

**'Prospero's Books'**

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### Prospero's Books

When Prospero finally explains to Miranda how they came to arrive on the island, he tells her that his brother Antonio was easily able to usurp his rule because he himself was giving his attention to other things: 'Me, poor man, my library / Was dukedom large enough'.<sup>1</sup> Like so much of what Prospero tells both Miranda and the audience, this apparently clear and simple statement actually raises questions. It may well seem that Prospero is telling us simply that he loves his books, but why, in that case, should he refer to himself as 'poor man'? I suggest that those words would actually make better sense if we read Prospero's remark rather differently, in the context of his speech as a whole:

To have no screen between this part he played  
And him he played it for, he needs will be  
Absolute Milan. Me, poor man, my library  
Was dukedom large enough. Of temporal royalties  
He thinks me now incapable; confederates,  
So dry he was for sway, wi'th' King of Naples  
To give him annual tribute, do him homage,  
Subject his coronet to his crown, and bend  
The dukedom yet unbowed (alas, poor Milan)  
To most ignoble stooping.

(1.2.106-11)

For most of this passage, Prospero is not reporting how he himself saw things but imagining how Antonio saw them, effectively thinking himself into his brother's head. If that is in fact what he is doing throughout the speech, then 'Me, poor man ...' makes perfect sense as a projection of the perspective Prospero attributes to Antonio – Prospero's library is as much of the dukedom as Antonio thinks he deserves, and in a sense of much of it as he will get once he has been set adrift with only such books as Gonzalo gives him. An apparently simple speech is in fact, I think, potentially tricky: we cannot be entirely sure that things are quite as

they seem, and in particular we cannot be quite sure what value to attach to a library, or whose criteria we might be judging it by.

It is also worth paying attention to what Prospero does not tell us here, which is what particular books he found so fascinating. There is in this respect a marked contrast with Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, a figure with whom Prospero has otherwise much in common,<sup>2</sup> who is much more specific and explicit in describing the contents of his library:

Settle thy studies, Faustus, and begin  
To sound the depth of that thou wilt profess.  
Having commenced, be a divine in show,  
Yet level at the end of every art,  
And live and die in Aristotle's works.  
Sweet *Analytiks*, 'tis thou hast ravished me!  
[*He reads.*] *Bene disserere est finis logices.*  
Is to dispute well logic's chiefest end?  
Affords this art no greater miracle?  
Then read no more; thou hast attained the end.  
A greater subject fitteth Faustus' wit.  
Bid *On kai me on* farewell. Galen, come!  
Seeing *ubi desinit philosophus, ibi incipit medicus*,  
Be a physician, Faustus. Heap up gold,  
And be eternised for some wondrous cure.  
[*He reads.*] *Summum bonum medicinae sanitas:*  
The end of physic is the body's health.  
Why Faustus, hast thou not attained that end?  
Is not thy common talk sound aphorisms?  
Are not thy bills hung up as monuments,  
Whereby whole cities have escaped the plague  
And thousand desp'rate maladies been eased?  
Yet art thou still but Faustus, and a man.  
Wouldst thou make man to live eternally?  
Or, being dead, raise them to life again?  
Then this profession were to be esteemed.  
Physic, farewell! Where is Justinian?  
[*He reads.*] *Si una eademque res legatur duobus,*  
*Alter rem, alter valorem rei, etc.*  
A petty case of paltry legacies!  
[*He reads.*] *Exhaereditare filium non potest pater nisi –*  
Such is the subject of the Institute  
And universal body of the Church.  
His study fits a mercenary drudge  
Who aims at nothing but external trash –  
Too servile and illiberal for me.



usually taken to mean that he believes Agrippa to have conjured the dead, and Prospero too says that ‘graves at my command / Have waked their sleepers, ope’d and let ’em forth’

