Shakespeare
Vol. 8, No. 2, June 2012, 154–170

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

From Statecraft to Stagecraft: *The Tempest* in the Italian Arcadia

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In a context of confrontation between early modern European theatres, the Italian commedia dell'arte proves to be a fruitful ground of interpretation for Elizabethan drama, specifically for the case of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. As noted by pioneer early nineteenth-century studies, and more recently by Louise George Clubb, Richard Andrews, and Rob Henke, the play's plot patterns, or better *theatergrams*, reveal some affiliation with scenarios from the Italian comedic improvisation pieces and prompt an investigation of shared thematic strategies between the two traditions. This adds to the import of Italian influences on early modern English theatre and adds to the reading of the play as the staging of Italianate court politics, as some recent criticism has suggested, in particular by evoking the name of Machiavelli.

My contribution aims at offering a further exploration of *The Tempest's* possible isomorphism with the 'arcadian enchantment' of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian improvised comedy scenarios. In fact, the article investigates how Shakespeare may have looked at a common repertoire of recurrent motifs (a powerful magician), settings (a deserted island), and actions (the shipwreck, the castaways' reunion and their comic scheming), working them out into a different dramatic context. Attention will be specially drawn on the play's ending which seems to find an unsuspected equivalent in the scenarios.

Keywords: *The Tempest*; *commedia dell'arte*; theatergrams; European early modern theatre; Machiavelli; pastoral

Quasi un sacro 'mistero' è la *Tempesta:*
la favola del breve regno di una volontà
sopra gli uomini, simili all'ombra lieve dei sogni. (Neri 40)

The Tempest's Mediterranean homeward journey

In the year 2000, Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman edited a collection of essays on Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, under the well-chosen title of '*The Tempest*' *and Its Travels*. In time, this play has constantly intrigued scholars and playwrights alike, and it has experienced several adaptations, – suffice it to remember Dryden and Davenant's spectacular 1667 *The Enchanted Island* –, and has had as many critical interpretations. This has happened especially after the setting in of twentieth-century new historicist and post-colonial readings that oriented the discussion towards English imperial expansion in the New World and its ideological practices. In more recent years, though, criticism has suggested some sort of "homeward journey" that moved back *The Tempest* to a southern European geopolitical context. Hulme and Sherman have recalled how "the explicit geography of *The Tempest* points

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ISSN 1745-0918 print/ISSN 1745-0926 online

http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17450918.2012.679298
http://www.tandfonline.com

primarily to Italy and North Africa'' (Hulme and Sherman 73), and, quoting Jan Kott, who considered it ''the most Italian of all Shakespeare's plays'' (''The Bottom Translation'' 134), they have welcomed the return to this interpretative ground as the proper way to usher in ''readings and appropriations of surprising currency and complexity'' (Hulme and Sherman 73).

The African marriage of Alonso's daughter, Claribel, to the King of Tunis (2.1.75–6), and the allusions to ''widow Dido'' (2.1.81, 83, 86, 105, 106) have brought about hypotheses of a possible consonance both with the diplomatic engagement between England and the Ottoman Empire after the battle of Lepanto in 1571 (Brotton; Hess), and with Virgilian poetry as epic intertext (Kott ''The Aeneid and The Tempest''; Wilson-Okamura; Hamilton). These critical routes have developed together with a more Italian-centred perspective that places *The Tempest* into a sixteenth-century context of peninsular power politics, akin to Renaissance Italian courtly backgrounds, and, more specifically, to Machiavellian writings.

Nevertheless, this stance seems to exclude from analysis the play's theatrical and fantastic elements, narrowing them down to strategies aimed at the knowledge and exercise of power. Although the political theme does inhabit the play's framework and proves pertinent to its reading, it is worth underlining that it is but *one* of the many elements that converge into a much more intricate dramatic whole. The complex weaving of Shakespeare's play, in which vengeance, justice, reconciliation, love, but also illusion and dream coexist, may find some interesting likenesses in other dramatic European traditions.

For instance, one such peculiar and heterogeneous blend, similar to Shakespeare's so-called romances, is also traceable in the Italian *commedia dell'arte* or *all'improvviso*;[1] this affinity confirms how different thematic implications, that include supernatural and political turns of the action often set into a pastoral context, did safely coexist at the time in various transnational genres,[2] precisely as happens in Shakespeare's tragicomedies. More precisely, *The Tempest* shows its kinship with some topoi, characters (or types), plot modules, or better ''theatergrams'', as Louise George Clubb[3] has it, that also belong to the *commedia dell'arte*. Remarkable similarities may be especially traced within the scenarios located in a pastoral background or better in the Arcadia, in which the subsistence of political elements is not alienated, but interestingly co-occur with magical and bucolic ones, with regard, for example, to the conspiracy and treachery intrigues. Besides, even though these connections cannot fully account for the complexity of Shakespeare's play, the critical comparison between the two traditions not only helps us appreciate the existence of a European Renaissance common dramatic heritage, but also hints at the enlargement of possible ''Italian'' influences on early modern English theatre. As Norbert Jonard aptly remarks: ''La commedia dell'arte, née en Italie, s'est rapidement expatriée dans l'Europe entière. Ce fut un événement non seulement théâtral – on a parlé de véritable révolution culturelle – mais social ou, pour mieux dire, un phénomène de civilisation'' (Jonard 85)[4]

The Tempest, Machiavelli, and the Italianate background

After a brief discussion of some recent criticism on *The Tempest* that seems to privilege the play's Italianate political issues as almost exclusively relevant in its interpretation, I would like to compare the play with some different instances closer

to the context of contemporary European theatre, with particular reference to that of the Italian *commedia dell'arte*. Its scenarios – above all the ones set in a pastoral or more precisely Arcadian context – are significant in that they present us with a rich blend of pastoral and political elements or theatergrams that appear closer to Shakespeare's composite dramatic creation than writings or even theatrical traditions (such as the "disguised ruler play", as we will see) dealing with exquisitely policymaking issues.

