

Ideal Rule in Shakespeare's Romances:
Politics in *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*

by

Mikala Gallant

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
August 2013

© Copyright by Mikala Gallant, 2013

To my family and friends who supported me during this endeavour

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Chapter Two: ‘A Prince of Power’: The Power of Rule and its Use.....	11
Chapter Three: ‘Awake Your Faith’: The Ruler and Religious Knowledge	36
Chapter Four: ‘A Moiety of the Throne’: Women and Patriarchy	61
Chapter Five: Conclusion	84
Works Cited	89

ABSTRACT

The Winter's Tale (1611) and *The Tempest* (1611) are two of Shakespeare's romances, written under the patronage of James I of England. While Shakespeare's history plays have received extensive critical attention regarding their political commentaries, these have not. History raises political questions by nature; however, it is also important to look at the political dimensions of Shakespeare's fictional rulers. *The Winter's Tale*'s Leontes, and *The Tempest*'s Prospero, because of their invented natures, allow the playwright to explore contemporary political crises or questions with more freedom than history allows. Shakespeare's political exploration of these men involves assessing their fitness to rule, comparing their transformations to texts concerning kingship, such as James's political treatises. These texts raise the possibility that Shakespeare is similarly investigating a model of the ideal king. Looking at the elements of power, knowledge, and patriarchy, my thesis focuses on what Shakespeare is suggesting about ideal rule and the ruler.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge Dalhousie University, especially the Faculty of Graduate Studies and English Department, for allowing me the opportunity to study at their institution and complete this project. I would like to thank Dr. John Baxter for his time and patience, as well as the other members of my supervising committee, Dr. Ron Huebert and Dr. Christina Luckyj, as well as the graduate committee, Dr. Julia Wright, Dr. Alice Brittan, and Dr. Carrie Dawson. I would also like to thank those faculty and staff members who supported me during my undergraduate degree at St. Thomas University in Fredericton, NB. I pursued my second degree with the encouragement of Dr. Christine Cornell, Dr. Sara MacDonald, Dr. Andrew Moore and Carrie Monteith-Levesque. Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the love and support of my family and friends who kept me sane over the past year.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Shakespeare's English and Roman history plays have received extensive critical attention regarding their political commentaries and implications in connection with contemporary England under the reigns of Elizabeth I and then James I. His historical figures have been considered as representing, questioning, and critiquing the state of English rule. However, history is a constricting medium as Shakespeare is then held to a precedent. Therefore, it is even more important to look at the political dimensions of Shakespeare's obviously fictional plays, especially those that depict a ruler as the central figure.

The Winter's Tale (1611) and *The Tempest* (1611) are arguably Shakespeare's most original plays, as the first differs greatly from its source narrative and the latter is considered a completely original work. *The Winter's Tale*'s king of Sicilia, Leontes, and *The Tempest*'s ex-duke of Milan, Prospero, because of their invented natures, allow the playwright to explore contemporary political crises or questions with more freedom than historical precedent allows. Shakespeare had the ability to create a character's strengths and flaws, as well as to modify or invent the problems he or she faces, and the solution, if any. Politically, these fictional rulers allow Shakespeare to ask questions that are not limited to the precedents of history, as well as to critique or applaud emerging views or systems of rule.

The Winter's Tale is based on Robert Greene's novel *Pandosto, or The Triumph of Time*, first published in 1588, and reprinted several times in 1592, 1595 and 1607 (Adams 90). Kenneth Muir compares the texts, noting that "Shakespeare follows the earlier part of his source fairly closely" (266). Pandosto, Leontes's counterpart, becomes

jealous of his wife and his childhood friend, accusing them of adultery, resulting in the death of both his wife and son, and the abandonment of his newborn daughter. During this first section, only minor details are changed between the two. Pandosto's wife, Bellaria, is the one to appeal to the oracle during her trial, unlike Shakespeare's addition of a scene in which Leontes sends for the oracle prior to Hermione's defense (Muir 267). Also, Greene's infant, Fawnia, is sent off in a small boat while Shakespeare's Perdita is escorted to Bohemia by Leontes's lord Antigonus (Muir 271). The only significant change Muir notes in this section is Shakespeare's removal of any evidence supporting the claim of adultery: "Greene devotes some pages to an explanation of Pandosto's jealousy. His wife, Bellaria, often went into Egistus' bed-chamber [and the two are shown to become very close].... Shakespeare gives Leontes no such excuse" (Muir 266). Though this omission may seem irrelevant, it sets up the overall theme Shakespeare adds to the story as a whole: the further development of Leontes, which occurs in the second half through more sweeping alterations of Greene's work.

In the second half of his play, Shakespeare reinvents Greene's narrative, replacing Greene's tragic end with his narrative of repentance and forgiveness. As Hardin Craig points out, "in no case has Shakespeare more completely made over a source, and nothing is more completely transformed than the pastoralism of Greene's novel" (1000). The young lovers Perdita and Florizel make their way to Leontes's kingdom,¹ just as Fawnia and Dorastus make their way back to Pandosto's; however, Shakespeare ensures that all of his characters make the journey, including Polixenes and Camillo, a character absent

¹ Shakespeare reverses Greene's settings. In *The Winter's Tale*, Leontes is the king of Sicilia and Perdita grows up in Bohemia, whereas Greene's narrative places Pandosto as the king of Bohemia and Sicilia as the place of abandonment (Muir 271).

from Greene's narrative: "By his alterations he was able to bring together all the main characters in the last scene of the play" (Muir 273). With all the characters present, Shakespeare greatly heightens the sense of harmony and reconciliation in the end. Pandosto, after an incestuous treatment of Fawnia, kills himself, whereas Shakespeare redeems Leontes through both the reunion with Polixenes and the return of his wife. Hermione's resurrection contributes greatly to this theme of reconciliation. She, like Greene's Bellaria, is reported to have died following the rejection of the oracle (Muir 267); however, unlike Bellaria, Hermione is not actually dead, merely hidden away for sixteen years awaiting the return of her daughter. This detail has many possible literary sources, including the stories of Alcestis, Pygmalion, or even Sleeping Beauty (Muir 273), but it certainly does not come from Greene. Shakespeare's great divergence from his source narrative allows him to create an entirely new story involving the repentance of his main character, and the forms of reconciliation and forgiveness possible because of it, all of which have major political ramifications.

The Tempest, further developing Shakespeare's creativity, has no known source narrative. Instead, it is assumed that Shakespeare gathered ideas from several forms of inspiration:

It is, of course, possible that a lost play or an undiscovered tale provided Shakespeare with his plot; but it seems more likely that for once he invented the plot, making use of memories of masques, plays, romances, perhaps examples of the *Commedia*, and books of travel; and that these memories coalesced with others from Virgil and Ovid. In Montaigne and the Bible, as well as from his own previous romances, he would find the

principle of the necessity of forgiveness which animates the whole play.
(Muir 283)

The play's themes and characters are wholly Shakespeare's invention and, therefore, every aspect is intended. The play's premise is thought to be based upon pamphlets that were circulating in 1610 about the Virginia Company ship, *Sea Venture*, which, carrying Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, was cast away on an island in the Bermudas on its way to Virginia (Craig 1001). Much attention should be paid to the character traits of Shakespeare's rulers and the events of each play's action; although there are traces of history here, it is obviously highly modified and fictionalized, and part of the reason for this is the way it allows Shakespeare to develop his unusual commentary on early modern political rule.

The Winter's Tale was written sometime between 1610 and 1611. Its first known performance is considered to be May 15, 1611, as a London doctor, Simon Forman, reports seeing it at the Globe theatre in his journal (Craig 999). Later that year, the play was produced at court during Hallowmas celebrations on November 5th, according to the Revels Accounts (Orgel, *The Winter's Tale*, 80). Also produced during these celebrations was *The Tempest*, performed on Hallowmas night, November 4, 1611 (Kernan 207). This performance is the first recorded of *The Tempest*, though it was probably produced at the Globe prior: "On the average, Shakespeare wrote one or two plays a year. These were produced downtown at the Globe, and then, after the production had been polished, they were taken upriver to Whitehall or Hampton court" (Kernan xvii). Because there are no recorded dates for *The Tempest's* production at the Globe, "there is, in fact, not even any way of determining chronological priority between *The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale*"

(Orgel, *The Tempest*, 63). Both plays were most likely written during the same period, sharing the 1611 Hallowmas celebration for their court debuts.

At this time, Shakespeare was the official playwright to the king, as his company, the King's Men, was under the patronage of James, since his succession to the throne in 1603 (Kernan xv). James was an advocate for the arts, and "between 1603 and 1613, the King's Men played before the court 138 times all told, an average of nearly 14 performances a year... This same acting company had played, under various names, only 32 times in the last ten years of Elizabeth's reign" (Kernan xvi). By 1611, James had been a king for forty-four years, ascending the Scottish throne in 1567, at the age of one, and later the English throne, at the age of thirty-seven (Stuart xxix).² He wrote several treatises on kingship while in Scotland, including *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, published anonymously through the king's printer in 1598, but quickly attributed to James, and *Basilicon Doron*, distributed to a small circle of people in the same year. These texts were popular, and were reprinted and distributed in England at the time of James's ascension to the English throne in 1603 (Stuart xvii-iii). Shakespeare would very likely have been familiar with James's views on monarchy and rule while writing *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*, through both his time on the throne and his accessible political writings.³

² Mary Queen of Scots abdicated the throne to her son a year after he was born, forced to do so "by powerful nobles allied with Protestant preachers" (Stuart xv). She attempted to regain it in 1568 but was forced to flee to England instead: "There she was placed under house arrest and in 1587 was executed for plotting against the English queen, Elizabeth" (Stuart xv).

³ I would like to point out that this thesis focuses on a comparison between Shakespeare's plays and James's texts, considering the monarch as a theorist. James's own practice as a ruler does not necessarily reflect his advice to his son in his political writings. Others have made connections between Shakespeare's rulers and James's public and private

Over the centuries, scholarship on *The Winter's Tale* has tended not to be political, focusing instead largely on questions of motivation. The motivations of Leontes's jealousy have been a popular topic as, unlike that of Pandosto in the source narrative, there is a lack of evidence to support or even evoke his accusation (Orgel, *The Winter's Tale*, 22). Shakespeare's artistic motivations are also questioned by critics regarding the statue scene as it is unlike the playwright to leave the audience ignorant of such a major plot point as Hermione's feigned death (Craig 1001). The audience is as surprised as Leontes when it is revealed that Hermione has only been reported as dead and now stands a statue before her husband, ready to descend and reveal herself as alive.

Scholarship regarding *The Tempest* has also focused on the issue of Shakespeare's motivations, this time, regarding the purpose of the character Prospero. This focus centres on the last scene of the play and the epilogue in which Prospero gives up his magic and asks the audience to "release" him (V.i.327). Many critics consider the epilogue to be Shakespeare's appeal to both the playgoers and also James, himself, to let him retire and return to the country (Craig 1002). However, this biographical reading of Prospero poses several problems, as Shakespeare wrote at least two plays following *The Tempest*, and this focus has taken away from viewing him in any political nature.

dealings such as his conflicts with Parliament around 1610 or his insistence on the making of marriages for his children. For further study on connections between James's reign and the romances, see Jonathan Goldberg's *James I and the Politics of Literature*, David Bergeron's *Shakespeare's Romances and the Royal Family* or James Ellison's "The *Winter's Tale* and the Religious Politics of Europe" in *Shakespeare's Romances: Contemporary Critical Essays*, edited by Alison Thorne. However, Shakespeare's degree of knowledge of or closeness to these situations is unknown, and, therefore, I will focus on the documents attributed to James that would have been accessible to Shakespeare and widely known at the time.