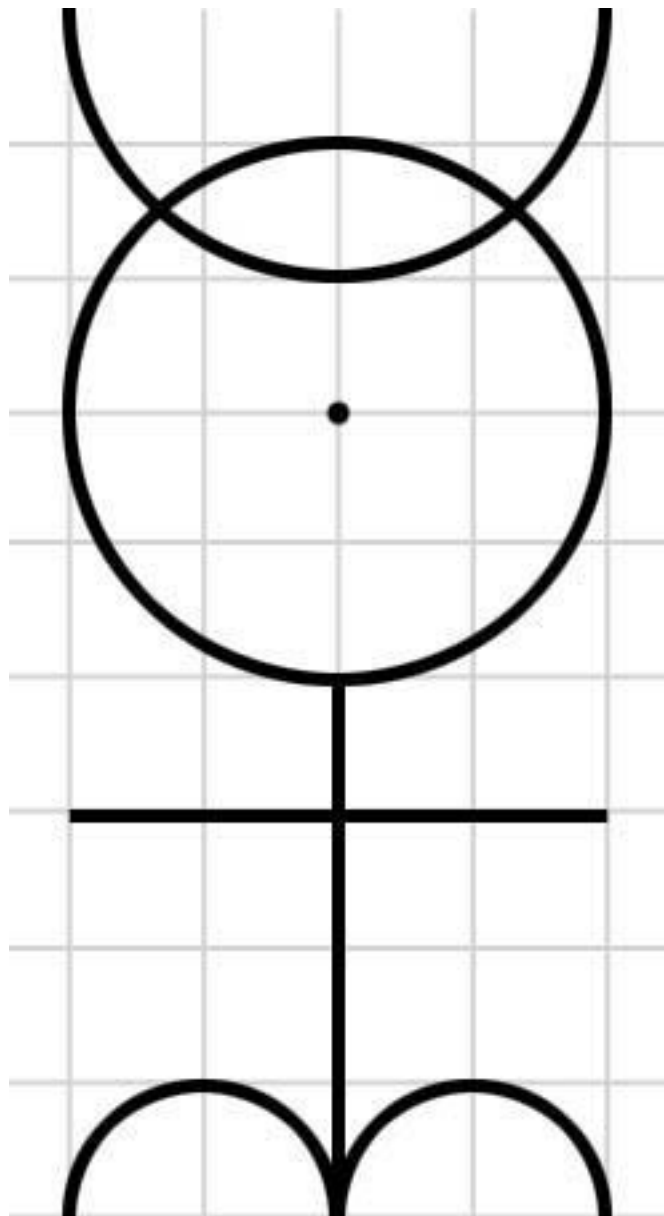
(5.1.49). Another possibility is suggested when Valdes says to Faustus,

Then haste thee to some solitary grove,  
And bear wise Bacon’s and Albanus’ works,  
The Hebrew Psalter, and New Testament;  
And whatsoever else is requisite  
We will inform thee ere our conference cease.

(I.i.155-9)

Andrew Duxfield notes that ‘The Bacon referred to here is Roger Bacon ... Albanus probably refers to the Italian philosopher Pietro d’Albano’.<sup>6</sup> Here too there is a potential Dee connection: Peter French observes that ‘In addition to the vast collection of Lullian and pseudo-Lullian works, Dee possessed many works by such early- and late-medieval thinkers as Boethius, Cassiodorus, Duns Scotus, Albertus Magnus and Aquinas, as well as the numerous works of Roger Bacon and his followers’,<sup>7</sup> including, presumably, the volume subsequently printed as *Frier Bacon his discovery of the miracles of art, nature, and magick. Faithfully translated out of Dr Dees own copy, by T. M. and never before in English* (London: printed for Simon Miller, 1659), in which the words ‘Art, nature, and magick’ are bracketed together on the title page. (The story of Roger Bacon was of course also popularised in Greene’s play *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*.) Alternatively, Andrew Duxfield argues for ‘striking parallels ... between Marlowe’s *Faustus* and key passages from the writings of Hermes Trismegistus’,<sup>8</sup> while Gwyn A. Williams refers to various publications by Dee which might also seem to fit the bill of ‘lines, circles, ... and characters’: Dee ‘published an augmentation of Recorde’s *Grounde of Artes*, a mathematical textbook which ran to twenty-six editions by 1662, and wrote his own seminal Preface to the English translation of Euclid’, which came out in 1570.<sup>9</sup>

**Figure 1: Dee's Hieroglyphic Monad**



There is also an exchange between Faustus and Mephistopheles which obviously bears on the question, though there is some ambiguity about how many books are involved in it:

*Mephistopheles ...* [Presenting a book.]  
Hold, take this book. Peruse it thoroughly.  
The iterating of these lines brings gold;  
The framing of this circle on the ground  
Brings whirlwinds, tempests, thunder, and lightning.  
Pronounce this thrice devoutly to thyself,

And men in armour shall appear to thee,  
Ready to execute what thou desir'st.

