

The Political Discourse and the Iconography of Commonwealth in *The Tempest*

SOJI IWASAKI

1

Shakespeare's *The Tempest* opens with a sea-storm in which Alonso the King of Naples' ship is wrecked and drifts to Prospero's island. The tempest-tossed sea is merciless and the boatswain cries to the noblemen saying that they are useless or rather a hindrance. To Gonzalo he says, "[I]f you can command these elements to silence, and work the peace of the present, we will not hand a rope more" (1.1.21–23).¹ Antonio and Sebastian are also rebuked and made to know that social status is nothing in such an emergency. What is happening here is not a mere shipwreck; it is symbolic of a whole society collapsing into chaos (Cf. Frye 1369).

A voyage is often a symbol of the progress of a man's life, and the sea is symbolic of Fortune; a shipwreck is a typical instance of bad fortune, while a ship sailing before a fair wind is an image of good fortune. Sometimes a ship at sea serves as a symbol of the Church, in which the whole congregation sails over the sea of Providence. In Henry Godyere's *The Mirrovr of Maiestie* (1618) is an emblem with a picture of a stately ship tossed in a tempest (Fig. 1). The ship is referred to as symbolic of the Catholic Church toppled in the gale of Error, the whole

emblem implying the Protestant ethos. The application goes:

Behold, on what the *Romaine Faith* consists:
 So tost by *Errours* winds; so lapt in Mists:
 That their *Arch-pilot*, scarce can rule the sterne;
 He lackes foundation, therefore still to learne
 How to make's Ship his Harbour. O I wonder
 Th' ore burden'd Vessell crackes not quite asunder,
 And sinkes not downe, opprest by its owne weight,
 With sinfull soules so stufft, and over-freight.
 The high *Auenger* (though he seemes to faile)
 With winged wrath will split their proudest saile.
 Heau'ns yron-hand (most slowly heau'd aloft)
 Falls quicke, dead-sure, and home, although not oft[.]
 All wish, for their sakes of *Romes* simpler sort,
 That you might steere their vessell to the Port.
 (Godyere sig.G2)²

The tempest here represents God's wrath at the erroneous Catholic Church, and the shipwreck the punishment of the Avenger. "You" in the last line refers to King James I, to whom the book is primarily appropriated.

In *The Tempest* it is Goddess Fortune (1.2.178) that drives Alonso's ship towards the island of Prospero, where a tempest is caused by Prospero's magic. To Prospero, the ship is another ship of "sinfull soules," something like the "Ship of Fools" of Sebastian Brant, for Alonso the King of Naples usurped the dukedom of Milan, Antonio betrayed his brother duke Prospero, and Sebastian, Stephano and Trinculo are all evil-doers, the only exception being Gonzalo, an innocent and benevolent courtier. But these people will not be punished by the "Avenger" in Heaven but will be rebuked and forgiven by Prospero, the former duke of Milan who was sinned against. The ship will

ultimately return to Naples, the play ending as one dealing with the ruin and rebirth of a commonwealth.

After the symbolic tempest scene the action of the play takes place on the island. Prospero tells his daughter Miranda about what happened twelve years ago when she was an infant: his brother Antonio's usurpation of his dukedom of Milan and the hardships they suffered after that. Antonio was certainly ambitious to usurp the dukedom, but Prospero himself was partly responsible, for he was absorbed in his study of "cultivation of the mind," neglecting affairs of state (1.2.89–97) to which he should have devoted much more time. He left the state affairs to his brother, and put too much trust in him, eventually encouraging his ambition to treason. In fact Prospero committed a double offence: he forgot the balance between action and meditation that, as sovereign ruler, he should remember, and he also made a mistake in trusting the wrong person, a mistake which a ruler should never make.

Marsilio Ficino says, "No reasonable being doubts that there are three kinds of life: the contemplative, the active, and the pleasurable (*contemplativa, activa, voluptuosa*). And three roads to felicity have been chosen by men: wisdom, power, and pleasure (*sapientia, potentia, voluptas*)."³ To attain the harmony of these three lives was the ideal of the Renaissance humanists, and this lesson is visually rendered in Raphael's 'The Dream of Scipio.'⁴ The male figure costumed as a knight lying asleep in the centre foreground is Scipio the young soldier. The woman standing on the left dressed in rather plain clothes has a book and a sword in her hands, and these attributes signify that she is encouraging the knight to pursue a life of contemplation and of

action. The female figure on the other side, dressed in brighter colours, is presenting him a flower, which means that she is inviting him to a life of pleasure.

