

HOSPITALITY AND SHAKESPEARE'S *THE TEMPEST*
TRACES OF HOMER'S *ODYSSEY* AND VIRGIL'S *AENEID*

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ABSTRACT

Building on the well-known connections between *The Tempest's* opening storm scene and Juno's storm in the *Aeneid* and Neptune's storm in the *Odyssey*, this essay finds a special link between meetings of Ferdinand and Miranda in *The Tempest* and those of Ulysses and Nausicaa in the *Odyssey* and of Aeneas and Dido in the *Aeneid*, particularly their shared observance of the (ethical) proprieties of hospitality, courtship, betrothal, and dynastic marriage. That *The Tempest* was performed at Whitehall in 1612–1613 sometime during the betrothal and nuptial celebrations of Princess Elizabeth and Frederick, the Elector Palatine, resonates with and validates emphasizing the dynastic overtones of the play's royal betrothal.

KEYWORDS

The Tempest; *Odyssey*; *Aeneid*; hospitality; decorum; court performance; intertextuality

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Shakespeare is telling us, "Remember the Aeneid."¹

Jan Kott

It is generally agreed, Shakespeare never read the *Odyssey*.²

A. D. Nuttall

Regarding *The Tempest's* connection to Virgil's *Aeneid* and Homer's *Odyssey*, the critical consensus varies: views of *The Tempest's* "Virgilian resonance" range from flat-out denial to full-throated support of the link.³ Not even the play's opening storm scene, with its decided resemblances to the *Aeneid's*, is a critically blessed connection.⁴ While it is undeniable that Shakespeare borrowed Ferdinand's "Most sure the goddess" (1.2.422)⁵ from Aeneas's *O dea certe!* (1.328),⁶ the play's other apparent links to Virgil—the Harpy scene, for example—are, according to one influential view, "Virgilian material" that "is firmly adapted into Ovidian romance mode."⁷ Even the flurry of critics who, from the 1990s to 2019, posit a connection between the *Aeneid* and *The Tempest*, differ widely. While one critic (1998) firmly asserts that Shakespeare's "investment in Virgil's text is so great as to constitute a formal and rigorous rhetorical imitation of the major narrative kernels of Aeneid 1–6,"⁸ another (2013) offers a more circumspect assessment of the *Aeneid* as "not exactly 'central' to *The Tempest*, not that it is peripheral to it either."⁹ If one commentator (1987) will make the link his credo, "I believe the *Aeneid* is the main source of the play in this sense . . . the work to which Shakespeare is primarily responding, the story he is retelling,"¹⁰ another (1990) counters with, "there are

¹ Jan Kott, "The *Aeneid* and *The Tempest*," *Arion*, New Series 3/4 (1976): 424.

² A. D. Nuttall, "Action at a Distance: Shakespeare and the Greeks," in *Shakespeare and the Classics*, ed. Charles Martindale and A. B. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 214.

³ "The *Aeneid* has long been discussed as part of the imaginative landscape of *The Tempest*, and the range of opinions is vast." Leah Whittington, "Shakespeare's Virgil: Empathy and *The Tempest*," in *Shakespeare and Renaissance Ethics*, ed. Patrick Gray and John D. Cox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 110; see 103 for "recent accounts of Shakespeare's classical reading" and 110 for studies of *The Tempest* in connection with Virgil, many of which are cited in this paper.

⁴ That is, it is viewed as just one of many possible sources, as, for example, Stoll's complaint that Strachey is only one possible source for *The Tempest's* storm. Elmer Edgar Stoll, "Certain Fallacies and Irrelevancies in the Literary Scholarship of the Day," *Studies in Philology* 24 (1927): 486–87.

⁵ William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. Virginia Mason and Alden T. Vaughan, rev. ed. (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2011). All citations are from this edition.

⁶ Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid*. I use the Loeb line-for-line translation to stay close to the Latin but emend it where I think Loeb's English does not reflect Virgil's Latin as I understand it.

⁷ Charles Martindale and Michelle Martindale, *Shakespeare and the Uses of Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1990), 76; Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare's Ovid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 239–63.

⁸ Donna B. Hamilton, *Virgil and The Tempest: The Politics of Imitation* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990), x.

⁹ Colin Burrow, *Shakespeare & Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 80.

¹⁰ Robert Wiltenburg, "The *Aeneid* in *The Tempest*," in *Shakespeare Survey: Shakespeare on Film and Television*

a whole trail of references to Virgil's *Aeneid*, which critics in vain have tried to make into a significant pattern."¹¹ Recent attempts (up to 2013) to connect the *Aeneid* to *The Tempest* "tend to highlight broader bands of resonance . . . and show Shakespeare appropriating . . . poetic situations, ideological frameworks, and modes of feeling."¹² As late as 2019, however, Bate still (since 1993) asserts that "despite the best efforts of these and other critics, I have never been able to see a consistent pattern to the allusions and parallels [of the *Aeneid* and *The Tempest*]."¹³ It is clear that the critical assessment of the *Aeneid*'s connection to *The Tempest* is a vexed one.

Even wider critical divergence haunts linking *The Tempest* with Homer's *Odyssey*. In an early affirmation of the connection (1948), one critic submits that in *The Tempest*, "the requisite happenings in the requisite order are to be found in the fifth and sixth books of the *Odyssey*, where Ulysses is wrecked on the coast of Phaeacia and there meets Nausicaa, and in the first book of the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas, after a like fate, encounters his mother, Venus."¹⁴ A more recent view (2004) concludes, "it is generally agreed, Shakespeare never read the *Odyssey*."¹⁵ Critics concur that since Shakespeare could not have known enough Greek to read Homer in the original, and since an English translation of the *Odyssey* was not available to him,¹⁶ his knowledge of Homer could have been gleaned only from scattered sources. If the critical consensus finds the connection between *The Tempest* and the *Aeneid* tenuous, it finds its link to Homer's *Odyssey* insubstantial. It could be, however, that as Virgil drew from Homer, so Shakespeare borrowed from Homer through Virgil or others.¹⁷ Or it could be that Shakespeare was as familiar with Chapman's *Odyssey* as his *Troilus* shows he was with Chapman's *Iliad*.¹⁸ Or Shakespeare himself could have read, as Chapman did, selections

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 159.

¹¹ Martindale and Martindale, *Uses*, 76.

¹² Whittington, "Shakespeare's Virgil," 103; see also 110: "What interested Shakespeare about the *Aeneid* was not only its complex treatment of the discourse of epic imperialism, colonialism, and the problems of sovereignty, but also its use of empathy in a way that blends poetics and the moral imagination."

¹³ Jonathan Bate, *How the Classics Made Shakespeare* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 404n60.