In my opinion, the play's intricacy risks being flattened by readings singling out an exclusively political dimension that would necessarily downplay other aspects, ignoring for example supernatural and metatheatrical concerns.[5] More explicitly, Machiavelli's *The Prince*, and generally its reception in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama and political science, has been often evoked as a thematic and intertextual counterpart of Shakespeare's drama.[6] According to this critical outlook, Prospero is accused of showing "the complacency of the hereditary rulers of the peninsula" (Redmond 122), whose position *The Prince* denounces as precarious, since these leaders do not feel they need to illustrate their reputation in front of the subjects and rely only on dynastic power and tradition, hardly caring for honourable and righteous behaviour. If, on the one hand, this might be partially mirrored in Prospero's avowed penchant for scholarly seclusion (see 1.2.89–90), on the other, it completely crosses out any reference to his Art, which, as a matter of fact, did not lead him to behave indolently; in fact, the duke's active engagement in the exercise of the "liberal arts" (1.2.73) was so fruitful that Milan was held in high esteem by the neighbouring states and consequently he himself reached a high degree of estimation ("dignity") among the other rulers:

PROSPERO. [. . .] at that time
Through all the signories it [Milan] was the first,
And Prospero the prime duke – being so reputed
In dignity, and for the liberal arts
Without a parallel – [. . .]. (1.2.70–5)

Contrariwise, Antonio's thirst for power and disgraceful alliance policy dishonourably subjected Milan to the kingdom of Naples and lost it the primacy among the other Italian signories:

PROSPERO. So dry he [Antonio] 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. (1.2.112–16)

And to be sure, a behaviour like Antonio's would have been disapproved of by Machiavelli himself, who in fact advised in *The Prince* that a prince should never league with a neighbour more powerful than himself, since this would lead to vassalage or even imprisonment.[7] Prospero's "complacency" and his forced departure from Milan has likewise been paired with the behaviour of those *signori* who in front of *tempi avversi* ("bad times") abandon their position and flee from command, hoping that the people, unsatisfied with the new leaders, will someday call

them back.[8] Yet, this is not in the least similar to Prospero's case, since he does not voluntarily leave his dukedom, but is exiled against his will.

Exile itself has also been read as bearing a political aim by alluding to the early modern tradition of the so-called 'Italianate disguised ruler play', an example of which may be found in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* (Redmond 123). This dramatic typology draws on disguise as an opportunity for the political re-education of the prince, who has to leave behind the court's flattery and duplicity in order to disclose secret conspiracies and corruption as well as to learn how to manage his power with more rigour and better efficaciousness. Nevertheless, Prospero neither goes back to Milan incognito to spy on his brother's or his courtiers' manoeuvres, nor does he take advantage of his absence from command to improve his political craft. Besides, while on the island, he does not abandon his magic in favour of some newly acquired policymaking skills. Indeed, he still trusts his *magical* arts (his "bookishness", as a matter of fact) even though he now uses them with a political aim. This happens on his arrival, when he frees Ariel from Sycorax's evil spell and takes control of the place, and later on, when he magically detains his enemies, whom "[b]y accident most strange, bountiful Fortune,/[. . .] Brought to this shore" (1.2.179–81). Before the eventual forsaking of wizardry, which happens only after his aim has been fulfilled, Prospero changes the scope of his magic, but does not disavow it. Caliban himself recalls how his master's art is "of such power,/It would control [his] dam's god, Setebos" (1.2.374–5), and this is what the banished duke depends on: he does not mean to improve his talent for government, but to settle as he can, that is, by magic, the old score with those who attempted to take his life. On top of it, rather than being pitiless to the last, he eventually pardons everybody. This is a 'poorly Machiavellian' solution, but certainly consistent with the generic labelling of *The Tempest* as tragicomedy or romance, which introduces a complex thematic arrangement that does not exclude the political but rather combines it with the magic and the pastoral. The supernatural handling of political issues is hard to find in the dramatic model of the 'disguised duke play', nor does Machiavelli's viewpoint account for that dimension.

Of course the hypothesis that Shakespearean drama may also be indebted to the early modern controversial and ever complex response to Machiavellian considerations on statecraft (Petrina "Machiavelli Beyond the Channel")[9] is far from being groundless; nevertheless, at least in the case of *The Tempest*, a limited focus on this critical stance seemingly divests the play of its 'romance' status which, on the contrary, looks preserved by the legacy of Italian (pastoral) *commedia dell'arte*. Its mixed and elusive nature, as Dowden had it with regard to romance, "disguises certain facts, or sees them, as it were, through a luminous mist" (Dowden 207).

The island, the conspiracy, the *mago*, and the wonder: *The Tempest* and the *commedia dell'arte*

The *commedia all'improvviso* belongs to popular theatre and finds its roots in the medieval tumbler's acting, but it also mingles with the expressions of high Renaissance culture, such as the refinements of pastoral drama. More to the point, some specific sixteenth-century *dell'arte* scenarios are set in an Arcadian *locus amoenus* ('pleasant place') animated by the arrival of a group of stock characters (Pantaloons, Zanies, and so on) who mingle with the natives under the control of a

powerful wizard, before he lets them have a happy ending crowned by general pardon, reunion and nuptials. This outline apparently shows some parallels to Shakespeare's own play. Of course this does not mean that the scenarios provided a model or a durable inspiration for *The Tempest*, but rather that a fertile transnational circulation of theatergrams possibly helped shape early modern European drama to which Shakespeare too belonged.

How deep or first-hand Shakespeare's knowledge of this tradition was is really hard to say. Theatre historians and literary scholars have long argued about the possibility that he might have attended a performance by players of the *commedia dell'arte*. The famous Drusiano Martinelli visited England with his troupe in 1578, and it has also been suggested that the Gelosi – the celebrated *dell'arte* company that was active in Paris in those years – might have ventured overseas as well. Although these events took place before Shakespeare tried his fortune in London almost a decade afterwards, familiarity with Italian theatrical methods had probably entered the English tradition, and, as Kathleen M. Lea's seminal study on Italian popular theatre points out, if "[t]he licence to Drusiano's players is the last satisfactory record of a regular Italian company in England, [. . .] by 1591 the visits of Italian comedians were evidently common enough for spies to choose the habit of tumblers as a safe disguise" (Lea 357).

Despite these historically proven exchanges, direct acquaintance between Shakespeare and the *comici dell'arte* seems hard to trace and consequently its exact outline proves difficult to be sketched.