Castiglione in his *Il Cortegiano* recommends as the qualification of the ideal courtier the harmonious combination of the active and the contemplative life, martial arts and humanistic learning, “these two accomplishments conjoined in our Courtier.”⁵ An emblem of similar signification is found in the above-mentioned *The Mirrovr of Maiestie*, where the application moralizes that a man’s power will be greatly strengthened when he has mastered both martial arts and literary learning, or the sword and the word (Fig. 2). Prospero in his young days in Milan, was so dedicated to his private study of esoteric learning that he forgot the active political life he should have pursued and neglected his duty as sovereign ruler of the country.

Another trespass Prospero committed is the too great trust he put in his brother. It is well known that Machiavelli in *The Prince* warns that men “are [naturally] bad, and would not keep faith with you” (78). Erasmus, in *The Education of a Christian Prince*, says:

The prince should demand the same integrity which he himself exhibits, or at any rate the closest approximation to it, from his officials. He should not consider it enough to have appointed his magistrates, but it is a matter of prime importance how he appoints them. In the second place, he must be on the watch to see that they perform their duties honorably. (235)

Prospero was not an ideal prince in his trusting his brother nor in his neglect of a life of action; his loss of the dukedom was a

result of his disqualification as a prince. He did not put real-politik into practice.

Alonso is another failure as a sovereign ruler. Having sent in marriage his daughter Claribel to a far-off country, he has now lost his only son and heir Ferdinand to his great sorrow. The political uneasiness of a kingdom with no prospect of its future succession is analogous to the actual situation of the Virgin Queen's commonwealth, in which succession problems caused political unrest and governmental debates. In *The Tempest*, however, the mismanagements and transgressions of Prospero and Alonso will finally be forgiven and they will recover what they once lost.

2

The Tempest is Shakespeare's dramatization of his political ideas concerning the state and the prince. Prospero's island is a model of a commonwealth: Prospero is the king, his magic a symbol of his absolute power, Ariel the agent of his government, and Caliban "all the subjects" (1.2.341). The other characters in the play are all politically minded—everyone is aware of the state; while some are idealists, others are realists ambitious for power. The one who most explicitly utters his idea of a commonwealth is Gonzalo:

I' th' commonwealth I would by contraries
 Execute all things, for no kind of traffic
 Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
 Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
 And use of service, none; contract, succession,
 Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;

No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
 No occupation, all men idle, all,
 And women too, but innocent and pure;
 No sovereignty
 All things in common nature should produce
 Without sweat or endeavour. Treason, felony,
 Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine
 Would I not have, but nature should bring forth
 Of it own kind all foison, all abundance
 To feed my innocent people. (2.1.145–62)

“For the old courtier Gonzalo,” Alvin Kernan says, “as for those who would later settle the many utopian communities of America, the new world offers the opportunity to recover the lost Eden where, freed of the weight of European society, human nature will be purified and the sins of the old world left behind” (158). Gonzalo’s island country indeed “excel[s] the golden age” (166) in that there is no private property, no wealth, employment nor exploitation. But the commonwealth, Gonzalo says, is governed “by contraries,” which means that it is a World Upside Down. This commonwealth resembles another island country, Thomas More’s Utopia, where there is no property, currency, or enclosure, gold and silver being despised. More’s Utopia, as Stephen Greenblatt points out, contains contradictions: in Hythlodæus’s account “freedoms are heralded, only to shrink in the course of the description” (Greenblatt 41). Travelling, for instance, is free and a citizen may go anywhere he likes in the country, only he must bear the mayor’s permission with the date of returning, and the traveller has to be engaged in his profession wherever he is staying. If the traveller does not keep to this rule, he shall be sent back home as an

illegal runaway and be severely punished. If he repeatedly commits transgression, he shall be summoned to the law-court and be sentenced to slavery. In Gonzalo's commonwealth again there is a similar contradiction when he says, "Had I plantation of this isle . . ." "And were the king on't . . .," "I would by contraries / Execute all things . . . / No sovereignty." A kingdom with no sovereignty is certainly a contradiction, as Sebastian and Antonio promptly point out. Gonzalo's commonwealth is an abstraction, another Utopia, a place that exists *nowhere*.