¹⁴ J. M. Nosworthy, "The Narrative Sources of *The Tempest*," *The Review of English Studies* 24 (96) (1948): 287.

¹⁵ Nuttall, "Action at a Distance," 214.

¹⁶ Of George Chapman's translation of Homer's *Odyssey*, one commentator maintains that "even if Shakespeare had read part of it in manuscript, from 1611 onwards, it probably came too late to exert any influence on the plays." Yves Peyré, "Shakespeare's *Odyssey*," in *Shakespeare and the Mediterranean*, ed. Tom Clayton, Susan Brock, and Vincente Forés (Newark: University of Delaware Press), 231.

¹⁷ Burrow defines Richard Thomas's term "window reference" as "a form of layered imitation, in which the imitated text alludes simultaneously to a source text and to the text which it is imitating." Colin Burrow, *Imitating Authors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 14. See Maguire and Smith's application of this idea in linking *The Tempest* to the *Aeneid* via Marlowe's *Dido and Aeneas*. Laurie Maguire and Emma Smith, "What is a Source? Or, How Shakespeare Read His Marlowe," in *Shakespeare Survey: Shakespeare, Origins and Originality*, ed. Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 19–21. See also Nuttall, "Action at a Distance," 219, who mentions the connection from Homer's sea epic, to Roman epic, and then to Greek romances.

¹⁸ Regarding the influence of Chapman's *Iliad* on Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, Nuttall comments: "Chapman's translation of *Iliad* had not been published, but Chapman, like Jonson, is a person to whom Shakespeare may have talked." Nuttall, "Action at a Distance," 217. But even if Shakespeare had not read it, Chapman's *Odyssey* at least offers a contemporaneous attitude towards the Nausicaa and Ulysses meeting we can compare to Shakespeare's attitude towards the Ferdinand and Miranda meetings.

from the *Odyssey* in Latin.¹⁹ Whatever Shakespeare's point of access, we can assume that he was sufficiently aware of the *Odyssey's* Nausicaa and Ulysses episodes and conversant with the *Aeneid's* Dido and Aeneas episodes for us to take their connections to *The Tempest* seriously.²⁰ Even a cursory comparison of the Ferdinand and Miranda scenes with the Dido and Aeneas and the Ulysses and Nausicaa episodes suggests that these correspondences are not mere coincidences. This critical disagreement about the apparent link between Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid* suggests that a reassessment of the connection is not unwarranted.

The worlds of the *Odyssey*, the *Aeneid*, and *The Tempest*, despite their generic differences, connect on the level of narrative.²¹ Understanding the story of these texts, whether poetic epic or poetic drama, requires following the action as presented: as it is ordered, moves forward, and is embellished by speeches, digressions, or subplots. Reading the movement of each story's action closely opens for view intertextual resemblances of the *Odyssey*, the *Aeneid*, and *The Tempest*. These corresponding stories, narrative or dramatic, share a frame within which the exemplar's subject matter is reflected in the adapted subject matter of its intertexts;²² that is, for my purposes, the ethical protocols of hospitality that shape the meetings of Nausicaa and Ulysses, Dido and Aeneas, and Miranda and Ferdinand amplify their intertextual resonance.

Since my reading of these narrative correspondences situates each of them within the conventions of hospitality, a brief comment about its classical norms is pertinent.²³ Hospitality is the frame that defines the ethical significance of these narratives: a stranger is granted hospitality, which is conditioned on meeting the host's assessment of the stranger's status, intentions, and behaviour. In practice, incorporating a stranger into a group is embodied in symbolic ritual and gesture. A bath, for example, purifies the foreignness of a suppliant stranger; a handshake, breaking bread, and gift-giving signify the intention of both parties to establish a reciprocal relationship; and entertainment—storytelling, dance, etc.—celebrates the inclusion of the stranger. To grant and to accept hospitality are ethical acts because they are

¹⁹ Chapman, according to Burrow, "made great boasts of his proficiency in Greek," but "actually struggled his way through the Greek texts of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* with the help of a Latin version on the facing page" that "were full of phrases drawn from Virgil's imitations of Homer, which were used to translate their original." Burrow, *Antiquity*, 13, 37. Regarding Shakespeare's Greek, "it was more usual for pupils in Shakespeare's period to approach the experience of Greek texts through Latin." *Ibid.*, 37.

²⁰ That is, as seriously as we take claims for Shakespeare's use of Strachey's "True Reportory," though published in 1624, in *The Tempest* (c. 1610); for the definitive statement on the probability that Shakespeare was indebted to Strachey, despite the apparent unlikelihood of the connection, see Alden T. Vaughan, "William Strachey's 'True Reportory' and Shakespeare: A Closer Look at the Evidence," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59.3 (2008): 245–73.

²¹ This discussion is indebted to the theoretical work of Hinds and Burrow, *Imitating*. See also Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

²² Alessandro Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects in Vergil's Narrative*, trans. Ilaria Marchesi and Matt Fox (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 49.

²³ Much of the following is a summary of Bolchazy, who compares views of hospitality held by the ancients, especially the Greeks and Romans. See Ladislaus J. Bolchazy, "From Xenophobia to Altruism: Homeric and Roman Hospitality," *The Ancient World* 1 (1978): 45–64. As my analysis will additionally show, in *The Tempest*, the ancient ethical code of hospitality is problematized by the overlay of the medieval courtly love code's erotic charge.

based on mutual trust; conversely, to violate the rules of hospitality is to break trust, an ethical breach.²⁴ Hospitality, as Bolchazy writes, regulates the behaviour of guest and host. To pay special attention to the proprieties of hospitality during the meetings of Nausicaa and Ulysses in Chapman's *Odyssey*,²⁵ Dido and Aeneas in Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Ferdinand and Miranda in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* is to ascertain the ethical standpoint of each. In comparing these works, hospitality becomes a transhistorical ethical principle that is adapted to the new circumstances and new vocabularies of each succeeding text.²⁶ The critical yield of reading the meetings of Ulysses and Nausicaa, Aeneas and Dido, and Ferdinand and Miranda as intertexts within the frame of the hospitality code validates making the comparison.

HOSPITALITY AND MODESTY IN CHAPMAN'S *ODYSSEY*: A MAIDEN WELCOMES A STRANGER

To clarify the ethical import of *The Tempest*'s scenes involving Ferdinand and Miranda, I will first explore how, in Chapman's *Odyssey*, the marooned Ulysses, with the help of Minerva, manages, with skilled decorum, to warrant hospitality, recover from the shipwreck, and set sail for Ithaca. But to enter Phaeacia, Ulysses, a stranger, must first negotiate a hospitable reception with the maiden Nausicaa. This episode focuses equally on the stranger's careful approach to the maiden and the maiden's safeguarding her good name. And while the purpose of the meeting is to initiate Minerva's "project": "to provide / That great-sould Ithacus might be supplied / With all things fitting his returne" (6.19–21),²⁷ the meeting's ethical underpinning is its emphasis on the decorous behaviour required of Ulysses to gain Nausicaa's hospitality. Hospitality—during their meeting, its prelude, and aftermath—requires that guest and host strictly regulate their behaviour.