With special regard to *The Tempest*, at the beginning of the nineteenth century both Ferdinando Neri in 1913 and Henry David Gray in 1920 put forward the hypothesis that Shakespeare was directly inspired by the scenarios of the *commedia all'improvviso* in conceiving his work. The two scholars refer to a few Arcadian scenarios – of which Neri edited a collection in 1913 – which show indeed some similarities to the play. In the introduction he wrote for his own edition of five *dell'arte* pieces from a manuscript of Locatelli's, dated 1622, Neri acknowledges how some elements (the wizard, the island, the castaways) are to be found in both *The Tempest* and the *canovacci* he is publishing, but limits his commentary to some vague remarks ("par bene", it seems, he says) without substantiating them with valuable evidence.[10] A little more articulate is Henry D. Gray's discussion of the same details, even though he grounds his analysis on the assumption that "there is no reason to doubt that Shakespeare could have seen them [*dell'arte* scenarios] acted in London" (323), and consequently he considers the pastoral *canovacci* as "the immediate source of *The Tempest*" (329). He particularly rests on the comic aspects of the conspiracy of the "beast Caliban" (4.1.140) and his drunken associates by relating them to the drolleries of the shipwrecked stock characters that inhabit a number of *commedia* pieces; however, he does not comment on the function or dramatic cogency of these elements in either context and also, when referring to one particular scenario (*Li Tre Satiri*), he emphasizes the somehow malicious nature of the *mago*, which appears rather dissimilar from Prospero's characterization. At last, his analysis turns into a list of "curious analogies", as he styles them (325), which are nevertheless regarded as central in proving that the Locatelli scenarios are "the basic source of *The Tempest*" (329).

Later on, in her 1950 study on Shakespeare, Valentina Capocci tried to trace a connection between his theatre and improvised dramatic tradition by – rather

ingenuously and without significant evidence – attributing a large number of prose scenes in Shakespeare's plays not to the author but to the players' interpolation, which, in her opinion, would establish a correspondence between Shakespeare's comic scenes and the *lazzi* of the *commedia dell'arte*.[11]

As a matter of fact, when it comes to the *commedia dell'arte* scholars do move on shaky ground because of its flimsy and indefinite nature, yet this does not discount the importance of the relationship between this kind of improvised theatre and the English stage, nor does it mark down the renewal of critical attention to this regard. Kathleen Lea, Louise Clubb, as well as Eugene Steele, and more recently, Richard Andrews and Robert Henke,[12] all agree on the possibility that the dramaturgical tradition of the *commedia all'improvviso* had entered, by the late sixteenth century, single national theatrical habits, thus creating a shared European repertoire of dramatic mechanisms and, above all, of thematic modules open to free circulation.[13]

Beside recalling the presence of Italian troupes in London, it is essential to remember that the surviving scenarios or *canovacci* are plain descriptions of different actions[14] on which actors improvised their tirades and dialogues (often grouped under different typologies of *lazzi*: *di timore*, *amorosi*, *di paure*, *di toccarsi*, and so on).[15] Alluding to the fluid and irregular nature of the *dell'arte* improvisation pieces and with reference to Polonius's famous lines in *Hamlet* on the multifarious types of plays available at the time,[16] Louise George Clubb points out how "[t]he contrast is, in fact, between *scripted* five-act plays observing the rules (the 'writ') and *improvised*-the emphasis is in the original three-act performances from a *canovaccio* or *scenario* (the "liberty"), also obeying some of the rules, sometimes" ("Pastoral Jazz" 15). In the *commedia dell'arte* improvisation won over the script and was therefore rather distant from Elizabethan and Jacobean dramaturgy, which marked the victory of the playwright over the actor[17]: the exact opposite of what happened in the *commedia all'improvviso*. Consequently, if a relationship may be detected between that tradition and *The Tempest* it would consist in a *migration of themes*, or better, of theatergrams.

Although there is no extant evidence that Shakespeare ever read any of these *canovacci* or saw any performed, he could have assimilated some theatergrams (characters, chain of actions, plot modules, recurrent settings, and so on).[18] Among the surviving scenarios, the ones that prove especially interesting when compared to *The Tempest*'s thematic structuring are those located in a pastoral context, where "the scene is laid in the Arcadia",[19] and in this regard, five pieces show particular relevance: *Il Gran Mago, commedia pastorale*; *La Nave, commedia pastorale*; *Li Tre Satiri, favola pastorale*; *Arcadia Incantata*; *L'Arbore Incantato, pastorale.*[20] Several scholars, among whom Ferdinando Neri, Henry Gray, and much more recently Robert Henke (Pastoral Transformations 56–60),[21] have listed a series of theatergrams that can be traced in both these *canovacci* and in *The Tempest*.

The Arcadian setting is, whenever identified, a remote island ("un'isola perduta") where shipwrecked characters land after a storm at sea[22]; the island is ruled by a wizard ("mago"),[23] who is attended by satyrs and spirits. He is endowed with knowledge and foresight, and his attributes are a book and a magic rod by which he magically directs the action, rejoicing "in the good effect of his spells"[24] ("Il Gran Mago" 63). The *mago* is ever proud of his science that makes "the wild spirits serve him"[25] ("Li Tre Satiri" 78) and also allows him to detain the castaways

on the island ("He says that they will not leave without his consent"[26] ("Arcadia Incantata" 87).

To these details I should add that in *L'Arbore Incantato* ("The Magic Tree"), one of Mago Sabino's servants is Salvatico ("wild man"). Salvatico is in love with one of the nymphs in the Arcadia, but his lustful plans for the beautiful Cloride are thwarted by the wizard who transforms her into a tree:

WILD MAN. sees his nymph, and wants to seize her; she runs round the stage; in the end she is transformed into a tree.

TREE. appears, into which Clori has been transformed. The Wild man says that this must be the work of Sabino, to disturb his love, and exits in a rage. (Scala, "The Commedia dell'arte of Flaminio Scala", 314–15)[27]

A similar episode occurs also in *Li Tre Satiri* when Coviello and Gratiano, two of the castaways, spot a nymph sleeping and want to molest her, but their licentiousness is censured by the wizard who magically scares them away:

GRATIANO.

COVIELLO. from A: [. . .] they see a nymph sleeping by a fountain, they lust for her and show their intention to possess her; they want to wake her but they do not dare, so they say they want to have her while she is still sleeping [. . .]