One body of scholarship has taken up *The Tempest* as a political text in great detail: post-colonialism. With the establishment of the Virginia Company in 1606 by royal charter (Orgel, *The Tempest*, 32), and the turn to the New World, these scholars regard *The Tempest* as a text on colonization. Those such as Charles Mills Gayley, Sidney Lee, and R.R. Cawley argue that “the play was about the English experience in Virginia” (Orgel, *The Tempest*, 33), depicting interactions with native populations through Caliban and Ariel, and expressing the settlers’ desires for utopia through Gonzalo. However, this interpretation has not gone unchallenged as there are also those that dismiss it. E.E. Stoll claims in opposition: “There is not a word in *The Tempest* about America or Virginia, colonies or colonizing, Indians or tomahawks, maize, mocking-birds, or tobacco. Nothing but the Bermudas, once barely mentioned as faraway places, like Tokio or Mandalay” (Orgel, *The Tempest*, 32-33). Stephen Orgel, the Oxford editor, notes, however, that Stoll’s claim is “equally extravagant” (*The Tempest* 33), suggesting that there is no agreed upon interpretation regarding Shakespeare’s motivation for the island setting and its political implications.

Despite this political criticism regarding an aspect of rule in *The Tempest*, little scholarship attempts to view Prospero in connection with the English monarchy and domestic rule. Leontes, too, is generally excluded from such an exploration. Both men are represented equally by Shakespeare, as fathers and authority figures over family and subjects. Leontes is the king of Sicilia, and Prospero, once a duke of Milan, now reigns over his island and those that arrive there. Shakespeare uses these two rulers to explore views similar to or analogous to those of James on kingship expressed in such texts as *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* and *Basilicon Doron*. Together, these texts suggest

James views kingship on a spectrum with good and appropriate kingship as the median, and two ways to fail at either extreme. Together, Leontes and Prospero's failures and eventual successes resemble this spectrum.

The first chapter will address the issue of power. Leontes and Prospero are both flawed as rulers with respect to power at the beginning of each play; however, they stand at opposite extremes. Leontes stands a tyrant, abusive in his power. He refuses to listen to his advisor Camillo about the innocence of his wife, Hermione, and sends his newborn daughter off to die. On the other hand, Prospero, in the antecedent action, stands nearly powerless. He is banished from Milan after allowing his brother ruling power over the dukedom because he lacked interest in the mundane demands of political rule. However, by the end of the plays, both rulers alter themselves—with the help of Paulina in the case of Leontes, and Ariel and Caliban in the case of Prospero. The two come to rule with appropriate power, resembling James's advice to his son in *Basilicon Doron*.

The second chapter will address the issue of knowledge, specifically religious knowledge or faith. Again, Leontes and Prospero stand at opposite extremes in the beginning of each play. However, in this case, Leontes is the one lacking knowledge while Prospero apparently indulges in knowledge too exclusively. Prospero loses his power in Milan because he would rather spend his time in his library, and his books make the journey with him to the island. His books have been considered to represent several kinds of knowledge, such as intellectual knowledge, but also magic, and, as I will argue, faith or religious knowledge. This religious knowledge is the type of knowledge Leontes lacks in the beginning of *The Winter's Tale*, especially when he rejects the oracle acquitting Hermione. Despite the different representations of knowledge, faith, and even

religion, in these two plays, Leontes and Prospero similarly moderate their faith. The *Book of Homilies* offers a suggestive framework for understanding the development of appropriate religious knowledge in both men.

The third chapter will address the political structure under which Leontes and Prospero rule: patriarchy. This system of rule is represented in both *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* as the appropriate system of kingship. Once a ruler comes to rule with moderate and appropriate power and knowledge, those elements are to be directed into the form of patriarchal rule where the king is father to his subjects. This image of the ruler as father is taken up in *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* in the ways through which Leontes and Prospero rule over their children: microcosms representing society. Patriarchy is also the system of rule James participates in and encourages in his texts *Basilicon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*. In these plays, Shakespeare takes up James's views on patriarchy, illustrating his advice, again with a spectrum of positions, but also questioning its success, and exploring other aspects that James dismisses or ignores, specifically, the roles and importance of women.

The Winter's Tale and *The Tempest* are fictional tales depicting the movements of Leontes and Prospero, respectively, from failed rulers to appropriate and good rulers. These movements are comparable to the views of James, as, together, they illustrate the problems and virtues of kingship James describes in his political texts. Shakespeare also uses these two plays to further explore James's views on rule, especially his ideal patriarchy. Historical drama does not allow Shakespeare the ability to take up this contemporary image of kingship exactly; but fiction, on the other hand, allows him to create and invent narratives and themes reflective of that image. Leontes and Prospero, in

their originality, provide Shakespeare with the opportunity to investigate many of James's examples of possible flaws and strengths, and the plays allow him to dramatize emerging questions beyond the more rigid doctrines of James.

CHAPTER TWO:

'A Prince of Power': The Power of Rule and its Use

Within the first acts of Shakespeare's plays *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*, both rulers, Leontes and Prospero, respectively, establish distinctive roles in regards to power. Leontes's power is evident in his treatment of his guest, family, and lord as he exercises his royal prerogative as "King of Sicilia" (I.i.5). Prospero's powerlessness is evident as he relates his history as once the "Duke of Milan" (I.ii.57), and his journey to his current position as a shipwrecked exile. Leontes and Prospero demonstrate their somewhat ambiguous or troubled relationships to power and together these relationships resemble contemporary concerns and thoughts on power, especially those addressed by King James I in his political writings.

Leontes is generally regarded as a tyrant. Paul N. Siegel relates him to Shakespeare's other notable tyrants and to the popular Elizabethan genre of "tyrant-tragedy" (302):

The usurping tyrant is inevitably punished, for the Elizabethan treatment of his career follows a strict pattern of elaborate poetic justice. Inwardly, he is tortured by his vicious passions and his censorious conscience; outwardly, he walks in incessant fear and suspicion; his life is short, his death sudden and violent; and hereafter he must expect only the tortures of the damned. The usurping tyrant who kills a king to gratify the passion of ambition is guilty of a sacrilegious attack upon the hierarchy of order and degree instituted by natural law, and his awful fate is a punishment eminently just. (Siegel 302)

Siegel is here citing W.A. Armstrong's theory on "tyrant-tragedy," but he also argues that it includes other forms of the tyrant, such as Shakespeare's Leontes. He argues that Leontes fits the pattern that other Shakespearean tyrants such as Richard III and Macbeth share in their development as such, suggesting Shakespeare also intended Leontes to be viewed in this light though he devises a different ending.

First, Leontes, as with Richard III and Macbeth, is led by his passions. Siegel claims that "although [Leontes's] master-passion of jealousy differs from theirs, each is completely dominated by it. This subjection of reason to passion was, in the Elizabethan view, what made a monarch a tyrant" (303). Leontes's passion does not take the form of ambition as in the case of the usurping tyrants, who are jealous of the positions of others, as he is already the king; however, it is still jealousy that drives him. He is jealous of his wife, Hermione, and his childhood friend, Polixenes, feeling that he has been made a cuckold. Polixenes refuses Leontes's request to stay in Sicilia any longer, but gives in to the requests of Leontes's wife who was sent by Leontes himself. Leontes's jealousy seems two-fold, here. On the one hand, he is offended that it is not he who convinces Polixenes to stay, jealous of Hermione's power in the situation (I.ii.85-114). On the other hand, Leontes's immediate leap to the conclusion that the baby Hermione is carrying is not his biological child suggests that Leontes is jealous of Polixenes's power, possibly over Hermione (I.ii.115-160). In either case, this passion leads Leontes to a similar state of mind to that of the figures of "tyrant-tragedy," in that he is dominated by similar passions.

The nature of Leontes's tyranny develops in a similar way to that of Richard III or Macbeth. Leontes, "in letting loose the forces of disorder within himself, causes them to

sweep over the entire kingdom,” as his deeds, like those of the other tyrants, “become more and more rash” (Siegel 303-04). Leontes begins by ignoring the Laws of God in instructing Camillo to murder Polixenes and escalates this process to the point where he orders the abandonment and death by exposure of the newborn baby, Perdita, which “like Richard's murder of the young princes and Macbeth's murder of Macduff's children, is the culminating act which confirms him as a tyrant” (Siegel 305). All three men reach the peak of their tyranny when they order the murder of children, and, at this point, they begin to suffer retribution for their actions. Richard III and Macbeth, as Armstrong's theory suggests, die, while Leontes suffers the loss of his son and wife. As Leontes is a different type of tyrant than the usurping tyrant, his passion “does not create an ever-widening disorder in which the tyrant himself is finally engulfed; it only threatens to do so before it is miraculously brought under control as unexpectedly as it was unleashed” (Siegel 306). Leontes does not die as a result of his actions as Richard III and Macbeth do. However, Leontes similarly establishes himself and develops as a tyrant based on the same dominating passion of jealousy and progression of crimes as Shakespeare's other tyrants, assuming too much power over his subjects as demonstrated in his orders.

Several scholars have also been concerned with power in *The Tempest*. Kathryn Barbour takes up Prospero's role in the text, while, at the same time, acknowledging the other schools of criticism, such as post-colonialism, and points out their failures to take up Prospero's individual relationship to power.⁴ Barbour regards Prospero as a man who

⁴ Regarding scholarship on *The Tempest*, Barbour claims: “Certainly, *The Tempest* is a play that is fundamentally concerned with power. Much recent criticism has focused on the discourses of colonialism and issues of expansion and exploitation” (162). I will not be considering postcolonial scholarship regarding this play in my thesis as its main focus is not primary to my argument regarding appropriate rule within early modern England

struggles with power throughout the text: “*The Tempest* is one of several plays that deal with the interplay between the visibility of a ruler, his desire to be (or perhaps to be perceived to be) a benevolent ruler, his ability to retain power, and the means by which that power can be achieved and maintained” (162). Barbour’s article looks at Prospero’s failures regarding power, in relation to the “reciprocal gaze” (160). The reciprocal gaze is “the gaze of the people upon the monarch as the monarch oversees the body politic” (160). It derives from Leonard Tennenhouse’s work on power in several of Shakespeare’s plays:

The renaissance monarch understood himself or herself as deriving power from being the object of the public gaze. If not always in full view of his court, she or he was nonetheless visible in the institutions of state, in the church, at the courts of law, on the coin of the realm, or upon its scaffold. (155)

For Tennenhouse and Barbour, power derives from constant visibility of the monarch in which he or she can watch the subjects and, more importantly, be seen watching.

However, Prospero fails in this aspect of rule during his time in Milan.

Prospero describes his rule as duke of Milan in his first scene of the play. He tells his daughter, Miranda, that he “neglected worldly ends, all dedicated / To closeness and the bettering of [his] mind,” by being too trusting and was eventually usurped by his own brother and exiled from the dukedom (I.ii.66-168). Barbour explains: “He had fallen from

itself. Postcolonial scholarship addresses the island as representative of New World exploration and the founding of distant colonies under an extension of rule, whereas I would like to consider it in reference to a kingdom under Prospero’s direct rule. Scholarship regarding colonization issues within the play, such as with Caliban, do not address the type of power that is directly connected to the ruler/monarch, or the gender issues regarding power that I wish to address in a later chapter.

power in Milan because he succumbed to two basic impulses: a naïve desire to trust his subjects, his brother, and others around him; and his desire for solitude. He was either ignorant of the importance of the monarch's gaze or he chose to disregard it" (163).

Prospero locked himself up in his house, dedicated to his books. From there, he could not view the actions of his subjects, including his own brother, and as he could not be seen watching, suggested that they were not being held accountable for their actions. Prospero "absented himself from the public gaze, and failed to observe or attend to the plotting of those around him" (Barbour 163). This failure on Prospero's part not only prevented him from maintaining the power that derives from the reciprocal gaze, but also empowered those around him who placed themselves in the position of the beholder and beheld.

Prospero finds himself exiled on the island because of this inability or reluctance to wield power.