²⁴ To determine a work's ethical standpoint, Derrida's deliberations about "foreigner" and "hospitality" are useful: the tension of the necessary "antinomy" between absolute and conditional hospitality creates an ethical perspective from which to evaluate instances of hospitality. This ethical space—the necessary gap between the aspirational absolute hospitality and the effective conditional hospitality—can serve as a heuristic from which to compare and evaluate instances of hospitality. Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, trans. Rachel Bowlby (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 79–81. Nausicaa's conditional hospitality; Dido's unconditional hospitality; Prospero's mock withholding of hospitality fall within a range created by the ethical space between absolute and conditioned hospitality.

²⁵ Chapman's *Odyssey* is not Homer's *Odyssey*; his elaborate diction, contorted syntax, even passages of his own invention produce an *Odyssey* that is, at times, more an interpretation than it is a translation. Henry Burrowes Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics into English: From Caxton to Chapman, 1477–1620* (New York: Octagon Books, 1967), 290–91. However, the ethos of Chapman's translation, evident in its courtly embellishment of the original, is especially relevant as it is contemporaneous with *The Tempest*'s courtly treatment of the Miranda-Ferdinand meeting.

²⁶ Burrow calls this "adaptive imitation." Burrow, *Imitating*, 9. The texts under consideration highlight, to a greater or a lesser extent, the erotic attraction of the stranger and the host. Chapman's *Odyssey* is a special case: his translation at times overlays the ancient hospitality code of Homer's original with a courtly vocabulary. In the *Aeneid* Dido and Aeneas's erotic encounter violates the guest-host relationship and, in doing so, sunders their hospitable relationship. *The Tempest*, in the courtship scenes, overlays the traditional guest-host relationship with the erotically charged vocabulary of the medieval courtly love tradition, which Prospero controls.

²⁷ All references to Chapman's *Odyssey* are to Nicoll's edition. Allardyce Nicoll, ed., *Chapman's Homer: The Odyssey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

To ensure that King Alcinous accepts Ulysses at court, Minerva must rehabilitate his “rough appearance” (6.199) and, to do this, she appropriately chooses Alcinous’s daughter, Nausicaa, to be the first Phaeacian to offer Ulysses hospitality. The ethical problem is that Nausicaa is a maiden whose good name is necessary for a high-ranking marriage, and even a happenstance meeting with a stranger, as Nausicaa’s fear of rumour indicates (6.446), would mar her reputation and, ultimately, her marriageability. For these reasons, in Nausicaa’s dream, Minerva provides her with a reason to be in the vicinity of Ulysses and with the “boldnesse” (6.203) to put aside, for the moment, her maidenly decorum, so that she can unabashedly help the stranger Ulysses. Taking the form of Nausicaa’s maiden friend, Minerva instils “boldnesse” in Nausicaa by, ironically, implanting a dream that emphasizes Nausicaa’s prenuptial duties: Minerva chastises Nausicaa for neglecting “rites so stood upon / by other virgins” (6.40–41). By instructing Nausicaa to go “to the river and repurifie / Thy wedding garments” (6.49–50), Minerva, at once, emphasizes the importance of her adherence to the duties of a maiden whose “Nuptials nie” (6.42) and, at the same time, provides her with the daring to meet Ulysses—both will move her own project forward.

With this emphasis on Nausicaa’s modesty, the ethical stage is set, then, for her first meeting with Ulysses. From Ulysses’s point of view, it becomes increasingly evident that to negotiate his way to court, he must first bridge an almost comic distance between Nausicaa’s modest beauty and his “horrid” appearance. When Ulysses, naked except for an olive branch, appears before the virgins, his “rough appearance,” as decorum would require, put “[a]ll in a flight / The Virgins scattered, frighted with his sight” (6.199–200). “All,” that is, “but Nausicaa fled” (6.202). The intervention of Minerva, who “put boldnesse in her brest” (6.203), affords Nausicaa the courage—“in her faire lims tender Feare comprest” (6.203–4)—to ask Ulysses “[w]hat man he was” (6.206). To identify the stranger is her attempt to ascertain the righteousness of his intentions and a first step towards an offer of hospitality. In response, Ulysses’s rhetorically elaborate address must persuade her of his integrity, that, as he is a stranger in dire circumstances, he requires her help and merits her hospitality.

His canny speech depicts a Ulysses who is acutely aware of the protocols of supplication: he must show respect for Nausicaa’s maidenhood, so that, ultimately, he can merit her hospitality, replenish his supplies, and sail to Ithaca. To set the terms of his speech, Ulysses wonders about the propriety of approaching this maiden to “guide him to the Towne” (6.213): whether “her virgin knee / He should be bold, but kneeling, to embrace,” as he later will do with Nausicaa’s mother, or to “keepe aloof and trie with words of grace / In humble suppliance” (6.210–11). Ulysses’s good sense and rhetorical acumen enable him to recognize that since Nausicaa is a maiden, he must, in his supplication, “keepe aloof” to address her appropriately. While, in his appeal for hospitality, he flatters her (or is he truly amazed at her beauty?)—“Are you mortal or the deified race?”—his flattery is cognizant of correctness, mainly emphasizing her maidenhood and her marriageability: if a god, Nausicaa is “so neare as to the chast-borne birth of Jove, / The Beamie Cynthia” (6.224–25), that is, the chaste Diana; if a mortal, her parents and brothers are “[t]hrice blest” and her husband is a “most blest he / . . . that hath the gift t’engage / Your bright neck in the yoke of marriage” (6.230–36). At the speech’s close, only after having stayed “aloof” so as not to “incense her maiden modesty” (6.215–18) can

Ulysses "vow" that he is indeed a stranger—"No other Dame, nor man, that this Earth owne, / And Neighbour Citie, I have seene or knowne" (6.271–72)—and so request hospitality: "The Towne then shew me; my nakedness / Some shroud to shelter it" (6.273–74). If Ulysses's suppliant request for hospitality is, in his mind, a step towards returning to Ithaca, his "requital" (6.276) links his destiny to the ethics of respecting Nausicaa's maiden modesty. As Ulysses characterizes it, both their ends are the fulfilment of meritable goals: his is a journey to Ithaca and Penelope, and Nausicaa's a marriage of "family, / And good agreement" and "firme consent / Of man and wife in household government" (6.276–80). In his supplication, Ulysses elaborately weaves two threads: his sensitive approach to a modest maiden and his need for hospitality.