MAGO. from D: spying the two strangers who want to molest the nymph, shouts at them to let her alone [. . .] incensed against them he [. . .] touches the ground with his rod and conjures up a blaze of fire; *Gratiano* and *Coviello* are very scared and run away. ("Li Tre Satiri" 81–2)[28]

The earthiness of Gratiano and Coviello is well evident since their indecent purpose is literally described as "facendo azzi di goderla", that is, making *azzi* of possessing her. These *azzi* were stage jests, either spoken or based on movement, and the insistence on sexual forwardness was probably performed by some indecent mimicking.

The two episodes actually look like a draft of Caliban's attempted rape of Miranda, but also of his not too hidden grossness, when he plainly declares: "Thou didst prevent me; I had peopled else/This isle with Calibans" (1.2.352–3).

As happens to the nymph, Miranda is saved from Caliban's assault by Prospero's powerful "art" (1.2.371–4). This is an "art" that comes from knowledge and from books, as Caliban himself explains to Stephano and Trinculo while plotting his murderous revenge against Prospero:

CALIBAN. [. . .] Remember
First to possess his 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. Burn but his books. (3.2.92–6)[29]

The performance of a conspiracy takes us back to *Li Tre Satiri*, where Pantalone (Pantaloon), who had earlier lamented the loss of his comrades after a shipwreck,[30] is reunited – as happens to Stephano and Trinculo – with his friend Zanni (Zany) and together they plan to rob the *mago* of his book. In fact, they are successful, and,

once they realize the wild spirits who serve the wizard obey them, they rather awkwardly set them to do the oddest tasks:

> PANTALOON
> ZANY. from the cave with a book; they say they have stolen it from the wizard and that they have come out of the cave with it; they say they are afraid[31] of the spirits, the cudgelling, and the darkness of the place; they eventually open the book to find out its virtues; they open the book: immediately
> SATYRS. from D appear and stand at their orders: they [Pantaloon and Zany] marvel at the Satyrs' obedience; Pantaloon orders them to bring him a codpiece,[32] and he gets it; Zany bids one thing, Pantaloon another; the Satyrs bring what they command and obey their orders; in the end they ask for something to eat, and for a plateful of *maccheroni*. ("Li Tre Satiri" 83)[33]

Their wishes are indeed rather gross, and are reminiscent of the baseness of Stephano and Trinculo, who are easily enticed by the shimmering and worthless apparel that Ariel, instructed by Prospero, has prepared to trap them with (4.1.193, 221).

The features of the conspiracy are similar to that in *The Tempest*, where Caliban pressingly reminds his two drunken partners to rob his detested master of his books, because, as he tells them, "without them/He's but a sot" (3.2.93–4). Surely the outcome is different in the play and in the scenario, since in the former the plot does not succeed and in the latter it apparently does; yet, Pantaloon and Zany, despite the fact that they manage to appropriate the books, do not take control of the island, and in that the result is exactly the same as in Trinculo and Stephano's case. Moreover, although the spirits have magically grown obedient to them, they do not take any intellectual advantage from their accomplishment and remain a couple of 'hungry sots', just as their less successful Shakespearean counterparts.

Similarly, as Prospero is aware of Caliban's plot (4.1.139–42), so the wizard of *Li Tre Satiri* declares he has foreseen the robbery and, not completely deprived of his magic, despite the loss of his book, says he wants to set everything right through magic, and to that purpose he draws a circle on the ground:

> WIZARD. from A: he says he has foreseen the treason and conspiracy against him, set up by the shepherds and the strangers because of his enchanted book; he says he wants to make up for everything through magic, invokes Pluto and draws a circle on the ground with his rod, casting a spell; he enters his cave dancing. ("Li Tre Satiri" 85)[34]

The *mago* attracts everybody into the circle, where they start dancing without respite, and he will let them die there – he says – if they do not return the book. The aim of his magic is certainly a very practical and instinctive one (he wants his own back), and in line with the low comedy quality of the scenarios; nevertheless, both the immediate effect and the final outcome of the spell are divested of pragmatism. The first reaction of the 'circle prisoners' is one of amazement: "facendosi meraviglie", "tutti maravigliati non sanno quello che si [sic] fare", and "si meravigliano" ("Li Tre Satiri" 85); they wonder at the enchantment that has seized them, they are amazed and

do not know what to do; soon afterwards, the charm is broken and not only does the *mago* forgive everyone, but let those he had previously separated come back together:

> WIZARD. from the cave [. . .] casts a spell and banging his rod on the ground makes everybody stop; afterwards he orders Burattino, Gratiano, and Coviello to drink from the fountain in order to restore their ancient looks [G. and C. had been transformed into beasts and B. into a woman]; they drink and recover their proper aspect; they thank the wizard and then recognize each other. ("Li Tre Satiri" 86)[35]

In addition to this, a father (Gratiano) recognizes his lost son (Fausto) and the latter marries his beloved (Filli). A similar situation is to be found in *Il Gran Mago*, where castaways and islanders conspire against the wizard but are finally forgiven, while a series of weddings are about to be merrily celebrated:

> WIZARD. from D: bangs his rod frightening everybody; in the end he says that he had anticipated their intentions; he forgives them and validates the nuptials, everybody is jolly, the moral is revealed[36] and the play is brought to a peaceful ending. ("Il Gran Mago" 67)[37]

This *conspiracy theatergram*, which shows its political weight in a *dell'arte* context (the plotters, although unsuccessful, aim indeed at the downfall of the *mago*),[38] shares comparable dynamics in the two dramatic contexts. What seems more relevant, though, is its function of triggering the wizard's fantastic response. This develops into a twofold dimension: of wonder and of forgiveness, and this duality finds its place in *The Tempest* as well.

Both Prospero and the *mago* finally endow their magic with a political aim and, as the wizard does, the duke of Milan, a moment before the final renunciation of his Art, also "draws a circle with his staff" (5.1.33).[39] Not only does this prove the existence of political overtones in the *commedia*, but also shows an equivalent dramatic function that brings together matters of power and revenge with the performance of a prodigy. Once Alonso, Sebastian, Antonio and the others have entered the circle, they are taken into a spell, whose effects are instant wonder and, once the amazement is over, forgiveness.

The first reaction of those who have been charmed into the magic circle is one of bewilderment:

> [*They all enter the circle which Prospero had made, and there stand charmed; . . .*]
>
> GONZALO. All torment, trouble, wonder, and amazement
> Inhabits here [. . .]. (5.1.57, 106–7)

The narrow limit that detains them duplicates the space of the island as in a concentric game whose effect is still one of intricate wonder, as Gonzalo himself had earlier acknowledged playing on the word "maze", which means both labyrinth and amazement or perplexity:[40] "Here's a maze trod indeed/Through forthrights and meanders" (3.3.2–3).

