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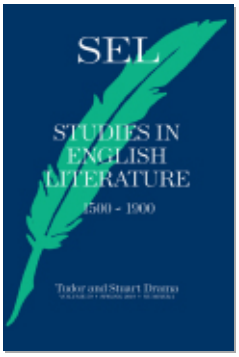

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Shakespeare's Sea and the Frontier of Knowledge

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To English Romantic poet John Keats, Shakespeare was "the Sea," yet the sea, a constant presence in Shakespeare's plays, has perhaps not received all the attention it deserves.[1] In the 1960s, A. F. Falconer proved beyond all reasonable doubt the playwright's familiarity with nautical language and speculated that during the "lost years" Shakespeare had served in Elizabeth's navy.[2] More recently, in 2012, the Royal Shakespeare Company's staging of the so-called "shipwreck trilogy"—*The Comedy of Errors* (1594), *Twelfth Night, or What You Will* (1601), and *The Tempest* (1610–11)—aimed to highlight issues of internationalism and migration in a last flick of the tentacle of postcolonial criticism which, in ironic mimicry of the very colonialism it purported to expose and deplore, appropriated in its own interests many of Shakespeare's plays, with *The Tempest* notoriously at the head of the chain gang.[3] In the intervening years, analytical critics used Shakespeare's imaginative investment in the sea either to sound the depths of his own psychogeography or to map his views on identity, myth critics to delineate patterns of redemption or salvation that underlie his works, particularly the comedies and romances. More recently, too, there have been ecocritical and new thalassological readings of Shakespeare's engagement with the sea in what has been tentatively viewed as a turn toward "blue" cultural studies (as opposed to landlubberly "green") or "the new maritime humanities."[4] Even if its technocratic descriptors point to this movement's theoretical vogueishness, it has served to put the sea back onto the map of early modern studies by claiming on the one hand that "the idea of a global and extra-territorial sea was a distinctive cultural development" in the period, one

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that "defined a new global reality for early modern culture," and by bemoaning on the other hand the lack of attention "paid to the ways in which prolonged exposure to the deep sea challenged early modern legal, scientific, and literary habits of thought."[5]

What this article will suggest is that such exposure not only "challenged … habits of thought," but also raised questions of what could be thought in the first place, while at the same time providing a master trope of the acquisition of knowledge and authorizing, by analogy, the rupture of conventional dramatic form. To put it another way, in the period Shakespeare was writing the sea was a physical frontier of knowledge, the gradual transgression of which by voyagers and discoverers augmented the store of knowledge, thereby necessitating a reappraisal of what was knowable. In Shakespeare's reformulation of what could be known dramatically, his transgression of aesthetic frontiers derived its legitimacy from the means and some of the metaphors of that changing epistemology, which found expression in the distinct but related discursive fields of the popular travel narrative and the emerging empirical science.

In a stage-play world, multiple associations existed between the theater and geographical exploration, and the age of discovery was equally the age of the theater. What follows is not another rehearsal of the world-stage trope as played out synergetically in the discourses of travel and dramatic art, the trope familiar to us all from the very name of Shakespeare's Globe and the motto inscribed above its main entrance, which Jaques takes as his theme in *As You Like It* (1599–1600), as well as from the titles of Abraham Ortelius's and John Speed's respective atlases, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570) and *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611/12).[6] Nor is it an exploration of the way travelers—most famously, perhaps, Thomas Coryat and William Lithgow—figured themselves as actors in their voyage reports and travelogues.[7] However, it does assume that early modern playwrights were familiar with such reports and accounts, for, as Richard Willes makes "bold to say" in the epistle to the Countess of Bedford that prefaces *The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies, and Other Countreys Lying Eyther Way, towardes the Fruitfull and Ryche Moluccaes* (1577), "All Christians, Iewes, Turkes, Moores, Infidels, and Barbares be this day in loue with Geographie."[8] And in the collective imagination of these lovers of geography, the sea was, as Northrop Frye explains, still associated with "chaos itself, the abyss of nothingness symbolized in the Bible by the monster leviathan, the dragon of the deep that only God, in God's own

time, can hook and bring to land." The sea thus conceived was, Frye continues, "the flood of annihilation that drowned the world in the time of Noah, the monster that swallowed Jonah, the Mediterranean tempest that shipwrecked St. Paul, and the dragon of the Apocalypse."[9] It is to an unsophisticated audience craving for descriptions of monsters and marvelous beasts that many of the period's travel writers tailored their medievalistic schlock; and it is the deep of late medieval popular superstition that provides the setting for Clarence's famous nightmare in *The Tragedy of King Richard the Third* (1592–93), a setting still familiar to us today, give or take a Davy Jones and *Flying Dutchman* or two, from the *Pirates of the Caribbean* movie series (see *RIII*, IV.iv.9–33).

As well as an imaginary landscape of apocalyptic dread, the sea also constituted the physical boundary between known and unknown worlds, *terra cognita* and *terra incognita*; importantly, the extent of the unknown was shrinking thanks to exploration and colonization. The sea was thus a conceptual domain where science converged with superstition, and where hard information vied for epistemological supremacy with the time-honored fantasies of the collective imagination. This duality underpins the younger Richard Hakluyt's recollections of visiting his cousin Richard Hakluyt the elder's chambers at the Middle Temple in London. Spread out on the table were various books about cosmography and a map, which caught the younger's eye. Seeing this, the elder began to "instruct" his cousin by means of a twofold discourse that counterpointed the demonstrations of science with the teachings of the Bible: "he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part … From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c."[10] Published in 1589, just when Shakespeare was commencing his career as a playwright, Hakluyt's work portrays the sea as a threshold between the empirically known and the mysterious unknown, between knowledge and superstition, symbolized respectively in the map and the Bible.[11] As such, it stands in an analogous relationship with the theater, the very stage of which amounted to a liminal space where the extratheatrical world of everyday reality came into contact with the world of dramatic illusion; within that illusion, one order of knowledge founded in the realism of what could be represented

materially on stage for apprehension by the audience's senses was contrasted with another rooted in the fantasies expressed by dramatic characters about whatever might lie beyond the representational scope of the stage. These fantasies were constructed by means of rhetorical *energeia* and relied for their effect on collaboration from the audience in a mutual process of that "image making," or *eidolopoiein*, which the classical authors ascribed to divine inspiration, surplus black bile, intoxication, or madness.[12] To adopt the term coined by Mary Louise Pratt in her work on imperialism and transculturation, the sea and, analogously, the theater, were "contact zone[s]" where known and unknown, science and superstition, realism and fantasy collided and coexisted on sometimes awkward or uneasy terms.[13]

