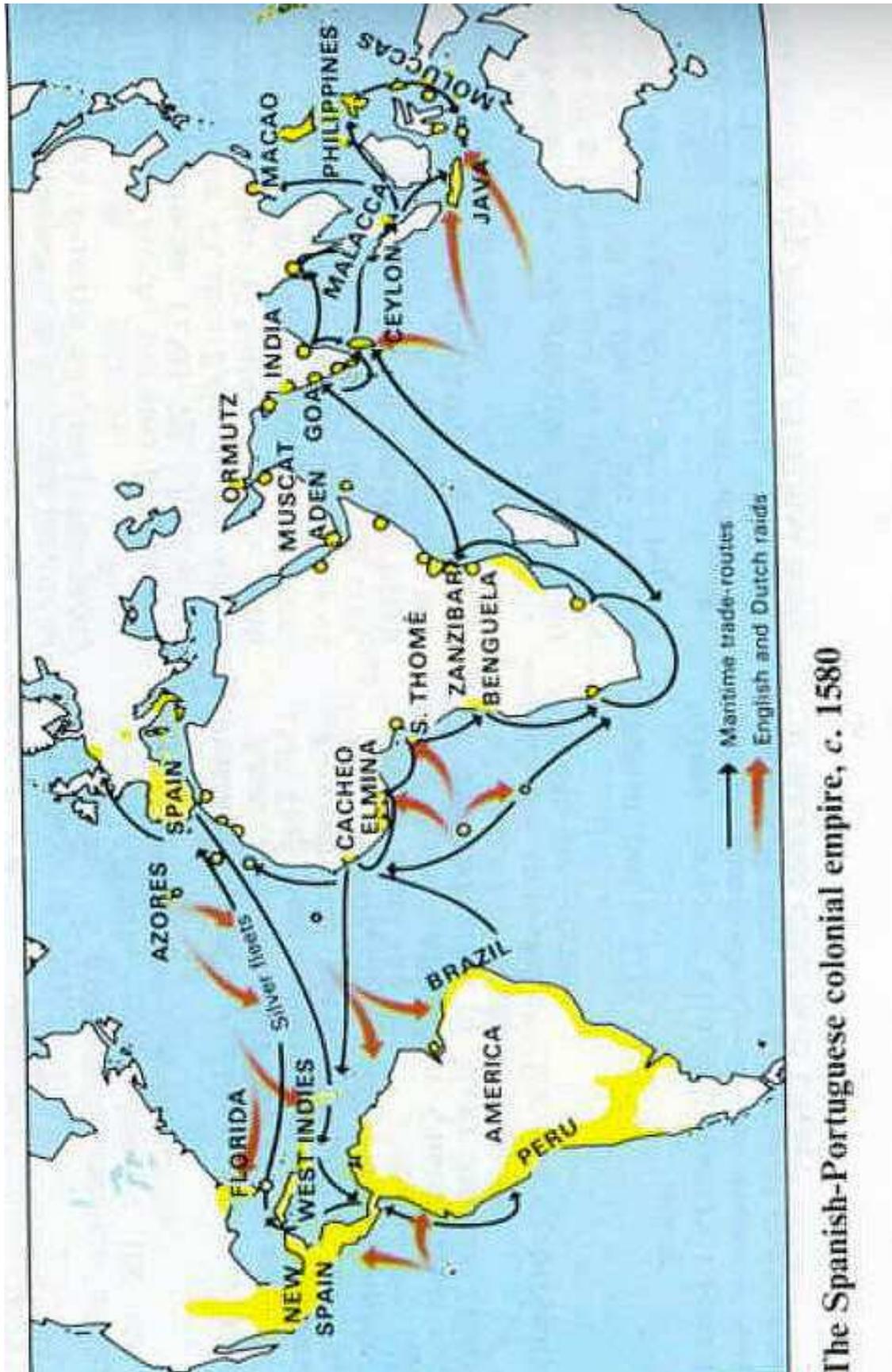


Fig. 114. Voyages of discovery and the claims of Spain and Portugal to overseas empires ca. 1550. Both claims were united under the Spanish crown during the time of the Iberian Union (1580-1640).



The Spanish-Portuguese colonial empire, c. 1580

Fig. 115. The Spanish-Portuguese empire in the New World after the Iberian Union of 1580. For Shakespeare and his audience (and until 1640 in the case of Portugal and Brazil), that part of the 'brave New World' that had once been Villegaignon's Antarctic France was now, just like Prospero's Milan and Alonso's Naples, part of the Habsburg's Spanish empire.



Fig. 116. The Emperor's shield.



Fig. 117. The Emperor's coat-of-arms shows his adopted badge: the Pillars of Hercules wrapped in banners that bear the Latin version of his motto, Plus Ultra ('More Beyond').

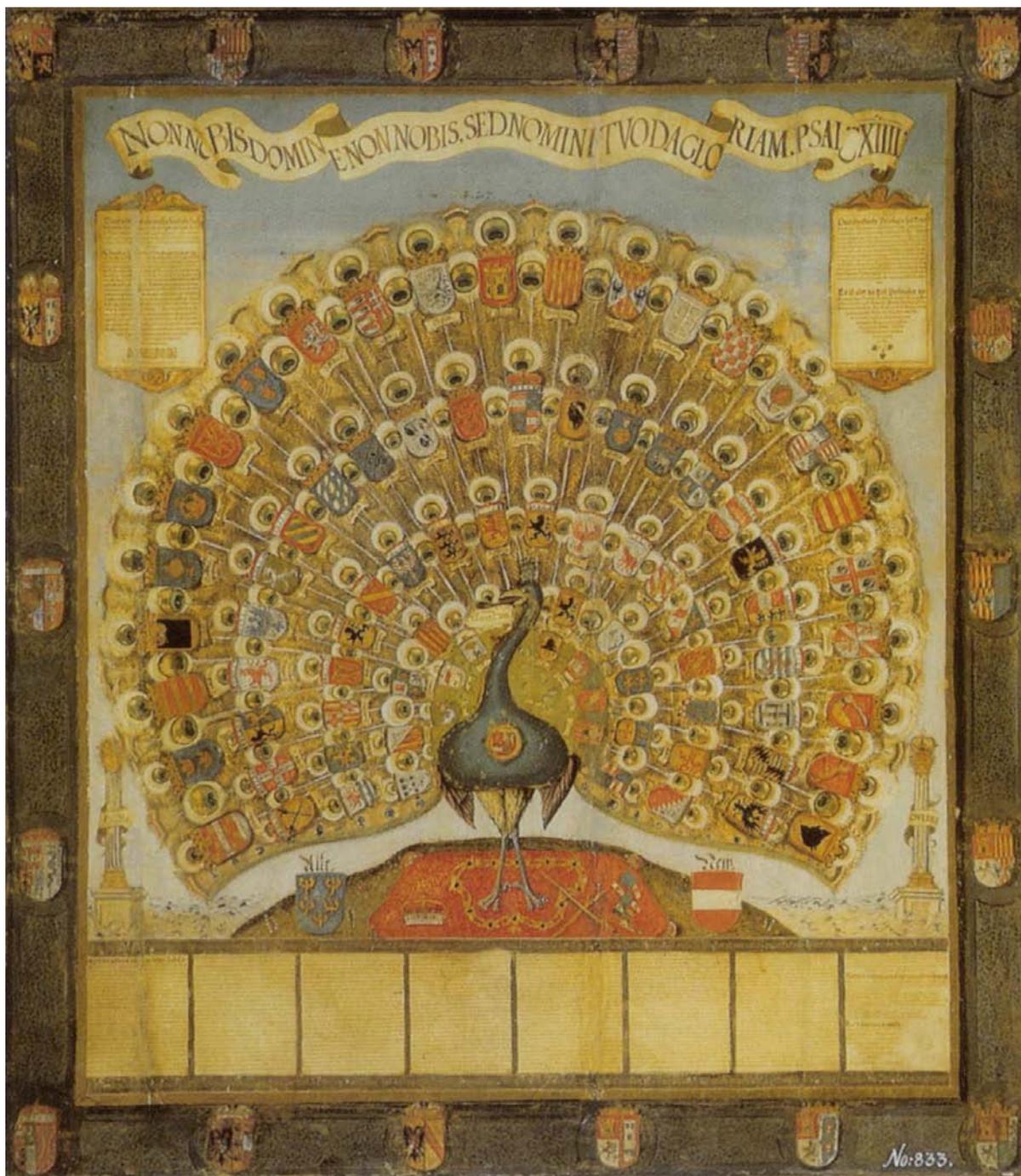


Fig. 118. **Habsburger Pfau**. Augsburg, 1550 or 1555. Surrounded by the gold chain of Burgundy's and Spain's Order of the Golden Fleece, and flanked by the blue shield with the five golden eagles of Lower Austria (Austria Ancient) and the shield with the white bar on red of Austria (Austria Modern), the Habsburg Peacock stands between the Pillars of Hercules, by then already a universal symbol of The Emperor Charles V's imperial might, and proudly displays the arms that represent the multiple dominions of the Habsburg dynasty. Very appropriately, the bird that was sacred both to Hera, 'the stern protectress of honourable marriages' (Nettleship and Sandys 278), and to her Roman counterpart Juno had long been the symbol of a dynasty both ancient and proud that had famously and for a long time realised the importance of convenient political alliances through marriage. The assumed Christian humility suggested by the motto, taken from Psalm 113.1 Non nobis Domine non nobis sed nomini tuo da gloriam ('Not unto us, o Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give Glory'), in no way reduces but actually adds to the visual impact and the full symbolism of the image. Depicted as a battle cry, and therefore appearing above the full achievement (Neubecker 203), the verse from the Psalms unmistakably alludes to the stern Roman Catholic Habsburgs' divine mission as champions of the Christian faith against all its enemies, be they infidels, pagans, or heretics.



Fig. 119. 'And set it down | With gold on lasting pillars' (Tmp. 5.1.207-208): The Emperor's coat-of-arms with his adopted Pillars of Hercules badge and French motto in the front cover of La Magnifique et Sumptueuse Pompe Funèbre faite Aus obseques, et funnerailles du Tresgrand, et tresvictorieus Empeur Charles Cinquième, celebrées en la ville de Bruxelles le XXIX jour du mois de Decembre M.D.LVIII par Philippes Roy Catholique d'Espagne son fils, the official description of his 1558 funerals published in Antwerp by Christophe Plantin in 1559.