In the end the former conspirators, already magically detained on the island, are "spell-stopped" (5.1.61), but this additional restriction does not function as retaliation, nor are there any threats looming over the 'prisoners'; on the contrary,

this last spell is conducive to repentance and to the forgiveness of ancient wrongs. To this is added, as it is for example in *Il Gran Mago*, the reunion of the castaways and of a father, Alonso, and a son, Ferdinand, together with a peacemaking marriage, yet another reason for wonder. Alonso himself still questions the strangeness of their experience in terms of "maze":

ALONSO. This is as strange a maze as e'er men trod,
And there is in this business more than nature
Was ever conduct of [. . .]. (5.1.245–7)

If *The Tempest*'s ending is understandably more complex than what we find in these *dell'arte* pieces, especially because of the implications of the prior event of Prospero's ousting from power and of his explicit recantation of magic, the scenarios' denouement is nevertheless in agreement with it. In *Il Gran Mago* peace and composure close the action and in *Li Tre Satiri* the characters cheerfully embark on a new voyage.[41] The *mago* quickly forgets the "tradimento" (the betrayal) he has suffered and, once his charms are suspended, he joins in the merrymaking. This is what happens in *The Tempest* as well, and it is exactly the reliance on that *wonder-and-forgiveness theatergram* that allows the final restoration, even of a political dimension.

In the *canovacci*, its function was to re-establish disrupted pastoral harmony by reuniting all the characters and by bringing together estranged or separated lovers. This reconciling purpose is not only present in *The Tempest* but it is also ennobled by Shakespeare, because Prospero's final act of pardon is aimed neither, or better not only at concord and peace, or at his reinstatement as duke of Milan, but at the recovery of a moral perception of politics, of that "dignity"[42] he formerly had and exercised:[43]

PROSPERO. Though with their high wrongs I am struck to th'quick,
Yet with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury
Do I take part. The rarer action is
In virtue than in vengeance. (5.1.25–8)

Virtue guides his decision and, in fact, his pardoning resolution comes so quickly that, as David Lindley suggests, "it might be taken to indicate that Prospero had always intended forgiveness" (Lindley 199). Of course the concept of virtue goes beyond this and points indeed to magnanimity and generosity of spirit. These qualities are held to be "rare", that is, of uncommon excellence or merit,[44] and the performance of this "rarer action" should be conditional to the repentance of the old offenders. Everybody repents, except for Antonio, who stands in obdurate silence, apart from an insulting remark on Caliban's fish-like appearance (5.1.268–9); while this is for sure a jarring note in a climate of reconciliation, it does not frustrate Prospero's forgiving design, one which he extends even to his brother's diehard malice. It is a closure that once again ill suits any Machiavellian solutions, such as the one illustrated in his *Discourses on Livy* about getting rid of the enemies of the state whenever a change of regime is at hand.[45] Prospero does not look for vengeance, nor does he long to be reinstated into power as much as he desires to return home and calmly meditate upon his own death, which appears to contradict the notorious

Elizabethan perception of Machiavelli as the at once enticing and repellent maestro of cruel cynicism in state affairs.

The *commedia dell'arte* belongs to the tradition of popular theatre and, as some of the examples I have been illustrating show, it relies on rather unrefined comedy strategies such as hungry fellows looking for food or running after a nymph. But these motifs run parallel with more sophisticated allusions to wonder, composure and forgiveness, leading to a conclusion in which the characters reconcile in harmony and set off on a new journey.

Similarly, in the Epilogue, Prospero begs the audience to release him from the island and let him carry on his voyage beyond the limit of the play. His dukedom is restored (although he now seems to contradict his earlier resolution and mentions Naples and not Milan as his next destination),[46] his enemies are pardoned, and there is no reason for him to be kept "on this bare island" (Epilogue, 8). But in it he also reveals the ultimate nature of his project,[47] and seems to enfold his magic into *stagecraft*, whose ultimate goal is and "was to please" (E). It is a finale that eventually sets aside questions of authority and power and closes on meta-theatrical dazzlement, while the viewers' applause rightly complements Prospero's (and the play's) "art to enchant" (5.1.14). This proves once again that *The Tempest* cannot be read as an unreservedly political play placed in an island "full of noises,/Sounds, and sweet airs" (3.2.138–139), but as a complex combination of theatergrams that may find a distant relative in the Arcadian enchantment of the *commedia dell'arte*.

Notes

1. These two definitions (*all'improvviso* and *dell'arte*) are intended and used as synonyms.
2. Even though in a different generic frame, the existence of political concerns in a pastoral/fantastic setting can be retraced in other contemporary works such as Sidney's *Arcadia*, originally published in 1593. Influenced among other sources by Sannazaro's pastoral romance *Arcadia* (1504), it tells of the voluntary exile of a ruler (Basilius); choosing exile proves not only unkingly, but also ruinous, in that it causes rebellion in the kingdom and the ultimate fulfilment of an oracle which Basilius had originally tried to elude by escaping. The responsibilities of kingship and the works of providence, together with the (wild) nature of love are investigated by Sidney under cover of romance. The Arcadian seclusion does not reproduce an idyllic withdrawal from the cares of life but is indeed an evading of responsibilities that brings ruin upon the state.
3. "Constant as a principle from the time of Ariosto on was construction by contamination, the meditated and usually explicit combination of pre-texts. But in addition to the mere fusion of borrowed plots, this demanded the interchange and transformation of units, figures, relationships, actions, topoi, and framing patterns, gradually building a combinatory of theatergrams that were at once streamlined structures for svelte play making from previous incarnations. The *elementi drammaturgici* that Ferruccio Marotti identifies as common building blocks of the commedia dell'arte that often frustrate attempts to make precise historical connections and attributions constitute a class of these resources" (Clubb, "Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time" 6). See also Clubb, "Italian Stories on the Stage" and Clubb, "Looking Back on Shakespeare and Italian Theater".
4. "The *commedia dell'arte*, born in Italy, rapidly spread all across Europe. Not only did this event concern drama (it has been referred to as an authentic cultural revolution) but also social or better cultural issues."
5. See, for example, Kirkpatrick, who interprets Prospero's accomplishments on the island as "repeated *coups the théâtre* [which] might in this case be read as recurrent *coups d'état* (as indeed might Shakespeare's own if *The Tempest* is meant to celebrate a dynastic marriage)" (88). The dynastic marriage to which the author is referring is that of Princess

Elizabeth Stuart to the Elector Palatine; the celebrations for their wedding, in 1613, occasioned a revival of the play. Another possible reference is to the diplomatic negotiations over the planned but never celebrated marriage of the Prince of Wales to Caterina, daughter of Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany in 1611, the same year of *The Tempest*'s first recorded performance at Whitehall on 1 November.