Siegel and Barbour's arguments create an image of the extremes of power with one of Shakespeare's rulers on each end of the spectrum. At the beginning of each play, Leontes and Prospero stand in opposition to one another regarding the use of power; however, both fail to rule with appropriate power. Leontes stands at the extreme of tyranny, the end that abuses power, wielding too much over his subjects, while Prospero stands at the extreme of impotence, ignorant of power's importance. However, throughout the second half of *The Winter's Tale*, over the course of sixteen years, Leontes comes to alter his way of rule with the help of Camillo and Paulina. Prospero also alters his rule, with respect to power, over the course of *The Tempest*, after twelve years and with the help of Ariel and Caliban. Leontes and Prospero come to rule

appropriately, moving from each extreme to the middle of the spectrum: moderate or appropriate power.

Leontes's extreme is articulated by his tyranny. As Siegel argues, Leontes's actions are those of a tyrant, progressing in the severity of their crime. First, Leontes questions the fidelity of his wife and the loyalty of his childhood friend. After Polixenes refuses Leontes's request to stay but accepts Hermione's, Leontes praises her, stating, "Hermione, my dearest, thou never spok'st / To better purpose" (I.ii.87-88). However, only moments later, Leontes begins to convince himself otherwise, suspecting the two of making him a cuckold. He expresses his suspicions in an aside:

Too hot, too hot!

To mingle friendship far is mingling bloods.

I have *tremor cordis* on me; my heart dances,

But not for joy, not joy. (I.ii.107-10)

Leontes believes that Polixenes and Hermione have been "mingling bloods" or having sexual intercourse in secret. He then goes even further in his suspicion, questioning Hermione's fidelity throughout their entire marriage. Leontes questions in this same speech the paternity of his son, Mamillius, asking, "Mamillius, / Art thou my boy?" (I.ii.118-19). This suspicion leads Leontes to order Polixenes's death. He tells Camillo to "bespice a cup" with poison "To give [his] enemy a lasting wink" (I.ii.313-14). Ordering the death of another king, a friend and ally, is Leontes's first action of political tyranny.

Leontes's second tyrannous action is the denial of the advice of his lords and trusted advisors, beginning with Camillo. Camillo, upon hearing Leontes's accusations, advises him to "be cured / Of this diseased opinion, and betimes, / For 'tis most

dangerous” (I.ii.293-95). However, Leontes dismisses the remark, accusing Camillo of lying about Hermione’s fidelity, and questions the lord’s loyalty. He eventually dismisses Camillo’s opinion entirely: “Thou dost advise me / Even so as I mine own course have set down” (I.ii.336-37). Leontes has convinced himself and will not relent, despite the advice of others. He also ignores the advice of his other lords before Hermione’s trial as they too defend her, arguing:

Why, what need we
Commune with you of this, but rather follow
Our forceful instigation? Our prerogative
Calls not our counsels, but our natural goodness
Imparts this; which if you or stupefied,
Or seeming so in skill, cannot or will not
Relish a truth like us, inform yourselves
We need no more of your advice. (II.i.161-68)

Leontes, after refusing the advice of his most trusted lord, Camillo, now dismisses his need for advisors at all. Leontes stands alone in power, using his title to do as he pleases, here, prosecuting his own wife on his suspicions alone.

Leontes’s third and most severe tyrannous action is his assault on a newborn baby. When Paulina forces her way into Leontes’s presence, he threatens to hang her husband for not controlling her, as well as threatens to burn both Paulina and the newborn baby she presents to him (II.iii.107-33). This scene culminates in Leontes ordering the abandonment and death by exposure of the baby. Leontes orders Antigonus:

We enjoin thee,

As thou art liegeman to us, that thou carry
This female bastard hence, and thou bear it
To some remote and desert place quite out
Of our dominions, and that there thou leave it,
Without more mercy, to it own protection
And favor of the climate. (II.iii.172-78)

His request becomes an order of the Crown and Antigonus carries the child away, fearful of his own life if he does not obey.⁵ Leontes, after using his position to exact a personal revenge and refusing the advice of his lords, now resorts to threats of death in order to rule over his subjects.

Paulina also provides commentary on the progression of his tyranny in the first half of the play. After Hermione gives birth in prison, Paulina attempts to see Leontes, warning his lords of his “tyrannous passion” (II.iii.28). Here, Paulina merely comments on Leontes’s motivations, suggesting they are similar to those of a tyrant. However, when Leontes refuses to see Paulina and the child, she intensifies her claim, warning him directly:

I’ll not call you a tyrant;

⁵ Antigonus’s death in Bohemia also contributes to the image of Leontes as tyrant. According to Hunter, the stage direction “exit pursued by a bear” (III.iii.57.1) “represents the particular genius of Shakespeare at its most intense” (194). Many consider this scene to represent the will of the gods, punishing Antigonus for abandoning the child despite his ability to break his oath to Leontes due to its heinous nature. Hunter, however, looks closer at the theatrical nature of the scene: “Theatrical illusion apart, Antigonus is destroyed by a man in a bear’s skin, but he is also the victim of Leontes, whom jealousy and consequent fury have transformed into a wrathful animal—a bear in a man’s suit” (196). Hunter considers the symbolism taken up in the production of the play, outside of the plot. The bear, in its staging, is to represent what Leontes has become in his tyranny: that which is the indirect cause of Antigonus’s death.

But this most cruel usage of your Queen,
Not able to produce more accusation
Than your own weak-hinged fancy, something savours
Of tyranny, and will ignoble make you,
Yea, scandalous to the world. (II.iii.115-20)

Paulina, at this point, implies that Leontes is unable to govern even himself, subject to his own “weak-hinged fancy,” suggesting that his actions reflect those of a tyrant. Finally, during Hermione’s trial, when Leontes denies the oracle’s acquittal, Paulina berates him forcefully: “But O thou tyrant, / Do not repent these things” (III.ii.173-205). She recognizes the king for what he has become, and condemns him as such. He stands a tyrant and, at this point, his wife, son, and daughter are all thought dead because of his abuses of power.

Prospero’s extreme, by contrast, evidences a lack of interest in political power. He describes this failure to Miranda explaining that “the liberal arts:”

...being all my study,
The government I cast upon my brother,
And to my state grew stranger, being transported
And rapt in secret studies. (I.ii.73-77)

Prospero neglected his duties as duke, leaving them for his brother to take care of while he spent his time attending to his own interests. These duties, according to Prospero, included choosing which suits to grant and which to deny, choosing “who t’advance, and who / To trash for overtopping” (I.ii.79-81). In giving up the responsibility of these duties to his brother, Prospero also gave up “what [his] revenue yielded” and “what [his] power

might else exact” (I.ii.98-99). He lost any possibility for power in Milan because he was uninterested in the duties and responsibilities that it required, choosing, instead, to focus on governing himself.

Just as Leontes is viewed as a tyrant by his subjects, Prospero is viewed by those around him in his extremity of impotence. Prospero tells Miranda of his brother’s opinion, stating “Of temporal royalties / He thinks me now incapable” (I.ii.110-11). Antonio recognized Prospero’s lack of interest in power and sought to gain it for himself. Antonio is not the only one to view Prospero in this light, however, as the king of Naples readily gives his approval to Antonio and the two work to oust Prospero, leaving him to flee in the night (I.ii.120-30). Prospero neglected his duties and responsibilities as ruler, uninterested in the power they provided, leaving the dukedom for his brother to claim and use against him. Prospero stands impotent with regard to power during his time in Milan, and he and his daughter are shipwrecked exiles because of his lack of interest.

However, over the course of both plays, Leontes and Prospero move away from their extremes. These movements occur, in both cases, over a long period of time. Leontes begins his movement after what he believes is the death of Hermione and it expands over the sixteen year gap that marks the middle of *The Winter’s Tale*. Time enters as the chorus in Act IV of *The Winter’s Tale*:

Impute it not a crime
To me or my swift passage that I slide
O’er sixteen years, and leave the growth untried
Of that wide gap. (IV.i.4-7).

Leontes spends these sixteen years in solitude, “th’effects of his fond jealousies so grieving / That he shuts up himself” (IV.i.18-19). He has begun in his repentance to move from tyranny but it is only after the sixteen year gap that the audience views his change.

Prospero’s movement from the extreme of impotence also lasts over a decade as the play begins twelve years after his departure from Milan. At this point, his movement has only just begun. Prospero informs his daughter:

Twelve year since, Miranda, twelve year since,
Thy father was the Duke of Milan, and
A prince of power. (I.ii.53-55)

At this point, twelve years have passed since Prospero held, or rather neglected, any power in Milan. He has lived on an island all this time, which has provided him the opportunity, among others, to nurse his desire for revenge. Prospero has begun his movement from the extreme with all that he has established on the island but it is only after the twelve years that the audience views this change.

The movement of each ruler from his respective extreme to moderate or appropriate power is triggered and aided by other characters. In *The Winter’s Tale*, this character is Paulina. Prior to the sixteen year gap, Paulina triggers Leontes’s movement by naming his crime. As previously discussed, Paulina calls Leontes a tyrant after the supposed death of Mamillius and Hermione, forcing him to recognize his abuses:

But O thou tyrant,
Do not repent these things, for they are heavier
Than all thy woes can stir; therefore betake thee
To nothing but despair. (III.ii.205-08)

Paulina does not console Leontes, but rather inflicts deeper wounds, forcing him to suffer the consequences of his actions. She maintains this position during the passing of the sixteen years, as when the audience returns to Sicilia, Paulina is still at Leontes's side encouraging his suffering. She does not let Leontes forget what his abuses of power have done, as she forces him to recognize his culpability in Hermione's death. Paulina and Leontes exchange the following words:

Paulina: If one by one you wedded all the world,
Or from the all that are took something good
To make a perfect woman, she you killed
Would be unparalleled.

Leontes: I think so. Killed?
She I killed? I did so, but thou strik'st me
Sorely to say I did. (V.i.13-18)

Leontes picks up on Paulina's suggestion that through his actions, he has killed Hermione, the connotation here being murder, and accepts that he has done so. Robert Grams Hunter claims Paulina is "exacerbating Leontes' mental sufferings through her constant reminders of his crimes. She is the personification of Leontes' conscience and she is determined that his sufferings will continue until the pattern of the gods has worked itself out" (200). Paulina acts as Leontes's conscience as she becomes the voice that guides him in his movement to a more appropriate kind of power.

Paulina first advises Leontes with regards to an heir. His lords wish for him to marry again in order to produce an heir; however, Paulina recognizes the implicit

problems with their suggestion. She explains that re-marriage is not the solution for two reasons, claiming, first:

Is't not the tenor of [Apollo's] oracle,
That King Leontes shall not have an heir
Till his lost child be found?
... 'Tis your counsel
My lord should to the heavens be contrary,
Oppose against their wills. (V.i.38-46)

The only way for Leontes to produce an heir is to recover the child he sent away with Antigonus. Re-marriage is not the appropriate path for Leontes as king, at this time, and therefore, Paulina has Leontes swear to marry only with her “free leave” (V.i.70).

However, Paulina also offers Leontes a second piece of political advice regarding an heir:

Care not for issue;
The crown will find an heir. Great Alexander
Left his to th' worthiest; so his successor
Was like to be the best. (V.i.46-49)

She recognizes that succession does not require a biological heir, but rather a worthy man. Her two-fold advice to Leontes about an heir takes up the good of the country in that she suggests he appease the gods and pass the crown to the best successor. Leontes's oath to not re-marry demonstrates that he is making his way to appropriate rule, listening and considering the advice of others while not acting on his personal passions.

Paulina's second form of advice comes at the arrival of Florizel and Perdita in Sicilia. Florizel begs Leontes not to accept “precious things as trifles” from Polixenes

after Leontes finds out that Florizel and Perdita are unmarried (V.i.221). Leontes responds by showing affection toward Perdita: "I'd beg your precious mistress, / Which he counts but a trifle" (V.i.222-23). However, Paulina chides Leontes's expression of passion: "Sir, my liege, / Your eye hath too much youth in't" (V.i. 224-25). Paulina forces Leontes to recognize the inappropriateness in his thinking he could or should take a younger mistress. Instead, Leontes returns to the business at hand: the "errand" of Florizel's petition between Sicilia and Bohemia (V.i.230), and this return also shows how Leontes has begun to move away from tyranny.

