

The *Commedia dell'Arte* and Problems Related to Source in *The Tempest*

by Sharon L. Smith*

Seeking to establish a comprehensive view of *The Tempest*, scholars concerned with the difficult problem of source have produced a variety of theories, some of which, in Kermode's opinion, constitute such a "prize mare's nest" that it is necessary to redefine the status of this scholarship. Two works, in particular, have been closely scrutinized: Jakob Ayrer's play, *Die Schöne Sidea*, and Antonio de Eslava's *Primera Parte de las Noches de Invierno*. In general, scholars have agreed that neither is a definitive source of the play and that the instances paralleled in both cases necessitate a further search for a common source. Grégoire, observing that Ayrer had died at Nuremberg in 1605 and that the first edition of *Die Schöne Sidea* appeared in his *Opus Theatricum* (1618), thinks it impossible for Shakespeare to have known this play.¹ Nosworthy, however, calls attention to the inscription on the title page of *Opus Theatricum* to the effect that the sixty-six pieces therein are either translations or adaptations, including a version of Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* and a work resembling *Much Ado about Nothing*.² In addition, scholars have decided that there is little evidence of parallel phrasing between the two plays; that the temperament of the characters in both works is entirely different; and that Ayrer's drama contains no storm and no enchanted island. Indeed, what plot similarities there are between *Die Schöne Sidea* and *The Tempest* may be readily detected: e.g., the main character, Leudolff, is a deposed king who practices magic; Englebrecht is a patient log-bearing prince whom Sidea, Leudolff's beautiful daughter, is attracted to and eventually marries; Runcifall is Leudolff's spirit-devil; and Englebrecht and his squire are charmed by the magician-king when they draw swords against him. But here the parallels end, leading Nosworthy to think that a common source for the two plays must be the answer.³ As a possible solution, Sir E. K. Chambers suggests *Celine und Sedea*, a title which occurs in Anglo-German play lists for 1604 and 1614.⁴

Eslava's *Primera Parte de las Noches de Invierno* is a different matter. In it, one finds the story of Dardanus, a magician-king who, deprived of his authority, puts out to sea with his only daughter, Seraphina, where, in mid-ocean, by means of his magic he parts the waves and creates a submarine realm in which to dwell. When his daughter reaches maturity, Dardanus captures the son of his usurper, and the lad eventually marries Seraphina. When the usurper dies, Dardanus reclaims his throne. Although Eslava's tales were published in 1609, a significant date for *The Tempest*, Nosworthy doubts that Shakespeare knew Spanish

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1. Henri Grégoire, "The Bulgarian Origins of *The Tempest* of Shakespeare," *SP*, XXXVII (April, 1940), 237 fn.

2. J. M. Nosworthy, "The Narrative Sources of *The Tempest*," *RES*, XIV (October, 1948), 285.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 284-285.

4. Sir E. K. Chambers, *Shakespearean Gleanings*, p. 76.

or that he had ever been acquainted with *Noches de Invierno*.⁵ Grégoire, however, argues that Abbé Mauro Oribini's *Il Regno degli Slavi* (1601) was the source of an Italian *novella* which was, in turn, the direct source of *Noches de Invierno*, Ayrer's *Die Schöne Sidea*, and Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.⁶

Scholars have also shown an interest in the similarities between Shakespeare's play and *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune* (1589), mainly in the story of a banished magician who inhabits a cave (sometimes called a cell) and who becomes enraged when his valuable books are stolen and burned. He has a servant who turns courtier, and a son, whom he has not set eyes upon since the boy's infancy. Eventually, the son is restored to the father in a scene reminiscent of that which occurs in the last act of Shakespeare's play. However, since these similarities reflect only a small portion of the main plot of *The Tempest*, *The Rare Triumphs* has been judged an analogous work and not a major source.⁷

Although not widely acclaimed, a Spanish romance by Diego Ortuñez de Calahorra, entitled *Espejo de Príncipes y Caballeros*, should be included in a general discussion of source.⁸ This popular romance had appeared in several Spanish editions before it was translated into English in nine volumes under the title, *Mirrou of Knighthood*, licensed for printing August 4, 1579, to be issued thereafter at various times until 1601.⁹ Certain tales within its framework concern ships controlled by magic; storms created by magicians; magicians rendered powerless when deprived of their magic books; and an evil witch who, in union with a devil, gives birth to a son.¹⁰ Although Perott draws interesting parallels between this work and Shakespeare's play, he has merely cited another work analogous to *The Tempest*.