6. In recent criticism, this line of reasoning has been strongly propounded by Michael J. Redmond who, quoting from John Wolfe's Italian edition of *The Prince*, published in London in 1584, indicates the Machiavellian metaphorical mention of the tempest as political turmoil to be "[i]n line with the storm imagery which opens the play, the title of Shakespeare's island drama employs the same metaphor of political crisis used in the chapter 'Perché i Prencipi d'Italia habbiano perduto i loro stati' [. . .]. Machiavelli's storm imagery is contemptuous of aristocratic rule in the opening scene of *The Tempest*" (Redmond, 122–3). See also Schlueter. Nevertheless, Prospero *is* the cause/creator of that imaginary event, not its victim, and it is not clear why the Machiavellian metaphor of the tempest for rough times should be literally adapted on stage at the very opening of the play without its symbolic import being further enhanced later on. Its function here appears to be dramaturgical rather than figurative, and is better explained if we take it as a device to have Antonio, Sebastian and the others shipwrecked on the island. If an historical origin for the element of tempest is to be found, a possible one is the historical event of an English ship, the *Sea Venture*, flagship of the Virginia Company, which was shipwrecked in the Bermuda islands in 1609 with more than one hundred people and a dog surviving and landing safely ashore; in the months following the event several narratives of it reached London and probably Shakespeare's ears, giving him the initial inspiration for the opening of the play.
7. "And here it should be noted that a prince must never ally himself with one more powerful than himself in order to attack someone else, unless necessity compels it [. . .] for if he wins you remain his prisoner, and Princes must avoid as much as possible being at the discretion of others" (Machiavelli 96).
8. "[W]hen adverse times arrived, they only thought of fleeing and not defending themselves, and they hoped that the people, tired of the insolence of the conquerors, would recall them. This policy, when others are lacking, is good, but it is truly bad to have abandoned the other remedies for this one, for one should never wish to fall down in the belief that you will find someone to pick you up. This either does not happen, or, if it does, it does not make for your security, since that defence was cowardly and did not depend on your own forces. And only those defences are good, are certain, are enduring, that depend on you yourself and your ability" (Machiavelli 104). The historical situation Machiavelli was thinking of is Charles VIII's expedition into Italy in 1494, and the ensuing upheavals in the Italian principalities (Milan, Florence and Naples). The picture is therefore one of internal divisions in front of an external attack, which looks quite different from what happened to Prospero, whose "comune defecto" was his scarce eagerness for politics, but above all the excessive trust he placed in his evil-natured brother, rather than the grandees' or the people's hostility.
9. See also Petrina ("Machiavelli in the British Isles") and, for a general overview of the European reception and fame of Machiavelli's writings, see Kahn.
10. "La tempesta che disperde i naviganti in un'isola lontana, per volontà di un Mago che guida tutta l'azione in un giorno d'incanti, dopo il quale spezzerà la sua verga; una terra selvaggia popolata di spiriti; due gruppi di personaggi, i nobili ed i plebei, rivolti i primi all'ambizione e all'amore (con le nozze finali), i secondi al godimento brutale e riserbati allo scorno; par bene sia questa la nuda trama dell'ultima commedia delle Shakespeare" (Neri 33). As a matter of fact, by pointing out the the similarity between *dell'arte* pieces and the Shakespearean play, Neri disregards the latter's political dimension and underscores the predominant role of fantastic, pastoral and supernatural elements: "Questo saggio tratta d'una serie di scenari fantastici della commedia dell'arte, d'un tipo che lo Shakespeare, com'io credo, conobbe per la 'Tempesta'; esso appartiene alla storia del teatro fiabesco e pastorale ed illumina alcuni rapporti dell'Inglese, poeta di teatro, con la commedia italiana" (Neri 7).

11. Capocci supposes that Shakespeare's prose passages are in themselves direct evidence of the existence of what she labels as "English *dell'arte* theatre", and means to prove it by quoting, among other examples, the exchanges of Nym, Bardolph, and Pistol in *Henry V*, Falstaff's cues in *Henry IV*, or even Antony's description of a crocodile in *Antony and Cleopatra* (2.7.41–8). This hypothesis is quite imaginative and, as Steele puts it, the issue of first-hand contact is probably destined to remain unsolved: "Moving in London's theatrical society, Shakespeare almost certainly heard accounts of the Martinelli visit only a decade earlier. The effect of the comici on London audiences cannot be underestimated, though we have no exact measuring stick to go by" (Steele 214–15).
12. Steele; Andrews "Shakespeare, Molière et la *commedia dell'arte*"; Andrews "Shakespeare and Italian Comedy"; Andrews "Molière, *Commedia dell'arte*, and the Question of Influence"; and Henke "Border-Crossing". In this essay, Henke defines the *commedia dell'arte* as "the perfect transnational machine" (19).
13. Interestingly enough, such theorization was somehow (poetically) anticipated by Winifred Smith in her 1912 study on the *commedia*: "If the *commedia dell'arte* is understood at all it must certainly be regarded as a repository of ancient themes and motifs some of which [. . .] are often to be found in the English theater, – whether they came thither from the Italian stage or from native tradition. But as the scenarios already quoted have shown, the *commedia dell'arte* was little else than this literary and popular rag-bag, a kind of Harlequin's suit in itself" (Smith 198).
14. The scenarios included the list of the dramatis personae, and of stage props (*robbe*), as well as the description of the scene. The only collection of these texts ever published in early modern times is in 1611, that is, *Il Teatro delle favole rappresentative* by Flaminio Scala (a modern Italian edition is edited by Ferruccio Marotti and was published in 1976). At the beginning of the twentieth century, Ferdinando Neri selected four scenarios from the Locatelli collection and published them in his *Scenari delle Maschere in Arcadia* (1913). Thirty of the original 50 pieces included in Scala's edition have recently been translated into English by Richard Andrews (*The Commedia dell'arte of Flaminio Scala*). An English translation of 16 scenarios taken from different manuscript collections is also appended to Lea's *Italian Popular Comedy* (Appendix G 555–674). Among the unpublished collections, the oldest one is Basilio Locatelli's early seventeenth-century manuscript selection *Scenari della scena de' soggetti comici et tragici* (ca. 1618–22). Another famous collection of scenarios is the coeval "Corsini Album" (*Scenarii. Raccolta di scenari più scelti d'istrioni in due volumi*). As Robert Henke points out "the fact that the scenarios post-date *The Tempest* does not exclude the possibility that this kind of play, with its constellation of typical theatergrams and *lazzi*, was a deep source for *The Tempest* as long as we do not limit ourselves to the traditional literary notion of a source, and remember that Locatelli as well as Corsini state that they are merely recording scenarios that have long been in existence" ("Transporting Tragicomedy" 51). As regards the nature and contents of improvisation, Richard Andrews underlines that "[t]he improvising actors themselves relied heavily on stylistic models taken from literature, both dramatic and non-dramatic: the way in which arte professionals 'learnt their part' was to ransack and memorize large stocks of material from written and printed sources. The deployment of words (rather than mime or gesture) was the focal point of their craft" ("Molière, *Commedia dell'arte*, and the Question of Influence" 445).
15. *Lazzi* (differently rendered as gags, shtick, improvised dialogues) could be variously defined as 'of fear', 'amorous', 'of terror', 'of physical contact', and so forth.
16. "The best actors in the world, either for tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene individable, or poem unlimited. Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus too light. For the law of writ and the liberty, these are the only men" (*Hamlet* 2.2.398–404). For a discussion of this passage and its relationship with the *commedia dell'arte*, also see Henke ("Virtuosity and Mimesis").
17. Yet, this might not have been the case with William Kemp and Richard Armin, the two famous clown performers of the Chamberlain's Men. In fact, their improvisational talent may have inspired Shakespeare's dramatic writing, and he possibly tailored some roles (of