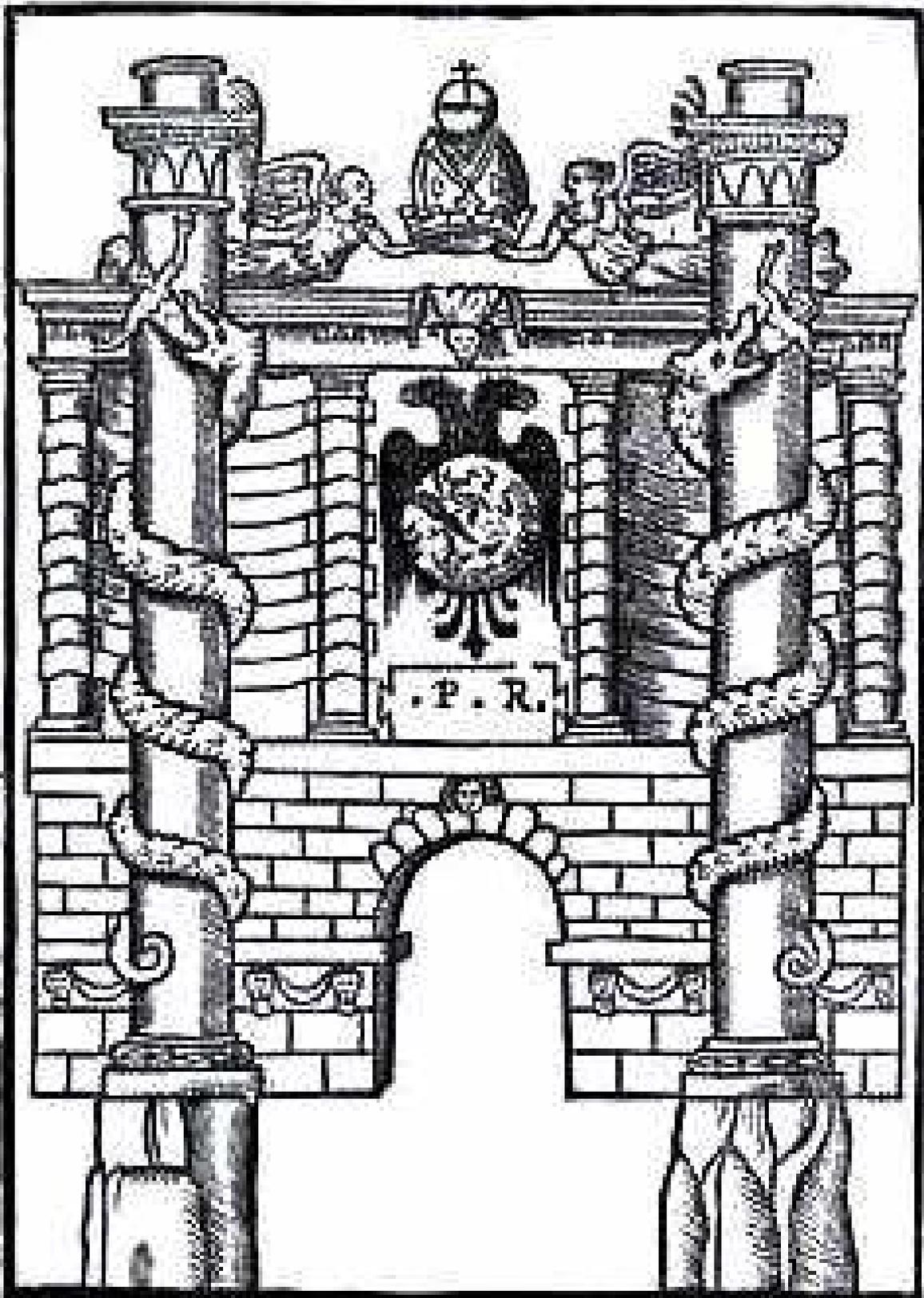


Fig. 120. ‘And set it down | With gold on lasting pillars’ (Tmp. 5.1.207-208): **Triumphal Arch at Porta Romana for Charles V’s Entry into Milan**, a woodcut from Giovanni Alberto Albicante’s *Trattato del’intrar in Milano di Carlo V*, a pamphlet published in Milan in 1541. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. The Serpent devouring a Child in the Milan arms that had once been those of the mediaeval house of Visconti is doubled and the two Serpents wrap Charles V’s Pillars of Hercules: Giulio Romano’s ephemeral pageantry to indicate that The Emperor Charles V is Duke of Milan.



**Fig. 121. Queen Elizabeth I**, a print by Crispin van de Passe celebrating the successful English naval expedition to Cadiz in 1596. With the Spanish port and the English Mediterranean fleet in the background, the Queen of England is seen in full regalia standing next to an open book bearing the motto **POSVI DEVM ADIVTOREM MEVM** ('I have made God my helper'), a legend inspired by Psalm 53.6, 'Ecce Deus auxiliatur mihi' ('Behold, God is mine helper'). It was used 'on many English and Irish silver coins from Edward III to 1603' and 'altered to **POSSUIMUS** and **NOSTRUM** on the coins of Philip and Mary (Mitchell and Reeds 361). Elizabeth carries a sceptre and orb and is in full control of a pair of matching Corinthian columns. Decorated with Elizabeth's royal arms and the portcullis badge her grandfather Henry VII inherited from his mother, Margaret Beaufort (Allison and Riddel 401), Elizabeth's columns are topped by a pelican in piety and a phoenix, both emblems of Jesus Christ and symbols respectively of Christ's charity and of his resurrection. Elizabeth's columns seem to stand for (or to have toppled and replaced) the Pillars of Hercules, the main symbol of Spanish imperial power.



Fig. 122. 'The government I cast upon my brother' (Timp. 1.2.75): In 1521 the Emperor assigns his Austrian possessions to his brother Ferdinand and makes him his representative at the head of the imperial government with the title of Imperial Lieutenant.

HENRICI  
 CORNELII AGRIP-  
 PAE AB NETTESHEYM A' CONSILII  
 & Archiuis Inditiarii sacrae CAE-  
 SAREAE Maiestatis: De  
 OCCULTA PHI-  
 LOSOPHIA  
 Libri Tres.  
 S

HENRICVS CORNELIVS AGRIPPA.



Nihil est opertum quod non reuelatur,  
 & occultum quod non sciatur.  
 Matthai X.

*Cum gratia & privilegio Casareae Maiestatis ad triennium.*

Fig. 123. 'Approach, my Ariel. Come.' (*Tmp.* 1.2.188). *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres*, the original (1531) Latin edition of *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*. Shakespeare may well have found the reference to the spirit Ariel in Agrippa's book. One of the most renowned European occultists in the early modern period, Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (in Latin, *Henricus Cornelius Agrippa ab Nettesheym*) had served The Emperor Charles V's grandfather Maximilian I 'first as a secretary, then as a soldier' (Agrippa of Nettesheim xvi). In 1528, Margaret of Austria, the aunt who had been the childhood guardian of the future Emperor, and whom he would keep as regent of the Netherlands until her death in 1530, 'obtained for Agrippa the post of archivist and historiographer to The Emperor Charles V' ('Margaret of Austria', Agrippa of Nettesheim 816).



Fig. 124. A Renaissance Wedding Feast. The Marriage at Cana or The Wedding Feast at Cana, by Paolo Veronese, 1562-63. Oil on canvas, 6.77 m X 9.94 m. Musée du Louvre, Paris. ‘The bride and groom are seated at opposite ends of the table, leaving the center place to the figure of Christ. He is surrounded by the Virgin, his disciples, clerks, princes, Venetian noblemen, Orientals in turbans, several servants, and the populace. Some figures are dressed in traditional antique costumes, while others — the women in particular — wear sumptuous coiffures and adornments. Veronese depicts, with apparent ease, no less than 130 feast-goers, mixing biblical figures with men and women of the period. The latter are not really identifiable, although according to an 18th-century legend, the artist himself is depicted in white with a viola da gamba next to Titian and Bassano, all of whom contribute to the musical entertainment.’ ([Louvre museum site](#))



**Fig. 125. ‘Methinks our garments are now as fresh as when | we put them on first in Afric, at the marriage of the | King’s fair daughter Claribel to the King of Tunis.’ (Tmp. 2.1.68-70): The Marriage at Cana or The Wedding Feast at Cana, by Paolo Veronese, 1562-63 (detail). Amidst the contemporary personages Veronese is supposed to have included among the wedding guests we would find Queen Eleanor of France, Queen Mary of England, The Emperor Charles V (the third sitting guest from left to right), and the latter’s enemies, Sultan Suleiman, the Magnificent (the fifth sitting guest from left to right) and King François of France.**