In striking contrast to Gonzalo's incurably innocent optimism stands the cynicism of Antonio and Sebastian. These are such people as are wickedly ambitious for higher status. One is a usurper, and the other once attempted usurpation. Their idea of a kingdom is not such a Utopia as Gonzalo imagines, where the people are all contented with their freedom and natural abundance, nor is it a holy kingdom ruled by an anointed king, the earthly heaven; the kingdom they conceive is a country owned by themselves, tyrants whose interest is solely in their own material felicity and wilful domination over the people.

Stephano, a drunken servingman, also desires to be master of the island, and attempts to kill Prospero. It is because of the bottled spirit he owns that Caliban asks him to be his king. Stephano's wine is a physical correlative to his "spiritual" power; it is what Ariel is to Prospero. If Stephano's kingdom were to come into being, he and Trinculo, together with Caliban, might have a utopia of fools very much like Bruegel's "The Land of Cockaigne,"⁶ where people can eat and drink as much as they like, yet they never have to work. While Prospero's island is rich in natural food (2.2.167–72), Bruegel's Land of

Cockaigne has pancake and tart naturally growing on the roof of the hut, a running pig carrying a cooking knife ready on his back, a toasted goose coming onto the dish to lie, and a fence framed of entwined sausages. "The scholar, the soldier and the farmer have presumably eaten all that they are physically able to and cannot rouse themselves out of their torpor" (Freedberg 169). They are deeply drunken and sound asleep. The bottle on the table fixed to the tree-trunk has fallen, and the wine seems dripping into the open mouth of the scholar sleeping on his back.

3

Prospero does not intend to make a utopia of his island. He is not so optimistic as Gonzalo who imagines a new world, or an ideal "plantation," free from the social conventions of the Old World. Prospero is a teacher and though he could not nurture Caliban the wild man, he "made [his daughter Miranda] more profit / Than other princes can" (1.2.172–73). When Ferdinand arrives on the island, he plans to marry his daughter to Ferdinand, who, as prince of Naples, should, Prospero considers, have a proper education for a future king.

Lamenting his king father's death, Ferdinand is led by Ariel's music and song to come to Prospero and Miranda. When he and Miranda meet they immediately fall in love, both wondering at the other's noble beauty, she calling him "spirit" and he her a "goddess." Prospero, however, will not let them proceed; he is determined to give, first of all, a princely education to Ferdinand, who shall in due course reign over both Naples

and Milan. The young prince should not be ignorant of real politics as Prospero was thirteen years ago. Thus Prospero gives trials to Ferdinand, accusing him of being a “usurper” who assumes his father’s kingdom while he is still alive, and also as a “spy” intending to win the island from Prospero:

Thou dost here usurp
The name thou ow’st not, and has put thyself
Upon this island as a spy, to win it
From me, the lord on’t. (1.2.454–57)

When Ferdinand draws his sword against Prospero, the old man entraps the youth by means of his magic. Ferdinand is forced to surrender and made to carry logs. He cherishes Miranda’s love and patiently endures the slavish work.

Ferdinand’s education here is conducted on the same principle as is implied in Raphael’s picture of ‘The Dream of Scipio’ mentioned above. In the left background of the picture is depicted a knight on horseback climbing the difficult passage to the tower of virtues on the top of a craggy mountain, the journey, of course, representing the trial a knight must undertake to achieve the knightly virtues, represented here by the book and the sword held by the lady in the foreground. Ferdinand, capable of a life of pleasure as a lover, is now encouraged, like Scipio, to go through a trial for his self-fashioning. Raphael’s picture of Scipio was given by Thomaso Borgese of Siena to his son Sipione as a moral lesson, and like Thomaso, Prospero is a man whose educational ideal is Renaissance-humanistic. King James I also gave his Prince Henry such an education.