*Faustus.* Thanks, Mephistopheles. Yet fain would I have a book wherein I might behold all spells and incantations, that I might raise up spirits when I please.

*Mephistopheles.* Here they are in this book.

*There turn to them.*

*Faustus.* Now would I have a book where I might see all characters and planets of the heavens, that I might know their motions and dispositions.

*Mephistopheles.* Here they are too. *Turn to them.*

*Faustus.* Nay, let me have one book more – and then I have done – wherein I might see all plants, herbs, and trees that grow upon the earth.

*Mephistopheles.* Here they be. *Turn to them.*

*Faustus.* O, thou art deceived.

*Mephistopheles.* Tut, I warrant thee.

(II.ii.162-182)

It is unclear here whether Mephistopheles is showing Faustus more than one book or different parts of the same book, let alone which book or books he might mean. Again, then, an initial impression is in fact contradicted: it may appear that we are offered copious information about Faustus's reading matter, but when it comes to the text or texts from which he studied magic, Marlowe is elusive.

In the case of Prospero, some clarification about the contents of his library has perhaps been already afforded earlier in Act 1, scene 2, when Prospero tells Miranda that his 'state' 'was the first',

And Prospero the prime Duke, being so reputed  
In dignity, and for the liberal arts  
Without a parallel; those being all my study,  
The government I cast upon my brother  
And to my state grew stranger, being transported  
And rapt in secret studies.

(1.2.68)

As in the case of Faustus, though, there is ambiguity about how many books are actually involved. Prospero says of Gonzalo that

Knowing I loved my books, he furnished me  
From mine own library with volumes that  
I prize above my dukedom.

(1.2.166-7)

However, he also says

I'll to my book,  
For yet ere supertime must I perform  
Much business appertaining.

(3.1.94-6)

This idea that there is only one book of magic is reinforced by his later promise 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.

(5.1.54-7)

It is also worth noting that he tells Miranda to 'Lend thy hand / And pluck my magic garment from me. So, / Lie there my art' (1.2.23-4); here, the suggestion seems to be that the essence of Prospero's 'art' is in fact contained in his magic garment, rather than in any book or books.

In *Prospero's Books* (dir. Peter Greenaway, 1991), the director decided to tackle the question head on: the film shows, and a website lists, the complete contents of Prospero's library in exile. The books are named as *A Book of Waters*, *A Book of Mirrors*, *A Book of Mythologies*, *A Primer of the Small Stars*, *An Atlas Belonging to Orpheus*, *A Harsh Book of Geometry*, *The Book of Colours*, *The Vesalius Anatomy of Birth*, *An Alphabetical Inventory of the Dead*, *A Book of Travellers' Tales*, *The Book of the Earth*, *A Book of Architecture and Other Music*, *The Ninety-Two Conceits of the Minotaur*, *The Book of Languages*, *End-plants*, *A Book of Love*, *A Bestiary of Past, Present and Future Animals*, *The Book of Utopias*, *The Book of Universal Cosmography*, *Lore of Ruins*, *The Autobiographies of Pasiphaë and Semiramis*, *A Book of Motion*, *The Book of Games*, and a version of the Shakespeare First Folio with blank pages where *The Tempest* should be.<sup>10</sup> I want to suggest, however, that it is impossible and indeed wrongheaded to attempt to identify what Prospero's books may be, and even to attempt to narrow down the issue of whether there is only one book or more than one, because to do so is to impose a wholly inappropriate and anachronistic sense of sharp boundaries between genres, concerns, and indeed between texts. The bracketing together of the words 'Art, nature, and magick' on the title page of the volume of Bacon produced from