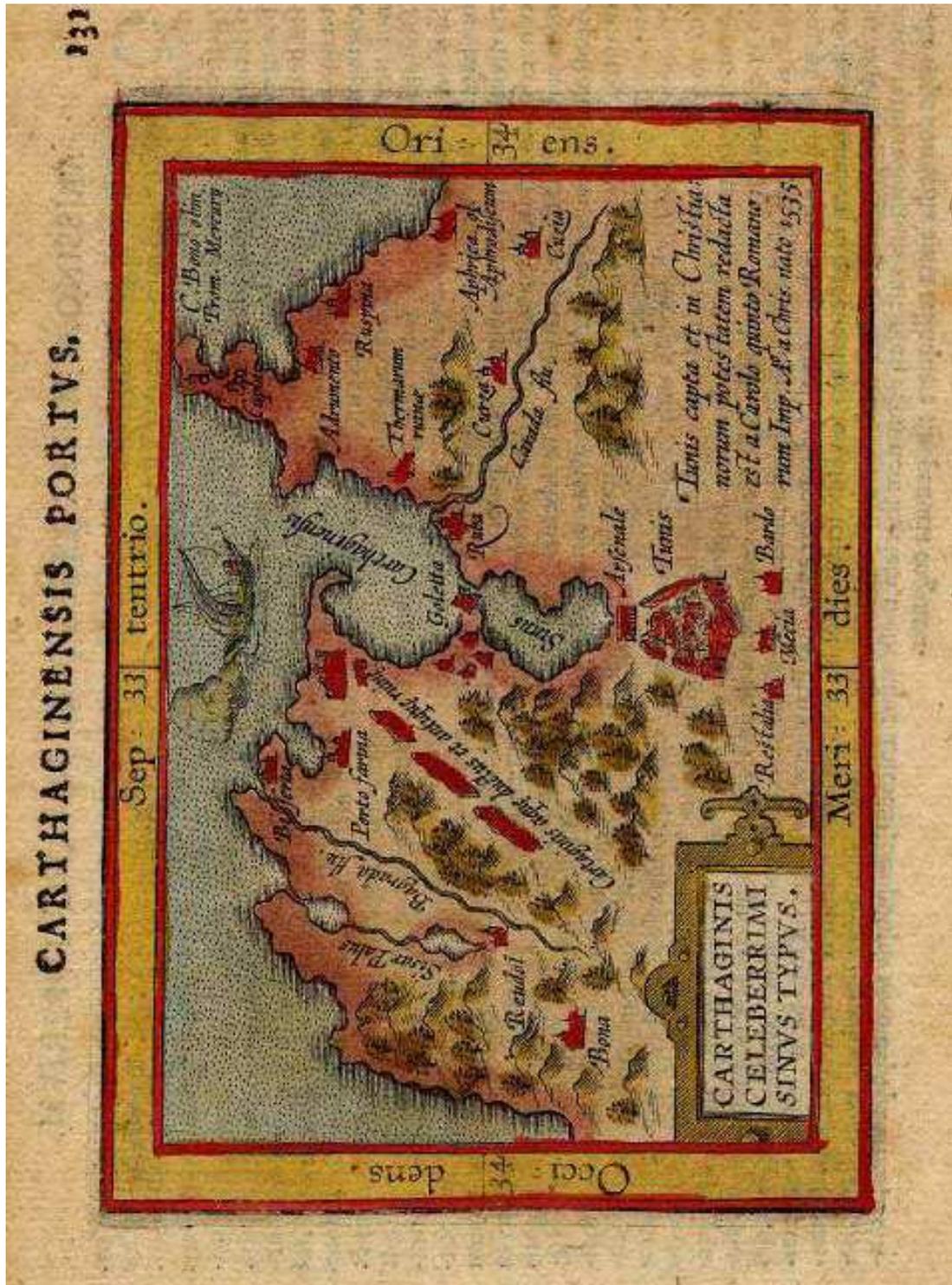


Fig. 126. ‘This Tunis, sir, was Carthage’ (Timp. 2.1.82): Carthagenis | celeberrimi | sinus typvs (‘A map of the bay of most famous Carthage’), by Abraham Ortelius, published in 1609 by Jan B. Vrients. The map, which had been published since 1570 in Ortelius’ Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570), shows ‘Carthagenis aque ductus, et antiquae ruinae,’ (‘the aqueduct and ancient ruins of Carthage’), the ‘sinus Carthagenensis’ (‘bay of Carthage,’ or bay of Tunis), the famous fortress of La Goletta and the city of Tunis. The text in the lower left corner informs the reader that Tunes capta & in Christianorum | potestatem redacta est a Carolo | quinto Romanorum Imperatore | Anno a Christi nato M.D.XXXV. (‘Tunis has been taken and returned to Christian Governance by Charles the Fifth, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in the year after the birth of Christ 1535’).



Fig. 127. ‘This Tunis, sir, was Carthage’ (Timp. 2.1.82): Carthaginis | celeberrimi | sinus typys (‘A map of the bay of most famous Carthage’), by Abraham Ortelius, in the 1570 edition of his Theatrum Orbis Terrarum.

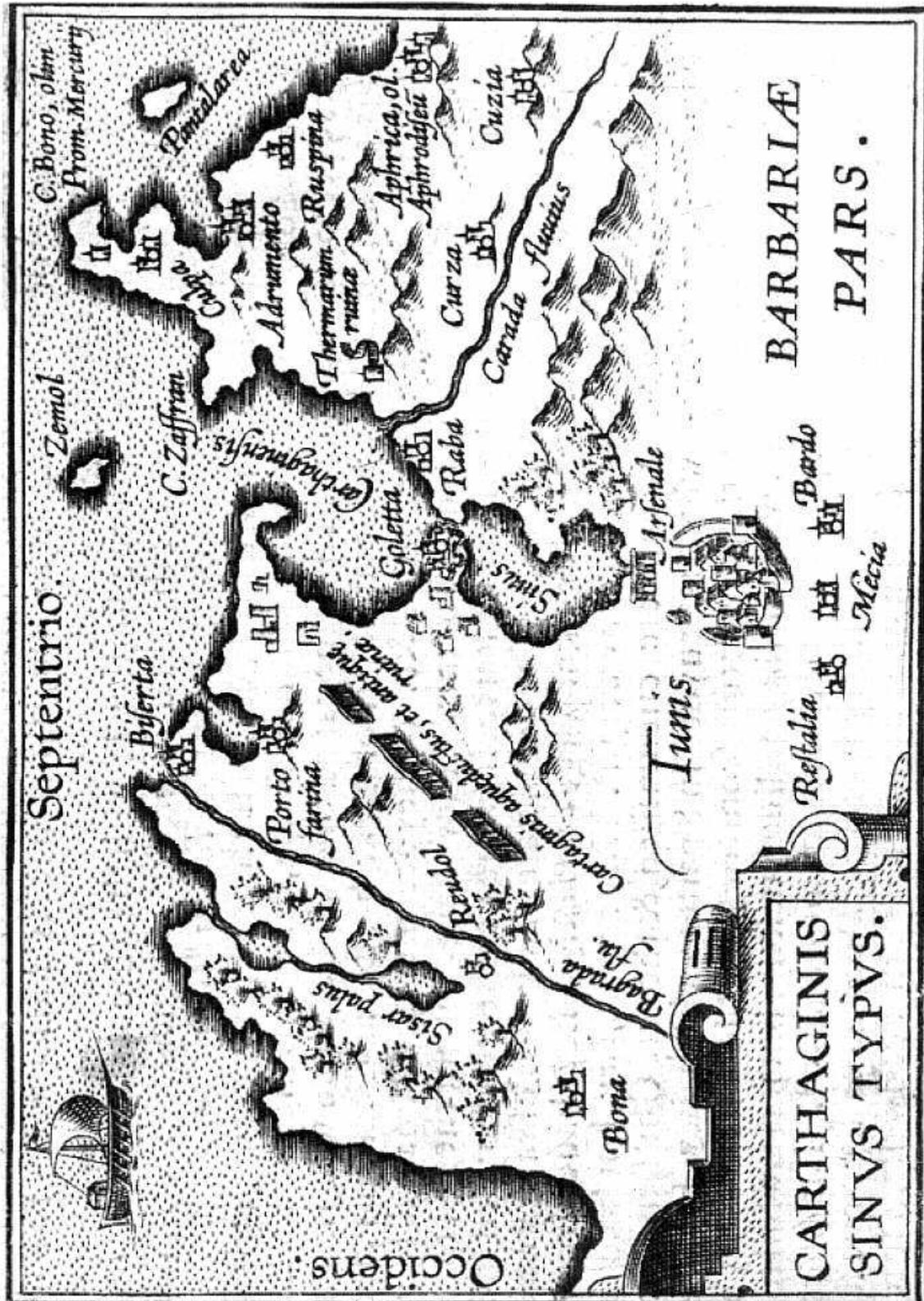
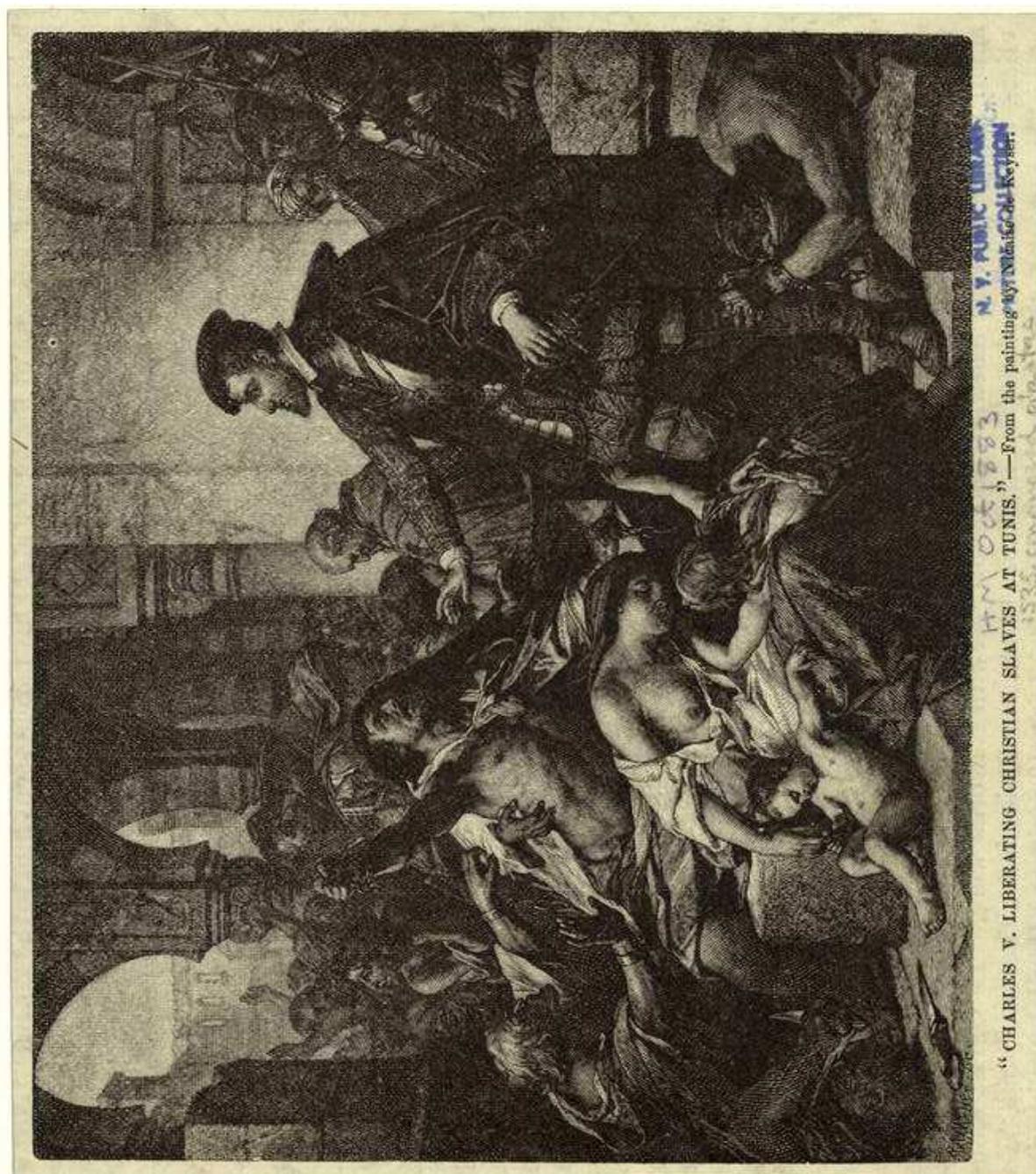


Fig. 128. The Emperor Charles V goes invisible. 'The porte of Carthage,' from Abraham Ortelius, *An epitome of Ortelius his Theater of the vworld...* London [i.e.] Antwerp, 1601[?], p. 107. The caption to this version of Ortelius' map in Hulme and Sherman's *The Tempest and its Travels. Critical Views* (2000) reads: 'this atlas would have provided English readers with a picture of Carthage and Tunis; and accompanying maps would have stressed the reach and power of the Ottoman Empire in the region' (72). If Shakespeare knew this map in one of the many earlier versions (such as Figures 125 and 126 above), he (but not 21st-century readers) would have one extra reason to associate Carthage and Tunis to The Emperor Charles V.