But the sea was also an important metaphor in nascent scientific discourse. The 1620 edition of Sir Francis Bacon's *Novum Organum* bore a frontispiece showing how, in G. W. Kitchin's epic e*kphrasis*, "Between two pillars, the pillars of Hercules, the ship of learning sails forth upon a tossed sea, bound for lands as yet unvisited, to bring thence goodly store of new and precious merchandise. Behind her lie all those well-known shores of knowledge, of which the Advancement gives the map and chart … But beyond the straits is the great outer sea, and continents as yet unknown."[14] That "merchandise" or "wealth" is, of course, new knowledge, and writing one hundred years after Shakespeare's birth, Henry Power (1623–68)—unsung father of Boyle's Law and, together with Sir Justinian Isham (1611–75), the first elected member of the Royal Society—declared that its tide was unstoppable.[15] By 1664 the "Ocean" of "free Philosophy" could no longer be fettered, and Power saw "how all the old Rubbish must be thrown away, and the rotten Buildings be overthrown, and carried away with so powerful an Inundation."[16] Most poignantly, about one hundred years after the publication of Shakespeare's First Folio and shortly before Isaac Newton's death, Newton is claimed to have confessed, "I do not know what I may appear to the world, but to myself I seem to have been only like a boy playing on the seashore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, whilst the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me."[17] Apocryphal or not, the great scientist's words evoke Edgar's imagined beach and its "murmuring surge / That on th'unnumbered idle pebble chafes" in *The Tragedy of King Lear: the Folio Text* (1610; IV.v.20–1). At the seashore, two systems of knowledge, science and art, embrace as Shakespeare and Keats's "Sea" contribute

to Newton's metaphor, while Edgar gestures at the infinity that Newton's calculus will later attempt to encompass. This article proposes that Shakespeare, like William Wordsworth's Newton, "Voyag[ed] through strange seas of Thought"; but unlike the scientist, far from traveling "alone," the playwright's journey was—and still is—undertaken in the innumerable company of his spectators and readers and, as we shall see, requires their cooperation if land is ever to be reached.[18]

It is the relationship between the sea and knowledge in Shakespeare that will concern us here. But for the purpose of contrast, a quick glance at Christopher Marlowe's first play, *Dido Queene of Carthage*—written between 1585 and 1586 and performed sometime between 1587 and 1593—is in order.[19] It is a work written to a great extent in ekphrastic mode and with a pointed emphasis on sight and seeing.[20] As a work, too, in which the sea is a constant presence, one of its audible leitmotifs is the "see"/"sea" homophony, which begs the question of the relationship in the play's conceptual economy between the faculty of sight and the marine medium.[21] During the love idyll, Aeneas loses all sight of his heroic mission; but when he returns to his senses and determines to set sail for Italy, the resumption of his mission is also a recovery of clear-sightedness and is hinted at in the homophony of his resolution: "I may not dure this female drudgerie, / To sea *Aeneas*, finde out *Italy*." In contrast, it is Dido's "oversight," her predisposition to see more than there is to see and to believe what her sister diagnoses as "idle fantasies," that precipitates her tragedy.[22]

At one level, the play's constant injunctions to see are directed at the members of the audience, who are to imagine what cannot be represented on stage, in a trope familiar from Faustus's plea that we see where his soul flies, sucked forth by Helen's lips, or "see, see" Christ's blood streaming in the firmament.[23] At another level, they institute two orders of illusional reality in the "contact zone" of the theater. In the first place, there is the illusional reality bodied forth by the corporeal and audible presence of the actors and the limited material properties of the stage; in the second place, there is the illusional reality of Dido's ekphrastic fantasies in which her delusions already have Aeneas on board ship, waving farewell and finally slipping anchor, while he is in fact still on land. The implication is that clear-sighted Aeneas, reconciled with his mission, is aligned with the objective, material reality as set forth on the stage, whereas Dido inserts herself in a different order of reality as imagined in her mind. The audience, party to

the former and already cognizant via Virgil of Aeneas's destiny, is able to extrapolate beyond the play's diegesis and approve his heroic vocation. At the same time, privy to the latter order and moved by the rhetoric through which it is expressed, the audience can sympathize with Dido's human predicament. The sea thus marks a barrier on the other side of which Aeneas's future lies and on this side of which Dido is consigned to her tragic fate. The audience is privileged with knowledge of both sides, even if the play's own emphasis is on the exotic world of fantasy, which the early modern discourse of Western proto-imperialism—having found room for the Trojan exile among its foundational myths—was constructing imaginatively on the far shores of the seas and oceans that, reversing Aeneas's route, it was traversing at the very moment Marlowe was writing his play.

It is a commonplace that Shakespeare's comedies gradually relocate the site of magical transformation and comedic reconciliation from the green world of the forest to the blue world of the sea, a move that reaches its climax in the romances and is only upset by the early *Comedy of Errors*, which, taken with the late *Tempest*, does permit a measure of evolutionary symmetry to be established. Yet the spray of the sea is present even in the greenest of the comedies: in *As You Like It* (1599–1600), for example, Rosalind, impatient to learn the identity of her anonymous admirer, complains to Celia that "One inch of delay more is a South Sea of discovery" (III.ii.192–3). The sea is even more present in the scarcely less green *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595), written about a decade after *Dido Queene of Carthage*. During the acrimonious conversation in which "jealous Oberon," recently returned from "the farthest step of India," chides Titania for her dereliction of conjugal duty (II.i.24 and 69), the sea intervenes as it does in *Dido*, acting as a frontier between geographical and epistemological worlds. Titania blames the apocalyptic conditions ravaging the "mazèd world" on Oberon's own marital negligence and laments the fact that,

> never since the middle summer's spring
> Met we on hill, in dale, forest, or mead,
> By pavèd fountain or by rushy brook,
> Or in the beachèd margin of the sea
> To dance our ringlets to the whistling wind.
>
> (II.i.113 and 82–6)