Ulysses's ethically adroit speech convinces Nausicaa of his need and integrity. She offers Ulysses the hospitality he seeks: "Weeds and what else a humane hand should give / To one so suppliant and tam'd with woe / Thou shalt not want. Our Citie I will show" (6.296–98); and, persuaded by his speech of his integrity, she commands the virgins to do the same. That is, the maidens can tend to Ulysses's needs because he is not an indecent brute—not "a Cyclops" nor does he "range / In rape of women," nor "suffer to be done, / Acts leud and abject" (6.309–18); rather he is "pious" (6.320) and "a poore unhappie wretch, / Wrack't here" (6.327–28). Ulysses guessed right. His respectful approach meets Nausicaa's conditions for affording him hospitality.

If the episode's emphasis on the behaviours required by hospitality needs any further support, it can be found, first, when the Virgins attempt to bathe Ulysses. Even though hospitality protocols warrant otherwise,²⁸ Ulysses, in all modesty, insists on bathing himself: "I'll not wash in sight / Of faire-haired maidens. I should blush outright / To bathe all bare by such a virgin light" (6.351–53). Second, although at the sight of a Ulysses physically enhanced by Minerva, "Nausicaa's eye stroke wonder through her heart", her response is discrete—erotic but mainly admiring, "This rare man (I know) / Tred not our country earth against the will / Of some God" (6.381–83). Ulysses's freshly bathed body—augmented by Minerva: his "sparkling eies," his "fresh guise," and his "locks (clensd) curld the more" (6.362–64)—prompts Nausicaa to wish that "her [future] husband were no worse" (6.386). If this is erotic, then even Nausicaa's sensual desire is tempered in terms of the propriety of marriage, as she compares Ulysses to an ideal "husband." Finally, Nausicaa's decision to return to court ahead of Ulysses protects her good name from the "reproches to my fame" (6.447) by the "rude Mechanicals," whose views of maidenly propriety Nausicaa shares: "For even my self just anger would enflame / If any other virgin I should see / (Her parents living) keepe the companie / Of any man to any end of love, / Till open Nuptials should her act approve" (6.448–52). There is never a moment in this episode when Ulysses or Nausicaa is not acutely aware of the importance of propriety. Their discretion is at the ethical centre of the episode: Ulysses's respectful supplication persuades Nausicaa to offer him much needed hospitality.

²⁸ In a side note about Ulysses's modesty, Chapman's comments, "He taught the youths modestie by his aged judgment—as recusing the custom of maids then used to that entertainment of men: notwithstanding the modestie of that age could not be corrupted inwardly, for those outward kind of observations of guests and strangers, and was therefore privileged" (6.333).

HOSPITALITY AND PUDOR IN VIRGIL'S *AENEID*: A WIDOW WELCOMES A STRANGER

In Virgil's *Aeneid*, the meetings of Dido and Aeneas increasingly violate the strictures of propriety that in the *Odyssey* Nausicaa and Ulysses adhere to—ending, for Dido, in sorrow, shame, and suicide. Aeneas's meetings with Venus and then Dido, in some ways, reflect but, mainly, refract the meetings of their counterparts, Ulysses with Nausicaa and then with Alcinous. Just as Minerva meets Ulysses on the shores of Phaeacia to guide him, so Venus meets Aeneas on the shores of Carthage. As Minerva instigates Nausicaa to help Ulysses, Mercury, on behalf of Jupiter, instills in Dido a hospitable attitude towards the Trojans. To help their heroes, Minerva and Venus disguise themselves as maidens, and Venus enlists Cupid to impersonate a more alluring Ascanius; Ulysses's physical attractiveness is enhanced by Minerva, Aeneas's by Venus; mortals are perceived to be gods and gods, mortals; and since both Phaeacia's and Carthage's rural outskirts can be inhospitable, both Minerva and Venus wrap their heroes in a protective cloud. Ultimately, Ulysses and Aeneas are received at court, afforded hospitality, exchange gifts, tell stories of their prior adventures, and depart as their destiny requires. And that, for the most part, is where the reflections end. Through her encounter with Ulysses, Nausicaa maintains a propriety of behaviour fitting the high esteem of Alcinous's court; Dido and Aeneas, over the course of their four meetings, increasingly violate the guest-host relationship.

If Minerva provides Nausicaa with the boldness to offer hospitality to the stranger Ulysses, Hermes predisposes Dido to welcome the Trojans with "a gentle mind and gracious purpose" (1.303–4). When the Trojan Ilioneus complains that the Carthaginian shore guard was inhospitable (1.540ff), Dido not only mollifies the warrior with reasons for the tight security—"Stern necessity and the new state of my kingdom forces me to do such harsh deeds and protect my frontiers far and wide with guards" (1.562–65)—but also grants his request for safe harbour—"I will send you hence guarded by an escort, and end you with my wealth" (1.571), and, even more generously, offers them the opportunity "to settle with me on even terms within these realms" (1.572). And if that is not hospitable enough, she offers to search for Aeneas—"if haply he strays shipwrecked in forest or in town" (1.578).

If Hermes influences Dido to be generous, Venus influences her to be transgressive, to push the limits between host and guest. When Dido wishes, "would that your king were here, driven by the same wind—Aeneas himself!" (1.575–76), on cue, Venus parts the protective cloud and Aeneas "st[ands] forth" with his enhanced "god-like form and shoulders" (1.586–93) and then he flatters Dido with fulsome praise for the generous hospitality she offered his comrades (1.595ff). What other choice does Dido have than to be "amazed" (1.613)? Even more problematic, the attraction is mutual. Hidden in Venus's protective cloud, Aeneas first spies Dido—"in amazement [*miranda*] he hangs rapt in one fixed gaze" at the Queen (1.494–96)—and he is further struck by the generous hospitality she offers Ilioneus. As Nausicaa and Ulysses admire each other, so Dido and Aeneas are "amazed" at each other; however, under Minerva's influence, Nausicaa and Ulysses maintain a decorous equipoise; Dido and Aeneas,

under Venus's influence, experience the outsized feelings that will eventually upset the balance between guest and host.²⁹