Dee's own copy is in this sense merely symptomatic of a wider truth, as indeed is Dee's own remarkable diversity of interests: Gwyn A. Williams notes that among Dee's many and varied writings were *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* and 'a volume of *Tables Gubernatick* for the Queen's navigators (now lost), another volume which he burned (possibly as politically or theologically dangerous) and a fourth, which he completed in the early summer of 1577, the *Great Volume of Famous and Rich Discoveries* on British projects to the north-east and Cathay', as well as 'four volumes calling for the Christianization of America'.<sup>11</sup> Gareth Roberts identifies a similar slippage between apparently disparate concerns when, disussing one of the most notable Renaissance theorists of magic, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, he declares that 'Although he may have been rhetorically provocative, Pico was not being ironic when he proclaimed: "There is no branch of knowledge that assures us more of Christ's divinity than magic and cabala"'.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps even more pertinently, when Richard Hakluyt the younger visited his older cousin and namesake, he was set on the path that ultimately led to the publication of his *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* by the twin sights of a map of the world and a passage of the Bible, in which, he later recalled, 'I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deepe'. In 1577 the Clothworkers' company, voting to renew its support of the younger Hakluyt's studies at Oxford, 'noted that [he] had begun to study divinity as well as geography'; later, Hakluyt contended that 'The English ... would in all likelihood have already found the Northwest Passage ... if "in our owne discoveries we had not beene led with a preposterous desire of seeking rather gaine then Gods glorie"', and on the same day as he presented the queen with his *Discourse on Western Planting*, he also gave her his analysis of Aristotle's *Politics*.<sup>13</sup> For writers such as Dee and Hakluyt, interdisciplinarity was the norm, and magic lay on a continuum with science.

As it happens, we have an unusually good sense of the texts on which Shakespeare is drawing in *The Tempest*, and what is startlingly clear is that in many of them too, areas of concern which might to us seem totally separate bleed into one another until they are scarcely distinguishable. We know, for instance, that Shakespeare had almost certainly read William Strachey's *A True Reportory of the Wreck and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates*, which was mainly concerned with describing the wreck of *The Sea Venture* off the coast of Bermuda but also includes a brief mention of Queen Dido,<sup>14</sup> when he describes the stretch of ground prepared for the fort as 'so much as Queen Dido might buy of King Hyarbas'.<sup>15</sup> In addition, the Strachey letter was also, in its way, an instance of arcana. In fact, it had been such bad propaganda for the Virginia Company that it had effectively been suppressed:

the Virginia Company was doing its best to discount unfavourable reports coming back from the New World and was carrying on a campaign of propaganda to convince the public that the Virginian enterprise was still potentially profitable. Strachey's narrative was therefore too realistic in its picture of the unhappy conditions in the colony to make it publishable and it had to wait fifteen years until Purchas put it into print.<sup>16</sup>

Although Strachey does pay lip-service to the idea of future travel to Virginia, exhorting would-be colonists 'let no rumor of the poverty of the country ... waive any man's fair purposes hitherward',<sup>17</sup> his editor points out that 'His narration of the shortcomings of some of the group and of the mutinies that nearly ruined their prospects of escaping from the Bermudas were not matters that the Virginia Company of London would want to publish abroad';<sup>18</sup> indeed in general, as Peter Mancall notes, 'Only the president and Council of Virginia had the authority to correspond with anyone in England lest a disgruntled colonist "write any letter of anything that may discourage others"', and similarly neither Hakluyt's

*Discourse on Western Planting* nor his analysis of Aristotle's *Politics* was designed for publication.<sup>19</sup>

There are also clear signs in *The Tempest* of the influence of Montaigne, an author who could perhaps stand as a byword for eclecticism, and I would like to suggest that Shakespeare may also have been thinking of a very different kind of text, a ballad on the post-Reformation desecration of the Catholic shrine at Walsingham in Norfolk (just conceivably, this might have been prompted by association: Strachey records that the name of the *Sea Venture*'s coxswain was Walsingham). This was called 'A Lament for Walsingham', and one stanza of it ran as follows:

Such are the wracks as now do show  
Of that holy land.  
Level, level with the ground  
the towers do lie  
Which with their golden glittering tops  
pierced once to the sky.<sup>20</sup>

*The Tempest* seems to echo this:

The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,  
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,  
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,  
And like this insubstantial pageant faded,  
Leave not a rack behind.

(4.1.152-6)

The idea of towers being toppled and the word rack / wrack both recur here, as does the idea of reaching to the sky, suggesting that Shakespeare was thinking not only of the future of travel outside England but also of past pilgrimages within it. *The Tempest* looks to the past in other ways too, for it rings with memories of Virgil, an author who is also on the mind of Doctor Faustus, who, referring to Virgil by his surname of Maro, reminds Mephistopheles of how 'There saw we learnèd Maro's golden tomb, / The way he cut an English mile in length / Thorough a rock of stone in one night's space' (III.i.13-15).