Fig. 129. ‘Sir, you may thank yourself for this great loss, | That would not bless our Europe with your daughter, | But rather lose her to an African’ (T<sub>mp</sub> 2.1. 120-23): Muley-Haçan [Muley Hassan] souverain de Tunis de la dynastie des Hafsides [Hafsides] vivait en 1543. An 19th-century print by Jules Porreau in the collection of The New York Public Library. As Shakespeare may have learned in Montaigne among other sources, after Tunis fell, Charles V restored Muley Hassan to power as a puppet king in Tunis: ‘Muleasses King of Thunes, he whom the Emperor Charles the fifth restored unto his owne state againe, was wont to upbraid his fathers memorie for so dissolutely-frequenting of women, terming him a sloven, effeminate, and a lustfull engenderer of children.’ Montaigne, Michel de. ‘Chapter VIII: Of the Affections of Fathers to Their Children. To the Lady of Estissac’. The Essayes, or Morall, Politike, and Militarie Discourses of Lo: Michaell de Montaigne ... Now done into English by ... John Florio. Book 2. Trans. John Florio. London: V. Sims, 1603.



**Fig. 130. Charles V liberating Christian slaves at Tunis.** An 1883 print in the collection of The New York Public Library. ‘On June 14 [1535] the Emperor’s fleet reached the Gulf of Tunis and cast anchor at a short distance from the fort La Goletta. The siege lasted a month. After a breach had been made a successful assault was delivered; and, though the garrison held out bravely for ten hours, the fortress was taken. . . . In spite of the intolerable African heat the Emperor set out with his army on July 20 upon the march to Tunis. Before they reached the latter place they had to fight with Barbarossa, who had taken up an advantageous position and lay in wait for them. He was put to flight, however ; and the fettered Christian slaves in Tunis. . . . broke their chains and opened the gates to the Emperor. On July 21 Charles entered the conquered city, and, yielding to the demand of the Spanish contingent, delivered it up to his troops for a two days’ loot. The Spaniards behaved like wild beasts, plundering and murdering to their hearts’ content, destroying mosques and schools, and laying buildings and precious sculptures alike in ruins. From the plundered town the Moslem inhabitants who had escaped the sword were led into slavery. Charles betook himself to La Goletta, where he reinstated Muley Hassan, whom Barbarossa had banished, in the government of Tunis, on condition of homage and the payment of a quit-rent.’ (Beosch in The Cambridge Modern History. Vol. 3, 1904)

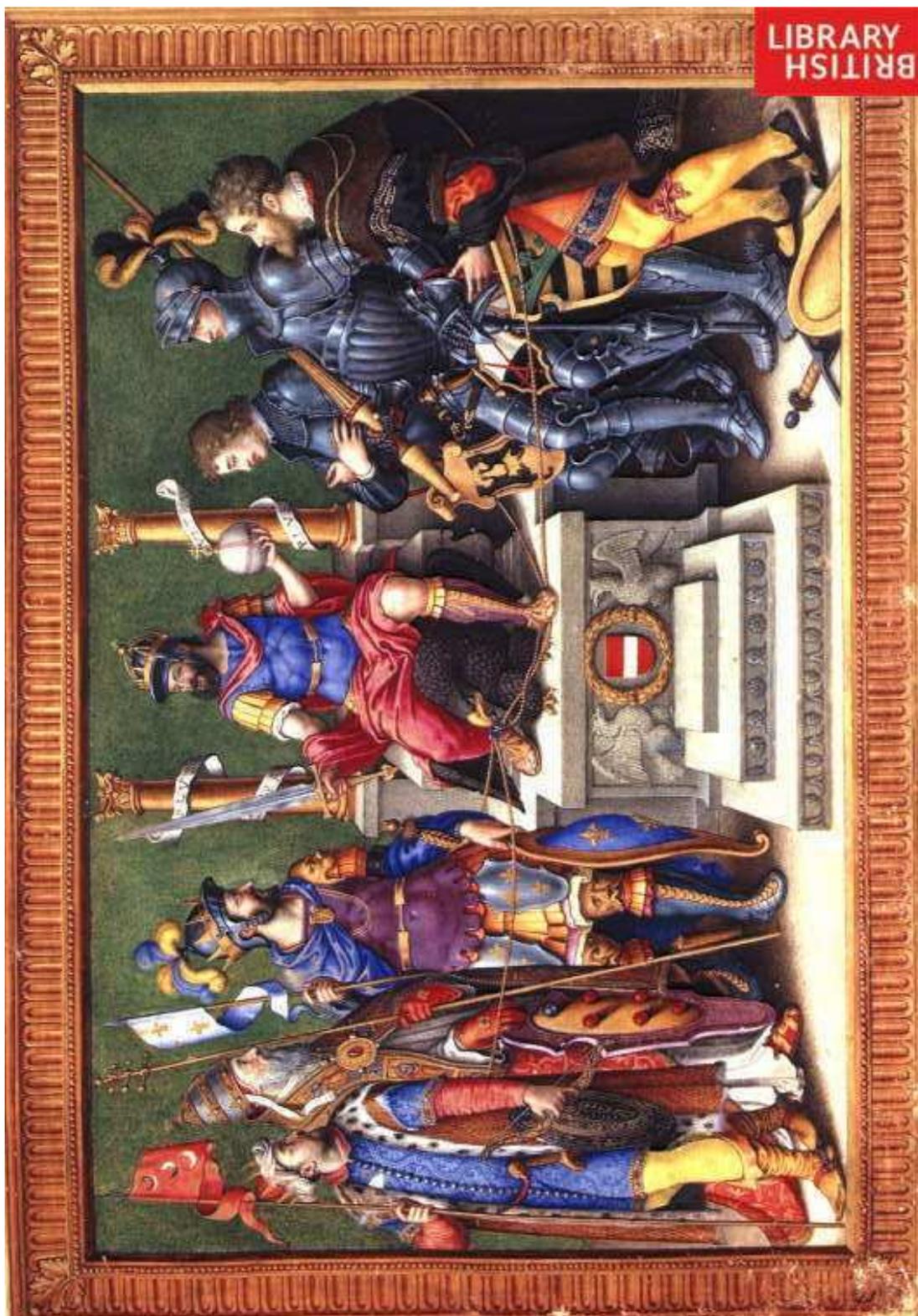


Fig. 131. 'At this hour | Lies at my mercy all my enemies' (T<sub>mp.</sub> 4.1.262-263), 'They cannot budge till your release'. (T<sub>mp.</sub> 5.1.11): **The Emperor Charles V enthroned among his enemies**, by Guilio Clovio, from a design of Marteen van Heemskerck. Italy, 16<sup>th</sup> century. The picture shows the crowned Emperor Charles V like a Roman emperor surrounded by the Pillars of Hercules and enthroned among his main enemies: Suleiman, the Magnificent or the Lawgiver, Pope Clement VII, King François I of France; and Philip I, Landgrave of Hesse, 'the Magnanimous', Johann Friedrich I, Duke of Saxony, the 'Magnanimous elector of Saxony,' and Wilhelm 'the Rich,' Duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg. 'The imperial eagle is seen between Charles' feet and seems to be part of the throne itself. In its beak it grasps a ring to which are attached the cords that encircle the Emperor's opponents.' (Pinson 220)



Fig. 132. ‘Was Milan thrust from Milan that his issue | Should become kings of Naples?’ (Tnp. 5.1.205-206): **Portrait of King Philip and Queen Mary in a plea roll from the Court of King’s Bench, 1558.** Having first invested his son Philip as Duke of Milan in 1540, The Emperor Charles V formally invested him as King of Naples and Duke of Milan in 1554 so that Philip could marry his cousin Mary, who was Queen of England, on equal terms. Upon accepting the honours, Philip ‘refused to allow any mention of Milan’ (Kamen 57), as he considered that his father had already invested him with that title long before. ‘The implications for the union were momentous, as any future children stood to inherit an Anglo-Spanish empire that claimed overlordship of the New World and the Spanish Netherlands, with Habsburg possessions on the continent completing an encirclement of France. However Mary died childless in 1558 and under the Protestant Elizabeth, England and Spain were soon at war’ ([The National Archives of England, Wales and the United Kingdom homepage](#)).



Fig. 133. ‘Was Milan thrust from Milan that his issue | Should become kings of Naples?’ (Twp. 5.1.205-206): **Charter of Philip and Mary** restoring the Order of Malta in England in 1557. Henry VIII had dissolved the Priory of England, which was briefly restored under his daughter Mary only to be suppressed again by her sister Elizabeth. ‘The charter grants back to the Hospitallers many of their English properties, and gives them detail of the tenants’ (Riley-Smith 87).



Fig. 134. ‘this thing of darkness I | Acknowledge mine.’ (Twp. 5.1.275-276): El Emperador Carlos V Dominando al Furor (‘The Emperor Charles V Restraining Fury’), bronze by Leone Leoni (1509-1590), variously dated 1550-1553 or 1549-1555, now in the Prado Museum in Madrid. ‘The victory of Charles over the Protestants at the Battle of Mühlberg in 1547 inspired Leone Leoni to create this statue. As the personification of virtue, Charles stands triumphantly over Furor, the personification of savageness and anger’. Another possible motive was the Emperor’s conquest of Tunis. (Kaiser Karl V. 1500 – 1558: Macht und Ohnmacht Europas site). Charles is represented as the victorious hero who has subdued and conquered a savage beast, be he an infidel, a pagan, or a heretic.