Prospero's movement towards a more appropriate exercise of power is aided by Caliban and Ariel. Caliban is a savage, born of the "damned witch Sycorax" (I.ii.263), while Ariel is an airy spirit whom Prospero freed from a tree upon his arrival (I.ii.289-93). According to Paul A. Cantor, through these two inhabitants of the island, Prospero learns not only how to rule but "even more fundamentally learns the need to rule" (245). Cantor argues:

Almost from the beginning it becomes evident that Prospero has learned how to be tough when he has to. More specifically, Caliban and Ariel, due to their peculiar natures, offer Prospero a singularly enlightening lesson in government, providing an opportunity to observe in an ideal and controlled environment the forces that make it difficult to rule men in the real world. (246)

Though the island seems more of a challenge with its unruly inhabitants than Cantor's "ideal and controlled environment," it does allow Prospero the opportunity to practice or experiment with power.

Caliban is “characterized in terms of his desires, his appetites and lusts. He is only concerned about his bodily needs and satisfying his primitive hungers” (Cantor 246). This focus on primitive desire is demonstrated in Caliban’s previous attempt to rape Miranda (I.ii.344-48). In order to rule over Caliban, Prospero “must concentrate wholly on keeping his desires in check, and this in turn requires making it physically more painful for Caliban to yield to his desires than to suppress them” (Cantor 246). This requirement is why Prospero turns to physical punishment when dealing with Caliban. Prospero keeps Caliban “in service” (I.ii.286), threatening him with physical pain for his disobedience. After Caliban talks back to Prospero upon being called, Prospero responds:

For this be sure tonight thou shalt have cramps,
Side-stitches that shall pen thy breath up. Urchins
Shall, for that vast of night that they may work,
All exercise on thee. Thou shalt be pinched
As thick as honeycomb, each pinch more stinging
Than bees that made ’em. (I.ii.325-30)

Here, Prospero only threatens Caliban, but it is clear that he has followed through on such threats before, as in response to Prospero’s threats of punishment, Caliban replies with obedience. Caliban relents, “I must obey,” in recognition of the “power” Prospero holds (I.ii.371). Through Caliban, Prospero learns to wield his power through force, controlling his subject’s desires and appetites.

Ariel is characterized in “contrast with Caliban, [as] he has no physical desires. One always thinks of him as an airy spirit, raised above the limitations and urges of the body” (Cantor 247). However, Cantor claims that Ariel’s lack of bodily desire is a bigger

problem for Prospero to rule over than Caliban, as “there are no material rewards that will entice him into service” (247). Ariel’s only desire is for freedom as he asks Prospero frequently for “my liberty” (I.ii.245). In order to rule over Ariel’s desire for liberty, Prospero must “hold out the promise of that release, in the meantime appealing to Ariel’s sense of loyalty by continually reminding him that it was Prospero who released him from the bondage in which Sycorax placed him” (Cantor 248). Upon Ariel’s requests for freedom, Prospero questions, “Dost thou forget / From what a torment I did free thee?” (I.ii.250-51). He reminds Ariel of the freedom he has already given the spirit, in a move to solidify Ariel’s loyalty and obedience. This appeal to loyalty based on gratitude is effective as Ariel responds respectfully: “I thank thee, master,” and he asks for further duties (I.ii.292-300). Through Ariel, Prospero learns to wield his power through an appeal to loyalty, thereby controlling his subject’s actions.

Ariel’s relationship with Prospero is reciprocal in nature and he teaches Prospero another important aspect of power. Just as Prospero reminds Ariel of the gratitude owed, Ariel reminds Prospero of the kindness required. Ariel, as representative of man’s intellect, understands how Prospero, a man, should feel towards others. In reporting the state of the courtiers to Prospero, Ariel expresses that if he were human, his “affections would become tender” on seeing them, claiming: “Mine would, sir, were I human” (V.i.19). Prospero responds to Ariel’s reminder with “And mine shall” (V.i.18-20). Through Ariel, he learns to wield his power not only through an appeal to loyalty but also through the expression of kindness.

In learning to wield power over Caliban and Ariel as their ruler, Prospero moves away from his earlier extreme. Prospero’s experience with the two island inhabitants

prepares him for rule over men. Cantor assumes, “If Prospero can control Caliban and Ariel, he should be able to rule ordinary human beings, because each in his own way presents an extreme case of what makes it difficult to keep men in line” (249). Caliban represents the most significant problems faced by a ruler concerning the bodily desires and urges of men, while Ariel represents the most significant problems faced concerning man’s intellect. At this point of the play, Prospero has moved away from impotence or a lack of interest in power and now seeks to rule with appropriate power.

By the end of both plays, Leontes and Prospero come to rule with appropriate power. Leontes’s appropriate rule is taken up in Act V, after his reunion with his long lost daughter, Perdita. Leontes shows his moderation in several actions. He, as reported by others, “asks Bohemia forgiveness” (V.ii.52). Polixenes is presented here in his role as king of Bohemia, representative of his country, and therefore Leontes is not only asking forgiveness of a friend but also asking for that of an ally from whom his tyranny had estranged him. In this reunion, Leontes also establishes heirs for his kingdom. When Paulina brings the group, including Leontes, Perdita, Polixenes, Florizel and Camillo, to see a statue of Hermione, she describes Perdita and Florizel as “these your contracted / Heirs of your kingdoms” (V.iii.5-6). Leontes has established a succession for his crown with the return of Perdita, but, in doing so, he must give up the independent power of his nation as she is engaged to Florizel, heir to Bohemia. Lastly, Leontes demonstrates appropriate power in his making of matches. He, as king, deems that Paulina:

Shouldst a husband take by my consent,

...I’ll not seek far—

For him, I partly know his mind—to find thee

An honourable husband. Come, Camillo,
And take her by the hand, whose worth and honesty
Is richly noted. (V.iii.136-145)

He contracts a match between Paulina and Camillo with good intention. The marriage is intended as a reward for the loyalty of each as his advisors and subjects. Leontes, in these last couple of scenes, asks pardon for his crimes against allies, establishes a future for his country in uniting it with Bohemia through Perdita and Forizel, and contracts marriages amongst his subjects for the good of the subjects and country. Leontes's appropriate use of power is expressed in his ability to rule with moderate power for the good of Sicilia, supported by a newly found sense of control over himself.

Prospero's appropriate use of power is taken up in his dealings with the courtiers. Ousted from Milan by a form of rebellion, Prospero is presented on the island with a second attempt. This time the rebellion is led by Stephano, a drunken butler, and Trinculo, a court jester, with the help of Caliban. After Caliban relates his tale of Prospero and Miranda, and their weaknesses, Stephano plots with Trinculo to kill Prospero, taking the island for himself. He states to Caliban: "Monster, I will kill this man. His daughter and I will be king and queen—save our graces!—and Trinculo and thyself shall be viceroys. Dost thou like the plot, Trinculo?" (III.ii.104-07). Prospero is aware of this plot through Ariel's surveillance but he does not act right away. Still in his old ways, he is distracted by a show he has Ariel perform for Ferdinand and Miranda, which causes him to ignore his duty, as he acknowledges:

I had forgot that foul conspiracy
Of the beast Caliban and his confederates

Against my life. The minute of their plot

Is almost come. (IV.i.139-42)

Unlike the rebellion in Milan, this rebellion causes Prospero, at the last minute, to recognize the need for his action against those who move against him.

The way Prospero responds to the threat posed by this second rebellion also shows his turn to an appropriate use of power. After moving past his fault of being easily distracted from his duty, Prospero uses the element of distraction to his advantage. He sets a trap for the two men and Caliban, laying out rich garments, “glistening apparel” (IV.i.193.i), to distract them from their task, ordering Ariel: “The trumpery in my house, go bring it hither, / For stale to catch these thieves” (IV.i.186-87). The two men with Caliban, on their way to kill Prospero in order to rule the island, are sidetracked by the clothing they find. Trinculo, already calling Stephano king, sees the apparel and believes Stephano is deserving of such a wardrobe: “Look what a wardrobe here is for thee!” (IV.i.222). Like Prospero in Milan, the two are distracted from the power they seek by a semblance of it. This use of the clothing on Prospero’s part shows his recognition of his previous error: only holding the title of duke due to his distracted nature at the time. It also shows his movement to appropriate power in that he now uses distraction to control others.

Prospero also responds to the rebellion of Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban with an exercise of power through punishment. After he distracts them from their task, he causes them to believe they are being hunted by dogs (IV.i.184-255). Prospero orders:

Go charge my goblins that they grind their joints

With dry convulsions, shorten up their sinews

With aged cramps, and more pinch-spotted make them
Than pard or cat o' mountain. (IV.i.259-62)

Prospero punishes the men physically for their actions against him just as he learned to do against Caliban's disobedience. Prospero uses appropriate power over his enemies in this situation, recognizing their threat to him, acting to thwart and punish them.

However, Prospero does not become tyrannous in his newfound power, as he does not punish every action against him. In the case of Alonso, Prospero recognizes when it is appropriate to offer mercy. Alonso, the king of Naples, is partially responsible for Prospero's exile from Milan and Prospero brings him to the island to be held accountable. After exposing Alonso and the other courtiers to the spirits, Prospero claims, "They are now in my power" (III.iii.90). He inflicts mental suffering on them, confining them under the spell of the spirits and allowing Alonso to think his son is drowned (III.iii.92-93). However, in the end, Prospero orders the release of the men:

Though with their high wrongs I am struck to th' quick,
Yet with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury
Do I take part. The rarer action is
In virtue than in vengeance. They being penitent,
The sole drift of my purpose doth extend
Not a frown futher. Go, release them, Ariel. (V.i.25-30)

Prospero recognizes that in some cases punishment is merely vengeance, a tyrannous act of power, and instead offers Alonso and the others mercy. This statement is an extension of the conversation he has with Ariel on the ability to offer kindness, just as mercy is an extension of that kindness. He forgives his brother Antonio for his "rankest fault—all of

them” (V.i.132), and accepts Alonso’s request for pardon (V.i.117-19). Prospero uses appropriate power over his enemies in this situation, recognizing their quality and offering mercy rather than pursuing his own passion for revenge and thus showing a certain mastery over himself.

Prospero, like Leontes, also establishes an heir for his dukedom and an alliance with another kingdom in the union of Miranda and Ferdinand. During the tempest, Prospero has Ariel separate Ferdinand, the king of Naples’ son, from the other courtiers (I.ii.221-24). Ferdinand is then led by Ariel to Miranda where the two immediately find affection. Shortly after meeting Miranda, Ferdinand exclaims:

O, if a virgin,
And your affection not gone forth, I’ll make you
The Queen of Naples. (I.ii.448-50)

However, Prospero does not allow the relationship to move too quickly, recognizing the political implications. Prospero shows his dominance over the young man in threatening to keep him prisoner, chained, with only little rationing (I.ii.462-65); Prospero then has Ferdinand work for him, piling logs to prove his love for Miranda (III.i.1-96). Lastly, Prospero offers Miranda to Ferdinand, in the form of both a gift and a purchase, with the condition that they will not consummate the match until after marriage. He states his terms as follows:

Then as my gift, and thine own acquisition
Worthily purchased, take my daughter. But
If thou dost break her virgin-knot before
All sanctimonious ceremonies may

With full and holy rite be ministered,
No sweet aspersion shall the heavens let fall
To make this contract grow. (IV.i.13-19)

Prospero threatens Ferdinand with “barren hate” and “sour-eyed disdain” if Ferdinand and Miranda disobey him (IV.i.19-20). He holds power over his heir in this situation, contracting a match between her and Ferdinand to further the cause of his dukedom by aligning it with Naples in the future. He also takes steps to safe-guard that future by inciting the next generation to cultivate self-mastery, through chastity explicitly (IV.i.14-23). Prospero, at this point of the play, has come to appropriate power and receives his dukedom back from Alonso (V.i.118-19). He is sometimes still distracted from his course but now has the ability to rule with moderate power for the good of Milan.