In his slavery, living on plain food and water and carrying

logs, Ferdinand says to Prospero that all his misfortunes and hardships are

but light to me,
Might I but through my prison once a day
Behold this maid. All corners else o' th' earth
Let liberty make use of—space enough
Have I in such a prison. (1.2.490–94)

Miranda, looking at Ferdinand labouring, wishes to take his place. The lovers wish to serve each other, and thus in love they paradoxically find liberty in the slavish labour. And the language of love in this scene is, as Donna B. Hamilton says, the language of neoplatonism—the language of the neoplatonic love sonnets and discourses of love (97). Especially the word “mistress” which Ferdinand repeatedly uses in his addresses to Miranda, is the word which neoplatonists use when they call to the objects of their soul’s aspiration. The name “Miranda” means “wonder” and “*miraveglia*” (the principle of heroic wonder), thus comprising part of the neoplatonic rhetoric of love:

Admired Miranda!
Indeed the top of admiration! worth
What’s dearest to the world! (3.1.37–39)

Ferdinand’s love of Miranda seems to be in the form of adoration of a lady in the courtly love tradition, but his adoration is counterbalanced by Miranda’s adoration of Ferdinand. Thus their love, male and female adoring and enhancing each other, eros and anteros echoing, should properly be called neoplatonic, and not of courtly-love convention. However, here at the same

time is a strong emphasis upon the woman's virtue of chastity under patriarchal dominance personified in Prospero, which is appropriate to Jacobean political ideology.

4

The title-page picture (Fig. 3) of Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion: Chronicle of Great Britain* (1612–22) is an iconographical representation of the official ideology of kingship in the age of James I. The majestic female figure in the centre is 'Great Britain,' with her abundant hair falling down on her shoulders; her loose dress, with mountains, rivers, trees, towns and churches drawn on it, presumably represents the map of England. In her right hand she holds a scepter with a decorative lily on top, and in her left a horn of plenty. An arch of triumph stands as if to enshrine the figure, a cartouche with large letters 'POLY-OLBION' on it. Underneath, a wreath made of sea-shells, crabs and corals is seen, and a similar ornament hangs from the top of each of the columns supporting the arch. Apart from the seascape with ships and strange fishes, a pearl necklace is worn by the central figure, and these, of course, are signs of England being an island country surrounded by the ocean.

The opposite page has a verse explicating the significance of the picture:

Through a *Triumphant Arch*, see *Albion* plas't,
 In *Happy* site, in *Neptunes* armes embras't,
 In *Power* and *Plenty*, on hir *Cleey* Throne
 Circled with *Natures Ghirlands*, being alone
 Stil'd *th'Oceans Island*. On the *Columnes* beene

(As Trophies raiz'd) what Princes Time hath seene
Ambitious of her

(Qtd. in Corbett and Lightbown 154)

The remaining part of the verse explains the four male figures surrounding 'Great Britain' in the picture. They are the four "Princes" who reigned over Britain since the founding of the country: Brute, "*Aeneas Nephew*," who "bears / *In Golden field the Lion passant red*"; "*Laureat Caesar*, as a Philtre, brings, / *On's shield*, his Grandame *Venus*"; "*sterne Hengist*" who bears "*the Saxon sable Horse*"; and William the Conqueror, here unnamed, whose arms is "*the Norman Leopards bath'd in Gules*" and "*whose Line yet rules*."

In the picture the young man standing on the pedestal on top of the column in the top left hand corner is Brutus, the first conqueror who gave his name to the British, the direct ancestor of the Welsh or Cambro-Britons. He was considered to be a great-grandson of Aeneas of Troy. "When Henry Tudor came to the throne his half-Welsh royal blood assumed great political significance for the claim of descent from the ancient British line [and] strongly reinforced that through the House of Lancaster" (Corbett and Lightbown 156). King James I, who opened the Stuart dynasty, insisted on his succession right mainly because he was in the line of Margaret Tudor, but at the same time he had a further claim to Welsh blood. As is shown in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, Banquo's son Fleance (Fleanch) escaped from Macbeth's murderous sword and went to the court of Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, and married his daughter, with their son later opening the Scottish dynasty.