The seashore is here invoked as one setting for harmonious "sport" between husband and wife (II.i.87), the point being that there has of late been no amorous contact in the "contact zone." It recurs shortly afterward when Titania reminisces about her nocturnal gossiping with the mother of the changeling boy, the latest bone of contention between herself and Oberon:

> His mother was a vot'ress of my order,
> And in the spicèd Indian air by night
> Full often hath she gossiped by my side,
> And sat with me on Neptune's yellow sands,
> Marking th'embarkèd traders on the flood,
> When we have laughed to see the sails conceive
> And grow big-bellied with the wanton wind.
>
> (II.i.123–9)

In passing it might be mentioned how the "gossip[ ]" and ribald humor in which Titania and her Indian votaress indulge will be paralleled in *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice* (1603–04), when Desdemona and Iago, the latter unfurling his "salt-language," flite zestily on the Cypriot beach as they await the arrival of her husband's boat (see II.i).[24] This parallel suggests that the "beachèd margin" is a sociological "contact zone" not only where different geographical or ethnic realities meet, but also where boundaries of social etiquette could be trespassed and where women in particular, such as Titania and her votaress, or Desdemona and Miranda in *The Tempest*, might, in this last's words, "prattle / Something too wildly" (III.i.57–8).

But for the present purposes, what is significant here is that although both Titania and Oberon have been to India, they are now not there; instead, they are this side of the sea and therefore at one remove from the full exoticism of the East. In other words, the sea becomes a frontier that relativizes the exotic and the wonderful. On its furthest shore lies *terra incognita*, the land of mystery and fantasy before which knowledge must yield to faith and cognition to imagination. On this shore, where Oberon and Titania are situated, we are persuaded that reality is by contrast more plausible. Construed thus as a horizon of credibility, the sea performs a similar function to those geographical features, such as mountains and lakes, that in travel narratives separate the world as revealed to the explorer from the world of the fabulous, of the Amazons, the cannibals, or the *acephali*, of which he learns by hearsay or by books, but never actually sees

for himself. By contrast with the fantastic denizens of the lands lying beyond the cognitive horizon, the traveler's tales of gold or paradisiacal abundance on this side thus become relatively more convincing. Travelogues such as Sir Walter Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana* (1595) or Edward Hayes's account of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's ill-fated Newfoundland expedition describe a system of three concentric circles in which the one at the center is home, that *terra cognita* known to all readers and beyond all doubt; the one in the middle is the new world to be explored, conquered, or colonized and sufficiently wonderful to whet investors' appetites, but not too wonderful to strain belief; and the outer circle of *terra incognita* is downright outlandish and therefore improbable at best, untrue at worst. In these terms, Titania and Oberon are in the second circle, India and the votaress in the outer one, and Bottom and the Mechanicals at the center, with, of course, contact between the members of each. But by being thus arrayed along this scale of belief, Shakespeare's fairy world is rendered less implausible than it otherwise might have been; and, significantly, it does not have to be imagined, unlike the India of the votaress and the exotic world transited magically and described ekphrastically by Puck.

As Titania recalls, the "vot'ress," herself "big-bellied" with the changeling boy, would playfully "imitate" the pregnant sailed merchant vessels, following them "with pretty and with swimming gait / … and sail upon the land" (II.i.130–2). It is not until *The Tragedy of Macbeth* (1606) that swimmers are actually immersed in water, as when the Captain explains at the play's opening how the confrontation between the opposed armies of Macdonald and Macbeth had stood "Doubtful … / As two spent swimmers that do cling together / And choke their art" (I.ii.7–9). We do not know if those swimmers were struggling in river, lake, or sea, but given another of the play's famous metaphors, the waters of the brine should not be discounted. That metaphor is Macbeth's own imaginary perception of himself stranded on "this bank and shoal of time" when, in his famous soliloquy, he contemplates regicide and anticipates the possible consequences (I.vii.6; and see I.vii.1–28). Swimmers, sandbanks, and "shoal[s]," or shallows, remind us that the sea, unlike its linear and imaginary counterparts on land, is a material frontier with breadth and depth; consequently, one need not necessarily be on one side or another, but may be somewhere in between, floating in geographical statelessness, with no firm foothold in any known world.[25] According to his own metaphor, Macbeth, plunged like all

of us into that same sea of time that Rosalind evoked in happier circumstances, is now momentarily emerged, thrust up by the sand beneath him. Temporarily absolved from chronology and its imperatives, he stands transfixed in the ethical, biological, and eschatological gray area where the waters of good, of life, and of salvation converge with those of evil, of death, and of perdition.[26] Here, where time is stopped, the *terra incognita* on the far side is Macbeth's future; the *terra cognita* is his past up to this present moment. The *terra cogitanda* is the very issue at stake in his soliloquy, the conclusion to his deliberations: if it is done, then what? Thus, the sea marks an existential hiatus dominated by uncertainty regarding future outcomes, in other words, by lack of knowledge. A similar concern to distinguish between a *terra cognita* and another *incognita* may explain Shakespeare's decision to give the emblem that inspired the cliff scene in act IV, scene vi of *King Lear* its precise geographical location on the seacoast near Dover; Gloucester's redeeming epiphany is staged at the scarped edge that threatens to drop him from a land known through its toponyms into the same existential abyss from which Macbeth will emerge irredeemably doomed to damnation.[27]

Macbeth has been defined as a tragedy of imagination, as was Dido's one of "idle fantasies": the Thane of Cawdor is persuaded more by eldritch visions and ghostly apparitions than the protocols of feudal society. Later, in *The Tempest*, the delusions alienating audiences from Macbeth are given material substantiation by Prospero in order to bring the usurping Antonio to justice. These apprehensible theatrical materializations align the audience with the mage who produces them, thereby putting the spectators on the far side of wonder, whereas in *Macbeth*, except for the witches, the tragic hero is left to flounder alone with his private fantasies while the audience watches safely, on this side of wonder, from the shore. What is of interest is how in the romances Shakespeare transports the audience beyond the horizon of credibility, from the *terra cognita* of what can be apprehended sensorially by means of material representation to the *terra incognita* of the wonderful, which, lying beyond the scope of material representation, had hitherto existed solely in the rhetoric of his characters and required the imaginative efforts of his audience. What is significant is how that transportation is literally nautical, how the horizon of credibility to be transcended is figured as the sea, and how this pushing back of the limits of the knowable is ultimately dependent on the violation of the classical unity of place. In other words, Shakespeare's disregard for the rules is

not merely a strategy that enables him to fit more of the world in its temporal and spatial dimensions onto the stage. It is also a logical corollary of his intuition that just as the voyagers and explorers were confirming the existence of new worlds elsewhere, so there were new forms of knowledge or new ways of looking at the world accessible to those who were willing, first, to travel in their imagination or, second, to sit and watch as the virtual wonder of rhetoric was upgraded in the Blackfriars Theatre to the material wonders of Jacobean stagecraft.