Fig. 135. ‘this thing of darkness I | Acknowledge mine.’ (Timp. 5.1.275-276): ‘Reminiscent of the “Dying Gaul” of antiquity, the figure of Furor [‘Fury’] also represents the heresy of Protestantism in the empire’ (Kaiser Karl V. 1500 – 1558: Macht und Ohnmacht Europas site).

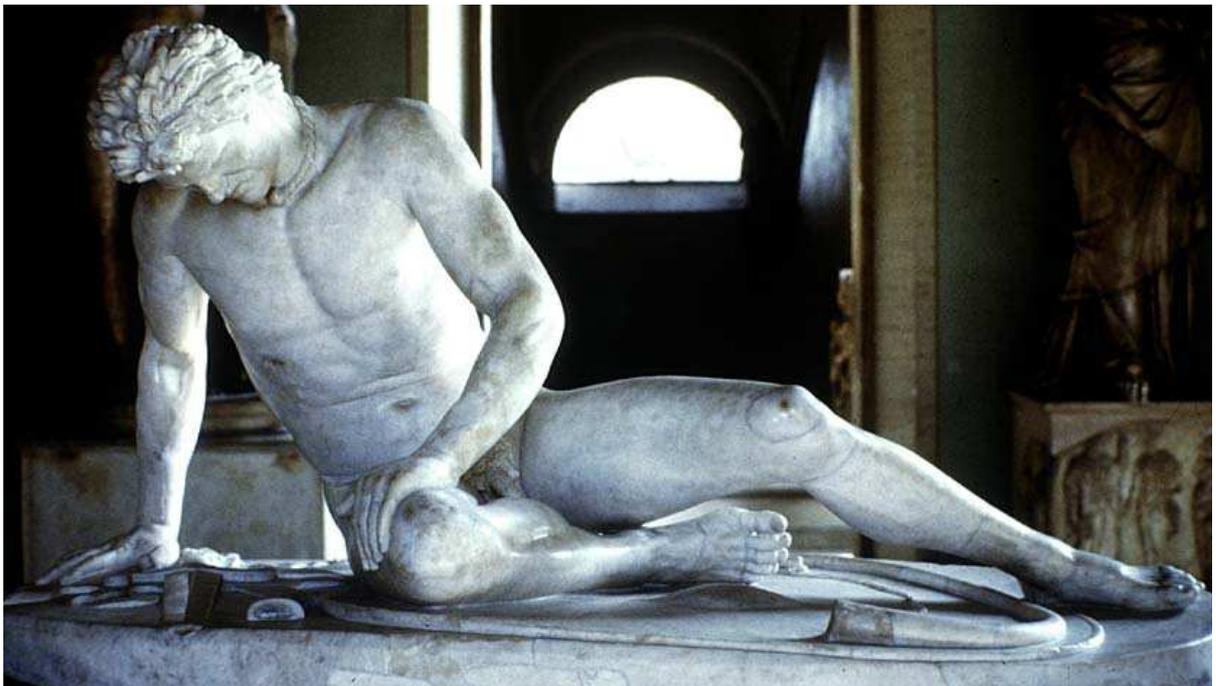


Fig. 136. The Dying Gaul. Museo Capitolino, Rome.



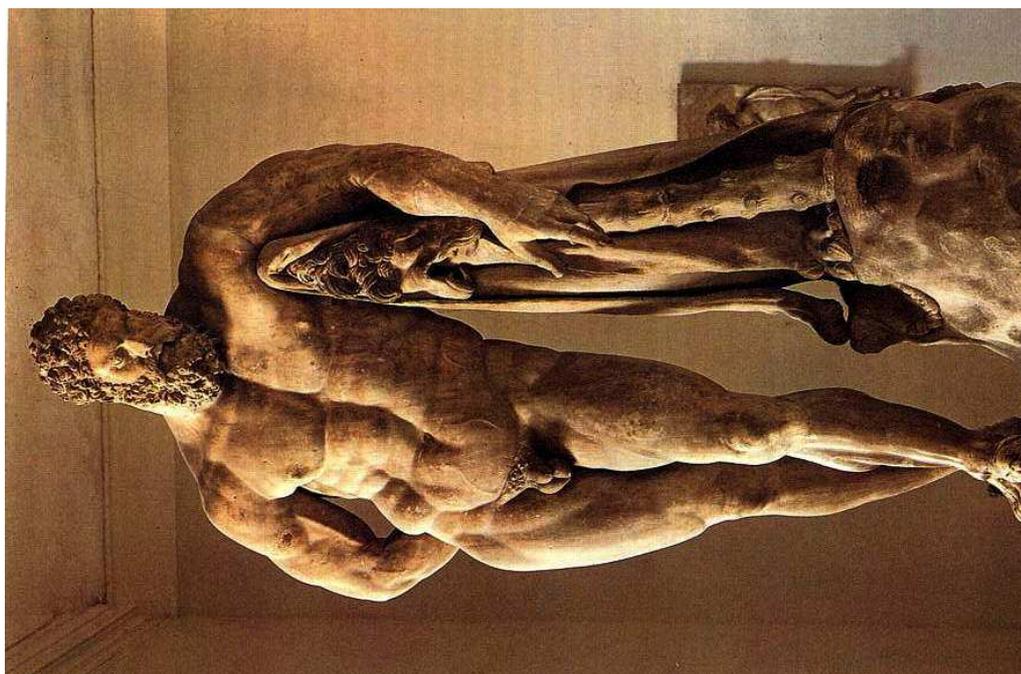
Fig. 137. ‘this thing of darkness I | Acknowledge mine.’ ([Timp. 5.1.275-276](#)): ‘The emperor’s armour is removable. The version with the unclothed ruler emphasises the rather general allegorical representation of the victory of a sovereign’s virtue over Furor’ ([Kaiser Karl V. 1500 – 1558: Macht und Ohnmacht Europas site](#)).



Fig. 138. ‘this thing of darkness I | Acknowledge mine.’ ([Timp. 5.1.275-276](#)). ‘The naked statue of the Emperor suggests the statues of the ancient roman deified emperors’ ([Prado Museum site](#)). Charles V’s statue bears a striking resemblance to classical statues of Hercules: ‘In works of art Heracles is represented as the ideal of manly strength, with full, well knit, and muscular limbs, serious expression, a curling beard, short neck, and a head small in proportion to the limbs’ (Nettleship and Sandys 284).



**Fig. 139. The Farnese Hercules, now in the Naples Museum. According to chronicler Ulisse Aldrovandi (1592), the most famous statue of Hercules had been unearthed in 1546 in the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla. It quickly made its way into the collection of Alessandro Farnese (1545– 1592), Duke of Parma and Piacenza, nephew of Pope Paul III and the son of Duke Ottavio Farnese of Parma and of Margaret of Austria (or of Parma), the illegitimate daughter of The Emperor Charles V.**



**Fig. 140. The Farnese Hercules, now in the Naples Museum. Like in his early adoption of the Pillars of Hercules as a personal badge and in visual allegories such as the Parmigianino painting (Fig. 103), The Emperor again identified himself with a virtuous Christian Hercules both in a series of triumphal entries which marked the journey in which he presented his heir Philip to his subjects throughout the Empire in 1549 and in his funeral procession in 1558. Like his Greek heroic model, Charles V had chosen the narrow and laudable path of Virtue that leads upwards towards Fame. (Cf. Pinson 221, 224). Hercules was the most renowned monster-slayer of ancient mythology, and Prospero's slave Caliban is called monster in The Tempest no less than forty-five times.**



Fig. 141. 'where | every third thought shall be my grave' (Tmp. 5.1.310-311): The Emperor finishes resigning his personal empire to his son Philip II in 1556.



Fig. 142. ‘And my ending is despair | Unless I be relieved by prayer’ (Tnp. Epilogue. 333-334): *La Gloria*, by Titian, ca. 1551-1554. Museo del Prado, Madrid. The last picture that Titian painted for the Emperor Charles V, ‘it is a monumental documentation of the emperor’s turning from earthly to heavenly things and accompanied Charles V to Spain in 1555 after his abdication. The emperor, led by an angel, humbly kneels — free from any imperial insignia except for his crown, which lies beside him — with his wife Isabella and his son Philip praying before the Trinity’ ([Kunsthistorisches Museum site](#)). ‘This was the painting that Charles had placed on the altar of the monastery church in Yuste so that he could see it from his deathbed’ (Blockmans 176).