Thus the title-page picture of *Poly-Olbion* is an iconographi-

cal representation of the State of England as a historical entity, affirming for James his royal blood and the hope for the prosperity of his kingdom. But a more straightforward expression of James's political idea is found in the emblem of a crowned lion (Fig. 4) in Henry Godyere's *The Mirrovr of Maiestie*:

Seated on this *three-headed Mountaine high*,
Which represents *Great Brytaines Monarchie*,
Thus stand I furnisht t'entertaine the noise:
Of thronging clamours, with an equall poyse;
And thus address to giue a constant weight,
To formall shewes, of *Vertue*, or *Deceit*:
Thus arm'd with Pow'r to punnish or protect,
When I haue weigh'd each scruple and defect:
Thus *plentifully* rich in parts and place
To give *Aboundance*, or a poore disgrace:
But, how to make these in iust circle moue,
Heav'n crownes my head with *wisedome* from aboue.
Thus Merit on each part, to whom 'tis due,
With God-like power disbursed is by you. (sig. B2)

The lion with a sword and scales, attributes of Justice, and with a cornucopia, symbolic of the prosperity of England, is of course an allegory of James, the crown of "wisdom" and "God-like power" being an allegory of the ideology of the divine right of kings.

5

In *The Tempest* Shakespeare makes use of the same kind of rhetoric of encomium in regard to James as does Henry Godyere in his *Mirrovr*. What the lion is in Godyere's emblem is Prospero in *The Tempest*: he has absolute power, as the just

ruler of his island country, able to move everything in the sub-lunar world. Prospero's name implying 'prosperity,' both the play and the emblem praise the prosperity of the commonwealth and the king's sagacity, and they likewise express, in a very roundabout way, a request for the ruler's protection of the people's welfare. For Shakespeare and Godyere knew that "the good maker or poet . . . ought to know the comelinesse of an action as well as of a word & thereby to direct himselfe both in praise & perswasion or any other point that perteines to the Oratours arte" (Puttenham 276).

About 1611–13, when *The Tempest* was repeatedly produced at court,⁷ a serious problem for Parliament and the people at large was that of the king's right of taxation. Based on his theory of the divine right of kings, James insisted on his unlimited right, against which Parliament argued. Parliament appealed to *Magna Charta* of 1215 and insisted that according to the law even the king was not entitled to take away any land or property of his subjects without their agreement, for the subjects are not slaves and should not be exploited. Parliament's claim for the people's private property stood against James's idea of the absolute kingship (Hamilton 113). Of the relation between the king and his subjects, an analogy might be found in *The Tempest*. Prospero is the absolute ruler, Ariel is the counselor who helps him, and Caliban is the "only subjects" who oppose the king. Caliban's protest against Prospero may represent that of the people of England against James, whom they had welcomed from Scotland, now arguing against James's proposal of taxation; they thought if the king levied heavy taxes he would make the people slaves.

If we read the play this way, Sycorax, the original owner of the island who left it to Caliban, might correspond to Elizabeth, but this would be going too far. Anyway, reflected in *The Tempest* is the political argument of 1611 between James and his parliament over the limitations of kingship, and some related discourses as well on the relative merits of absolutism and constitutionalism. Shakespeare praises James's almost absolute power, but obliquely advises him, under the rhetoric of praise, not to exercise his power without limit but rather to throw away his "divine" power, allegorically represented by Prospero's book and scepter / wand.

Another problem of political importance to James and his parliament was that of plantation, i.e. the problem of Virginia on the American Continent and Ireland. The discourse of plantation in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries was closely linked with the discourse of kingship, and the language of government and the language of plantation were linked, each exchanging figures, metaphors and rhetorical and logical devices with the other (Hamilton 55). In March 1610, in "A Speach to the Lords and Commons of the Parliament at White-Hall," James applied the language of plantation to his argument for kingship, which, he argues, originates by the Law of Nature in "fatherly power":

As for the Father of a familie, they had of olde vnder the Law of Nature *Patriam potestatem* [fatherly power], which was *Potestatem vitae & necis* [the power of life and death], ouer their children or familie, (I meane such Fathers of families as were the lineall heires of those families whereof Kings did originally come:) For Kings had

their first originall from them, who planted and spread themselues in *Colonies* through the world. (182)

The point James insisted upon was that kingship was not derivative, and that kings “planted and spread themselves in colonies”; and he thus affirmed the “divine kingship” by means of the language of plantation. And about the same time a heated discussion was going on about the plantation of Ireland. In 1610, the Englishmen who had already settled in Ireland protested against the proposed taxation for the sustenance of the king’s army, which, as they argued, was “against Reason and Law.” But James argued that the king’s “protection” should be given to his subjects only when they offer “supply” to the king. In the argument of plantation, the same language was used as in the argument of government.