At the welcome banquet, the hospitable relationship between host and guest further blurs. Again, it is Venus who complicates the meeting. Fearing that "Juno's hospitality" is inimical to Aeneas's destiny (1.671), she devises a plan to ensure that Dido will continue her generous welcome of Aeneas and his warriors. By substituting Cupid for Ascanius, her plan is for Cupid/Ascanius, in an enhanced resemblance to Aeneas, to enthrall Dido in a strong love for Aeneas (1.675). Compared to Minerva's anodyne appearance in Nausicaa's dream, Venus's scheme (1.657) ignites in Dido a flame of love (*flamma*, 1.673) for Aeneas that eventually only death can extinguish. It is with this subterfuge (1.682–84) that Dido's hospitality becomes more an erotic desire for Aeneas (see the repetition of the word *flamma*: 1.673, 679, 688, 727) than generous hospitality. Although Nausicaa becomes, according to Chapman's note to the text, "enflamed" (8.615, p. 144) by Ulysses's appearance, her welcome never breaches the bounds of her maidenly modesty. In sharp contrast, Dido, during the feast she hosts in Aeneas's honour, "cannot satiate her soul, but takes fire as she gazes" on the gifts,³⁰ especially when she holds fast Cupid/Ascanius "in strong love for Aeneas" (1.674). At this moment, Cupid/Ascanius "begins to efface Sychaeus" from Dido's heart and replaces him (to whom she vowed to be chaste) with a "living passion to surprise her long-slumbering soul and heart unused to love" (1.719–22). So when, at the height of her giddy feelings, Dido petitions Jupiter—"for they say that thou [Jupiter] dost appoint laws for host and guest" (1.731)—to "grant that this be a day of joy for Tyrians and the voyagers from Troy" (1.732–33), Virgil's audience would recognize an irony in Dido's toast, since they would already know that, through Venus's contrivance, Dido's union with the Trojan will make her "the unhappy Phoenician, doomed to impending ruin" (1.713), whose only legacy—"this our children may remember" (1.733)—will be her infelicity (*infelix*). As Dido's hospitality and her passion for Aeneas are now inextricably entangled, she will abjure her vow of chastity to Sychaeus and, in doing so, will transgress the bounds of host and guest.

For these reasons, even marriage, a topic which lies at the thematic centre of Dido and Aeneas's third meeting, does not exonerate Dido's violations of pudor. Venus's overriding concern since Book I has been to get Aeneas to fulfil his destiny. Juno's competing plan is to marry Aeneas and Dido (4.99) in order to redirect Aeneas's dynasty from Italy to Carthage, and, in marriage, to legitimize Dido's passion for Aeneas and her increasingly profligate behaviour. The flaw in Juno's plan is that it would alter the unalterable destiny mapped out for Aeneas (4.109). Undeterred, Juno puts into effect her plan to devise a hunt that "will link them [Dido and Aeneas] in sure wedlock" (4.126): *hic Hymenaeus erit* (4.127). If Juno's plan, as Venus puts it, is "the blending of people and the league of union" (4.111–12), its "consummation" is appropriately figured in images of "mingling." Aeneas "unites" (4.142) his band of hunters

²⁹ Bono agrees, "In these first scenes longing continually threatens to burst through hospitality." Barbara J. Bono, *Literary Transvaluation: From Vergilian Epic to Shakespearean Tragicomedy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 15.

³⁰ Aeneas's gift of the mantle Helen wore on her way to Troy is particularly (in)appropriate here.

with Dido's, a combination the narrator figures as a "mingling" (*mixtique*, 4.145) of Apollo's dancers; and even the weather, which drives Aeneas and Dido into a cave, is mixed: "rain follows mingled with hail" (*commixta*, 4.161). These images of mingling ominously forecast the doomed union of Dido and Aeneas, "their bridal" (*connubiis*, 4.168): the narrator presents Juno's plan to begin a dynasty as a mingling—a "pact of union" (4.112), that is the quarry of the hunt's demise, "the first day of death, that first the cause of woe" (4.119). What Dido declares marriage (*coniugium*, 4.172) is, in fact, a fault (*culpam*, 4.169)—aptly, the poetic line begins with *coniugium* and ends with *culpam*. Such comingling contrasts with the decorous distance of host and guest that Nausicaa and Ulysses maintain during their first meeting. And in contrast to the legitimizing weight prenuptial protocols carry for Nausicaa, "marriage" for Dido nullifies her vow to Sychaeus and delays Aeneas's destiny; for these reasons, her "marriage," ironically, falls outside the bounds of the propriety (*pudor*) of hospitality.

Pudor violated is hospitality unregulated. If, during their first three meetings, Dido, influenced by Hermes, Venus, and Juno, increasingly violates the bounds of guest and host, here, during their fourth and final meeting, having abandoned any hope she might have had to convince Aeneas to stay, Dido rails against him in terms of guest and host: "for thee I lost my pudor" (4.321–22). In her anger, she disavows their "marriage," addressing Aeneas: "O guest—since that alone is left from the name of husband" (4.323–24). In fact, she reverses his status from husband to enemy. In Book I, Dido admiringly refers to Aeneas as "my guest" (*hospes*, 1.753). Now, in bitter retaliation for Aeneas's leaving, she diminishes his status from husband, to guest, to stranger (*hospes*), and, finally, to enemy (*hosti*) (4.323ff). The effects of their breach of the protocols of hospitality end in Dido's pathetic appeals and Aeneas's harsh denials. Dido's plea that, because their "marriage, by the wedlock begun" (4.316), Aeneas should "put away . . . this purpose of [his]" (4.319) meets with Aeneas's denial of the legitimacy of their "marriage": "I never held out the bridegroom's torch nor entered such a compact" (4.338–39). It is fitting that Aeneas's denial refers to the absence of any nuptial protocols; and that here its cruel foreboding in Book I comes to fruition: Cupid/Ascanius's gift, reciprocating Dido's hospitality, is the very mantle worn by Helen when she sailed from Pergamos to her "unlawful marriage" (1.651). Aeneas now has his own idea of marriage, and it is linked to his own dynastic destiny in Italy—"there is my love, there my country" (*hic amor, haec patria est*, 4.347). As Ulysses leaves Phaeacia for Ithaca, he will remember that he owes his life to Nausicaa for her hospitality (8.628–29); as Aeneas leaves Carthage for Italy, he will remember "what a woman can do in a frenzy" (*furens quid femina possit*, 5.6). Hospitality unregulated, *amore dolores*.