Names assigned to characters in Shakespeare's play have been included in the discussions of source. For example, Nosworthy minimizes the importance of the works of Oribini and Eslava to the play by arguing that Shakespeare could have obtained some of his characters' names from William Thomas's *Historie of Italie*, first published in 1549 and, again, in 1561, particularly in the story of Prospero Adorno (deposed by Ferdinand, King of Naples), whose brother, Anthony Adorno, became governor of Genoa.¹¹ Furthermore, he has noted in Thomas the account of Charles VIII's attempt to depose Alonso, King of Naples, an endeavor that was foiled when Alonso united Milan and Naples through marriage, relegating his duties to his son, Ferdinand, and retiring to Sicily to devote himself to a life of study.¹² Indeed, one concludes that it was possible for Shakespeare to have derived his characters' names from any number of works in the period. Two well known travel books, Richard Eden's

5. Nosworthy, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

6. Grégoire, *op. cit.*, pp. 237; 254. He is convinced that Eslava utilized a chapter of Byzantine-Bulgarian history in the fourth tale of *Noches de Invierno*, having discovered that certain names in Eslava may be traced to Oribini's *Il Regno degli Slavi*; *ibid.*, pp. 245; 253-254.

7. R. W. Boodle, "The Original of *Cymbeline* and Possibly of *The Tempest*," *N&Q*, IV (November, 1887), 404-405.

8. Joseph de Perott, *The Probable Sources of the Plot of Shakespeare's The Tempest*, p. 212. The full title: *The Mirrou of Princely Deeds and of Knighthood*.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 212-213.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

11. Nosworthy, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-284.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 282-283. Nosworthy thinks, however, that Shakespeare would have known these details and have had no need to borrow from Thomas.

History of Trauayle (1577) and Sir Walter Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana* (1596), contain references to personages whose names resemble those of certain characters in *The Tempest*.¹³ In Eden, there are two specific cases: one involving the Pantagonian devil, Setebos, in a report of the chaining of two giants to a ship who ". . . roared lyke bulles, and cryed vppon theyr great devill *Setebos* to helpe them;" the other concerning Gonzalus Ferdinandus Oviedus, Italian author, whose work in English translation Eden incorporated into the history.¹⁴ In Raleigh, scholars have noted references to Adelantado Don Gonzales Cemenes de Casade and to Don Anthonio de Berreo, Raleigh's Spanish rival for El Dorado, whose wife, Doña Maria, was the neice of Don Gonzalo.¹⁵ Moreover, since it is likely that Shakespeare acted in Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*, some have thought that he may have come into contact with the names of Prospero and Stephano during this experience, inasmuch as these names appear in Jonson's *dramatis personae* for the 1601 quarto.¹⁶

If scholars remain somewhat in doubt about the major source of *The Tempest*, they display an even greater degree of uncertainty in their conjectures about the storm sequence, their subsequent investigations often leading them into deeper complexities over problems of source. For example, all are acquainted with the sea voyage of Sir George Summers and Sir Thomas Gates, who, in 1609, set sail for Virginia with a fleet of nine ships. In the course of this trip, a storm lashed their vessel, the *Sea-Adventure*, running it aground, the passengers and crew escaping onto the coast of Bermuda, an island ". . . supposed to be given over to Devils and wicked spirits," but which they discovered to be ". . . the richest, pleasantest, and most healthful place they had ever seen."¹⁷ Nevertheless, by the autumn of 1610, all had returned safely to England, where the news of their experience apparently captured the imagination of London. As a matter of fact, the present dating of *The Tempest* rests mainly upon the 1610-1611 publications of several documents describing this voyage. In 1808, Edmund Malone suggested that the so-called Bermuda pamphlets were the direct source of the storm sequence in the play.¹⁸ Since his time, scholars have thoroughly investigated the problem, some concluding in favor of the pamphlets, others maintaining that the 1609 incident has been grossly magnified.¹⁹ In general, the following three works, at various times, have been considered pertinent to the storm, if not to the main plot, in *The Tempest*: (1) Silvester Jourdain's *A Discovery of the Barmudas, Otherwise called the Isle of Devils, by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers and Captayne Newport, with diverse others*, dated October 13, 1610, and published in London in the

13. For full titles of these works, see Bibliography.

14. Eden, *The History of Trauayle*, p. 435.

15. Raleigh, *The Discoverie of Guiana*, p. 24.

16. C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson (eds.), *The Complete Works of Ben Jonson*, IX, 168. By the time of the 1616 Folio, however, Jonson had changed the Italian setting of Florence to London and had exchanged Italian names of characters for English ones, perhaps as an attempt at "vernacular realism;" *ibid.*, I, 359. Frank Kermode (ed.), *The Tempest* (Arden) p. lxx, points out that Shakespeare may have learned how to pronounce *Stephano* from his experience in Jonson's play.

17. See Edmund Malone's treatment of this voyage in his edition of *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, XV, 385-395.

18. *Ibid.*, XV, 405.

19. Unwilling to accept the Bermuda theory are E. E. Stoll, J. D. Rea, Clara Longworth de Chambrun, and J. M. Nosworthy, among others. Nevertheless, these pamphlets were popular in Shakespeare's time, and some interesting parallels have been made between them and *The Tempest*.

same year; (2) the report of the Council of Virginia, *A True Declaration of the estate of the Colony of Virginia, with a confutation of such scandalous reportes as have tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise*, entered at Stationers' Hall, November 8, 1610, and published in the same year; and (3) a manuscript letter, dated July 15, 1610, written by William Strachey, but not printed until 1625 as *A True Repertory of the wrack, and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight; upon, and from the island of the Bermudas*.