Shakespeare’s images of ruling with appropriate power in *The Winter’s Tale* and *The Tempest* are similar. Leontes and Prospero, though moving from different extremes on the spectrum of power, both come to act for the good of their country or dukedom, recognizing the need for power over their subjects without abusing or neglecting it. This image of appropriate power is also similar to the image King James presents in his 1599 work *Basilicon Doron*. James is advising his son on “how to become a perfite king” (1), and his vision of the ideal king takes up the use of power. James writes to his son that in order to be a “good king,” he must discharge his office “in the points of Iustice and Equitie” which can be done, first, “in establishing and executing, (which is the life of the Law) good Lawes among your people” (20). James’s discourse on making and executing laws, the basic aspects of a ruler’s power, is where his image of the ideal king resembles Shakespeare’s images of the movements of Leontes and Prospero.

First, James distinguishes his ideal king from a tyrant:

For the making, and executing of Lawes, consider first the trew difference betwixt a lawfull good king, and an vsurping Tyran, and yee shall the more easily vnderstand your duetie herein: for *contraria iuxta se posita magis elucescint*. The one acknowledgeth himself ordained for his people...the other thinketh his people ordained for him, a prey to his passions and inordinate appetities, as the fruites of his magnamimitie: And therefore, as their ends are directly contrarie, so are their whole actions, as meanes, whereby they preasse to attaine to their endes. (20)

The tyrant is a man who is dominated by his passions and appetites, while the ideal king sees himself working for the good of his subjects, each to a very different end. James also claims that a tyrant suffers a “miserable and infamous life, armeth in end his own subjects to become his bureaux...the world is so wearied of him, that his fall is little meaned by the rest of his subjects, and but smiled at by his neighbours” (21). Leontes, however, unlike Richard III or Macbeth, does not die engulfed in the consequences of his actions. Instead, he lives and the end of the play suggests that he will fulfill James’s definition of an ideal king: one who “(after a happie and famous reigne) dieth in peace, lamented by his subjects, and admired by his neighbours” (21). Leontes’s reconciliations with his subjects Camillo and Paulina, and his neighbours Polixenes and Florizel, suggest that Leontes is in a position to fulfill this definition. At the end of the play, he resembles James’s ideal king according to his use of power.

Second, James distinguishes his good king from one unable to execute laws. He advises his son:

Then may ye thereafter all the daies of your life mixe Iustice with Mercie, punishing or sparing, as ye shall finde the crime to haue bene wilfully or rashly committed, and according to the by-past behaiour of the committer. For if otherwise ye kyth your clemencie at the first, the offences would soon come to such heapes, and the contempt of you grow so great, that when ye would fall to punish, the number of them to be punished, would exceed the innocent; and yee would be troubled to resolute whom-at to begin. (22)

The ideal king knows when to forgive those who break the law and also knows when to punish those who commit crimes; for, if all crimes are left unpunished, the ruler would lose all power in the situation. The ruler should be able to determine when to offer mercy and when to distribute punishments, especially concerning “offences against [his] owne person and authoritie since the fault concerneth [his] selfe” (23). James dictates that in the cases of crimes against a king’s person, the king should have his own “choise to punish or pardon therein, as [his] heart serueth [him], and according to the circumstances of the turne, and the qualitie of the committer” (23). Prospero’s impotence in the beginning is evident in the complete absence of this choice at all, as, after the crimes committed against him by his brother, he is forced to flee. Prospero stands powerless because he did not execute the laws in Milan, and eventually does not have the ability to do so. However, by the end of the play, Prospero fulfills James’s definition of the ideal ruler as he distributes both punishments and mercy for various crimes against him.

James’s argument regarding the power of a good king advocates temperance or moderation. The ideal king or ruler is guided by moderation which shall “command all

the affections and passions of [his] minde, and as a Phisician, wisely mixe all [his] actions according thereto” (43). James advises: “Use Iustice, but with moderation, as it turne not in Tyrannie...And as I said of Iustice, so say I of Clemencie, Magnanimitie, Liberalitie, Constancie, Humilitie, and all other princely virtues” (43). Moderation of power consists of moderation of one’s passions, producing an ideal ruler over a tyrant; and moderation over clemency, producing an ideal ruler over one who is impotent and too mild or merciful.

James’s image of the ideal king or ruler is of one who is neither tyrannous nor impotent. The ideal ruler is able to exercise power through mercy or through punishments without abusing it, and he has the intention to act for the good of his state. Shakespeare’s two rulers, in *The Winter’s Tale* and *The Tempest*, take up ideas similar to those in James’s discourse of the *Basilicon Doron* in their movements over the course of the plays. Leontes learns to rule with moderate power, moving from the extreme of tyranny, while Prospero learns to rule with moderate power, moving from the extreme of powerlessness and impotency. Both come to rule with appropriate power, each resembling James’s ideal king, while together depicting the possible opposing failures of a ruler regarding power.

CHAPTER THREE:

'Awake your Faith': The Ruler and Religious Knowledge

Shakespeare's rulers Leontes and Prospero, within the first acts of *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*, also establish themselves and their authority for the audience according to an aspect other than power: knowledge. The form of knowledge represented in both plays is religious knowledge or faith, here Christian. Leontes's sinful actions demonstrate his lack of religious knowledge. Prospero establishes his role in the beginning of *The Tempest* as he conjures up a tempest and relates his interest in his studies to Miranda. He has focused on knowledge too exclusively; he now needs to exercise it more judiciously and to transform it. Leontes and Prospero demonstrate, as rulers, their somewhat ambiguous or troubled relationships to knowledge, especially religious knowledge, again resembling contemporary concerns.

Prospero's magic "art" is introduced to the audience first (I.ii.1), as it witnesses a terrible tempest swallowing a ship at sea. On the island, Miranda is the first to speak: "If by your art, my dearest father, you have / Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them" (I.ii.1-2), suggesting that her father is the cause and creator of this tempest. In this same scene, Prospero has Miranda help him remove his "magic garments," items he refers to as part of his "art" (I.ii.24-25). This art or knowledge is then a form of magic, and it seems clear that Prospero knows both how to use it and when to set it aside. Alan R. Velie views Prospero's magic as "theurgy" or "white magic" (115). This type of magic is achieved "through learning and virtue" (115). Though its origin is never explained within the play, Prospero's magic is thought to have developed from his studies in Milan and the books that made the journey with him to the island. Velie's understanding of Prospero's magic takes up this focus on his books as the source, in that they are his tools of "learning and

virtue.” Frances A. Yates’s understanding of the magic in *The Tempest* also takes up this focus on knowledge. She refers to Prospero’s magic as “renaissance magic:” “magic as an intellectual system of the universe, foreshadowing science, magic as a moral and reforming movement, magic as the instrument for uniting opposing religious opinions in a general movement of Hermetic reform” (87). This magic is both intellectual and religious for Yates, developing from both learning and virtue.

Prospero’s magic has a higher purpose. Yates separates Prospero’s magic from witchcraft, distinguishing him from the island’s previous inhabitant Sycorax: “Shakespeare makes very clear in *The Tempest* how utterly different is the high intellectual and virtuous magic of the true magus from low and filthy witchcraft and sorcery” (94). She suggests the magic found in *The Tempest* has “larger religious aims” (87). As Don Cameron Allen claims: “The island of *The Tempest* is one in which pagan magic has been replaced by Christian miracle, and the maker of these miracles is a man who resembles to some degree an island saint” (89). To call Prospero a saint is a reach; however, if this is Yates’s religious magic, specifically that of Christianity, according to Allen, then Prospero does seem to possess a knowledge above what is appropriate or accessible to man.

Leontes, on the other hand, is a man with little faith. Despite the pagan setting of the play, Leontes’s lack of faith is shown in contrast to Christian faith. He is a sinner, who is led by his jealousy. Hunter claims that “the deadly sin into which Leontes falls as a result of his jealousy is wrath” (192), referring to one of the “Seven Deadly Sins” of Christianity. S.L. Bethell takes up Leontes’s sin, compiling a list of his offences. Of his motivation, Bethell claims that “Leontes’ sin comes unmotivated, but sin is necessarily

without any truly rational foundation” (236). He comes to his suspicions on his own, in fact, against the testimony of others, and “mistakes Hermione’s graciousness for unlawful love” (Bethell 236). At this point of the play, Leontes moves into wrath, “pil[ing] up his score of sin in ordering the murder of Polixenes, in seeking the death of Hermione and in the exposure of his child” (Bethell 237). However, Bethell claims that Leontes’s sin comes to a climax in his rejection of the oracle, “a blasphemous disbelief in revelation” (238). Set in a pagan world, the Delphic oracle that Leontes seeks for truth is, as Bethell argues, nevertheless “a symbol of God’s overruling providence,” as it is described in very religious terms, “sound[ing] almost like a description of Mass,” including “celestial” and “ceremonious, solemn and unearthly” (Bethell 237). Leontes’s rejection of the oracle is a rejection of God’s word. Bethell takes up St. Thomas Aquinas’s notion of sin when she sums up Leontes’s actions: “The most fatal consequence of Leontes’ evil opinion is his separation from the rest of the world; he becomes estranged not only from Hermione and Polixenes but from his children and from the whole court. Sin separates the sinner from God and what is God-like” (236). This separation, then, demonstrates Leontes’s lack of religious knowledge as his denial of the word of God removes him from knowledge of God and from his community and family.

The arguments of Yates and Allen for Prospero’s magic as a form of religious knowledge, and Bethell’s argument regarding Leontes’s denial of religious knowledge create an image of the extremes of knowledge with one of Shakespeare’s rulers on each end of the spectrum. At the beginning of each play, Leontes and Prospero stand in opposition regarding their focus on knowledge; however, both fail to rule with appropriate religious knowledge. Prospero stands at the extreme of excess, focusing on

knowledge too exclusively, while Leontes stands at the extreme of deficiency, denying himself the opportunity to know God because of his sins. However, over the course of *The Tempest*, Prospero comes to alter his way of rule with the help of the courtiers and his daughter. Leontes also alters his rule, with respect to religious knowledge, throughout the second half of *The Winter's Tale*, with the help of Paulina. The two come to rule appropriately, moving from each extreme to the middle of the spectrum: moderate or appropriate religious knowledge in the form of Christian faith.

Leontes's extreme of faithlessness is expressed in his active role as sinner. According to Henri Rondet's *The Theology of Sin*, a text compiling Christian ideas of sin found in the Bible, the New Testament describes sin as "a fault, a violation of the moral law, a transgression of the divine law" (83). However, this fault or transgression is "not an external defilement" but rather "consists in a bad will" (22). Sin is an act of transgression, but the source of the action is found within the individual, in "a bad will," compared by many, including Rondet, to a disease:

Sin is, in effect, a disease, a paralysis (Matt. 9:2-6), spiritual leprosy (Matt. 7:2), spiritual blindness (Matt. 11:46-52) which send man to his perdition, for if the blind lead the blind, both will fall in the ditch (Matt. 15:14). That is the spirit of the Gospel, and it is the whole Gospel that must be taken into account. (23)

Rondet's summation of the Gospel of Matthew resembles that of a diagnosis, in which the sinner is consumed by his or her actions and is alienated from any knowledge of God.

Leontes of *The Winter's Tale* is referred to as suffering from a “disease” with frequent use of disease imagery. Camillo describes him as being of “diseased opinion” (I.ii.295). Polixenes also refers to himself as “infected” in a statement that alludes to Judas, the ultimate sinner:

O, then my best blood turn
To an infected jelly, and my name
Be yoked with his that did betray the Best! (I.ii.413-15)

Polixenes is not admitting to any sin or “diseased opinion” but rather addressing the accusations raised against him by Leontes. However, in doing so, he ties the disease imagery of the play to sin itself.