What is remarkable about all these authors is the breadth and variety of their interests and of the associations which had accrued to them. For Faustus, even Virgil has wandered from his usual relatively stable cultural position as great epic poet, to be remembered rather in his lesser-known capacity of alleged magician. In *The Tempest*, to be sure, it is Virgil's literary status for which he is remembered, in the shape of both local verbal borrowings and a deep-seated structural similarity to the *Aeneid*.<sup>21</sup> However, this is not a stable signifier in the light of the widespread trend in Renaissance writing of interpreting and describing the New World in the light of the Old.<sup>22</sup> Thomas Hobbes was simultaneously translating Thucydides and investing in the Virginia and Summer Island Companies,<sup>23</sup> and Hakluyt's 'Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Walter Raleigh' (1587) exhorted him, 'let the doughty deeds of Ferdinand Cortés, the Castilian, the stout conqueror of New Spain, here beautifully described, resound ever in your ears and let them make your nights not less sleepless than did those of Themistocles the glorious triumphs of Miltiades'.<sup>24</sup> Classical comparisons were not chosen at random; Joan Pong Linton points out that Aeneas was cited with particular frequency,<sup>25</sup> and Christopher Hodgkins observes that a Virgilian paradigm accrued specifically to Jamestown, the settlement to which *The Sea Venture* was *en route* at the time of her wreck and with an account of which Strachey's narrative concludes:

the Virgilian legend provided striking parallels, and thus a potent paradigm, for the fledgling Jamestown enterprise: in Book 7 of the *Aeneid* Virgil imagines Latium as a place of sylvan rusticity inhabited by a warrior race under a noble chieftain looking to give his daughter in dynastic marriage to a prophesied foreign prince with whom he will share equal rule. Thus a Virgilian Virginia could recapitulate the master epic, promising another cycle of imperial regeneration, with Rolfe an Aeneas of sorts,

Chief Powhatan a transatlantic Latinus, Pocahontas the new Lavinia, and Jamestown yet another Troy.<sup>26</sup>

Pocahontas, a figure often compared with Miranda, was first mentioned in print by John Smith in late 1608, in a text which appears to have been previously circulating in manuscript,<sup>27</sup> so the parallel might well be an apposite one, and Strachey himself described the final approach to Jamestown in Virgilian terms when he speaks of the English approaching it ‘as Virgil writeth Aeneas did, arriving in the region of Italy called Latium, upon the banks of the River Tiber – in the country of a werowance [called] Wowinchapuncke’.<sup>28</sup> Similarly Francisco de Vitoria compared Europeans arriving in America to Trojans arriving in Carthage.<sup>29</sup>

*The Tempest* similarly blends and blurs old and new. Like Strachey’s heady mingling of seventeenth-century Bermuda with the classical figure of Dido, Shakespeare’s play too effortlessly crosses time zones. For the first time in his career since *The Comedy of Errors* – so linking what may well have been his first play to what seems to have been his last – Shakespeare obeys the three Aristotelian unities of time, place and action: all the action of *The Tempest* takes place either on the island or just off its coast, observing the unity of place; by dint of devoting almost the entire second scene to narrating a complicated backstory, the action of the play proper is all confined to within twenty-four hours, observing the unity of time; and we are very pointedly reminded of the pertinence of the subplot to the main plot, and hence of the unity of action, when Prospero breaks off the masque because he ‘had forgot that foul conspiracy / Of the beast Caliban and his confederates’ (4.1.139-40). At the same time, though, Shakespeare comprehensively subverts all of the unities even as he ostensibly invokes them. Just as the rich use of irony, ambiguity, and syntactical constructions which can be parsed in more than one way means that many of the sonnets effectively deliver two

poems for the price of one, so a much less confined and circumscribed version of *The Tempest* lies tucked within its apparently chaste and classical form. In that alternative version, the island is not one place but many: the debt to Shakespeare means that it clearly suggests Bermuda, and yet we know from Ariel's reference to the 'still-vexed Bermudas' (1.2.229) that Bermuda is the one place on earth where it definitely *cannot* be set; it has reminded many critics of Ireland;<sup>30</sup> and if the characters are *en route* from Tunis to Naples it ought of course to be somewhere in the Mediterranean, except that there were no known uninhabited islands in those busy sea-lanes. The ostensible unity of place thus proves to front for a plurality of actual places which are suggested or evoked.