Shakespeare's sonnet 44 finds the poet in respect of his lover in the same quandary as Dido in respect of Aeneas preparing to fulfill his heroic destiny. Separated from his lover by "injurious distance" (line 2), Shakespeare wishes that the "dull substance" of his body were replaced with light, "nimble thought" (lines 1 and 7), in order to imagine himself transported "from limits far remote" and to "leap large lengths of miles" to wherever he or she is (lines 4 and 10). For her part, Dido, separated from Aeneas by a distance that could not be represented by the "dull substance" of material staging, resorted to private fantasy to bridge the gap. In both cases, the sea intervenes as an element marking a cognitive frontier, while the dimension whose constraints need to be slipped is that of space. This inevitably recalls Shakespeare's *The Life of Henry the Fifth* (1598–99), wherein the chorus enjoins the audience to cross the cognitive frontier of the sea by exercising its "imaginary forces" and slipping the spatial constraints imposed by the "wooden O" of the stage and the Aristotelian unities (prologue.18 and 14). On this occasion in *Henry V*, it is not two lovers but two monarchies, England and France, that "the perilous narrow ocean parts asunder" (prologue.22); but it is still "thoughts"—not now Shakespeare's, but instead the audience's—that ship-like "must deck our kings, / Carry them here and there" (prologue.23 and 28–9). "Injurious distance" is now "Th'abuse of distance" (II.0.32) that can be eradicated by the "play" of our "fancies" (III.0.7). Thus, Shakespeare's breach of the unities is enforced by the literal obstacle of the sea, while transcendence of the limitations of the stage depends on the play's audience putting its imagination or fancy to work: "Work, work your thoughts" (III.0.25). This mental "piec[ing] out" (*HV*, prologue.23) of the theater's "imperfections" is just what Dido does in Marlowe's play; the key difference is that her fantasy produces wish-fulfilling but false delusions, whereas the audience's fantasy in *Henry V* is essential to the success of the theatrical illusion. Thus, confronted with two geographically remote realities, *Henry V* advances an alternative order of knowledge that can

supplement the deficiencies of materialism and the shortcomings of perceptual apprehension with the mental representations called forth from the audience's imagination. In the process, Dido's self-deceiving madness becomes the audience's authorized and truthful image making; and that image making is figured as a voyage, with the imagination acting as a seagoing vessel. The question is, in this order of knowledge, if the imagination is Bacon's ship of learning, then what exactly can be learned as a result of its application?

As noted earlier, it is part of Shakespeare lore that his comic solutions originate in the green world of the forest or the blue world of the sea. There is no straight-line evolution from one world to the other. Shakespeare's earliest slightly green comedy, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1589–91), was followed five years later by his first blue one, *The Comedy of Errors*, after which he went seriously green from *Love's Labour's Lost* (1594–95) to *As You Like It*, passing through *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1597–98).[28] Blue came back with renewed energy in *Twelfth Night* only to be submerged beneath the subsequent sequence of the so-called problem plays and the tragedies. But with *Pericles, Prince of Tyre: A Reconstructed Text* (1607) the sea returns to stay, and in Shakespeare's first venture into romance, the marine medium is so omnipresent and crucial that it becomes the virtual message. As with *Henry V*, a chorus is on hand in *Pericles*, the medieval poet John Gower, who prompts our imagination to complete the theatrical illusion by supplementing the visible material spectacle with what only the audience's "fancies," "imagination," or "supposing" can see:

> Be attent,
> And time that is so briefly spent
> With your fine fancies quaintly eche.
> . . . . . .
> In your imagination hold
> This stage the ship, upon whose deck
> The sea-tossed Pericles appears to speke.
> . . . . . .
> In your supposing once more put your sight;
> Of heavy Pericles, think this [stage] the barque.
> (x.11–3 and 58–60; xx.21–2)

Although *Pericles* is a play with vexed issues of genesis and authorship, these quotations are all from scenes that are generally

accepted to have been written by Shakespeare. In them the stage is transformed into a ship, and as that ship is the product of the audience's imagination, the play "deck[s]" or puts the audience aboard the illusion. This phenomenon is a development of *Henry V*, wherein the audience is asked in its imagination to "deck" the English and French monarchs but does not actually embark with them; rather, the scene simply shifts from England to France.

The key events of *Cymbeline, King of Britain* (1610–11), probably the first play Shakespeare tailored to the Blackfriars Theatre, take place in the vicinity of the Welsh seaport Milford Haven, the point of Henry Tudor's return from exile and the most likely site for any putative Spanish invasion.[29] More significantly, it was situated in that part of south Pembrokeshire "known to Elizabethans as an English colony that called itself 'Little England beyond Wales.'"[30] The play, then, is as bestride two worlds as it is possible to be within the confines of the British mainland; many of the play's events take place on the beach, familiar to us already as "contact zone" and frontier, where the prevailing ethos is one of wonder from the moment Innogen asks Iachimo, "What makes your admiration?" (I.vi.39). In this respect the play is similar to *The Winter's Tale* (1609–10) and *The Tempest*, and all three are driven by the same emotional winds that gust through travel literature from the *Book of the Marvels of the World* (ca. 1300), which told of Marco Polo's travels through the Orient, to Elizabethan potboilers such as Edward Webbe's *Rare and Most VVonderfull Things vvhich Edvv. VVebbe an Englishman Borne, Hath Seene and Passed in His Trouble Some Trauailes* (1590) or Thomas Hariot's more scientific *Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588), the title of which is recast in Theodor de Bry's Latin edition (1590) as *Admiranda Narratio Fida Tamen*—a wonderful but trustworthy narrative, or strange, but true.[31] Generations of travel writers had been slurred as liars for asserting the truth of what at first sight was outlandish, literally meaning beyond the land. But such was the task Shakespeare took upon himself to achieve in the Blackfriars romances—namely, to persuade his audience of the truth in the outlandish, and to guide them from wonder to knowledge. To this end, Shakespeare needs to transport the audience across the sea to where the wonderful need not be imagined but could be experienced or witnessed firsthand thanks to the mechanical contrivances of his new theater.