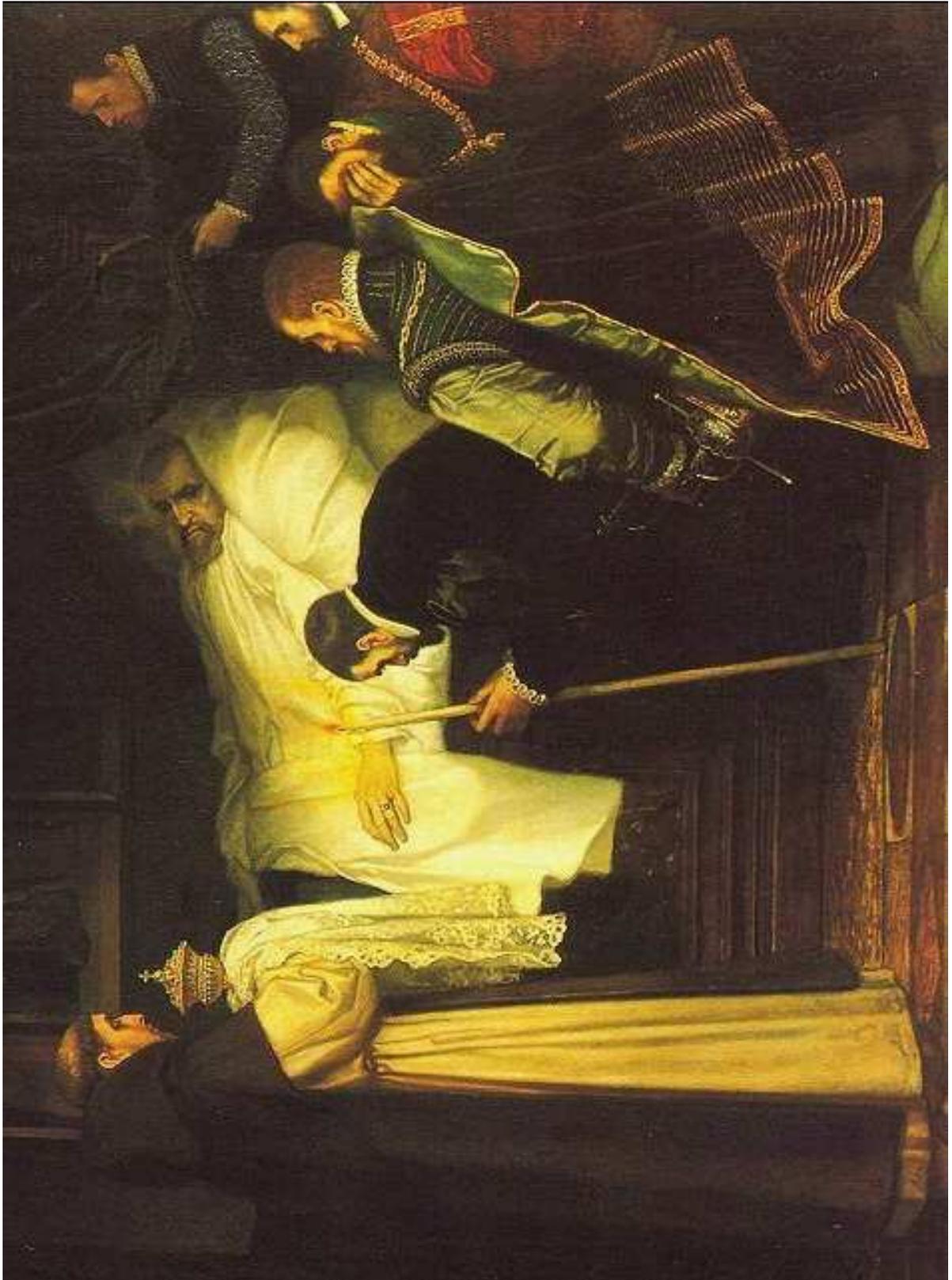


Fig. 143. 'Where | Every third thought shall be my grave' (Tmp. 5.1.310-311): The Emperor's death at the monastery of Yuste, Spain in 1558. He had retired there two years before. When he was ill at Yuste, Charles V ordered the performance of a series of solemn exequies to his long-dead parents and grandparents according to some historians or to himself according to others. (*Diccionario de historia de España* 549).



Fig. 144. 'With the help of your good hands. | Gentle breath of you my sails | Must fill, or else my project fails ... As you from crimes would pardon'd be, | Let your indulgence set me free.' (*Temp. Epilogue. 328-330, 337-338*): **The Ship of Salvation**, a woodcut illustration by Johannes van Duetecum after Lucan van Duetecum published in *La Magnifique et Sumptueuse Pompe Funèbre*. Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1559.

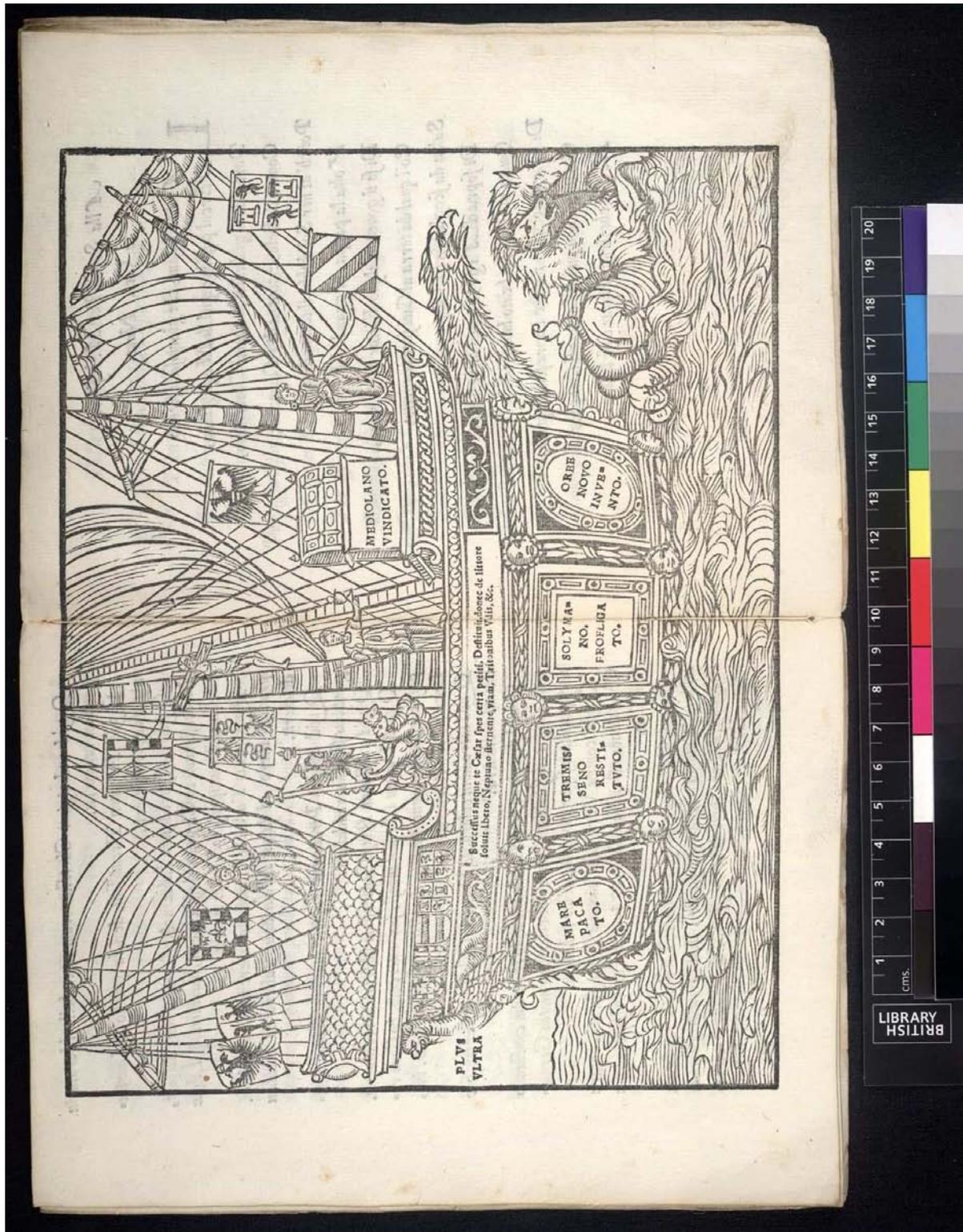


Fig. 145. 'Mediolano Vindicato' ('Milan revenged'). **Ship of victories**. Another woodcut illustration of the same ship used at the Exequies for the death of Charles V in Brussels. Published in the quarto book Descrittione della pompa funerale fatta in Brussole alli xxix di dicembre M. D. LVIII per la felice, [et] immortal memoria di Carlo V Imperatore, con una nave delle vittorie di sua Cesarea Maesta. Milan: Francesco Moschenio, 1559.



Fig. 146. Allegory on Emperor Charles V as Ruler of Vast Realms, ca. 1604. Oil on canvas modelled on the then 75-year-old painting by Parmigianino in the Duke of Mantua's collection (Fig. 103). This portrait was finished in Italy after Rubens' return from a diplomatic mission to Spain in 1603-1604, where he studied Titian's portraits of the Emperor. The Emperor Charles V's myth lived on in Europe 46 years after his death and burial. The year 1604 also saw the signing between King James' England and King Philip III's Spain of the Peace of London treaty in August which temporarily ended the state of War between the two countries that had lasted since Philip II declared war on England in 1585 and the tension that persisted since the time of the deaths of both Queen Mary of England and her cousin and father-in-law, the Emperor, in 1558.



**Fig. 147. The Somerset House Conference, 1604, by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (1553-1608). National Maritime Museum. The painting ‘exists in two versions, one in the National Portrait Gallery, London, and the other in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich’. ‘On 19 May 1604 a full delegation representing both Spain and the Archduke Albert, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, arrived in London [...] An elaborate suite of rooms was prepared to receive the Constable of Castile’ in Queen Anna’s official London residence of Somerset House. The two delegations ‘met, without the Constable, and held negotiating sessions almost daily in Somerset House until 16 July when they had proceeded as far as they could without him. The Constable eventually arrived in London on 20 August and after four days of festivities a final round of discussions was held. Following further festivities and a lavish exchange of gifts, James I publicly swore on 29 August to uphold the Treaty of London, finally bringing an end to the Anglo-Spanish war.’ ([Gilbert Collection site](#)).**