fools and clowns) to their stage skills (for example, Launce in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and Touchstone in *As You Like It*). See for example Wiles, *Shakespeare's Clown*.

18. Pantaloons and Zanies are actually present in the Shakespearean canon: see, for example, "The sixth age shifts/Into the lean and slipper'd *pantaloon*,/With spectacles on nose and pouch on side" (*As You Like It* 2.7.157–9); "'celsa senis,' that we might/beguile the old *pantaloon*" (*The Taming of the Shrew* 3.1.35–6); "Some carry-tale, some please-man, some slight *zany*" (*Love's Labours Lost* 5.2.463); and "I protest, I take these wise men,/that crow so at these set kind of fools, no better/than the fools' *zanies*" (*Twelfth Night* 1.5.84–5). All emphases added.
19. "La scena si finge in Arcadia". I will quote the Italian original text in the footnotes; unless otherwise stated, the translation of the scenarios is mine.
20. The first four (*The Great Wizard, pastoral comedy*, *The Ship, pastoral comedy*, *The Three Satyrs, pastoral fable*, and *Enchanted Arcadia*) are taken from Neri (*Scenari delle Maschere in Arcadia*); the fourth (*The Magic Tree*) is taken from Scala (*Il Teatro delle Favole Rappresentative*). All quotations are taken from these two editions, and will be indicated by page number in the text.
21. Henke makes a list of relevant thematic motifs, taken especially from *Li Tre Satiri* and *Il Gran Mago*, but he does not supply an analysis of their function in relation to *The Tempest*.
22. The scenario of *Arcadia Incantata* opens with a tempest and a shipwreck: "*Mare tempestoso, con nave naufragandosi*. Pollicinella, da mare: sopra la tempesta passata, la perdita, ed il naufragio de padroni, e servi suoi compagni" (*Arcadia Incantata*, 87). This translates as "*A tempestous sea and a sinking ship.* Punchinello, from the sea: tells about the late storm, the loss and shipwreck of his masters, and his fellow-servants".
23. The wizard is usually identified with the generic name of *mago*; yet, he is Elisabatto in *Il Gran Mago*, Falsicon in *La Nave* and Sabino in *L'Arbore Incantato*.
24. "Si ralegra dicendo che li suoi incanti hanno hauto effetto".
25. "Dice del suo sapere, et valore [. . .] et che gli spiriti in forma di selvaggi lo servano"
26. "Dice, che non partiranno [i forastieri] senza suo volere".
27. Here is the original Italian from Scala's *L'Arbore Incantato*: "*Salvatico* vede la sua ninfa, la vuol pigliare; ella corre per la scena; alla fine ella viene trasformata in un arbore. *Arbore* apparisce nel quale è trasformata Cloride. Salvatico dice quella essere opera di Sabino per disturbar l'amor suo, sdegnato va via".
28. "Gratiano [e] Coviello di A: [. . .] vedano la Ninfa che dorme alla fonte, la vagheggiano facendo azzi di goderla; la vogliono destare, non si arrischiano, dicono volerla godere dormendo [. . .] in q.^{o} Mago di D, accortosi delli forestieri, che voglio godere la Ninfa, et molestarla, li grida, dicendoli che la lascino stare, [. . .] sdegnato contro di loro [. . .] tocca poi con la verga la terra e apparisce fuoco; Grat.^{o} e Cov.^{o} spaventati fuggono per la strada". The alphabetical indications ("di A, di B, di C", and so on) are often used as a code that denotes which of the four or five entrances are being used, in relation to a standard visualized plan of the stage.
29. Prospero himself seems to confirm Caliban's words, when, in the previous scene, he associates the carrying out of his magic pursuits to the consultation of his books: "I'll to my book,/For yet ere supper-time must I perform/Much business appertaining" (3.1.95–7).
30. "*Pantalone* di A: dice del Naufragio, et della perdita dei compagni, fa disgrazie, non sapere dove sia, né in che paese" ("Li Tre Satiri" 78). This translates as "Pantaloon from A: tells about the shipwreck, and about the loss of his mates, and delivers laments over the fact that he does not know where or in which country he is".
31. Literally they make "*azzi* of fear".
32. In the Italian original *braghiere* is literally a belt to hold up briefs.
33. "*Pantalone* and *Zanni* dalla grotta *[canc. dicono]* con un libro, dicono di averlo rubbato al mago et con quello essere usciti dalla grotta; fanno azzi della paura degli spiriti, et delle bastonate, et del luogo oscuro; alla fine si risolvono aprire il libro per vedere le virtù di quello; aprono il libro; in q.^{o} *Satiri* di D: dicono che comandi: essi si maravigliano che siano venuti così obedienti; *Pant.*^{e} comanda che porti un braghiere; è portato; *Zan.*^{i}

comanda una cosa, *Pant.*[e] un altra; *Satiri* portano et fanno ciò che essi comandano; alla fine dimandano robbe da mangiare, poi dimanda un piatto di maccaroni".