According to Harold Bloom, *Cymbeline*, with its stray bear and eagle-borne Jupiter, is either an unconvincing first experiment—for Dr. Samuel Johnson, the "impossibility of the events" were the

product of "unresisting imbecility"—or a "self-parody."[32] In the words with which the First Gentlemen appraises his own account of Cymbeline's parental and marital dysfunctions, "Howso'er 'tis strange, / Or that the negligence may well be laughed at, / Yet it is true, sir" (I.i.66–8). Strange, but true—*admiranda tamen fida*. And nothing is stranger but truer than Hermione's resurrection in *The Winter's Tale*, whether actual or feigned. Before the climactic statue scene, the re-encounter between Leontes and Perdita is related by the First Gentleman in the key of wonder: "I make a broken delivery of the business, but the changes I perceived in the King and Camillo were very notes of admiration. They seemed almost, with staring on one another, to tear the cases of their eyes. There was speech in their dumbness, language in their very gesture. They looked as they had heard of a world ransomed, or one destroyed. A notable passion of wonder appeared in them" (V.ii.9–15).

For his part, the Third Gentleman contributes a description of the psychopathology of wonder: "There was casting up of eyes, holding up of hands, with countenance of such distraction that they were to be known by garment, not by favour" (V.ii.46–9). What is germane to our argument is that, as in *Henry V* and *Pericles*, a chorus is on hand once more to waft the audience across the sea to this *terra incognita* otherwise beyond the reach of the stage—the problem being, notoriously, that *The Winter's Tale*'s ultramarine wonderland is landlocked Bohemia, where the literal outlandish should be a geographical impossibility. It is as if Shakespeare requires Bohemia to have a coast because there must be some sea to be crossed if new worlds rich in new knowledge are to be established; similar to Bacon's discoverers and explorers, Shakespeare's audience sails on ships of learning to lands where the strange becomes true and can be experienced firsthand instead of merely read about, learned by hearsay, or summoned by suspect fantasies. Thus, the mariners who deliver Perdita are no mere plot facilitators; rather, they form part of the Shakespearean equation of knowledge acquisition. Perdita's recovery and recognition rely on her safe passage across the ocean, which is made possible by the mariners. In turn, as she grows up in Bohemia—"grown in grace / Equal with wond'ring" (IV.i.24–5)—the country is transformed from what Antigonus perceives, possibly unreliably, as "deserts" (III.iii.2), or from a place inhabited more reliably by at least one bear, into a land as plentiful in livestock and abundant in flora as the new worlds of colonial promotional propaganda. Bohemia is reconceived, then, as *terra incognita* whose wonders,

chief among them Hermione's resurrection, may be experienced at first hand by the audience.

To put things bluntly, in the romances, thanks in part to the Blackfriars Theatre's greater potential for staging mechanically contrived illusions, Shakespeare turns on its head the Marlovian dichotomy between the trustworthy material illusion of the stage and Dido's delusive fantasies. It is the fantasy world that is now given material embodiment as wonderland unfolds before the audience's eyes instead of by proxy through a character's suspect image making; and it is the fantasy world that is as real, and therefore as true, as the real world. Marlowe's Dr. Faustus—like Dido and Macbeth, the victim of imagination and deranged in one way or another—is held up by the play's chorus as a warning:

> Only to wonder at unlawful things:
> Whose deepness doth entice such forward wits,
> To practise more than heavenly power permits.[33]

Not content with simply wondering, by taking ship and contravening the law regarding the unity of place, Shakespeare practiced more than aesthetic convention permitted and duly incurred the criticism of Ben Jonson. Yet, as I have suggested, this contravention was a move that found legitimacy in its metaphorical kinship with the sea voyages that were crossing the seas and extending the frontiers of knowledge by bringing back tales of new realities and new truths.

Of all Shakespeare's plays, *The Tempest* is most grounded in the discourse of discovery, but the play differs from *Pericles* and *The Winter's Tale* in that there is no journey from familiar *terra cognita* to strange *terra incognita*. From the start of the play, we are already on the other side of the sea, privileged tenants of wonderland from where, alongside Prospero, we watch as the survivors of the shipwreck come to terms with its strangeness and achieve the knowledge that we, as audience, already possess. In other words, the wonderful is the experiential norm, not the exception, and this means, as William Hazlitt first intuited, that paradigmatic dichotomies are inverted or turned inside out; Prospero's exotic and esoteric island is *terra cognita*, and those who travel to it from across the sea are the strangers, not now from paradise but from the old world of the European metropoles.[34] Thus, in this looking-glass world, Miranda—whose name, of Shakespeare's own creation, literally means admirable, as Ferdinand is aware in his lovesick punning ("Admired Miranda! /

Indeed the top of admiration!" [III.i.37–8])—ends up herself admiring the shipwrecked victims as if they had been washed ashore from a new and unknown world. In the familiar "contact zone" of the beach/stage, old worlds encounter new; but, in Miranda's famous lines, it is the old world that is apprehended as new and wonderful from the perspective of the play's inside-out or looking-glass epistemological order, where normative reality is fantasy:

> O wonder!
> How many goodly creatures are there here!
> How beauteous mankind is! O brave new world
> That has such people in't!
>
> (V.i.184–7)

Or, to adopt Miranda's terminology elsewhere, what once was "divine" is now "natural," and therefore what is alien to that nature, such as Ferdinand, is "A thing divine, for nothing natural / I ever saw so noble" (I.ii.421–2). In this light, Sebastian's and Antonio's comments during the banquet scene can be viewed in sharper perspective:

> Sebastian. A living drollery. Now I will believe
> That there are unicorns; that in Arabia
> There is one tree, the phoenix' throne; one phoenix
> At this hour reigning there.
> Antonio. I'll believe both; And what does else want
> credit come to me,
> And I'll be sworn 'tis true. Travellers ne'er did lie,
> Though fools at home condemn 'em.
>
> (III.iii.21–7)

The material substance of Prospero's mage-like "practise" of "unlawful things" becomes the standard of empirical truth against which to measure the truth of the conventionally mendacious travelogues, and the result of that measurement is the validation of the travelers' lies. In other words, by traversing the ocean the theatrical audience can, like travelers, experience the truth of what might otherwise have been dismissed as outlandish fabrication.