Gayley, who has made what is probably the most nearly definitive study of the Summers and Gates shipwreck in relation to *The Tempest*,²⁰ states that, with two exceptions (noted in connection with the Jourdain document), Shakespeare took his material from Strachey's letter, causing the coincidences that occur between the play and *A True Declaration* to derive ultimately from Strachey.²¹ There is varied support for his theory in the scholarship of E. P. Kuhl, Morton Luce, Robert Cawley, and Thomas Marc Parrott, among others. Kuhl is convinced that the Summers and Gates shipwreck, as described in Strachey's letter, inspired Shakespeare to write *The Tempest*.²² Luce, instead, maintains that Shakespeare followed the records of the Bermuda pamphlets, only occasionally referring to Strachey to avoid inaccuracies in the story.²³ Cawley argues, rather unconvincingly, that verbal parallels (which he claims to detect) between the letter and *The Tempest* are conclusive evidence of Shakespeare's firsthand knowledge of the letter.²⁴ Parrott, attaching much significance to the Bermuda incident, concludes that the storm reports and the workings of Shakespeare's imagination are sufficient in themselves to account for the entire plot of *The Tempest*.²⁵ Nevertheless, it is evident that the only proof of Shakespeare's having read Strachey's letter is manifest in a few isolated words or phrases in the play, and of these there is nothing he could not have obtained from other records of contemporary voyages. As for verbal parallels, there is no one passage in the play that is phrased in the exact manner of Strachey's letter.²⁶ As a matter of fact, Shakespeare's only allusion to setting is contained in Ariel's "still-vest Bermoothes," and the play itself makes it clear that the Bermudas are some distance from Prospero's enchanted isle.²⁷ Indeed, there is little sense in continuing to ignore the fact that the Bermudas were discovered many years before 1609.²⁸ Raleigh, for one, had referred to them in *The Discoverie of Guiana* (1596) as having ". . . a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and storms."²⁹ And scholars, of course, have made extensive studies of other contemporary storm descriptions, perhaps the most interesting of which are those contained in the works of Erasmus, Rabelais, and Ariosto.

20. Charles M. Gayley, *Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America*, pp. 45-50.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

22. E. P. Kuhl, "Shakespeare and the Founders of America: *The Tempest*," *PQ*, LI (January, 1962), 128.

23. Morton Luce (ed.), *The Tempest in The Works of Shakespeare*, pp. xvii-xviii.

24. Robert Cawley, "Shakespeare's Use of the Voyagers," *PMLA*, XLI (1926), 688.

25. Thomas Marc Parrott, *Shakespearean Comedy*, p. 392.

26. Elmer Edgar Stoll, "Certain Fallacies and Irrelevancies in the Literary Scholarship of the Day," *SP*, XIV (October, 1927), 488.

27. John D. Rhea, "The Source for the Storm in *The Tempest*," *MP*, XVIII (September, 1919), 278-280. Nosworthy (*op. cit.*, p. 287) suggests that the location is Sicily, not Bermuda.

28. Gwynneth Bowen, *Shakespeare's Farewell*, p. 6.

29. Raleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 73; also, Stoll, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

Rea believes that Shakespeare may have consulted Erasmus' *Colloquia* entitled "Naufragium," translated by William Burton and published in 1606 in *Seven Dialogues both Pithie and Profitable*,³⁰ its only significance being that it would have been available to Shakespeare, although Baldwin feels certain that he had read it and used it for the storm in *The Tempest*.³¹ Clara Longworth de Chambrun, on the other hand, thinks Shakespeare found his source for the storm in Book IV of Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel* and argues that, while he did not explicitly follow its narrative, he did utilize its main components.³² She reminds one, also, that Shakespeare, during his career, was accused of Rabelaisian techniques and recalls that Joseph Hall once remarked that it was difficult to perceive whether Shakespeare wrote certain scenes from his ". . . own habit of the riotous misrule in London taverns, or imitated from Wicked Rabelais' drunken Revellings."³³ She concludes that, while one may dismiss as accidental all parallels which seem to occur between the two works, he will, nonetheless, experience difficulty in explaining obvious similarities in the sequence of action.³⁴ Joseph Hunter calls attention to a storm description in Harrington's translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1951), noting possible parallels to *The Tempest* in such matters as the master's whistle, "great gastly flames," striking of sails, contempt for rank and royalty, and cries of disaster.³⁵ It seems unlikely, therefore, that Strachey's letter is the only possible source for the storm in the play.