Above all, *The Tempest* plays fast and loose with the idea of unity of time to which it apparently pays such elaborate homage. The action of the play may be irreproachably confined within a twenty-four period, but, as with the idea of place, an astonishing array of other time periods can also be mapped onto it. On the one hand, the almost certain allusion to the wreck of *The Sea Venture* makes this without any question the most urgently contemporary of Shakespeare's plays, and the one which spoke most directly to its own historical moment. However, the first words spoken by Ferdinand when he sees Miranda are 'Most sure the goddess' (1.2.422), which anyone in Shakespeare's audience who had ever been to school would have recognised unhesitatingly as a direct translation from one of the staples of the Elizabethan and Jacobean curriculum, Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which the first words of Aeneas on making landfall in Africa are 'O dea certe', so that this play which is ostensibly about the present is in fact intimately linked with the past. It is also, I think, not a coincidence that *The Tempest* has proved the most susceptible of all Shakespearean texts to futuristically-minded adaptations.<sup>31</sup> For my money, the most interesting of all filmed versions of it is *Forbidden Planet*, Fred M. Wilcox's 1956 film set far in the future on the

planet of Altair IV with a highly technologically advanced robot as the Ariel figure, and the plot of *The Tempest* also clearly lies behind episode 76 of the original series of *Star Trek*, *Requiem for Methuselah*, first aired in 1969.<sup>32</sup> There is also a whole string of postcolonial reinterpretations or appropriations of the play by writers such as George Lamming and Aimé Césaire, to name only two in a crowded field, which transplant it effortlessly into the twentieth century (and perhaps will continue to do so into the twenty-first). Again, then, the apparent unity of time proves on closer examination to be a rather misleading characteristic of a play with strong roots in the past and an imaginative link to the future which is nevertheless at the same time in real-time dialogue with its own present.

Just as the formal categories of time and place which the play is apparently so careful to instantiate are in fact broken apart from within, so too is the third of the unities. The play may apparently observe the Aristotelian principle of unity of action just as it does those of the unities of time and place, but here, too, it is not so easy to isolate what the actual thematic focus of that action is, or in other words what this play, which takes a scholar as its central character, is itself actually studying. The nineteenth century post-romantic view was that the play was a self-dramatisation of Shakespeare's own farewell to the stage and announcement of his imminent retirement to Stratford, though that view has recently been vigorously contested by Gordon McMullan.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, the play is clearly interested in the fashionable genre of the masque and how that differs from plays written for the public theatre, and it also registers the impact of the new aesthetic of Beaumont and Fletcher, which rated surprise as the highest of the dramatic virtues, so that it does in this sense at least offer a reflection on questions directly pertaining to Shakespeare's own career and status in the theatre. Many modern critics have read it as a quasi-systematic exploration of the dynamics of colonialism, but others have protested that to do so is anachronistic.<sup>34</sup> This is of course to

some extent a product of the posttheoretical crisis of interpretation and lack of a consensus on which sorts of analytics and modes of enquiry are critically legitimate, but this wider problem is, I think, writ large in the case of *The Tempest*, because the play itself so pointedly refuses to identify its own central concern. In the end, *The Tempest*, like *Doctor Faustus*, flirts with many branches of study – religion, literature, political science, current affairs and magic – but not only commits to none of them but in fact reveals that there is no clear distinction between them. Gareth Roberts argues that ‘We must accept a heteroglossic plurality of magical belief and opinion in *Doctor Faustus*’;<sup>35</sup> so we must too, I think, in *The Tempest*.

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Notes

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<sup>1</sup> William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, edited by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T.

Vaughan (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1999), 1.2.109-10. All further quotations from the play will be taken from this edition and reference will be given in the text.

<sup>2</sup> On the influence of *Doctor Faustus* on *The Tempest*, see for instance Robert A. Logan, “‘Glutted with Conceit’”: Imprints of *Doctor Faustus* on *The Tempest*, in *Placing the Plays of Christopher Marlowe: Fresh Cultural Contexts*, edited by Sara Munson Deats and Robert A. Logan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 194-208.

<sup>3</sup> Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, edited by David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), A Text, I.i.1-54. There is of course a textual problem in this line; for discussion, see Gareth Roberts, ‘Marlowe and the



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Metaphysics of Magicians’, in *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, edited by J. A. Downie and J. T. Parnell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 55-73, pp. 55-8.

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin Woolley, *The Queen’s Conjuror: The Life and Magic of Dr Dee* (London: HarperCollins, 2002), p. 96.

<sup>5</sup> For discussion of the significance of Agrippa and the likelihood that Marlowe had read his works on magic, see Gareth Roberts, ‘Necromantic Books: Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* and Agrippa of Nettesheim’, in *Christopher Marlowe and English Renaissance Culture*, edited by Darryll Grantley and Peter Roberts (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp. 148-171.