HOSPITALITY, BETROTHAL, AND MARRIAGE IN *THE TEMPEST*: A CHAPERONED MAIDEN WELCOMES A STRANGER

Such correspondences—that connect the episodes of Nausicaa and Ulysses, those of Dido and Aeneas, and the meetings of Ferdinand and Miranda—ethically link these three stories. As Minerva's "project" and Venus's plan direct their heroes to fulfil their destinies at Ithaca and

Italy, Ariel, at Prospero's direction, leads Ferdinand to Miranda, who will, through marriage, unite Naples and Milan. In *The Tempest*, the hospitality code, with the overlay of a courtly aesthetic, again serves as a heuristic from which to evaluate the terms of their relationship. Dido's erotic attraction to Aeneas occludes the decorous distance between the guest and host. Ferdinand and Miranda's instant attraction is figured in the erotic vocabulary of courtly love and has the potential to collapse the decorous distance of guest and host and, in so doing, threatens Prospero's dynastic plans for them, a design he can put into effect only by their following the course of a chaste courtship and betrothal. Instead of the "marriage" that Dido believes her secret assignation with Aeneas to be and instead of ignoring the nuptial protocols that Aeneas so pathetically reminds her they did, Prospero restricts Ferdinand and Miranda's courtly love excesses to ensure a chaste marriage worthy of royals.³¹

At their first meeting (1.2), a pattern of Ferdinand's and Miranda's wonder at each other restricted by Prospero's restraint of them is comparable to its classical antecedents. As Ulysses addresses Nausicaa with admiration, and Aeneas wonders at Venus and Dido, so Ferdinand marvels at Miranda, "Most sure a goddess" (1.2.422). And like Nausicaa and Dido, Miranda, when she first sees Ferdinand, admires him. She wonders if he is "a spirit" (1.2.410), then, sizing up his "brave form," determines, "'tis a spirit" (1.2.412). But, unlike Minerva and especially unlike Venus, Prospero restrains Miranda's enthusiasm, "No, wench; it eats and sleeps and hath such senses / As we have" (1.2.413–14). If Minerva prompts Nausicaa to be bold and Venus ensures that Dido is in a state of frenzy for Aeneas, Prospero requires of Ferdinand and Miranda a more decorous behaviour, "this swift business / I must uneasy make" (1.2.451–52). Ferdinand and Miranda, however, are of another opinion. Miranda disputes Prospero's description of Ferdinand as a "goodly person" (1.2.417), asserting, instead, "I might call him / A thing divine" (1.2.418–19), as Nausicaa does Ulysses, "he looks as he had Godhead got" (6.385) and Dido, Aeneas, *nate dea* (1.615). Ferdinand, for his part, seeing Miranda for the first time—as Ulysses to Nausicaa, "Are you mortall or the deified race? (6.221) and Aeneas to Venus, *o dea certe* (1.328)—proclaims, at the beginning of his speech, "Most sure the goddess" (1.2.422) and ends his speech, "O you wonder!" asking "If you be a maid [mortal] or no?" (1.2.427–28). Miranda, as Prospero wishes, lowers her expectations of Ferdinand, and moderates Ferdinand's high praise on the first count and assures him on the second, "No wonder, sir, / But certainly a maid" (1.2.428–29)—as do Nausicaa to Ulysses, "This Earth hath bred me" (6.303), and Venus, archly, to Aeneas, "Nay, I claim no such worship" (1.335). Ardour restrained is hospitality regulated.

³¹ Sanchez argues that Miranda and Ferdinand are more like Lavinia and Aeneas than Dido and Aeneas: "Miranda must therefore fit the structural role not of the abandoned Carthaginian queen but of the Latin princess Lavinia, destined to marry Aeneas and become mother of the Roman race." Melissa E. Sanchez, "Seduction and Service in *The Tempest*," *Studies in Philology* 105.1 (2008): 69. To make the pattern work, Sanchez defaults to a courtly medieval version of the story, *Roman d'Eneas*, published by Caxton. The correspondences (and the contrasts) between the Dido and Aeneas and the Miranda and Ferdinand stories, including dynastic overtones, are too many to ignore; while, except, perhaps, for the few parallels offered by this medieval version of the Lavinia story, the *Aeneid's* Lavinia is, unlike Miranda, a war prize: *illo quaeratur coniunx Lavinia campo* (on the battlefield let Lavinia be won, the victor's wife; 12.80).

Unlike the interventions of Minerva and Venus, Prospero's ensure the propriety of Ferdinand's and Miranda's behaviour by his inhospitable reception of Ferdinand. He challenges Ferdinand and chides Miranda at every turn. He objects when Ferdinand declares himself to be the King of Naples (when Ferdinand within twenty-five lines of seeing Miranda proposes to her) and when Miranda complains that "I have no ambition / To see a goodlier man" (1.2.482–83). But their ardour is so intense and Prospero is so exasperated by it—it takes him thirty-three lines to try to get their attention: "A word, good sir" (1.2.443), "a word" (1.2.444), "Soft, sir! One word more" (1.2.450), "One word more" (1.2.453), and, finally, "Silence! One word more" (1.2.476)—that he has to resort to magic to put a stop to it: he paralyzes Ferdinand in place and threatens to "hate" Miranda. In effect, he puts them on pause to ensure that they behave within the bounds of propriety. And as their attraction increases, so does Prospero's (almost comic) inhospitable irascibility: he again accuses Ferdinand of usurping the name of king (1.2.454–55) and of acting as a spy to usurp the island from him (1.2.455–56); Ferdinand is "a traitor" (1.2.461) and "an imposter" (1.2.478), even "a Caliban" compared to most men (1.2.481), just as Nausicaa, to convince the virgins to welcome the naked Ulysses, insists Ulysses is no Cyclops (6.309). He even threatens Ferdinand with physical deprivation—"I'll manacle thy neck and feet together" (1.2.462)—and, as "entertainment" (1.2.466), instead of a lavish banquet as served in honour of Ulysses and Aeneas, Prospero threatens to force on Ferdinand inedible food and drink: "Sea-water shalt thou drink; thy food shall be / The fresh-brook muscles, wither'd roots, and husks / Wherein the acorn cradled" (1.2.463–65). Despite his efforts, Ferdinand and Miranda fall in love so quickly that Prospero does all he can to control them. And such conditions that Ferdinand asks of Miranda, "if a virgin" (1.2.450), demand that Prospero restrain them immediately. Compared to Minerva, who makes Nausicaa bold to welcome Ulysses, and Venus, who puts Dido in a frenzy over Aeneas, Prospero spends most of the scene curbing their enthusiasm.