The one source of *The Tempest*, however, upon which scholars agree concerns Gonzalo's "commonwealth speech" (II.i.147-164), a direct parallel of Montaigne's essay, "Of the Cannibales," translated by John Florio and published in 1603.³⁶ While none of Shakespeare's plays written after the appearance of Florio's translation is devoid of the Montaigne influence, none, for that matter, contains a Montaigne parallel of comparable length.³⁷ In fact, most of Shakespeare's later plays tend to show a steady decrease of this influence, with the exception of *The Tempest*, which is as strongly affected by Montaigne's thought as is *Hamlet*, for example.³⁸ Some have taken this to mean either that Shakespeare, late in his career, was returning to Montaigne, or that *The Tempest* has been incorrectly dated.³⁹ It is obvious that, over the years, studies in source and date for this play have often resulted in a misplaced

30. Rea, *op. cit.* pp. 280-281; he notes that substance, time, and form in Erasmus are close to those in Shakespeare.

31. T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, I, 742-743.

32. Clara Longworth de Chambrun, *Shakespeare, Actor-Poet*, p. 236. The significant chapter in Book IV is entitled, "How Pantagruel Escaped from a Mighty Tempest at Sea and How Panurge and Friar John Behaved Themselves during the Storm."

33. *Ibid.*, p. 240.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 237; in both cases, the narrative chronology is the same.

35. Joseph Hunter, *New Illustrations of the Life, Studies, and Writings of Shakespeare*, p. 170. Hunter's study is less important to the problem of the storm sequence in *The Tempest* than the aforementioned ones.

36. Montaigne, *The Essays of Michael Lord of Montaigne Translated by John Florio*, I, 220.

37. See George Coffin Taylor, *Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne*, pp. 4:6;32. Also, G. C. Waterston, "Shakespeare and Montaigne: a Footnote to *The Tempest*," *The Romantic Review*, XI, (October, 1949), 165.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166.

39. Karl Elze, *Essays on Shakespeare*, pp. 10-14. Shakespeare may have read Florio's translation in manuscript; Sir William Cornwallis refers to it in 1600, though not by name. See also, Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

emphasis, so that rarely is a study definitive, as far as either subject is concerned.

C. S. Felver's recent assessment of the influence of the Italian *commedia dell'arte* upon English Renaissance drama may encourage future scholars to reinvestigate the source and date of *The Tempest* and contribute significantly to a resolution of these difficulties.⁴⁰ Felver calls for a reappraisal of the *commedia dell'arte* and its influence upon English drama (an approach to *The Tempest* which was initiated by Fernando Neri as early as 1903 in his *Scenari delle Maschere in Arcadia*). In 1920, following Neri's lead, H. D. Gray published an article in which he cited parallels between certain Italian *scenari* and Shakespeare's play, a work that has received little recognition in the intervening years.⁴¹ The five *scenari* in question originally appeared in a MS. collection undertaken by Basileo Locatelli in 1622, who, however, disclaimed authorship of the pieces, admitting, rather, that he had collected and made them suitable for the stage.⁴² Although Locatelli's MS. does not antedate the composition of *The Tempest*, it is thought that these *scenari* had been acted in Italy and elsewhere abroad prior to the date of this collection.⁴³ Felver warns that these *scenari* impose definite restrictions upon the scholar concerned with determining the extent of their possible influence upon the drama, explaining that ". . . developments of Italian impromptu comedy left almost nothing of literary concern."⁴⁴ This is to say that, in form, the *scenari*, by act and scene assignments to characters, describe only the action of an intended performance and contain no dialogue.⁴⁵ Chambers thinks it unlikely that Shakespeare saw any of these five *scenari* and states that Italian acting groups were not frequent visitors to Elizabethan England,⁴⁶ a view which Winifred Smith refutes, showing that Italian musicians were in England, particularly during the latter half of the sixteenth century, and pointing out that, while the records from 1550 onwards are fragmentary, there are occasional references in the Revels Accounts to "the Italian players."⁴⁷ Kathleen Lea, moreover, has noted "undeniable traces" of the Italian *commedia dell'arte* in *The Tempest*,⁴⁸ a style, according to Smith, with which Shakespeare was also familiar in *The Comedy of Errors* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.⁴⁹ And Felver thinks there are echoes of its influence in *Measure for Measure* and *The Merchant of Venice*.⁵⁰ The theory that Shakespeare was acquainted with Florio and had made use of a passage from Florio's translation of Montaigne in *The Tempest* may indicate further Italian

40. Charles S. Felver, "The *Commedia dell'Arte* and English Drama in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Renaissance Drama, A Report on Research Opportunities*, VI (1963), 24-34.

41. H. D. Gray, "The Sources of *The Tempest*," *MLN*, XXXV (June, 1920), 321-330.

42. Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 79. The Locatelli MS. is in the Casanatense at Rome. See, also, Kathleen M. Lea, *Italian Popular Comedy*, I, 133-144.

43. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 323; also Lea, *op. cit.*, II, 339 ff, ch. VI, "The *Commedia dell'Arte* and the English Stage."

44. Felver, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

45. Lea, *op. cit.*, I, 129: "The *scenari*, or skeleton plots, of the *Commedia dell'Arte* are not literary but theatrical documents, and are thus distinct from the 'argomenti' which precede many early Italian plays and are provided for the *scenari* of Scala, as well as from the author's plots such as those mentioned in Henslowe's diary."

46. Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

47. Winifred Smith, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, p. 170.

48. Lea, *op. cit.*, I, vii.

49. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 15: 179-180.

50. Felver, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

influence. Wright has shown, as well, that Will Kemp, who acted the rôles of Peter in *Romeo and Juliet* and Dogberry in *Much Ado about Nothing*, was aware of the Italian companies that visited England.⁵¹

An examination of the five *scenari* initially investigated by Neri would seem to be in order. For convenience, there follows a summary of the pertinent action in each of the five *scenari* not, however, in literal translation or with any regard for act and scene division.⁵² Since H. D. Gray earlier cited many parallels which exist between these pieces and *The Tempest*, his main suggestions are noted briefly in the following commentaries, along with additional observations made by the present author.⁵³

La Pazzia di Filandro
(*The Madness of Filandro*)⁵⁴

Filandro reports that, when he and Clarice left Naples, their ship had split in a tempest, and he now thinks her dead. However, she is alive, disguised as a man (to protect her virtue), using the name, Biagino. Coviello explains that he and his son, Florindo, came to Arcadia to escape from enemies, and Zanni admits that he is present on the island to avoid serving a prison sentence. An Arcadian satyr falls in love with the nymph, Lidia, and tries to force her into a grotto. By trickery, she ties him to a tree. Gratiano next explains that he has found his way to Arcadia after enduring many perils upon the sea, but he is now afraid, and asks if men or beasts inhabit the isle. Seeing Zanni and Coviello, he does not know if Zanni is a man or beast, reasoning that, while Zanni has heads and legs, so also does an ass. When Gratiano and Zanni leave, Coviello decides to dress as a nymph and attend the nymphs' festivities where he may seek the love of Lidia, hoping, in the meantime, that no god will fall in love with him and change him into a tree. The satyr whom Lidia had tied to a tree now escapes, finds her, seizes her by the tresses, and, in turn, binds her to a tree. Florindo releases her, however, and they confess love for one another. Gratiano and Zanni become intoxicated and make various actions ("have their antics"). Lidia and Clarice admit that they had been lost at sea and, by chance, had arrived in Arcadia. Lidia and Filandro discover Gratiano to be their father, and Clarice discovers Coviello to be her father. Florindo marries Lidia, and Filandro marries Clarice. They celebrate and depart.

Gray notes that the satyr's attempt to take Lidia into the grotto against her will parallels Caliban's reported attempt to seduce Miranda; that Coviello, Gratiano, and Zanni (the drunken clowns) are reminiscent of Caliban and his two confederates, Stephano and Trinculo; and that Gratiano's uncertainty as to whether Zanni is a man or beast parallels Trinculo's description of Caliban, "Leg'd like a man; and his Finnes like Armes."⁵⁵ There are, however, further parallels between the two works. For example, the shipwreck of which Filandro speaks occurs after he and

51. Louis B. Wright, "Will Kemp and the *Commedia dell'Arte*," *MLN*, XLI (December, 1926), 519-520.

52. The present author has not misrepresented the general action, however. She wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Miss Connie Leonhart in translating the five pieces in *Scenari delle Maschere in Arcadia*. The reader may consult Lea, *op. cit.*, II, 643-674, for literal translations of these five specimens of the *commedia dell'arte* in their *scenari* form.

53. Gray's comments, hereafter summarized, have been taken from his article, previously cited in this study, pp. 324-329.

54. See Lea, *op. cit.*, II, 643-647.

55. The spelling in quotations from *The Tempest* is that of the facsimile edition of *Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies*, prepared by Helge Kökeritz with an introduction by Charles T. Prouty.

Clarice have sailed from Naples, and in *The Tempest* (II.i) the shipwrecked individuals admit that they had been sailing from Tunis to Naples when the storm struck. In *La Pazzia di Filandro*, Gratiano, Filandro, Lidia, and Clarice arrive at Arcadia having suffered many hardships at sea, an experience comparable to that which plagues the characters in Shakespeare's play. Furthermore, after attiring himself like a nymph, Coviello mentions the danger of his being turned into a tree should one of the gods, believing him now to be a woman, fall in love with him; whereas, in *The Tempest*, Ariel is said to have been confined in a tree for twelve years by the evil Sycorax when he had failed to obey her unwarranted commands. (I.ii.270-280) Again, in *La Pazzia di Filandro*, Gratiano and Zanni become intoxicated and indulge in "various actions." In Shakespeare, when questioned by Prospero about Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano, Ariel reports that

. . . they were red-hot with drinking,
So full of valour, that they smote the ayre
For breathing in their faces: beate the ground
For kissing of their feete; yet alwaies bending
Towards their proiect (IV.i.171-174)

It is possible that the drunken behavior of Caliban and his confederates reflects the "various actions" alluded to in the *scenari*. Finally, the identity of "lost" children is revealed, and they are reunited with their fathers, as is Ferdinand with Alonso in the final scene of *The Tempest*. In four of the five *scenari* under discussion, this reunion scene occurs.