THE TEMPEST AT COURT

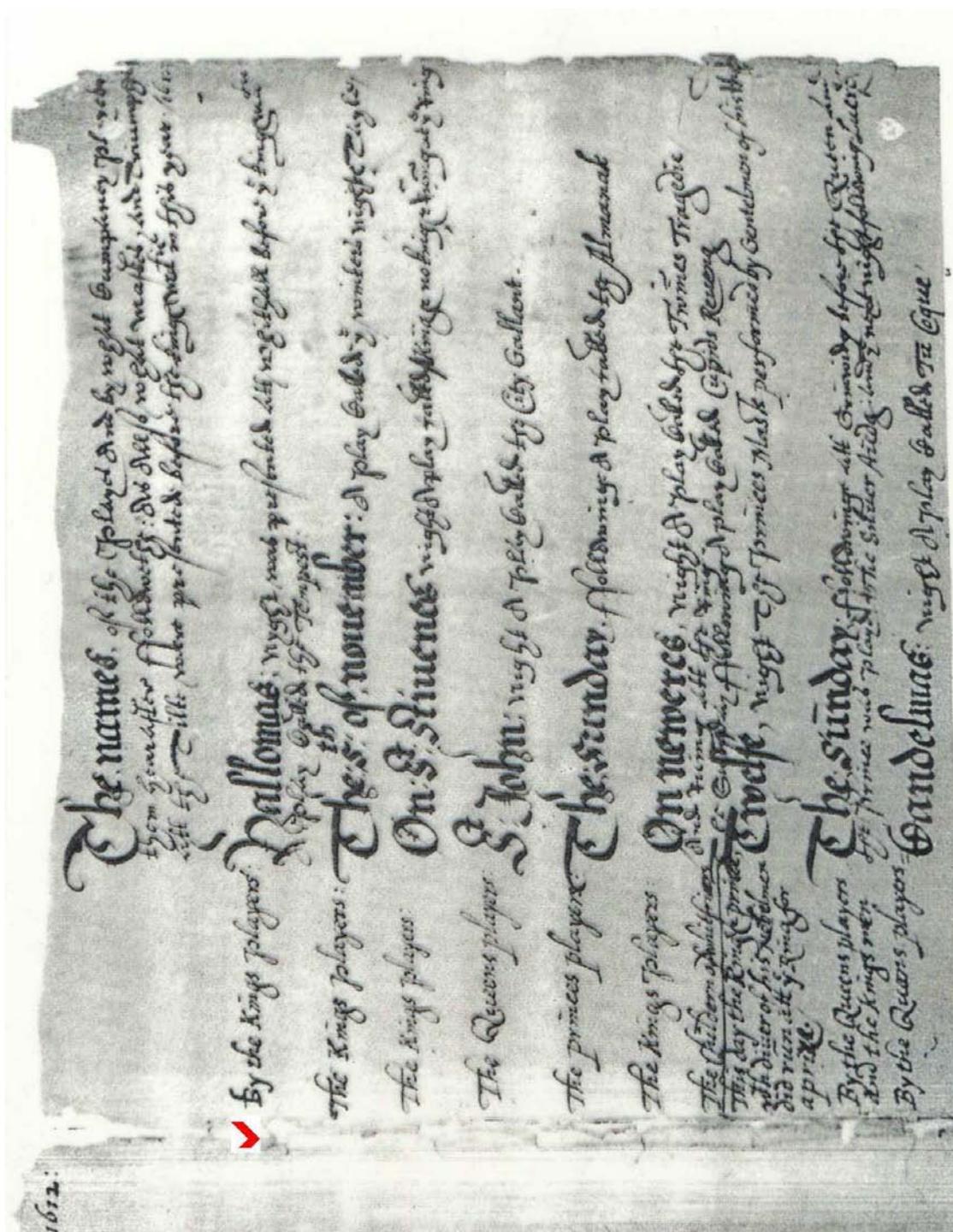
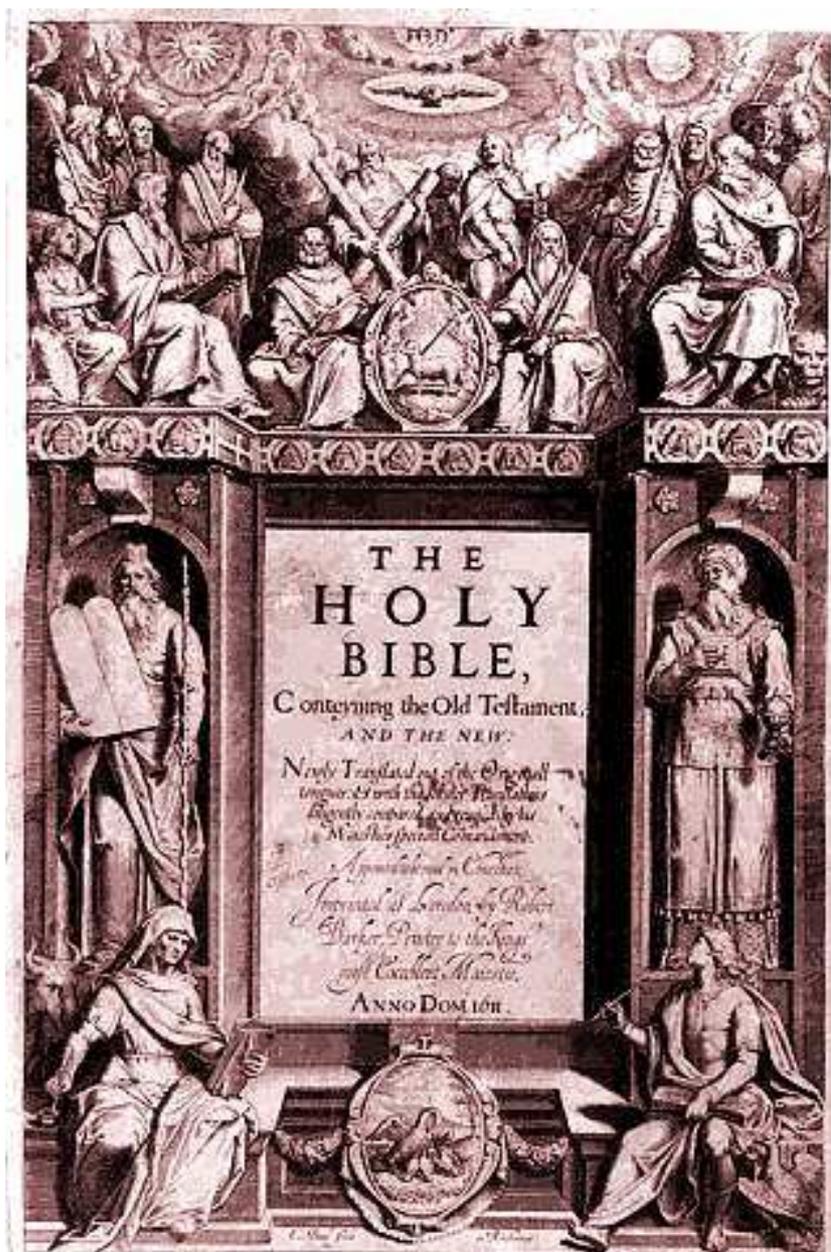


Fig. 148. A Page from The Book of Reuells for the Year 1611-1612: 'By the Kings players: Hallowmas Nyght [November 1] was presented att Whithall, before ye Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. A play called the Tempest.'



Fig. 149. King James I, by John I. Decritz, ca. 1610. National Maritime Museum, London. A stout believer in the theory of the Divine Right of Kings, King James saw the diligent pursue of appeasement and pacifism in international relations as the fulfilment of his duty as a Christian prince who ought to work towards the greater glory of the Christian faith. In accordance with his adopted motto, **Beati Pacifici** ('Blessed are the Peacemakers'), Christ's exhortation from the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5. 9), King James 'negotiated armistice between the Low Countries and Spain and marriages of his children into both Protestant and Catholic royal families' (Steven Marx).



**Fig. 150. Frontispiece to the first edition of the Authorized Version of the Bible (1611).** God the Father and the Holy Ghost are seen on high, between the sun and the moon. Below them, the Twelve Apostles are at the top, and Moses and Aaron, who represent the Old Testament, flank the central text. Around the latter, the four evangelists seat with their emblems: Saint Matthew and the angel, Saint Mark and the lion, Saint Luke and the ox, and Saint John and the eagle. Above and below centre, two medals bear emblems of Jesus Christ: the Lamb of God of the Redeemer, as foretold by Saint John the Baptist (John 1.29), and the pelican in piety which represents the healing power of Christ's blood and his resurrection. As defender of the faith, King James was fully aware of the great political importance of and deeply interested in theological debate and other religious matters. James conveyed the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 in an attempt to reach a settlement that would satisfy the King, his bishops and the English Puritans. The main result of the conference was that the King commissioned a new translation of the Bible which was first published the same year The Tempest was first performed at court. The following year saw the last two burnings at the stake of heretics in England: Sentence was pronounced against Edward Wightman on December 14, 1611, and he was burned on April 11, 1612 at Lichfield. Bartholomew Legate was found guilty of heresy in February 1612, and burned to death at Smithfield on the 18 March 1612. King James 'politically preferred, that heretics hereafter, though condemned, should silently and privately waste themselves away in the prison, rather than to grace them, and amuse others, with the solemnity of a public execution, which in popular judgments usurped the honour of a persecution' (Fuller, The Church History of Britain, Book 10, Section 4).



**Fig. 151. Anna of Denmark, Queen of England and Scotland, attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, ca. 1612. The Queen wears black, probably in mourning for her son, Henry, Prince of Wales, who died in 1612. The original is in the NPG, London. Although James VI had espoused Anna exactly because of her solid Protestant background, the Queen had developed strong Catholic sympathies, and openly favoured a Spanish match for her son, Henry Frederick Stuart, Prince of Wales, or her daughter, Princess Elizabeth, or both. Queen Anna ‘warmly supported a plan hatched towards the end of 1611 for a marriage between Elizabeth and King Philip of Spain’ (DNB, XVII, 234). According ‘to an apocryphal anecdote, she is moreover said to have objected [to the marriage of her daughter the Princess Elizabeth to Frederick V, Elector Palatine of the Rhine] as [being] below the family dignity’ (DNB, I, 437).**



Fig. 152. 'Was Milan thrust from Milan that his issue | Should become kings of Naples?' (Tnp. 5.1.205-206): ILLUSTR : PRIN : HEN : STEWARD . DOMIN DARNLEY DUX ALBANIAE . OBIT 1566 ('The Most Illustrious Prince Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, Duke of Albany, who died in 1566 [Old Style]'). Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, 'Father to our Soueraigne lord James', in an engraving by Renold Elstrack. King James's father, who was also Duke of Albany, Earl of Ross and Baron Ardmannoch, was murdered on 10 February 1567. However, upon the death of Elizabeth on 24 March 1603, the Duke of Albany's issue became kings of England as well as Scotland, a line which stretches to this day.



Fig. 153. 'Was Milan thrust from Milan that his issue | Should become kings of Naples?' (Tnp. 5.1.205-206): **SERENISSIMA MARIA REGINA IACOB. MAG. BRIT. REG. MATER**. ('The Most Serene Mary the Queen, Mother to King James of Great Britain'). Mary, Queen of Scots, 'Mother to our Soueraigne Lord James', in an engraving by Renold Elstrack, a plate to *Baziliologia, A Booke of Kings*. London, 1618. Mary was 'thrust from Scotland' and had to abdicate in favour of her son James on 24 July 1567 and to flee the country a second time shortly thereafter. The first time had been in 1548, at the hands of Nicolas Durand, Chevalier du Villegaingon. Queen Mary was kept as her cousin Elizabeth's prisoner in England for 18 years, and was finally executed on 8 February 1587. However, upon the death of Elizabeth on 24 March 1603, Queen Mary's issue became kings of England as well as Scotland, a line which stretches to this day.