<sup>6</sup> Andrew Duxfield, ‘*Doctor Faustus* and Renaissance Hermeticism’, in *Doctor Faustus: A Critical Guide*, edited by Sara Munson Deats (London: Continuum, 2010), pp. 96-110, p. 98.

<sup>7</sup> Peter French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> Duxfield, ‘*Doctor Faustus* and Renaissance Hermeticism’, p. 96.

<sup>9</sup> Gwyn A. Williams, *Madoc: The Legend of the Welsh Discovery of America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> For full descriptions of all of these, see <http://petergreenaway.org.uk/prospero.htm>

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<sup>11</sup> Williams, *Madoc: The Legend of the Welsh Discovery of America*, pp. 38 and 40.

<sup>12</sup> Roberts, 'Marlowe and the Metaphysics of Magicians', p. 60

<sup>13</sup> Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 23, 61, 9, and 155.

<sup>14</sup> For the most recent summary of the evidence for Shakespeare's having read this, see Alden T. Vaughan, 'William Strachey's "True Reportory" and Shakespeare: a Closer Look at the Evidence', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59.3 (Fall 2008), pp. 245-273.

<sup>15</sup> William Strachey, *A True Reportory*. Online: <http://fas-history.rutgers.edu/clemens/Jamestown/Strachey.html>.

<sup>16</sup> William Strachey, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (1612), edited by Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1953), introduction, p. xxii.

<sup>17</sup> Strachey, *Reportory*.

<sup>18</sup> Strachey, *Reportory*.

<sup>19</sup> Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*, pp. 264 and 155.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in Philip Schwyzer, *Archaeologies of English Renaissance Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 86.

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<sup>21</sup> See Margaret Tudeau-Clayton, *Jonson, Shakespeare and Early Modern Virgil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>22</sup> See for instance J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New 1492-1650* [1970] (Cambridge: Canto, 1992), pp. 42-3, 48 and 51, and Anna Cox Brinton, 'The Ships of Columbus in Brant's Virgil', *Art & Archeology* 26 (1928), pp. 83-6 and 94. See also Neil L. Whitehead, ed., *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 94-9, for Raleigh's reading of the New World against a classical background.

<sup>23</sup> Noel Malcolm, ed., *Thomas Hobbes: The Correspondence* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1994), Vol 1, introduction, p.xxi.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Cartelli, 'Marlowe and the New World', in *Christopher Marlowe and English Renaissance Culture*, edited by Peter Grantley and Darryll Roberts (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp.110-118, pp.112-113.

<sup>25</sup> Joan Pong Linton, *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formations of English Colonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.10. See also p.132.

<sup>26</sup> Christopher Hodgkins, 'The Nubile Savage: Pocahontas as Heathen Convert and Virgilian Bride', *Renaissance Papers* (1998), pp. 81-90, p. 87.

<sup>27</sup> Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*, p. 267.

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<sup>28</sup> Strachey, *Reportory*..

<sup>29</sup> Hulme, *Colonial Encounters*, p. 161.

<sup>30</sup> See for instance David J. Baker, ‘Where is Ireland in *The Tempest?*’, in *Shakespeare and Ireland: History, Politics, Culture*, edited by Mark Thornton Burnett and Ramona Wray (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 68-88, and Dympna Callaghan, ‘Irish Memories in *The Tempest?*’, in *Shakespeare Without Women* (London: Routledge, 2000).

<sup>31</sup> For a useful overview of these, see Thomas Cartelli, *Repositioning Shakespeare: National formations, postcolonial appropriations* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 89.

<sup>32</sup> See my *Shakespeare’s The Tempest: The Relationship between Text and Film* (New Mermaids, 2008).

<sup>33</sup> Gordon McMullan, *Shakespeare and the Idea of Late Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

<sup>34</sup> See for instance Paul Brown, ‘“This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine”: *The Tempest* and the discourse of colonialism’, in *Political Shakespeare*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, edited by Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 48-71, and Meredith Anne Skura, ‘Discourse and the Individual: The Case of Colonialism in *The Tempest?*’, in *The Tempest: A Case Study in Critical Controversy*, edited by Gerald Graff and James Phelan (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 286-322.

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<sup>35</sup> Roberts, 'Marlowe and the Metaphysics of Magicians', p. 73.