Gran Mago
(*The Great Magician*)⁵⁶

Sireno is in love with Filli, and Elpino is in love with Clori. Zanni cautions Elpino against the magician who has forbidden love. Zanni explains he is living in Arcadia because of a shipwreck and has reared his master's children. Pantalone, Gratiano, and Burattino explain that they were also shipwrecked but are now lost in the woods. They rejoice at their meeting, admit that they are hungry, and pray to Bacchus, who enters and orders them to make a sacrifice. The magician explains that he will lose all unless he can control the strangers in Arcadia. He weaves spells, draws circles, and performs other ceremonies. He commands that there be no mingling of bloods. He strikes with his wand, and a spirit appears bearing two garlands, one causing love, the other, hate. The magician hangs them on a tree and makes a spell to silence Zanni to protect himself against Filippa. A Captain enters and reveals his love for Clori, who tells him to enter a grotto and that she will follow. Instead, she sends an old woman in her place as a joke upon the captain. The old woman thinks she will find her lost pig in the grotto. The Captain, embracing the old woman instead of Clori, is angry. Zanni, victim of the magician's spell, is mute and cannot inform Clori about the strangers on the island. The Captain frightens Pantalone, Gratiano, and Burattino by telling them that they must hunt in order to appease the magician. Antics then occur involving Sireno, Clori, Gratiano, and Filli, who adorn themselves with the garlands of love and hate. Pantalone and Gratiano pray, again, to Bacchus, and a fountain in the temple ejects food. After eating it, Pantalone is transformed into an ass, Filippa into a tree, and Burattino into a frog. The magician appears and tosses the garlands into a fiery gulf, which closes. A voice sings a spell cast upon the strangers, indicating that, when they

56. Lea, *op. cit.*, II, 648-657.

enter the field of gold, they will be tormented and have more cause to mourn their travail. Zanni's speech is restored, and the magician gives Gratiano and Zanni food. However, he fears that his kingdom will be taken from him and makes spells to ward off the evil about him, commanding the Captain to be on guard. Elpino, Clori, Sireno, and Filli discover that the magician has been responsible for their previous contrary emotions of love and hate, and rejoice. Gratiano feeds Pantalone some leaves from the tree into which Filippa has been transformed, and both are restored to their former shapes. Pantalone discovers Sireno and Filli to be his children, Gratiano learns that Elpino and Clori are his children who had been abducted by pirates. After striking his wand and frightening the lovers, the magician consents to the marriage of Filli and Elpino, Clori and Sireno. Spirits appear and dance.

Gray notes that Filippa was changed into a tree as was Ariel confined in a tree by Sycorax; that garlands, which are hung upon a tree, are used for the purpose of duping the "comic masks," as Prospero hangs clothing on a line to divert Caliban and the conspirators. However, there are other striking parallels between *Gran Mago* and *The Tempest*. One recalls that Zanni warns Elpino against love-making in Arcadia and fears that the magician has forbidden the act. In Shakespeare, after Ferdinand vows that Miranda will become Queen of Naples, Prospero explains: "They are both in eythers pow'rs: But this swift business / I must vneasie make, least too light winning / Make the prize light." (I.ii.450-452) He, then, deprives Ferdinand of Miranda's company and forces him to carry logs. (III.i.9-11) When Ferdinand is relieved of this drudgery, Prospero warns him, once more, against love-making. (IV.i.15-23) Secondly, in *Gran Mago*, Pantalone, Gratiano, and Burattino arrive safely in Arcadia, each thinking the other drowned, and closely resemble Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano. When Stephano encounters Caliban for the first time and speaks to him, Trinculo, hidden beneath Caliban's gaberdine and thinking Stephano drowned, fears that devils torment him in the sound of Stephano's voice. (II.ii.90-91) A recognition scene then occurs, during which each marvels at the others survival and explains, in turn, how he has escaped from the shipwreck. (II.ii.103-133) In *Gran Mago*, the magician renders Zanni mute, later restoring his power of speech. In *The Tempest*, Caliban tells Miranda and Prospero, "You taught me Language, and my profit on't / Is, I know how to curse" (I.ii.363-364)⁵⁹ In addition, one notes in *Gran Mago* that the magician draws circles upon the earth and invokes spirits that obey his commands. Prospero also draws a circle upon the ground, but does not rely upon its powers to control his spirits (at least, there is no evidence of any such reliance in the play); however, his magic renders the King and his retinue helpless when they step within the circle. Similarly, the magician in *Gran Mago* casts a spell upon the strangers in Arcadia, warning of torments which await them upon entering the field of gold. Furthermore, Caliban frequently explains that he is tormented by Prospero's spirits. (II.ii.8-14) Finally, the fountain of Bacchus in *Gran Mago* reminds one of the magic banquet placed before Alonso's company in Shakespeare's play; however, the food ejected from the fountain transforms those who partake of it; whereas, in *The Tempest*, although the characters show little hesitancy, the food strangely vanishes before they have an opportunity to taste it. (III.iii)