If by breaking the bounds of dramatic aesthetics and crossing the sea to give material substance to what had hitherto been fantasy, Shakespeare adumbrates a new order of knowledge wherein the wonderful becomes normal, the foreign familiar, the

old new, and the divine natural, then what exactly do those who join him on Bacon's ship of learning bring back from the voyage? Particularly in the romances, wherein the circumambient ethos is that of wonder—which is, according to Socrates the beginning of philosophy—how is the audience's store of knowledge increased?[35] One obvious cognitive gain is implicit in the expansive generosity with which Miranda, as the new encountering the old for the first time, greets the shipwrecked party in terms embracing the human race itself: "How beauteous mankind is!" There is here a magnanimous capacity to recognize oneself in the other that undermines the fundamental premise of alterity that underpins all imperial discourse. It is a capacity shared by figures such as Michel de Montaigne or Raleigh; the latter's *Discovery of Guiana* has been hailed as an early essay in comparative ethnology, one in which Raleigh himself undergoes processes of cultural coadaptation that necessarily blur distinctions of racial or ethnic identity. It is a capacity, too, that replaces the anxiety about identity loss registered almost two decades earlier in *The Comedy of Errors*, wherein the subject is conceived as a drop of water "confound[ed]" in the ocean whence it cannot emerge purely itself and "unmingled" (I.ii.38 and 130).[36]

In a nutshell, it might be asserted that *The Tempest* broadens the mind by allowing us to apprehend new realities and therefore modify preexisting cognitive frames; an old, Eurocentric essentialism becomes a new, universal relativism. This lesson is the same as that gleaned by Samuel Purchas from the voyage reports he assembled in his *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625): "It is true, that as every member of the bodie hath somewhat eminent, whereby it is serviceable to the whole; so every Region excelleth all others in some peculiar Raritie, which may be termed extraordinary respectively, though otherwise most common and ordinary in its owne place … and so each part is to other part in some or other part, and particular respect admirable."[37] That is to say, the more one travels and amasses empirical evidence of different regions, the more one learns that what is wonderful or admirable is relative to what one holds common or ordinary. Travel, thus, has a cognitively leveling effect between what lies on either side of the sea—the frontier of knowledge—as does the equipoising of fantasy and reality in Shakespeare's romances.[38] But to benefit from that leveling, the sea has first to be traversed. Fortunately enough, the voyage on Shakespeare's ship of learning costs no more than the price of a ticket to the theater, where even those standing on foot in the pit have a much more

comfortable time of it than those risking life and limb on board the small and fragile boats of discovery.

This concept of cognitive leveling facilitates a somewhat tighter and more historicized formulation of such idolizing assessments according to which in *The Tempest*, "By creating a world which has no pretensions to reality as it exists outside the play, Shakespeare has presented reality more profoundly than ever before."[39] Yet it is an increment to our learning that leaves us feeling shortchanged. This is firstly because we want the final outcome of Shakespeare's aesthetic daring and dramaturgical experimentation to be more than a lame demonstration of incipient cultural relativism or protocosmopolitanism, and secondly because given the centrality of the sea to both the metaphorical economy of the discourse of knowledge and to Shakespeare's dramatic evolution toward *The Tempest*, we want on the one hand to be able to posit a tighter relationship between Shakespeare's art and early modern science and, on the other, to infer Shakespeare's own view on that relationship. Elizabeth Spiller has argued that *The Tempest* is inscribed within the new epistemology of early modern science's engagement with the accidental or anomalous and that whereas by the play's end "Miranda and Ferdinand are brought from a kind of Aquinian wonder to a Baconian knowledge, Caliban stands outside this new knowledge universe."[40] Thus, in one way, Shakespeare is aligned with the Scientific Revolution. But aligning Shakespeare with anything is always a risky enterprise, and to make him an intellectual Baconian sounds absurdly reductionist. A similar claim might be made of John Donne, who famously in "A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning" uses the navigator's compass, the very mechanical instrument and symbol of discovery, to close the "injurious distance" and bridge the very "space" Shakespeare complained of in sonnet 44 (line 3).[41] But there is a difference: Donne's conceit requires the operation of his reader's imagination and intellect to make sense. Shakespeare's romances render his audience's imaginations and intellects redundant in so far as we can now see on stage what before we had first to imagine and then to construe in our minds. With the imagination thus relieved of its cognitive duties, art is dumbed down and reduced to narcotic, to everything that Bertolt Brecht deplored in drama and failed to find in Shakespeare; it is a symptom of that dissociation of sensibility noted by T. S. Eliot; and it is a harbinger of an aesthetic wherein the sensual and the emotional apparently reign supreme.

This conclusion naturally evokes the Keatsian strain of Romanticism. In his letter of 22 November 1817, written to Benjamin Bailey and known as "The Authenticity of the Imagination," Keats writes famously that "[i]magination may be compared to Adam's dream—he awoke and found it truth."[42] When Shakespeare commenced his writing career, the dream-vision as a literary framing device had been conferring authenticity on poetical and philosophical fictions since at least Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* and Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosphiæ*; if a writer's fictions could not be authorized on the basis of divine inspiration, then a dream was a useful makeshift to avoid suspicions of drunkenness or madness. Famous Continental instances include the *Roman de la Rose* and Dante Aligheri's *Divine Comedy*. Chaucer was an adept, as was William Langland, as well as John Lydgate in his *The Temple of Glas*. *The Taming of the Shrew* (1590–91), one of Shakespeare's very first plays, makes use of the dream-vision frame in a gesture toward the centuries-old procedure for authenticating fictions. In the conclusion to the play, the dreamer, Christopher Sly, who is also a drunk, awakes and declares to the tapster, "O Lord, sirrah, I have had / The bravest dream tonight that ever thou / Heardest in all thy life" (conclusion.11–3).[43] Toward the end of his career, Shakespeare stages a dream world made, like Adam's, true—thanks to the mechanical devices of the Blackfriars and the authenticating device of the sea-crossing trope. From this dream world, Miranda hails the visitors from the old and familiar real world, which she reconfigures as "brave" and "new." In its reprise of Sly, that "brave" marks neatly the twin termini of Shakespeare's passage from dream to voyage as authenticating frames for his fictions; and dreams in Shakespeare are always associated with the wonderful, as when Bottom awakes and proclaims he is "to discourse wonders" in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (IV.ii.26). The irony is that in the period spanning the composition of *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Tempest*, travel writers reinforced the authenticity of their own narratives, hitherto highly suspect because of their reliance on epistemologically uncertain elocution, by casting themselves as actors, as experiential agents and patients, as doers and suffers whose bodies acted as witnesses to their travels and travails on the world stage. The travel writers, then, turned to the theater to authenticate their narratives, fictitious or not; in contrast, Shakespeare turned to the sea to authenticate his dramatic fictions. Thus, science took refuge in an empirical epistemology exemplified by dramatic art, while Shakespeare's art found haven in the materialization of the central trope of science as a voyage of learning across the frontiers of knowledge.