If Ferdinand and Miranda's excitement during their first meeting (1.2) requires Prospero to check them, they are, during their second meeting (3.1), left to control their own behaviour, though, as decorum would require, they are not unchaperoned. Prospero, hidden from them but not from the audience, continues to monitor their deportment. In Miranda's attempts to restrain Ferdinand's ardent declarations of love for her, the scene's ethical concerns emerge. That their exchange is presented as a conversation between a courtly lover and a maiden—two interlocking, eleven-line sonnet-like poems—places it within a tradition in which, more often than not, erotic desire puts the lady's integrity to the test. A test Prospero has prepared Miranda to pass. Throughout the exchange, Ferdinand's gallant declarations of love are moderated, not by Prospero, but by Miranda's modest response. Their initial exchange occurs when, distracted by Ferdinand, Miranda forgets Prospero's "precepts" and tells him her name (3.1.36). Ferdinand's ensuing over-heated praise of Miranda's name amounts to the adulation one would expect from a courtly lover. He puns on her name, "Admir'd Miranda! / Indeed the top of admiration" (3.1.37–38), and flatters her, comparing her to other ladies, "Full many a lady / I have ey'd" (3.1.39–40), who, when "put to the foil" (3.1.46), Miranda is "created / Of every creature best!" (3.1.47–48). Miranda's matching, sonnet-like reply to his speech is suffused with protests of

her modesty that one would expect from the courtly loved one. Responding to Ferdinand's comparison of her to other women, Miranda is ignorant of "one of her sex" except for herself, nor has she seen "more that I may call men than you" and "my dear father" (3.1.48–52). To Ferdinand's claim that she is "created / Of every creature's best!" (3.1.47–48), Miranda swears "by my modesty, the jewel of my dower" (3.1.53–54) that she wishes no "companion in the world but you" (3.1.55), even self-deprecatingly protesting that "I prattle / Something too wildly" (3.1.57–58) and, even more, "my father's precepts / I therein do forget" (3.1.58–59). Miranda's demure response, in restraining Ferdinand's immoderate courtly adulation, ensures the integrity of their relationship; in respecting Prospero's "precepts," it honours the limits of his hospitality; and, in Miranda's mention of her prenuptial "dower" (3.1.54), it looks forward to a respectable marriage.

But, as in their first meeting, when Prospero does all he can to restrain the lovers, Miranda must bridle Ferdinand's high praise. Ferdinand, unchecked by Miranda's previous attempt to moderate him, again declares, in the extremes of the language of courtly love, that he is, on the one hand, "a prince," "a King" and, on the other, in "your service," a "slave," and a "log-man" (3.1.60–67). Such exaggerated speech reflects the intensity of love at first sight—"The very instant that I saw you" (3.1.64). But Miranda interrupts his effusions (this time only nine lines) with a simply put, but charged question: "Do you love me?" (3.1.67). With this simple question, appropriately occupying only one half-line, Miranda cuts through Ferdinand's courtly outpourings to get to the only point that legitimizes their courtly interaction. Her question implies, I love you; does all this mean you love me?

At this pivotal moment in Ferdinand's and Miranda's relationship, then, it is appropriate that they exchange vows of love to, in effect, engage in the conventions of betrothal. Ferdinand asks heaven to "bear witness" to "what I profess" (3.1.68–69) and ends his speech in words presaging betrothal: I "[d]o love, prize, honour you" (3.1.71–73). It is now fitting that Miranda set aside her modest restraint—"mine unworthiness" (3.1.77), even her "bashful cunning!" (3.1.81)³²—and again respond directly, "I am your wife," though unassumingly, "if you will marry me" (3.1.83). In other words, 'I do'. If Ferdinand's reply begins the line with a courtly flourish of a gallant bow—"And I thus humble ever" (3.1.87) ("thus" and "ever" is now and forever); Miranda's response ends his line with another "humble" question that seeks assurance of the gesture's decorous intent: "My husband, then?" (3.1.88). Here, Miranda's question implies, "Does all this mean that you intend to take me as your wife?" Finally taking Miranda's cue to speak plainly, Ferdinand simply declares, "with a heart . . . here's my hand" (3.1.88–89), to which Miranda, in chiasmic lines, chimes—"And mine, with my heart in't" (3.1.90). By holding hands, the couple is, in effect, betrothed. The scene's ethical display of passionate though controlled love—figured in gestures of the courtly love tradition as it is set within the constraints of a courtly sonnet—ends, fittingly, in betrothal. And Miranda knows that now is the appropriate time to end their meeting and in summary fashion—"and now farewell" (3.1.90). Prospero,

³² Is Miranda's "bashful cunning" a stage direction that instructs an actor how Miranda should play the entire scene? Should she be played as a coy courtly lover? If so, by definition, coyness is, apropos my argument, seductive restraint.

the hidden chaperone, approves, his own chiasmic couplets echoing their exchange of vows: “So glad of this as they I cannot be, / who are surpris’d with all” (3.1.92–93) and “but my rejoicing / at nothing can be more” (3.1.93–94). Ferdinand and Miranda’s courtship compares to Nausicaa and Ulysses’s decorous exchanges and contrasts with Dido and Aeneas’s violation of pudor. This scene is central to the play’s ethical concerns: to Prospero, all else—such as Antonio’s and Caliban’s subplots—is “Much business appertaining” (3.1.96).

Gift-giving, symbolic of reciprocity, is an essential element of hospitality. In the *Odyssey*, Alcinous, pleased with Ulysses’s praise of his entertainment, in a reciprocal gesture, orders his chief kings, “let our hospitable best / In fitting gifts be given to him” (8.530–31); in the *Aeneid*, Aeneas sends Achates to bring gifts to repay Dido for her hospitality, though Helen’s mantle turns out to be ironically reciprocal. In 4.1 of *The Tempest*, in “compensation” for having “austerely punish’d” Ferdinand (4.1.1–2), Prospero informs him that for passing “my trials of thy love” and having “stood the test” (4.1.6–7), he offers him Miranda’s hand, “I tender to thy hand” (4.1.5) as “my rich gift” (4.1.8), “my gift, and thine own acquisition” (4.1.13). But with the gift, Prospero reminds Ferdinand of the proprieties of a betrothal,³³ warning him against consummating his relationship with Miranda—not to “break her virgin-knot” (4.1.15) before marriage, when “[a]ll sanctimonious ceremonies may / With full and holy rite be minister’d” (4.1.16–17). If Ferdinand does not follow “[a]s Hymen’s lamps shall light you” (4.1.23), then “to thee will be no sweet aspersions . . . to make this contract grow,” only “barren hate” (4.1.18–19). Here, Prospero cautions Ferdinand against transgressing the proper behaviour of a betrothed, especially respecting Miranda’s “dower,” her virginity. And here, prenuptial chastity is linked to “fair issue” (4.1.24).