La Nava
(*The Ship*)⁵⁷

Pantalone and Gratiano tell about their having come into the strange country by fortune. They say that they are dying of thirst and hunger and call on Bacchus for help. Their request is granted, and a fountain ejects bread, wine, and other foodstuffs. They refresh themselves and depart. Elpino expresses his love for Clori, who is in love with Sireno. Zanni places two garlands, representing hate and love, on a tree, and antics occur as Sireno, Clori, Pantalone, Gratiano, and Zanni place these garlands upon their heads. Clori and Sireno realize that the garlands were the inventions of the magicians, and they celebrate. A Captain appears, saying that he is to rescue the Queen held captive by the magician. He succeeds in his mission, and he and the Queen speak of embarking and leave. Enraged, the magician conjures up a storm, and the Captain and Queen are seen upon the ocean as they lament their peril and call upon Jove for succor. The ship sinks, and the sea disappears. Spirits appear and take Clori to a grotto. The magician explains that he has abducted her to punish Sireno. Sireno is terrified when flames issue from the grotto and departs. Later, Clori emerges from the grotto and explains that she has escaped from the magician, who then appears, makes spells, and invokes spirits, ordering them to remove the garlands. Elpino and Clori discover Gratiano to be their father, and Sireno discovers Pantalone to be his father. All pray to Jove to punish the magician for the cruelty done, and Jove grants their wish, striking the magician with lightning and converting him into a rock which bursts. Clori marries Sireno. Jove reports that the Captain and Queen are safe and will marry. All celebrate and depart.

Gray notes that the Captain and Queen are presented in a storm-tossed vessel from which danger they are spared, an action which he thinks comparable to the experiences of the shipwrecked individuals in *The Tempest*. He also observes that in *La Nava* the magician is transformed into a rock, as in Shakespeare, Caliban complains, ". . . here you sty-me / In this hard Rocke," while Miranda (Prospero?) replies, "Deseruedly confin'd into this Rocke." Furthermore, he calls attention to the wearing of garlands by the "comic masks" in *La Nava*, which he thinks parallels the situation in *The Tempest* wherein Stephano and Trinculo are tempted to steal garments from Prospero's cell. In addition, one notes, again, the use of a magic fountain which provides food as well as wine, and recalls that Stephano escaped drowning ". . . vpon a But of Sacke, which the Saylor heaued o'reboard . . ." (II.ii.126) In *La Nava*, also, the magician abducts Clori, confining her in a grotto, yet she escapes to marry Sireno; similarly, in *The Tempest*, Prospero deprives Ferdinand of Miranda's company (I.ii.451-452), but she goes secretly to her lover (III.i.19-21), and the two pledge their fidelity (III.i.64-89) before Prospero consents to their marriage.

La Tri Satiri
(*The Three Satyrs*)⁵⁸

The magician describes how spirits and wild creatures obey his commands. Filli, told by the magician to cease hunting and to follow Venus, scorns the command, and the magician touches her with his wand and transforms her into a tree. Pantalone speaks of a shipwreck and the loss of companions. He sees a passing ship, calls to it, but

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 658-662.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 663-669.

receives no answer. A Whale appears, and Pantalone is afraid it will eat him, but out of its mouth comes Burattino, who explains that he was expelled for having played tricks. Zanni appears from a rock when it bursts, explaining that he had been transformed into a rock by a necromancer whose commands he had refused to obey. All enter a temple in search of food. Gratiano and Coviello appear in search of their lost companions and depart. Fausto and Shepherds, then, bring gifts and food to the temple, and Pantalone and Zanni, now disguised as gods, accept the offerings, and Fausto and the Shepherds depart, after he expresses his love for Clori. Pantalone, trying to fashion a weapon, strikes the tree in which Filli has been confined, and she materializes. They agree to share the food with her, but they are repulsed by a Satyr. Filli, however, returns, saying that she will hunt rather than follow Venus. She falls asleep beside a fountain. When she awakens, she is supposed to fall in love with her own reflected image, but, instead, she falls in love with Burattino, who has hidden himself by the fountain. The magician promptly changes Burattino into a woman. Pantalone and Zanni appear with the magician's book, and at their commands, satyrs appear to serve them. They plan to use the book to enhance themselves and to compel Fausto to obey them. The magician discovers the theft and is enraged. He enchants the fountain so that whoever drinks from it will be transformed into a beast. After drinking, Gratiano becomes an ass, Coviello, an ox. Satyrs report that they must be loyal to whoever possesses the book. The magician, seeking to ward off treason, draws a magic circle on the ground with his wand. All characters enter the circle and are compelled to dance continually. Upon a promise that his book will be returned, the magician breaks the spell and restores Gratiano, Coviello, and Burattino to their former shapes. Gratiano recognizes Fausto as his son. Pantalone recognizes Filli as his daughter. Coviello recognizes Clori as his daughter. Fausto marries Filli, and Clori is promised one of Pantalone's sons for a husband. They speak of embarking for Venice and celebrate.