Fig. 154. Mary, Queen of Scots' tomb. The Lady Chapel, Westminster Abbey, London. 'At this time [1612] the corpse of Queen Mary late Queen of Scotland, was translated from Peterborough to Westminster . . . and there placed in a vault, upon the Southside whereof the King had made a Royal Tomb for her, where she now resteth' (The Norton Shakespeare 3389).

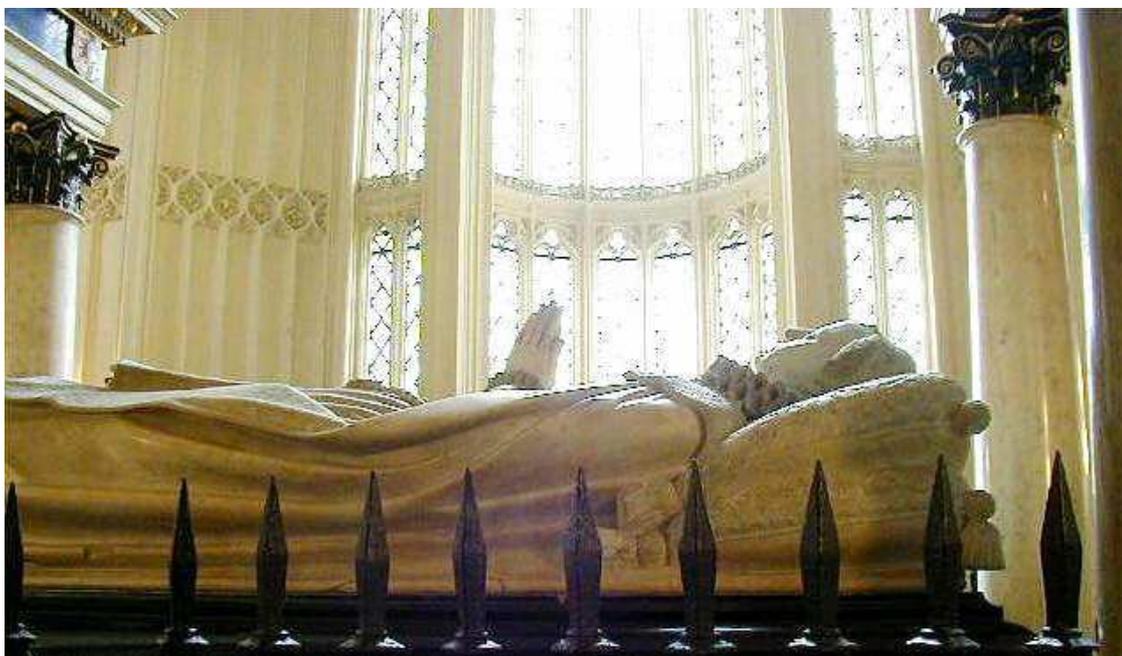


Fig. 155. Mary, Queen of Scots' tomb. The Lady Chapel, Westminster Abbey, London. Mary, Queen of Scots 'was first buried in Peterborough Cathedral with great solemnity by Elizabeth's orders but James I brought the remains to Westminster in 1612. He had erected a magnificent marble tomb for her in the south aisle of the Lady Chapel on which there is a fine white marble effigy under an elaborate canopy. She wears a close-fitting coif, a laced ruff, and a long mantle fastened by a brooch. At her feet is the Scottish lion crowned. The sculptors were William and Cornelius Cure' (Westminster-Abbey.org site). Queen Mary's second burial was the apex of King James' restoration of his mother's public image in England.



Fig. 156. Princess Elizabeth Stuart (1596–1662), by Robert Peake the Elder, ca. 1606. ‘The inscription on the Princess’s book refers to a “tablet,” a flat or table-cut jewel, and the chain around her bodice is composed of diamonds of this kind. The lines of verse suggest that instead of jewelry, the Roman Catholic Queen Anne had offered her absent daughter a blessing in the form of a devotional text’ ([Metmuseum site](#)). The Tempest was presented a recorded second time at court as part of the grand revels that marked Elizabeth’s engagement and wedding to Frederick V, Elector Palatine of the Rhine in the winter of 1612-1613 (New Style). Shakespeare died without knowing that, from August 1619 to 8 November 1620, Elizabeth and her husband would become ‘the Winter King and Queen of Bohemia,’ which means that the reason for the playwright’s interest in the country of Bohemia when he wrote The Winter’s Tale around 1609-10 lies elsewhere.



**Fig. 157. Frederick V, Elector Palatine of the Rhine. Frederick the Palsgrave had been chosen to marry the Princess Elizabeth as a leading Protestant prince who could match the alliance that would have marked the Prince of Wales' marriage to a princess from a leading Catholic power in Europe.**

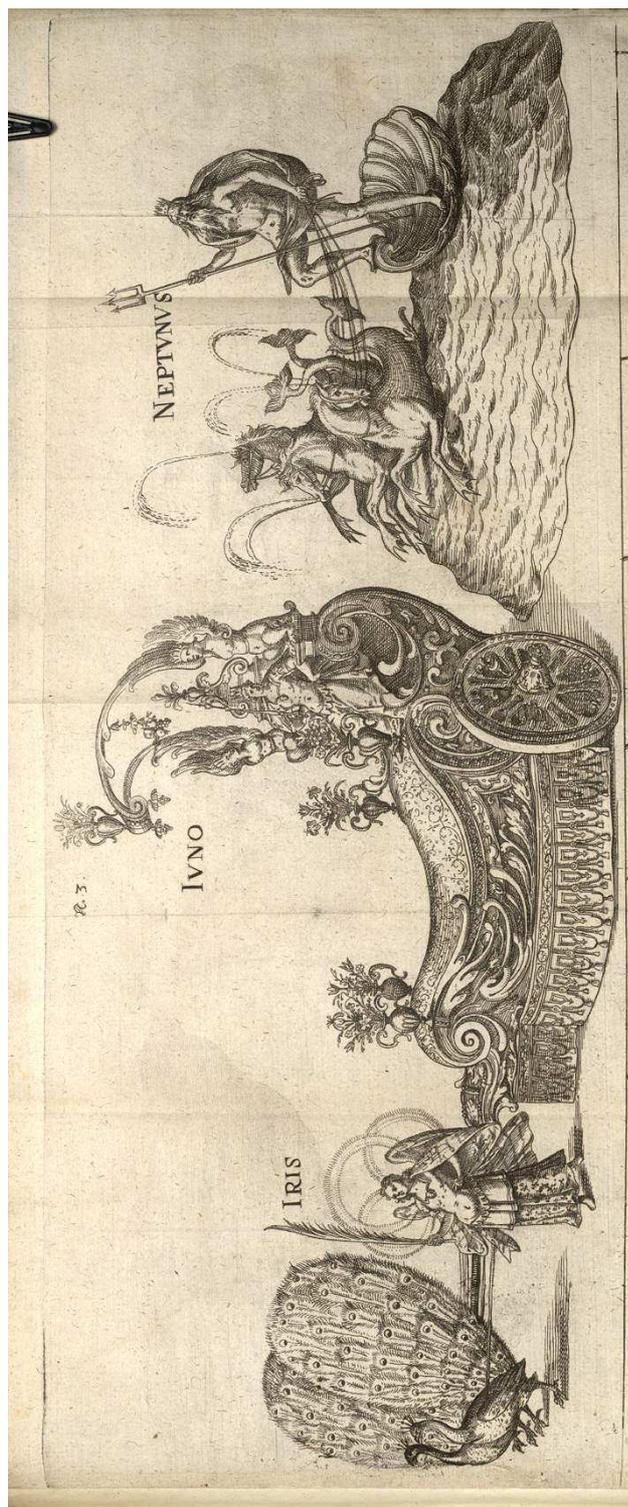


Fig. 158. Illustration Figures of Iris, Juno, Neptune, Glaucus, Meleager, Castor, Oileus, Pollux, Ancaeus and Admetus, by W. Harnister (detail), included in D. Jocquet's Les triomphes, entrees, cartels, tournois, ceremonies, et aultres magnificences, faites en Angleterre, [et] au Palatinat, pour le mariage & reception de Monsieur le Prince Frideric V. Comte Palatin du Rhin, Electeur du Saint Empire, Duc de Baviere &c. et de Madame Elizabeth, fille unique et princesse de la Grande Bretagne, Electrice Palatine du Rhin &c. son espouse. Heidelberg: Gotthard Vogelin, 1613. 147. Preceded by Iris, her 'many-coloured messenger' (Tmp. 4.1.76), and carried on a float that represents her peacock-drawn chariot, 'Juno, that is queen of marriage' (Per. Sc.7 [2.3].28) and patroness of lawfully-wedded wives, 'sings her blessings on you' (Tmp. 4.1.109). The float of Neptune follows. The book was one of many published at the time with details of the wedding in London and Heidelberg of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth, princess of England.



**Fig. 159. Henry Frederick Stuart, Prince of Wales.** The Prince of Wales was the eldest son and heir of King James I of England and Anna of Denmark. His father the King had mulled over the benefits of a marriage alliance with Catholic Spain since making peace with the Spanish in 1604. Although a Protestant match was not discarded and the Prince openly refused a Catholic match, possible Catholic brides considered by King James included the Infanta Anna of Spain, the eldest daughter of King Philip III, and until 8 April 1605 (New Style) heiress to the Spanish throne (there were negotiations in 1604, 1605 and 1607), the eldest daughter of the Duke of Savoy (a name considered but discarded in 1611), one of the Savoyard princesses, as well as the eldest daughter of the king of France (negotiations were attempted in 1611-1612) (DNB, XXVI, 107).



**Fig. 160. Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, by Isaac Oliver, ca.1610-12, now in the Royal Collection. Prince Henry liked to think of himself as a young Protestant hero and would have preferred a Protestant princess for a wife: ‘when his father proposed a French marriage, he answered that he was “resolved that two religions should not lie in his bed”’ (Channel 4 History site). Regarded as a tragedy for the nation, The Prince of Wales’s death from typhoid at the age of eighteen in 1612 delayed any serious attempts to seek a Spanish bride for King James’s heir until at least the period 1614-1615. From 1614 on, a few Catholic princesses, including a Spanish Infanta, were also considered for Henry Frederick’s younger brother Charles, the future Charles I, who even travelled to Madrid in 1623 but to no avail. In the end, Charles espoused Catholic Henrietta Maria of France shortly after succeeding to the throne, in 1625.**