In *The Tempest* Shakespeare seems to provide Prospero with the virtue of temperance and, by emphasizing it, to lead the other patriarchal ruler James to temper his absolute power. The play’s implied persuasion that James should be reconciled to constitutionalism is coated in the rich verbal texture and imagery of praise, and yet still suggesting to the king that royal power should be moderated and the king choose the peace and stability of the commonwealth before the expected wealth from the plantations. Francis Bacon, in his essay “Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates,” mentions the Spartans as a nation that fell when its dominion became too great:

The *Spartans* were a nice People, in Point of Naturalization; whereby, while they kept their Compasse, they stood firme; But when they did spread, and their Boughs were becommen too great, for their Stem, they became a Wind-

fall vpon the suddaine. (124)

Shakespeare possibly thought that without the people's prosperity and peace at home England could not continue to run her plantations and that for the true welfare and prosperity the authority might better remove from direct consideration their plan to secure the dangerous treasure from the plantation in America (Cf. Knapp 235).

6

Behind *The Tempest* is still another problem related to the state and kingship, the problem of succession of the crown. A form of succession which repeatedly appears in Shakespeare's plays is by the marriage of a crown prince and a princess followed by the union of the dynasties involved: the union of England and France in *Henry V*, that of York and Lancaster in *Richard III*, and the prospect of the union of Sicilia and Bohemia in *The Winter's Tale*. In *The Tempest* Miranda and Ferdinand come to be betrothed through Prospero's power, magical and patriarchal, and the dukedom of Milan is to be united with the kingdom of Naples. This supposed union of the two nations in the play is an allegory of the recently achieved union of England and Scotland. As Milan and Naples are united through Prospero's power, so the thistle and the rose are united by James Stuart, the prosperity of the greater kingdom hopefully continuing. Henry Peacham's emblem (Fig. 5) of "*Quaeplantavi irrigabo*" thus corresponds to this theme of *The Tempest* :

The Thistle arm'd with vengeance for his foe,
And here the Rose, faire CYTHERAEAS flower;

Together in perpetuall league doe growe,
 On whome the Heavens doe all their favours power;
 “For what th’ Almightyes holy hand doth plant,
 “Can neither cost, or carefull keeping want.

Magnifique PRINCE, the splendour of whose face,
 Like brightest PHOEBVS vertue doth reviuue;
 And farre away, light-loathing vice doth chase,
 These be thy Realmes; that vnder thee doe thriue,
 And which vnite, GODS providence doth blesse,
 With peace, with plentie, and all happines. (12)

The Tempest is a dramatic allegory of the praise of the Stuart dynasty implying that the Thistle and the Rose together “planted” by God’s hands shall be watered with the rain of Grace in perpetual unity and prosperity.

Alonso’s ship sailing towards Naples at the end of the play is carrying the future of the two nations now in union. The ship, which was once a “ship of fools” is now a ship of two royal families redeemed from sinful strife. The “sea-change” has brought a rebirth of the repentant people, and their ship after the purgatorial tempest is something like the ark after the Flood. The ship of death in which Prospero and Miranda came to the island twelve years ago is now a ship of rebirth. In the epilogue he delivers, Prospero hands to the audience a vision of the new society, of the reformed people of generosity, forgiveness and love; this happy future has been obtained by means of his breaking the magic wand and sinking the books in the waters, which, in the context of James and the English parliament, represents Shakespeare’s admonition that James should moderate and temper his power and limit the expansion of the plantations. James in fact did not follow the exemplum of Temper-

ance shown in the magus Prospero in *The Tempest*.

In the course of English history Parliament eventually succeeded in limiting the king's power: in 1628 it was confirmed by the Petition of Right that the king could not levy taxes without the consent of Parliament; in 1642 came the Puritan Revolution, and in 1649 Charles I was beheaded for high treason against the people. The idea of divine kingship had been discarded, and the loyalty to the king was abolished and superseded by the loyalty to the people. In Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651) sovereignty is not proper to the king but resides in the people; the power of the nation is now derived from the proper rights of the people. In the title-page illustration of the book (Fig. 6), the gigantic body of Leviathan, crowned and holding the sword of secular rule and the crozier of ecclesiastical rule in his hands, is composed of innumerable bodies of people. In Hobbes, the Commonwealth, the great Leviathan, is the Assembly of the people's wills, which is authorized by their mutual contract, and its sovereign power rules both church and state. The idea of kingship thus suffered a change, through the political upheavals of Cromwell's Revolution, the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution, until the idea of a king who "reigns but does not rule" emerged and was established. Shakespeare's *The Tempest* certainly praises James's "God-like power" and the prosperity of his united kingdom, but it also seems to give a warning of a possible crisis of the Jacobean political ideology, remotely foretelling the eventual burial of "divine kingship."