Gray thinks that Filli's transformation into a tree parallels the account of Ariel's confinement in *The Tempest*; that Pantalone's description of the shipwreck resembles those made by the survivors in *The Tempest* when they are dispersed about the isle; that Zanni's confinement in a rock recalls Prospero's treatment of Caliban in the play; and that Pantalone, Burattino, and Zanni, dressed in stolen garments, resemble Trinculo and Stephano when they dress themselves in garments taken from the line in front of Prospero's cave. He notes, in addition, that the magician's valuable book is stolen in *La Tri Satiri* by the comic figures who, then, plan to take advantage of their newly acquired powers, as do Caliban and his companions plot to steal Prospero's books (an event that does not come off in the play). One notes further parallels, however. It is evident, for example, that the magician in *La Tri Satiri* is in control of the persons, beasts, and spirits of his island. He also seeks revenge for the theft of his magic book by drawing a circle upon the ground and casting a spell upon all who enter it. Similarly, Prospero employs a magic device in dealing with the members of the King's company (V.i), causing those involved to be transfixed. In addition, Pantalone, Burattino, and Zanni, with the aid of the stolen magic book, plan elaborate futures for themselves, as do Stephano and Trinculo when Caliban advises them to steal Prospero's books. (III.ii.96-118) In both works, the conspirators are thwarted, and the magicians remain absolute.

Arcadia Incantata
(*Enchanted Arcadia*)⁵⁹

The work opens with a tempest at sea and the spectacle of a sinking ship. The magician explains that the strangers will not leave the island without his permission. Pollicinella, Coviello, Tartaglia, and a doctor appear, individually, telling of the disaster at sea and emphasizing their loneliness upon the island. Finally, they meet and rejoice. Pollicinella, however, is taken by priests to a temple where he is to be sacrificed. The magician intervenes, causing two spirits to beat the priests who refuse to release Pollicinella. The doctor, Coviello, and Tartaglia discover a fruit tree and desire the fruit. However, they fear that the landowners may be angry; but, seeing no one, they start to steal the fruit. Flames issue from the tree and the fruit vanishes. Silvana appears, speaking of having been ravished by Dameta. She is attracted to the strangers and caresses them. The magician reproves them, and they scorn him. He strikes them with his wand and renders them motionless. Before he breaks the spell, he implores them to be honest. Then he charms a garland which, he claims, will make its wearer resemble a loved one. Antics occur involving Pollicinella, Silvio, Fileno, Filli, Clori, the doctor, Coviello, and Tartaglia. The magician, now invisible, takes the garland and states that he will make Pollicinella King of Arcadia, giving him his book, crown, and sceptre. Pollicinella orders the doctor, Tartaglia, and Coviello hanged. The magician intercedes, saying that he has not given Pollicinella the book to enable him to abuse others, and takes the book away. Silvio and Clori, Fileno and Filli, and Silvana and Dameta marry.

Gray observes that *Arcadia Incantata*, like *The Tempest*, opens upon the spectacle of a ship in distress. He notes the usual recognition scene involving Pollicinella, Coviello, Tartaglia, and the doctor and is reminded of a similar scene in *The Tempest* involving Stephano and Trinculo. He observes that the magicians in both works render people motionless. In addition, one sees that the magician in *Arcadia Incantata* has complete control over the strangers in Arcadia, announcing that no one will leave the island without his permission. Similarly, Prospero is absolute ruler of his island and does not permit anyone to depart until he has achieved his purposes with them. Furthermore, the magician in *Arcadia Incantata* at one time becomes invisible, as does Prospero frequently in *The Tempest*. Coviello, Tartaglia, and the doctor, also, attempt to pluck fruit from an enchanted tree which vanishes, as does the banquet in Shakespeare's play (III.iii). Finally, in both works, the magicians utilize their magic powers to punish wrong-doers and to urge them to become honest individuals.

Since the *scenari* are mere summaries of intended action, there is no possible way for one to determine pertinent stage business. Nevertheless, the descriptions of the intended action are specific enough to make it clear that they encompass almost every important action in *The Tempest*: e.g., (1) an enchanted island, haven for shipwrecked voyagers, controlled by a magician endowed with absolute powers; (2) a ship involved in a severe storm; (3) a magician who casts spells that transfix individuals; (4) a magician who can make himself invisible; (5) rogues who steal a magician's valuable books; (6) young lovers prevented from

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 670-674.

being together; (7) grottoes and caves; (8) reunions of long separated friends and relatives; (9) satyrs and spirits who obey a magician's commands; (10) a magician who is interested in corrective justice; (11) the magical appearance and disappearance of food and wine; (12) magical tricks designed to ensnare individuals; (13) drunken companions; (14) individuals confined within rocks and trees; (15) decrees against love-making; (16) a magician who fears treachery and experiences premonitions of evil; (17) magic circles drawn upon the earth; (18) magic wands. Missing in the *scenari* is the plot of the usurping brother (or the plot of a ruler restored to power). Even so, Gray has suggested that Shakespeare hardly would have needed a new source for a narrative which he had previously used in *As You Like It*.⁶⁰

60. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

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