Leontes’s sin begins in the conversation he has with Camillo. His accusations against Hermione and Polixenes are the first of his trespasses, in which he actively sins against others. He first accuses them of adultery. To punish Polixenes for his part, Leontes then orders Camillo to murder him:

Ay, and thou,
His cupbearer...mightst bespice a cup
To give mine enemy a lasting wink,
Which draught to me were cordial. (I.ii.309-15)

Though Camillo helps Polixenes escape instead, Leontes’s intention and request is sin enough and it does not stop there. His accusation continues as he brings Hermione to court in front of many servants, lords, and even his son. Leontes addresses his lords, directing his accusation of Hermione to them rather than to her directly:

You, my lords,

Look on her, mark her well; be but about
To say she is a goodly lady, and
The justice of your hearts will thereto add
'Tis pity she's not honest... But be't known,
From him that has most cause to grieve it should be,
She's an adultress! (II.i.64-78)

Before Hermione is given any chance to defend herself, she is removed to jail to await trial, also a very public form of accusation on Leontes's part.

Leontes's sin progresses even further as he turns his attention to Hermione's newborn daughter, sinning against an innocent. After accusing Hermione of infidelity and sending her to jail to await her trial, Leontes orders Antigonus to kill her newborn baby, his own child though he denies it:

My child? Away with't! Even thou, that hast
A heart so tender o'er it, take it hence
And see it instantly consumed with fire. (II.iii.131-33)

Leontes gives his second order of murder, this time infanticide. However, after hearing the objections of those around him, Leontes reluctantly agrees to instead have the child abandoned in a "remote and desert place" to die on its own (II.iii.175), but even so, he trespasses against his own flesh and blood.

Worse than this act, however, is the sin of blasphemy, in which he actively sins against God. After sending the newborn off to die, he holds Hermione's trial and agrees to have the Delphic oracle decree her innocence or guilt. The oracle reads:

Hermione is chaste, Polixenes blameless, Camillo a true subject,
Leontes a jealous tyrant. His innocent babe truly begotten, and the
King shall live without an heir if that which is lost be not found.

(III.ii.130-34)

Leontes's reaction to this prophecy, however, is not one of acceptance. He instead claims, "There is no truth at all i'th' oracle. / The sessions shall proceed; this is mere falsehood." (III.ii.137-38). With these words, Leontes commits the sin of blasphemy. He rejects the word of the gods, and, in doing so, rejects the gods, themselves, and his connection to them. As the oracle in this pagan setting represents the word of the Christian God, Leontes rejects God and any knowledge of his teachings in this blasphemy.⁶ At this point,

⁶ The assumption that the play is to be viewed in a Christian context, despite Shakespeare setting it in a pagan world, is one that many scholars consider valid. This scholarly view has existed since the late nineteenth century and takes up all of Shakespeare's plays, especially the tragedies. This theory is founded on the existence of the 1606 act which ruled:

'If at any time or times after the end of the present session of Parliament any persons do or shall, in any stage-play, interlude, show, May-game, or pageant, jestingly or profanely speak or use the Holy name of God, or of Christ Jesus, or of the Holy Ghost, or of the Trinity (which are not to be spoken but with fear and reverence)' such persons shall forfeit for every such offence [ten pounds]. (Barroll 43)

This act would have resisted playwrights and actors from speaking directly of God, leading to pagan settings to express Christian thought. In the case of the romances, Bethell has written extensively on the matter, influencing others such as J.A. Bryant, Barbara Lewalski and R.G. Hunter (Battenhouse 9). Bethell's *The Winter's Tale: A Study* (1947) directly addresses his opinion on the matter: "I should myself regard the religious atmosphere as emphatically Christian, while the pagan suggestions give authenticity to the story and serve to 'distance' the Christian attitudes, presenting them in a new setting to counteract the deadening influence of familiarity and escape the deadly influence of contemporary controversy over minor theological questions" (37-38). The pagan context is meant to be historically accurate to the setting of the play but also to allow the audience to witness the same Christian dilemmas and moral questions they face every day in a context that is outside of their own and therefore a safe environment to question or explore. Shakespeare does not attempt to mask his Christian context. According to Bethell, "the play, in fact, has as many obviously Christian references as pagan" (38).

he stands faithless, having actively sinned, including a denial of the truth and word of God.

Prospero's extreme, by contrast, is evidenced by his passive role regarding his religious knowledge. The first act of *The Tempest* demonstrates Prospero's Christian faith in two ways: both products of his studies. As Yates and Velie have argued, Prospero's magic is thought to derive from his books as the highest form of religious knowledge. He tells Miranda, and subsequently the audience, of his interest in the liberal arts, "being transported / And rapt in secret studies" (I.ii.76-77), so that he "neglect[ed] worldly ends, all dedicated / To closeness and the bettering of [his] mind" (I.ii.89-90). These studies have also produced the language Prospero uses throughout the play. He refers to those on the ships as "souls," consoling Miranda with the knowledge that he "safely ordered that there is no soul" harmed on the ship, "not so much perdition as an hair" (I.ii.29-30). He refers to his brother's deceit as a product of an "evil nature" (I.ii.93), and to Miranda's smile as "infused with a fortitude from heaven" (I.ii.154). His language takes up basic Christian ideas, such as his references to the human soul and heaven. Prospero even explicitly refers to "providence divine" (I.ii.159). His language throughout the play, but most importantly in this first conversation with Miranda, establishes Prospero as a man of God.

However, unlike Leontes's active nature, Prospero is passive. Though Prospero uses his magic on the island, an active force, he is passive in that he is not the sinner, but rather, "the one sinned against" (Velie 114). Prospero's brother and the king of Naples

Polixenes's claim that to yoke one's name with "his that did betray the Best!" would be the greatest injury (I.ii.414), is a reference meant to be understood as one to Judas, despite the setting of the play. Therefore, I have understood the oracle, the word of the pagan god Apollo, to be read as a stand-in for the word of God.

are the sinners when the play begins, as they have transgressed against him in their rebellion. Prospero, himself, refers to Antonio as such when he relates to Miranda:

He being thus lorded,
Not only with what my revenue yielded,
But what my power might else exact, like one
Who, having into truth by telling of it,
Made such a sinner of his memory
To credit his own lie, he did believe
He was indeed the duke. (I.ii.97-103)

Prospero introduces the idea of the “sinner,” here referencing his brother’s mind rather than his person. He is suggesting that Antonio’s intentions, at least, have been compromised by this time, as he has begun to believe his own lies. Antonio is his “false brother” with an “evil nature” (I.ii.92-93). Prospero also asks Miranda to “mark [Antonio’s] condition” suggestive of a form of illness on his part, in a way similar to the disease imagery of *The Winter’s Tale*.

Prospero’s fault lies not with the sinners, but with himself. He allows Antonio to push him out of Milan. He relates that “I’th’ dead of darkness / The ministers for th’ purpose hurried thence [him and Miranda]” (I.ii.130-32). Prospero does not even actively escape but rather relies on the loyalty and charity of others, such as Gonzalo. Gonzalo provided them, in their small boat, with food, fresh water, “rich garments, linens, stuff, and necessaries,” as well as Prospero’s books (I.ii.160-68). At this point, he stands a man of Christian faith, focusing exclusively on his religious knowledge, in theoretical terms and is, therefore, wholly passive because of that focus.

‘providence divine’ operating through a sympathetic nature” (271). Prospero recognizes that his and his child’s safe landing is a sign from God. From this moment, he responds to what he seems to regard as a call to action from God and moves to hold appropriate religious knowledge through the exercise of it.

Leontes’s movement to appropriate religious knowledge takes place from the moment of Mamillius’s death to the restoration of Hermione at the end of the play, extending over the period of the sixteen year gap. Time, as the chorus, enters during the fourth act claiming that it will “please some, try all; both joy and terror / Of good and bad” (IV.i.1-2). Hunter interprets this to mean, fittingly, that “time, as he tells us, is the process, the element, in which all men are subjected to their trials” (198). Over the course of these sixteen years, both the time depicted within the play’s action and that which Time addresses, Leontes comes to appropriate religious knowledge, a Christian faith, by repenting his sins, in accordance with Christian doctrine.

The act of repentance is laid out in the Christian homily, “An Homily of Repentance and of True Reconciliation Unto God,” found in the *Book of Homilies*. The first *Book of Homilies* appeared in 1547, edited by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, and one homily from the book was to be read at every service in the Church of England. A second book emerged in 1562, made public in its most common form in 1571, only five years after Shakespeare’s birth. Both books underwent several revisions during Shakespeare’s lifetime, including their publications together as a uniform text beginning in 1582 (Griffiths vii-ix). The “Homily of Repentance” outlines the act of repentance as follows:

Now there be four parts of repentance, which being set together,
may be likened unto an easy and short ladder, whereby we may

climb, from the bottomless pit of perdition, that we cast ourselves into by our daily offences and grievous sins, up into the castle or tower, of eternal and endless salvation. (Griffiths 389)

The homily describes four steps in the act of repentance: contrition, confession, faith, and amendment of life. When these four steps are followed, the homily will lead one from sin to forgiveness, salvation, and a knowledge of God.

The first step in the act of repentance, as outlined in the “Homily of Repentance,” is that of contrition, taken up in the sinner’s sorrow: “For we must be earnestly sorry for our sins, and unfeignedly lament and bewail, that we have by them so grievously offended our most bounteous and merciful God; who *so tenderly loved us*” (Griffiths 389). Contrition requires one to lament and be sincerely sorry for sins committed, usually brought on by events that “lively do paint out, before our eyes, our natural uncleanness, and the enormity of our sinful life” (Griffiths 390). This event shows the sinner both the extent and ugliness of his sins and triggers the sorrow he then feels regarding his actions.

In *The Winter’s Tale*, a combination of Mamillius’s death and Hermione’s feigned death triggers Leontes’s contrition. When confronted with Mamillius’s death, he realizes what he has done and sees the consequences of accusing Hermione, making promises to “reconcile me to Polixenes / New woo my Queen, recall the good Camillo, / Whom I proclaim a man of truth, or mercy” (III.ii.153-55). However, it is not until the death of Hermione that Leontes begins to feel true sorrow. The majority of his sixteen year repentance is taken up with this sorrow, the step of contrition. As one of Leontes’s lords, Cleomenes, claims: Leontes has “performed / A saint-like sorrow” since Hermione’s feigned death (V.i.2). Leontes responds:

Whilst I remember
Her and her virtues, I cannot forget
My blemishes in them and so still think of
The wrong I did myself. (V.i.7-10)

His laments of his actions and the sixteen years of sorrow fulfill his act of contrition, allowing him to move to the second step in the act of repentance: confession.

Confession follows contrition in the act of repentance, in which the sinner confesses his sins to another. In confession, the sinner takes responsibility for his actions and asks forgiveness in the form of penance. The “Homily of Repentance” describes it as “an unfeigned confession, and acknowledging of our sins...and so put all our wickedness out of remembrance, before the sight of his Majesty, that they shall no more be thought upon” (Griffiths 390). To make confession, Leontes must acknowledge that he has sinned to himself, to God, and to another person, offering an act of penance, in order to be forgiven.