NOTES

[1] "Which is the best of Shakspeare's Plays?—I mean in what mood and with what accompanement do you like the Sea best?" (John Keats to Jane and Mariane Reynolds, 14 September 1817, in *The Letters of John Keats, 1814–1821*, ed. Hyder Edward Rollins, 2 vols. [Cambridge MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958], 1:157–60, 158, qtd. in Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and the English Romantic Imagination* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986], pp. 181–2).

[2] A. F. Falconer, *A Glossary of Shakespeare's Sea and Naval Terms, Including Gunnery* (London: Constable, 1965), p. viii; see also Falconer, *Shakespeare and the Sea* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1964).

[3] David Farr, "From the Director, David Farr," in "'What Country, Friends, Is This?' Three Plays by Shakespeare: Education Activities Pack," Royal Shakespeare Company, http://cdn2.rsc.org.uk/sitefinity/education-pdfs/teacher-packs/edu-twelfthnight(whatcountry)-teacherpack-2012.pdf?sfvrsn=2, accessed 6 November 2018, p. 3. The parenthetical play dates are from the table of contents in the 2005 Oxford *Complete Works*; see Shakespeare, *The Complete Works*, ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, 2d edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), pp. ix–x. Subsequent references to Shakespeare are from this edition and appear parenthetically in the text and notes by act, scene, and line number for drama or by line number for poetry.

[4] Steven Mentz, "Towards a Blue Cultural Studies: The Sea, Maritime Culture, and Early Modern English Literature," *LiteratureC* 6, 5 (September 2009): 997–1013, 1000 and 997. For additional blue cultural studies, see Mentz, *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean* (New York: Continuum, 2009); Dan Brayton, "Sounding the Deep: Shakespeare and the Sea Revisited," *FMLS* 46, 2 (April 2010): 189–206; and Brayton, *Shakespeare's Ocean: An Ecocritical Exploration* (Charlottesville: Univ. of Virginia Press, 2012).

[5] Mentz, "Towards a Blue Cultural Studies," pp. 998 and 1008. In this regard, Mentz cites Peter Hulme, "Cast Away: The Uttermost Parts of the Earth," in *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean*, ed. Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun (New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 187–201; John B. Hattendorf, *"The Boundless Deep … ": The European Conquest of the Oceans, 1450 to 1840* (Providence RI: John Carter Brown Library, 2003); and Christopher L. Connery, "The Oceanic Feeling and the Regional Imaginary," in *Global/Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary*, ed. Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake (Durham NC: Duke Univ. Press, 1996), pp. 284–311.

[6] See Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antverpiae: Apud Aegid. Coppenium Diesth, 1570); LLCN 98687183, https://lccn.loc.gov/98687183; and John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine: Presenting an Exact Geography of the Kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Iles Adioyning* (London: William Hall, [1611, i.e., 1612]); EEBO STC (2d edn.) 23041.

[7] On relations between travel and the stage, see, for example, Anthony Parr, ed., *Three Renaissance Travel Plays: "The Travels of Three English Brothers," "The Sea Voyage," and "The Antipodes"* (Manchester UK: Manchester Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 3–7. On travelers figured as actors, see Jonathan P. A. Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560–1613* (Aldershot UK: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 145–62; and Sell, "Embodying Truth in Early Modern English Travel Writing," *StTW* 16, 3 (September 2012): 227–41.

[8] Richard Willes, "To the Ryght Noble and Excellent Lady, the Lady Brigit, Countesse of Bedforde, My Singular Good Lady and Mystresse," in *The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies, and Other Countreys Lying Eyther Way, towardes the Fruitfull and Ryche Moluccaes*, by Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, trans. Richarde Eden and Willes (London: Richarde Iugge, 1577), (.)iir–iiv, (.)iiiv; EEBO STC (2d edn.) 649.

[9] Northrop Frye, *A Natural Perspective: The Development of Shakespearean Comedy and Romance* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1965), pp. 148–9.

[10] Richard Hakluyt the younger, "The Epistle Dedicatorie in the First Edition, 1589," from *Principall Navigations*, in *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels: Travel and Colonial Writing in English, 1550–1630: An Anthology*, ed. Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2001), pp. 25–6, 25.

[11] It should perhaps be added that insularity is one of the defining characteristics of the English, a fact nowhere given greater expression than in John of Gaunt's "sceptered isle" speech (*The Tragedy of King Richard the Second*, II.i.40). One corollary of such English insularity is that whatever exists across the sea is inevitably other, and this other was often a real political and/or military threat to the English polity, whether in the form of France and Spain to the south, the Spanish-ruled Netherlands to the east, French-occupied Scotland (until 1568) to the north, or turbulent Ireland to the west. As Ronald Hutton writes, "An English Protestant, contemplating the world around on New Year's Day 1560, would have found it a distinctly scary place" (*A Brief History of Britain, 1485–1660* [London: Constable and Robinson, 2010], p. 112).

[12] Simon Goldhill, "What is Ekphrasis For?," *Classical Philology* 102, 1 (January 2007): 1–19, 5; see also D. A. Russell, *Criticism in Antiquity* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1981), pp. 69–79.

[13] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 6.

[14] G. W. Kitchin, introduction to *Of the Advancement of Learning*, by Francis Bacon (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1915), pp. vii–xii, viii.

[15] Kitchin, p. viii.