34. "*Mago* di A: dice di haver preveduto il tradimento et la congiura contro di lui che si fa da pastori, et forestieri per virtù del suo libro incantato; dice volere rimediare al tutto con l'incanto; invoca Pluto, fa il circolo in terra con la verga fingendo l'incanto; ballando entra nella grotta".
35. "Mago della grotta [. . .] fa l'incanto et battendo la verga a terra tutti si (af)fermano; di poi ordina a Burat.[o] Grat.[o] et Cov.[o] che bevino al fonte, che torneranno nelle loro prime effigie; essi bevono e ritornano come prima; ringratiano il mago, et poi si riconoscono tra di loro".
36. The scenarios often had the players close the performance by revealing the moral, the aim of the story they had just been acting upon (this is signalled by the expression "dichiarando la favola" that literally means "to declare the fable") and, as happens in *Il Gran Mago*, but also in *Li Tre Satiri* and *La Nave*, by leaving for some common although not always declared destination. Besides, "dichiarando la favola" may also allude to the disclosure of the fantastic nature of stage action, in that "favola" is also a synonym of drama or even of fiction as opposed to fact. In the *commedia dell'arte*, it was the players' skills that attracted the audience, and this "final lesson" sounds in fact like a meta-theatrical address which, on the one hand, makes known the fictionality of the action, and, on the other, seems to announce the actors' eagerness for new dramatic adventures.
37. "Mago di D, batte la verga, impaurisce tutti; alla fine dice di aver previsto quello che essi vogliono fare, li perdona, et conferma le nozze; tutti fanno allegrezze [. . .] si dichiara la favola et si dà fine all'opera facendo far paci".
38. Another political turn of the action, although slightly different in its arrangement, is to be found also in *La Nave*. There Falsicon Mago holds the Queen of Thessaly hostage on a remote island and in this he obeys the orders of the King of Boeotia who commanded her seclusion for dynastic reasons. A Captain arrives at the island riding a dolphin and rescues the Queen, at which the wizard raises a tempest against them, but they fortunately survive and eventually marry. In the meantime, Pantaloon and Gratiano, who ended up on the island "by chance" ("La Nave" 69), reveal to shepherds and nymphs the harmful tricks Falsicon has been playing on them, and they all pray Jove to punish "the wizard's wickedness" ("La Nave" 75). They are answered and Falsicon is punished by being turned into stone. In this scenario a malicious wizard plays an active political role and, although he is not the victim of a treacherous plan, as is Prospero, his action still alludes to an evil design aimed at usurping a legitimate right, proving once again that such themes could very well inhabit an Arcadian/pastoral setting.
39. The circle has its ancestry in the widespread belief that witches used to draw circles on the ground to evoke both evil spirits or the devil itself. James I's *Daemonologie* (1597) offers a rather detailed catalogue of the many uses and "shapes" of this procedure: "Then laying this ground, as I have said, these conjurationes must have few or mo[re] in number of the persones conjurers (alwaies passing the singuler number) according to the qualitie of the circle, and forme of apparition. Two principall thinges cannot well in that errand be wanted: holie-water (whereby the Devill mockes the *Papistes*) and some present of a living thing unto him. There ar[e] likewise certaine seasons, dayes and houres, that they observe in this purpose: These things being all readie, and prepared, circles are made triangular, quadrangular, round, double or single, according to the forme of apparition that they crave" (James I and VI 17). Indeed, in *The Tempest*, Sebastian suspects Prospero's intent to be devilish: "The devil speaks in him!" (5.1.131); nevertheless, the duke's actions, despite being the work of magic, are never driven by evil or malice, but are always justifiable on rational grounds: Caliban is punished because of his (sexual) aggressiveness, Ariel has to repay his debt of freedom, and the castaways are kept on the island to atone for an ancient wrong. An interesting perspective on the "power of magic" and its relationship with kingship, also with regard to the play's Jacobean context, is to be found in Kurt Tetzeli von Rosador's 1991 article "The Power of Magic".
40. "Maze". Def. I.3a and II. *Oxford English Dictionary.*

41. "With mirth they say they want to embark on a voyage to Venice; they unravel the moral and end the play" ("Li Tre Satiri" 86). The original Italian reads "Dicono volersi imbarcare alla volta di Venezia facendo allegrezze; dechiarando la favola danno fine all'opera".
42. Dignity also means "the quality of being worthy of something; desert, merit" See "Dignity" Def. 1.†b. *Oxford English Dictionary* Third edition, 2001.
43. Karol Berger interestingly alludes to the political value of reconciliation in the play which once again opposes Prospero to his shrewd and ill-natured brother: "From his brother Prospero had to learn that the active life cannot be neglected by a politician. But there is nothing else he could learn from Antonio, who is a politician with a built-in obsolescence, interested only in the acquisition of power, blind to the need of reconciliation, and therefore doomed. Prospero proves to be more subtle, and potentially at least, more successful" (Berger 229).
44. See "Rare". Def. 5a. *Oxford English Dictionary* Third edition, 2008.
45. "But those who study the records of ancient times will understand, that after a change in the form of a government, whether it be from a commonwealth to a tyranny or from a tyranny to a commonwealth, those who are hostile to the new order of things must always be visited with signal punishment. So that he who sets up as a tyrant and slays not Brutus, and he who creates a free government and slays not the sons of Brutus, can never maintain himself long" (Machiavelli 196–7). Antonio had indeed followed this strategy when he usurped Prospero's power and virtually condemned him to death.
46. "Now 'tis true/I must be here confined by you/Or sent to Naples" (Epilogue, 3–5). Prospero does not mention here his early intention of travelling back to Milan and spending his (last) years there in pensive retreat (5.5.306–7).
47. See 5.1.1 ("Now does my projet gather to a head").

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