Leontes confesses his sins to Paulina.⁷ Prior to Hermione’s death, he confesses his sins up to that point, listing his orders to Camillo to poison Polixenes, his threats, and his

⁷ I have generally taken an Anglican stance on religion throughout this thesis, considering the *Book of Homilies* developed as a companion to the *Book of Common Prayer* which emerged as a fundamental text during the formation of this Church. Anglicanism was founded as an intermediary between Catholicism and forms of Protestantism during the sixteenth century, and, therefore, Leontes’s confession to another person can be viewed in several ways. In Catholicism, confession takes place between the sinner and a priest, while for Protestants confession is between the sinner and God. Paulina, as another human, is not God; therefore, this scene could be read as a form of Catholic influence making its way through Shakespeare’s Anglicanism. But she is also not a priest and so could be read as a stand-in for Hermione, at this point, and Leontes’s confession to those he sinned against would then express Protestant ideals. In either case, I recognize and acknowledge that Leontes’s confession to Paulina complicates what is an otherwise seemingly Protestant view of these plays. Though Protestant and Catholic relations

being “transported by [his] jealousies” (III.ii.159-65). After his sixteen year sorrow, however, Leontes acknowledges and confesses his responsibility in Hermione’s death: “She I killed? I did so, but though strik’st me / Sorely to say I did. It is as bitter / Upon thy tongue as in my thought” (V.i.17-19). Leontes’s penance is also instructed by Paulina. His lords request that he remarry but Paulina does not agree. She makes the claim that there is none as worthy as Hermione and Leontes makes an oath to her at her request:

Leontes: I’ll have no wife, Paulina.

Paulina: Will you swear

Never to marry but by my free leave?

Leontes: Never, Paulina, so be blessed my spirit. (V.i.69-71)

Leontes confesses his sins to Paulina with his lords present. At the same time, he offers himself to an act of penance instructed by his confessor by agreeing not to marry until Paulina deems he may do so. Leontes acknowledges his sins, and their consequences, and after performing penance, he is in a position to be forgiven.

The third step of the act of repentance, as set out by the “Homily of Repentance,” is that of faith in forgiveness. The homily describes:

The third part of repentance is faith, whereby we doe apprehend
and take hold upon the promises of God, touching the free pardon
and forgiveness of our sins...For what should avail and profit us to
be sorry for our sins, to lament and...confess...our

intensified before and even during James’s reign, I am not attempting to place Shakespeare as one or the other, as this debate has been the topic of many other studies of Shakespeare and his plays.

offences...unless we do stedfastly believe, and be fully persuaded,
that God...will forgive us all our sins. (Griffiths 392-93)

To have faith in forgiveness is for the sinner to believe that in the sorrow he feels over his sins, in the confession of them, and in the act of penance for them, there will be forgiveness of those sins. The sinner must have faith in his confessor and, ultimately, in God.

Leontes begins to demonstrate his faith in forgiveness upon the arrival of Perdita and Florizel. He hopes to gain Polixenes's forgiveness by welcoming Florizel and his bride, pronouncing that they are "welcome hither, / As is the spring to th'earth," after reflecting on the wrongs he had done Polixenes (V.i.150-151). Then, with the arrival of Polixenes, the servants indirectly inform the audience that the oracle has been fulfilled and that Perdita is Leontes's lost heir. However, his faith in forgiveness is explicitly developed when Paulina takes the reunited friends and family to visit the statue of Hermione. Paulina informs Leontes, "it is required / You do awake your faith" (V.iii.94-95). Among other things, he must have faith that his confession and act of penance can lead to forgiveness from both those he has sinned against and also from the higher power that he has offended.

The last step of the act of repentance, as set out by the "Homily of Repentance," is that of amendment of life, described by the homily as follows: "The fourth [step] is an amendment of life, or a new life, in bringing forth *fruits worthy of repentance*. For they that do truly repent, must be clean altered and changed; they must become new creatures; they must be no more the same that they were before" (Griffiths 393). The sinner, after having faith in the forgiveness of his sins, alters himself and his ways.

The idea of amending of one's life is made explicit in *The Winter's Tale* with the conclusion of the play's subplot. The Clown asks Autolycus, "Thou wilt amend thy life?" (V.ii.149), and Autolycus swears to do so. He serves as preparation for the audience as it will witness Leontes amending his own life in the next scene. However, Autolycus is to be viewed in contrast with Leontes. The rogue's promise seems unbelievable. He agrees to change his ways at the prompting of the Clown in order to please him in the moment, and Autolycus places qualifiers on his statements, agreeing to change "to [his] power" (V.ii.166), or as the editor notes, "to the extent of" his abilities (V.ii.166n). Shakespeare presents this scene to the audience in order to create skepticism so that Leontes's amendment is also questioned, producing a greater impact on the audience. Leontes, unlike Autolycus, has been witnessed moving through the act of repentance, arriving at the step of amending of his life, genuinely pursuing this moment. After being forgiven by those around him, Leontes leaves behind his sins and alters himself to a new life: a life of appropriate religious knowledge in the form of his newfound faith.

Prospero's movement to appropriate religious knowledge takes place from the moment of his arrival on the island to his reunion with the courtiers at the end of the play, extending over the twelve years prior to the play's action to its conclusion. His movement takes up what is taught in the *Book of Homilies* under the homily "A Short Declaration of the True, Lively, and Christian Faith." Prospero's focus on religious knowledge in Milan is theoretical and he is concerned with only himself. However, the homily teaches that this is a lesser kind of faith compared to that which is appropriate: "It is diligently to be noted, that faith is taken in the Scripture in two manner of ways. There is one faith which in Scripture is called a *dead* faith; which bringeth forth no good works, but is idle, barren

and unfruitful” (26). Prospero’s knowledge in the beginning is of this type of faith as he does not use it to do good works, but rather remains idle in his library.

Prospero turns from his passivity with the use of his magic on the island. He becomes active, using that which resulted from his knowledge. His magic facilitates his movement toward a more practical application of his knowledge, which begins with the education of Miranda on the island. In his first interaction with Miranda before the audience, he claims that while on the island he has taught Miranda to her benefit:

Here in this island we arrived, and here
Have I, thy schoolmaster, made thee more profit
Than other princes can that have more time
For vainer hours, and tutors not so careful. (I.ii.171-74)

Miranda’s language through this first act demonstrates what her father has taught her, as it resembles and even exceeds his Christian discourse. She refers to “the heavens” several times (I.ii.59; I.ii.116; I.ii.175), as well using words with Christian connotations including “blessed” (I.ii.61), and “sin” (I.ii.118). Her language demonstrates that, as she was only an infant when arriving on the island, Prospero has begun to do good works through his passing on of the knowledge of God to his daughter.

Prospero’s education of her also continues throughout the play’s action. Prospero teaches Miranda and Ferdinand about several aspects of Christianity, beginning with the importance of chastity:

If though dost break her virgin-knot before
All sanctimonious ceremonies may
With full and holy rite be ministered,

No sweet aspersion shall the heavens let fall
To make this contract grow; but barren hate,
Sour-eyed disdain, and discord shall bestrew
The union of your bed with weeds so loathly
That you shall hate it both. (IV.i.15-22)

The focus on the need for “sanctimonious ceremonies” and the administering of “holy rites,” so that the “heavens” will allow for children, suggests that Prospero’s warning is one based on the Christian ideas of chastity, the sacrament of marriage and sex within marriage for the purpose of procreation.

Second, Prospero passes on his knowledge of God to Miranda and Ferdinand through the show he has Ariel and the other spirits perform for them. He wishes for Ariel to “Bestow upon the eyes of this young couple / Some vanity of [his] art” (IV.i.40-41). This show depicts a joyous meeting between Iris, “the messenger of the gods, and goddess of the rainbow”; Ceres, the “goddess of earth”; and Juno, the wife of Jupiter (IV.i.60-75n.). Though this show consists of pagan characters, it has been interpreted to be fundamentally Christian by James Walter, who argues that “the tenor of this vision is God’s providence for his human creature” (275). He continues:

Prospero remarks that they are “Spirits, which by mine art / I have from their confines called to enact / My present fancies” (4.1.120-22). In the allegory, their ‘confines’ are simply the natural phenomena in which they dwell and Prospero is a poet-magician whose personifying art calls them forth to make them articulate for their audience. Through language, gesture, music, and theme, the masque speaks of a providential regularity

in nature as the source of our daily bread and reminds us of God's continuing creation. (275)

Prospero's masque for Miranda and Ferdinand is a way to make visual for them his teachings about religion. He has moved from a private, passive, and theoretical study of religious knowledge to an active display of "good works" through the textual and visual education of his daughter and Ferdinand.

However, in order to continue his movement to an appropriate use of his knowledge, Prospero must complete the ultimate "good work" of Christian faith: charity. The second manner of faith defined in the homily "A Short Declaration of the True, Lively, and Christian Faith" is that which "worketh by charity" (27). It is taken up more exclusively in the homily "A Sermon of Christian Love and Charity:"

Charity is to love God, with all our heart, all our life, and all our powers and strength... This is the first and principal part of charity, but it is not the whole: for charity is also, to love every man, good and evil, friend and foe; and whatsoever cause be given to the contrary, yet nevertheless to bear good will and heart, unto every man, to use ourselves well unto them, as well in words and countenance, as in all our outward acts and deeds. (46)

Charity is the love of both God and all men, despite their merits or dispositions. The homily continues, using the example of Christ:

Thus of true charity Christ taught, that every man is bound to love God above all things, and to love every man, friend and foe. And thus likewise he did use himself, exhorting his adversaries, rebuking the faults of his

adversaries, and when he could not amend them, yet he prayed for them.

(47)

Christ's act of charity and consequently every act of charity is to appeal to one's adversaries, and, whether or not they agree to amend their ways, to love them anyway.

Prospero completes this act of charity, this "good work," in his interactions with the courtiers. He first attempts to rebuke the sinners Alonso, Antonio, and Sebastian for their faults. They have sinned in their rebellion against Prospero and as the homily "An Exhortation Concerning Good Order and Obedience To Rulers and Magistrates" teaches, rebellion is a "detestable vice" committed not only against the authority but also against God (84). Prospero has Ariel set up a banquet for the three men in an effort to show them the error of their ways. Walter claims that the banquet is meant to "tantalize their hunger and greed; when Ariel in the guise of a Harpy retrieves the banquet, they are forced to experience the illusoriness of the things they have desired and consequently to feel what they themselves are" (274). The banquet is meant to show Alonso, Antonio, and Sebastian that they are indeed sinners who have fallen to Greed. Ariel, as the harpy, also resorts to an explicit criticism, "You are three men of sin," for their part in dispossessing Prospero (III.iii.53-75). Alonso is greatly affected by this vision and admits to his sin, using the term "trespass" (III.iii.99), and later asking Prospero: "Thy dukedom I resign, and do entreat / Thou pardon me my wrongs" (V.i.118-19). Prospero, in turn, forgives Alonso (V.i.120-22). However, he shows his true Christian charity when he also forgives the others who refuse to admit their sins and amend their ways as Alonso does:

You, brother mine, that entertained ambition,

Expelled remorse and nature, whom, with Sebastian—

Whose inward pinches therefore are most strong—
Would here have killed your king, I do forgive thee,
Unnatural though thou art. (V.i.75-79)

Prospero forgives Antonio and Sebastian despite their lack of contrition for their unnatural ways, completing an act of charity. He leaves behind his theoretical knowledge of faith in his public and practical exercise of it, committing good works, in a movement toward appropriate religious knowledge.

By the end of both plays, Leontes and Prospero come to rule with an appropriate exercise of religious knowledge. Leontes's appropriate rule is marked in Act V by Hermione's forgiveness of him. Following the completion of the act of repentance, as outlined in the "Homily on Repentance," the sinner is justified by God's grace and for Leontes, this grace comes in the form of Hermione's return. Following his reunion with his long-lost daughter, Perdita, they, along with Polixenes, Florizel, Camillo, and others, follow Paulina to see the statue she has had made of Hermione. Only Paulina is aware that the statue is actually Hermione, hidden away for sixteen years. Upon unveiling the statue, she allows Leontes and the others to gaze upon it, commenting on its life-like nature and the fact that it depicts an aged Hermione rather than how Leontes remembers her:

So much the more our carver's excellence,
Which lets go by some sixteen years, and makes her
As she lived now. (V.iii.30-32)

Hermione then steps down and the two embrace in reunion (V.iii.98-108). Both Velie and Hunter regard this reunion as "mark[ing] his achievement of forgiveness" (Hunter 199),

from not only Hermione, as wife, but also from God. Velie describes Hermione's representation of grace claiming: "The hero's restored fortunes indicate God's pardon...She is the symbol of God's grace, and when she returns to him, we know that heaven forgives him" (106). Leontes's appropriate exercise of religious knowledge is taken up in Hermione's forgiveness as it marks his completion of the "Homily on Repentance," a movement towards faith and knowledge of God.