(Tokai Women's College)

NOTES

1. Quotations from *The Tempest* are from Stephen Orgel's edition in the Oxford Shakespeare series (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1987).
2. Cf. *The Tempest*, 3.3.72–75.
3. Ficino, *Opera*, pp. 919f.; cited in Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (1958; Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Bks., 1967), p. 82.
4. Reproduced in Wind, fig. 60.
5. Baldesar Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano* [writ. 1518, pub. 1528], I, xlvi; C. S. Singleton trans., *The Book of the Courtier* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1959), p. 73.
6. Reproduced in Freedberg, p. 169.
7. For a recent discussion of the court productions of the play especially in relation to Princess Elizabeth's wedding to the Count Palatine, see Alvin Kernan, pp. 152–57.

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Fig. 1 “Sero iupiter diphtheram inspexit.” Henry Godyere, *The Mirrovr of Maiestie* (1618). By permission of Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections.



Fig. 2 “Virtus vnita fortior.” Henry Godyere, *The Mirrovr of Maiestie* (1618). By permission of Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections.



Fig. 3 The title-page picture of Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion: Chronicle of Great Britain* (1612–22). By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.



Fig. 4 "Nvllvm Bonvm inremvneratvm." Henry Godyere, *The Mirroure of Maestie* (1618). By permission of Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections.



Fig. 5 "Quaeplantavi irrigabo." Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britannia* (1612). By permission of Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections.

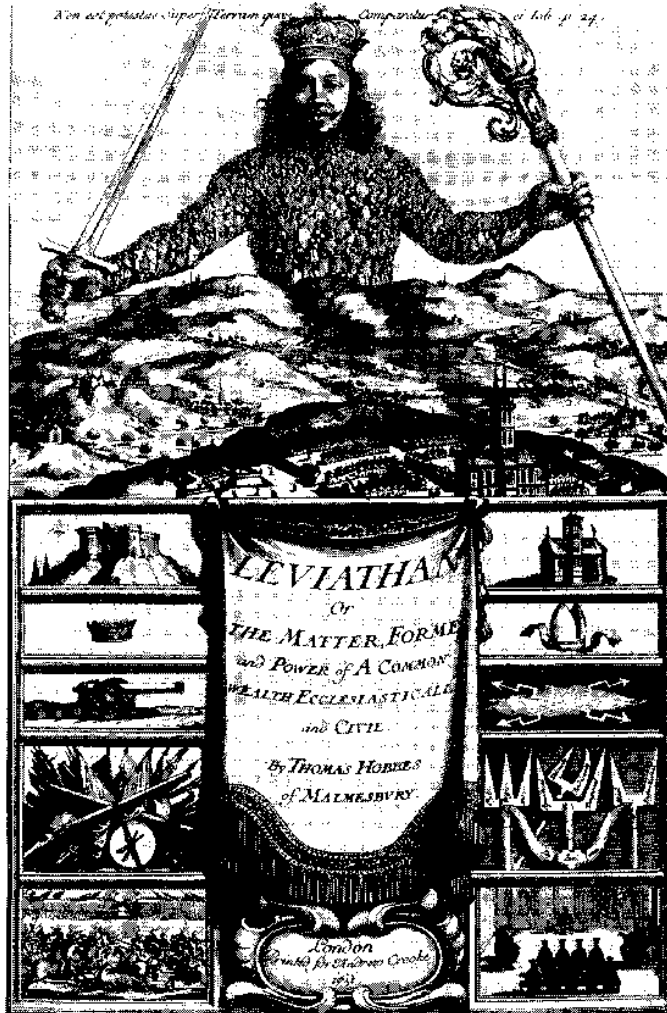


Fig. 6 The title-page picture of Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651). By permission of Nagoya University Library.