[16] Henry Power, *Experimental Philosophy, in Three Books: Containing New Experiments Microscopical, Mercurial, Magnetical* (London: T. Roycroft, John Martin, and James Allestry, 1664), p. 192; EEBO STC Wing P3099, qtd. in David Wootton, *The Invention of Science: A New History of the Scientific Revolution* (London: Allen Lane, 2016), p. 1.

[17] David Brewster, *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1855), p. 407.

[18] William Wordsworth, *The Prelude, or Growth of a Poet's Mind; An Autobiographical Poem* (London: Edward Moxton, 1850), p. 58.

[19] See Christopher Marlowe, *Dido Queene of Carthage*, in *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Roma Gill, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987) 1:113–74. For a useful overview of the issues surrounding the dates of composition and first performance of *Dido*, see Mark Abbott, *Dido, Queen of Carthage: An Overview of Marlowe's Works* (Marlowe Society, 2009), https://docuri.com/download/marlowe-society-did-overview_59c1cfeff5817 10b28640f0c_pdf.

[20] For a fuller discussion of this emphasis on sight, see Sell, "A Tragedy of Oversight: Visual Praxis in Christopher Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*," *MRDE* 29 (2016): 130–53, 135–8.

[21] See, for example, the exchange between Ilioneus, Sergestus, Aeneas, and Dido (Marlowe, *Dido*, II.i.67–74), or Dido's speech (Marlowe, *Dido*, V.i.251–61).

[22] Marlowe, *Dido*, IV.iii.55–6; and V.i.269 and 262.

[23] Marlowe, *Dr Faustus*, ed. Gill, 3d edn. (London: Methuen Drama, 2008), xiii.68. For Faustus's plea to Helen, see xii.89–95.

[24] Mentz, *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean*, p. 25.

[25] Macbeth is half submerged, unlike Antony who, bestriding oceans, planted his feet in conflicting polities and cultures. *Antony and Cleopatra* is, incidentally, the play by Shakespeare in which the sea is mentioned most frequently, whether as theater of naval warfare or physical medium criss-crossed by messengers; on the latter, see David Lucking, "Bad News: Medium as Message in *Antony and Cleopatra*," *ES* 96, 6 (June 2015): 619–35.

[26] Ross will later observe how those of Macbeth's party "but float upon a wild and violent sea / each way" (IV.ii.21–2).

[27] On the emblem behind the scene, see Guy Hunt, "Shakespeare's Cliff at Dover and an Emblem Illustration," *HLQ* 47, 3 (Summer 1984): 226–31.

[28] My list omits Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* (1596–97) and *Much Ado about Nothing* (1598–99), which—together with *Measure for Measure* (1603–04) and *All's Well That Ends Well* (1606–07), both of which they anticipate in several ways—could be categorized as city or urban comedies.

[29] See Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., "Civilizing Wales: *Cymbeline*, Roads, and the Landscapes of Early Modern Britain," in "Literature and Geography," ed. Richard Helgerson and Joanne Woolway Grenfell, special issue, *EMLS* 4, 2 (September 1998): 1–34, 10–1.

[30] Ronald J. Boling, "Anglo-Welsh Relations in *Cymbeline*," *SQ* 51, 1 (Spring 2000): 33–66, 34.

[31] See Edward Webbe, *The Rare and Most VVonderfull Things vvhich Edvv. VVebbe an Englishman Borne, Hath Seene and Passed in His Trouble Some Trauailes, in the Cities of Jerusalem, Damasko, Bethlehem, and Galely: and in the Landes of Jewrie, Egypt, Grecia, Russia, and Prester John* (London: [J. Wolfe for William Wright], 1509); EEBO STC (2d edn.) 25152; Thomas Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (London: [R. Robinson], 1588); EEBO STC (2d edn.) 12785; and Hariot, Theodor de Bry, and Johann Theodor de Bry, *Admiranda narratio fida tamen, de commodis et incolarum ritibus Virginiae. Anglico scripta sermone a Thoma Hariot* (Frankfurt: Theodor de Bry, 1590).

[32] Harold Bloom, *Shakespeare's Romances* (Philadelphia PA: Chelsea House Publishers, 2002), p. 2; and Samuel Johnson, *Cymbeline*, in *Johnson on Shakespeare*, ed. Arthur Sherbo, vol. 8 of *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1968), p. 908.

[33] Marlowe, *Dr Faustus*, xiii.117–8.

[34] "As the preternatural part has the air of reality, and almost haunts the imagination with an air of truth, the real characters and events partake of the wildness of a dream" (William Hazlitt, "Characters of Shakespear's Plays," qtd. in *The Romantics on Shakespeare*, ed. Bate [London: Penguin, 1992], pp. 534–7, 535).

[35] Plato, *Theaetetus*, ed. M. J. Levett, rev. Myles F. Burnyeat, in *Complete Works*, ed. John M. Cooper (Indianapolis IN: Hackett Publishing, 1997), pp. 157–234, 173, section 155d.

[36] See Ruth Nevo, *Comic Transformations in Shakespeare* (London: Methuen, 1980), pp. 22–34.

[37] Samuel Purchas, "To the Reader," in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols. (Glasgow: James McLehose, 1905), 1:xxxix–xlviii, xl.

[38] Kenneth J. Semon argues that in *The Tempest*, the artistic challenge facing Shakespeare is "to reconcile the fantastic secondary world with the experiential primary world" ("Shakespeare's Tempest: Beyond a Common Joy," *ELH* 40, 1 [Spring 1973]: 24–43, 26). I prefer "equipoise" to "reconcile" here; setting on an equal footing does not entail beatific harmonization, as Caliban's equivocal position at the end of the play indicates.

[39] Semon, "Fantasy and Wonder in Shakespeare's Last Plays," *SQ* 25, 1 (Winter 1974): 89–102, 102.

[40] Elizabeth Spiller, "Shakespeare and the Making of Early Modern Science: Resituating Prospero's Art," *SCRev* 26, 1/2 (Spring–Summer 2009): 24–41, 32.

[41] John Donne, *The Complete English Poems*, ed. A. J. Smith (Harmondsworth UK: Penguin, 1976), pp. 84–5.

[42] Keats to Benjamin Bailey ["The Authenticity of the Imagination"], 22 November 1817, in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, 7th edn., ed. M. H. Abrams and Stephen Greenblatt, 2 vols. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000), 2:887–8, 887.

[43] The conclusion and four other brief episodes including Sly are not included in the Folio.