The masque’s message (4.1) to Ferdinand and Miranda, like Prospero’s, is that a chaste betrothal is necessary for marriage to bear fruit. Juno and Ceres officiate the masque proper, during which, appropriately, Juno bestows a “marriage-blessing” on the couple’s impending union and Ceres wishes them “Earth’s increase” (4.1.110), as depicted in images of pregnant vegetation—“Vines with clust’ring bunches growing; / Plants with goodly burthen bowing” (4.1.112–13). Juno blesses their imminent marriage; Ceres foretells their “increase.” Juno’s ordering the “temperate nymphs” (4.1.132) to assist in the ceremony, then, chimes with Ceres’s reason for the masque: “to celebrate / A contract of true love” (4.1.132–33). Even when Prospero peremptorily breaks off the nymphs’ celebratory dance, it is appropriate that, in a betrothal masque dedicated to chastity, marriage, and increase, it is his concern about Caliban that prompts him to end it. As Prospero states, Caliban “did seek to violate / The honour of my child” (1.2.348–49) and wished “[the rape] had been done,” boasting, “I had peopled else / This isle with Calibans [issue]” (1.2.350–52). Prospero will quell Caliban’s murderous plot with the same dispatch that he prevented Caliban from raping Miranda. And since Juno and Ceres administered their blessing on the couple, the hospitality Prospero has offered Ferdinand—the test of the stranger’s integrity, the gift-giving, and the celebratory masque and dance—

³³ Lindley, in his edition of *The Tempest*, reminds us of this point. William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. David Lindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 199nn30–31.

is complete. But Prospero's "project" is not, that is, not until King Alonso returns Prospero's dukedom and blesses his son Ferdinand's intention to marry Miranda—indeed, "Now does my project gather to a head" (5.1.1).

So it is in Act 5 that, to introduce the newly betrothed couple, Prospero, in a grand gesture of hospitality, summons, according to their rank, first the ship's royal passengers, then the mariners, and, finally, Caliban and the clowns. He appropriately welcomes King Alonso first—"I embrace thy body; / And to thee and thy company I bid / A hearty welcome" (5.1.109–11); then Gonzalo, who assisted him during the exile—"Let me embrace thine age, whose honour cannot / Be measur'd or confin'd" (5.1.121–22). In an exchange of gifts, Alonso transfers the dukedom of Milan back to Prospero—as Prospero acknowledges, "[m]y dukedom since you have given me again" (5.1.168)—and in response, Prospero promises to "requite you [King Alonso] with as good a thing" (5.1.169). The phrase "as good a thing" is as understated as the gift's promise is large: the marriage of Ferdinand and Miranda will, in effect, unify Naples and Milan and create a new dynasty.

Finally, King Alonso's blessing of the union completes the legitimization of their betrothal. The prelude to Alonso's blessing replays the couple's wondrous first discovery of each other, corresponding to the admiration Nausicaa and Ulysses, Aeneas and Venus, and Dido and Aeneas have for each other. When Miranda first meets Ferdinand's side of the family—the king of Naples and other aristocrats—she exclaims that they are "goodly creatures" from a "brave new world" (5.1.181–84), with the same sense of wonder she felt towards Ferdinand ("A thing divine," 1.2.419). As he deflated her outsized view of Ferdinand during their first meeting, Prospero corrects her now, "'Tis new to thee" (5.1.184).³⁴ As Prospero rights Miranda's perspective, Ferdinand emends Alonso's. When Alonso wonders if Miranda is "the goddess that hath sever'd us, / And brought us thus together" (5.1.187–88), Ferdinand not only explains that "she is mortal" (5.1.188) but also appropriately excuses himself for not asking Alonso's permission to marry her, "I chose her when I could not ask my father / For his advice" (5.1.190–91). The families now acquainted, the couple's betrothal requires the blessings of both fathers. Prospero has given his; it is now Alonso's turn. In fact, the couple receives a double blessing. Gonzalo prays that the gods "on this couple drop a blessed crown" (5.1.202), a petition to which Alonso gives his blessing, "I say, Amen" (5.1.204). Since Alonso assents to the match, the couple is officially betrothed, and now Prospero can "hope to see the nuptial / Of these our dear-belov'd solemnized" (5.1.309–10).

The four meetings of Ferdinand and Miranda, then, emphasize the proprieties required by hospitality, courtship, and betrothal, resembling those proprieties that Nausicaa, Alcinoos, and Ulysses observe and contrasting with Dido and Aeneas's inappropriate guest-host relationship. The couple looks forward to a "solemnized" dynastic marriage awaiting Nausicaa and denied Dido.

³⁴ Those whom Miranda sees as a "brave new world" are, in fact, an old world of corrupt usurpers finally thwarted by Prospero; it is hers and Ferdinand's dynastic new world that the play looks forward to.

THE TEMPEST'S MASQUE (4.1): COURT ENTERTAINMENT AND A ROYAL COUPLE (1612–1613)

That *The Tempest* was performed at Whitehall during the 1612–1613 celebrations of the betrothal and nuptials of Princess Elizabeth and Frederick, Elector of Palatine, has led to a great deal of critical speculation about *The Tempest's* relationship to those events. So little is known about the performance circumstances of any of Shakespeare's plays that when there is evidence, scholars have been known to infer much from very little: "Resonating with topical social and political issues of key importance to the original court audience and viewed within the powerful political framework and the living context of the court theatre, Shakespeare and his company created a brief and transient moment when the scene on the stage mirrored very closely the scene being played out in the real world of the Stuart court at the Palatine wedding celebrations."³⁵ For the claim that "details of Shakespeare's text are topical, relating to either the royal family or the court milieu," Jerzy Limon reminds us, "we have no evidence."³⁶ But it surely is not going too far out on a limb to suggest that the conventions of a contemporaneous royal betrothal and nuptial celebration would resemble those that *The Tempest* emphasizes; and, similarly, that *The Tempest's* reflection of the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid* lends added support to foregrounding the pivotal importance of the play's courtly wooing scenes, its rendition of a masque celebrating a betrothal, and its anticipation of dynastic marriage—all located within the ethical framework of hospitality's protocols.

³⁵ Ann Kronbergs, "The Significance of the Court Performance of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* at the Palatine Wedding Celebrations," in *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival*, ed. Sara Smart and Mara R. Wade (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 350. See also Law and Parry for more sweeping claims. Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court Masque, 1603–42* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981) and Ernest Philip Alphonse Law, *Shakespeare's 'Tempest' as Originally Produced at Court* (1920; repr., Delhi: Facsimile Publisher, 2017).

³⁶ Jerzy Limon, review of *Shakespeare, the King's Playwright: Theater in the Stuart Court, 1603–1613*, by Alvin Kernan, *Shakespeare Quarterly* 49.2 (1998): 218–19. Here, Limon is objecting specifically to Kernan's topical speculation: "that evening in the palace in the late winter of 1613, when King James and his court watched the play as part of the wedding celebrations of Princess Elizabeth." See Curran and Marino, who offer evidentiary treatments of the royal celebrations and court performances. Kevin Curran, *Marriage, Performance and Politics at the Jacobean Court* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009); James Marino, "The Queen of Bohemia's Wedding," in *Renaissance Shakespeare: Shakespeare Renaissances*, ed. Martin Procházka et al. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2014), 135–42.

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