Prospero's appropriate rule regarding the exercise of religious knowledge is confirmed by his renouncing of his magic. As previously discussed, his magic represented the extreme of his knowledge. Prospero, in the private nature of his studies gained a higher understanding than that appropriate to man, resulting in his magic. At the end of the play, he announces:

But this rough magic
I here adjure...I'll break my staff,
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
And deeper than did ever plummet sound
I'll drown my book. (V.i.50-57)

Though his magic facilitated his change, Prospero rejects it and the elements that represent it in an effort to return to the knowledge appropriate for man. Only in this action can he return to Milan to rule, and in his epilogue requests exactly that:

And my ending is despair
Unless I be relieved by prayer,
Which pierces so that it assaults
Mercy itself, and frees all faults.

As you from crimes would pardoned be,
Let your indulgence set me free. (V.i.333-38)

The Oxford editor suggests that Prospero's epilogue is directed to the audience, asking them for their prayer and mercy to return to Milan and continue his "history" (V.i.333-38n). However, just as Leontes's forgiveness from Hermione represents God's grace, so too does the audience's compliance with Prospero's request. His appropriate exercise of religious knowledge is marked by his forgiveness from God, provided, here, by the audience, after a movement to leave behind his excessive knowledge, his magic, and rule appropriately through Christian action.

Shakespeare's images of ruling with appropriate religious knowledge, or appropriate faith, in *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* are similar. Leontes and Prospero, though moving from different extremes on the spectrum of knowledge, both come to demonstrate Christian faith, recognizing the need for active and public faith. This religious knowledge is also taken up in King James's *Basilicon Doron*, as Christianity and one's duty within the faith is an important element in James's vision of the ideal king. He advises his son: "First of all things, learne to know and loue that God, whom-to ye have a double obligation; first, for that he made you a man; and next, for that he made you a little GOD to sit on his throne and rule ouer other men" (12). He also describes how to attain this knowledge, advising: "Now, the onely way to bring you to this knowledge, is diligently to reade his word, and earnestly to pray for the right understanding thereof" (13). Learning to know God is important to James, emphasizing the idea of knowledge as parallel to faith.

According to James, knowing God is reading, understanding, and putting into practice the word of God, found in the Scripture, but also in other Christian doctrines, including the *Book of Homilies*. In *Basilicon Doron*, he breaks down the word of God for his son:

The whole scripture chiefly containeth two things: a command, and a prohibition, to do such things, and to abstain from the contrary. Obey in both; neither thinke it enough to abstaine from euill, and do no good; nor thinke not that if yee doe many good things, it may serve you for a cloake to mixe euill turns therewith. (13)

James's interpretation of the Scripture creates a twofold way to fail regarding one's faith: to be passive in knowledge of God, abstaining from evil action but also from good; and also to be actively doing evil. This duality of failure is taken up with the failures of Leontes and Prospero in the beginning of both plays. Leontes is the active evil doer, while Prospero, though knowledgeable of God's word, is passive with regard to deeds altogether.

However, James also describes what he views as the Scripture's ideal exercise of knowledge:

In two degrees standeth the whole service of God by man: interiour, or vppward; exterior, or downward: the first by prayer in faith towards God; the next, by workes flowing therefra before the world: which is nothing else, but the exercise of Religion towards God, and of equitie towards your neighbor. (13)

James's ideal king takes up both these interior and exterior aspects of faith, and Shakespeare demonstrates this visually and dramatically for his audiences. Leontes demonstrates the way to come to appropriate interior knowledge in his movement towards faith in God through the exercise of the homily's teachings, while Prospero demonstrates the way to come to appropriate exterior knowledge in his movement towards a practical application or exercise of his knowledge publically. Both come to rule with appropriate knowledge, religion and faith, each resembling James's ideal king, while, together, depicting the possible opposing failures of a ruler.

CHAPTER FOUR:

'A Moiety of the Throne': Women and Patriarchy

As Leontes and Prospero align themselves as appropriate rulers, according to power and knowledge, the system of rule to which they both adhere is also an important aspect of *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*. In reference to the latter, but applicable to both plays, Orgel claims: "In a broader sense, family structures and sexual relations become political structures in the play[s], and these are relevant to the political structures of Jacobean England" (7). Under James, patriarchy was the dominant system of government in early modern England, in which "the institution of male power in the family and the state, sees itself 'as the only form of social organization strong enough to hold chaos at bay'" (Cohen 207). James brought with him to England the patriarchal rule he established in Scotland and it continued throughout his reign.

James, himself, outlines the role of the patriarch most explicitly in his work *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies: Or the Reciproock and Mvtvall Dvetie Betwixt a Free King and His Naturall Subiects* (1598): "By the Law of Nature the King becomes a natural Father to all his Lieges at his Coronation: And as the Father of his fatherly duty is bound to care for the nourishing, education, and virtuous gouernment of his children; even so is the king bound to care for all his subjects" (65). James considers the king to be a father over his subjects, responsible for their care and development:

As the Father's chiefe ioy ought to be in procuring his childrens welfare, reioycing at their weale, sorrowing and pitying at their euill, to hazard for their safetie, trauell for their rest, wake for their sleepe; and in a word, to

thinke that his earthly felicitie and life standeth and liueth more in them,
nor in himself; so ought a good Prince thinke of his people. (65-66)

James even references these patriarchal terms as he “describes himself in *Basilicon Doron* as ‘a louing nourish father’ providing the commonwealth with ‘their own nourish-milk.’ The very etymology of the word ‘authority’ confirms the metaphor: *augeo*, ‘increase, nourish cause to grow’” (Orgel 9). In establishing the patriarch as a father, even while expressing a responsibility to his subjects, James solidifies his authority over them.

Under this fatherly authority, the subjects of a patriarchy become the king’s children. James impresses repeatedly upon his readers the natural foundation of the system, claiming that the patriarch’s role as father comes from “the Law of Nature” (65). In this “natural” form of government, “the authority of the patriarchal ruler comes from the family, from the biblical injunction to honor father and mother....By fusing the concepts of the state and society, the patriarchalists made obedience to the sovereign as natural and unquestionable as obeying one’s father” (Williamson 146). The metaphor of the king-father maintains James’s authority over the subject-child, as crime against the patriarch becomes interlinked with grievous sins against one’s own blood. In *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, James outlines the responsibilities of the subjects to their king, emphasizing the unnaturalness of a crime against family, posing the rhetorical question:

Consider, I pray you what duetie his children owe to him, & whether vpon any pretext whatsoever, it wil not be thought monstrous and vnnaturall to his sons, to rise vp against him, to control him at their appetite, and when they thinke good to sley him, or cut him off, and adopt to themselves any

other they please in his roome: Or can any pretence of wickedness or rigor
on his part be a iust excuse for his children to put hand into him? (77)

Patriarchy not only provides the king with authority in his image as a caring father responsible to his children, but also solidifies his authority in the position in which it then places his subjects, both obligated by nature and instructed by morals and religion to obey.

Throughout both *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*, Leontes and Prospero's transitions to become appropriate rulers take place under the system of patriarchy as Shakespeare creates microcosms of James's system of English rule. Each play focuses on the family structure surrounding the ruler, depicting him explicitly as father. Marilyn L. Williamson argues: "Although all the romances center in families, *The Winter's Tale* is the most interesting study of the anxieties of fatherhood. Marital jealousy is rapidly transformed into questions of legitimacy and control of offspring" (150). Leontes is father to Mamillius, but also to Hermione's unborn child, and his relationships with his children frame the narrative of the play. While Mamillius is a prince, an obvious child of the king, Perdita, in her abandonment, grows up as "a shepherd's daughter" (IV.i.27). She is a subject when she arrives in Sicilia, but the audience's knowledge of her royal blood invokes the idea that she is a child to the patriarch of the realm. Leontes's major relationships within the play are with family members: his wife, the friend he calls "brother" (I.ii.147), and his children. However, as Leontes is king, his relationships also take up the ways a patriarch interacts with his country, his allies, and his subjects. Leontes's family is Shakespeare's depiction of the dynamic structure of patriarchy.

The Tempest also depicts this microcosm of patriarchy on the island with Prospero as father, first introduced to the audience as Miranda's "dearest father" (I.ii.1). After being forced out of Milan with his daughter, "on the island, Prospero undoes the usurpation, recreating kingdom and family with himself in sole command" (Orgel 4). Prospero is father to Miranda, but Orgel argues that he also extends this role over all those who inhabit or arrive on the island:

Prospero's magic power is exemplified, on the whole, as power over children: his daughter Miranda, the bad child Caliban, the obedient but impatient Ariel, the adolescent Ferdinand, the wicked younger brother Antonio, and indeed, the shipwreck victims as a whole, who are treated like a group of bad children. (9)

Prospero treats his subjects on the island as children. His relationship with the island itself also implies a parallel with James's vision of himself as patriarch over the British Isle, as it reflects a speech James gave to Parliament in 1604, in which he claimed: "I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawfull Wife" (136). Prospero's magic suggests a natural connection between himself and the island, such as one between a man and a woman. Prospero and Leontes's family structures become the centres of action in the plays, despite the crimes of treason and usurpation addressed. Within the family structure, Shakespeare highlights the ruler's role as a father foremost, both to his own children but also expanding to his subjects within the political structure of patriarchy. Shakespeare's microcosms resemble James's macrocosm of patriarchy in England, taking up his views on the role of the king as father and the subject as child.

However, after establishing similar patriarchal political structures, Shakespeare does not keep the focus of his plays on only those elements of patriarchy that align with James's views. *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* explore aspects of patriarchy James does not address in his political writings: especially the roles of women within the male-dominated society. Both plays consider the roles of the wife/mother and the daughter within a patriarchy, and then raise questions about James's dismissive or negative views on the importance of women.

In his two texts, *Basilicon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, James speaks only briefly of women when he advises his son on the acquisition and treatment of a wife. Women, especially the queen, under James's patriarchy are meant to be subservient to their husbands. He advises Henry, when it comes time to marry:

Treat her as your owne flesh, command her as her Lord, cherish her as your helper, rule her as your pupil, and please her in all things reasonable; but teach her not to be curious in things that belong her not. Ye are the head, she is your body; It is your office to command and hers to obey; but yet with such a sweet harmonie as shee should be as ready to obey, as ye to command; as willing to follow, as ye to go before; your loue being wholly knit unto her, and all her affections louingly bent to follow your will. (42)

James describes to his son what he regards as the appropriate role of women, but also implies an acceptance and willingness, on their part, to fulfill this role. Women, including the queen, are to serve and obey their husbands. Most importantly, however, they are “not to be curious in things that belong [them] not” (42), suggesting they remain ignorant of

certain affairs of their husbands. James specifies what these affairs entail, for the queen, later, as he advises his son to keep three rules with his wife, the first of which is to “suffer her neuer to meddle with the Politicke gouernment of the Commonweale, but hold her at the Oeconomicke rule of the house: and yet all be subiect to your direction” (42). James views women as unimportant to the political structure of England, meant to be kept at home in their roles as subservient wives.

Shakespeare’s dramatically represented views seem to be in opposition to James’s patriarchal ideas by representing Leontes’s and Prospero’s similar desires for patriarchal control as deeply problematic. The beginning of *The Winter’s Tale* depicts Leontes on the extreme of the spectrum that represents the excess of women’s visibility and vocality, and, from the outset, he is trying desperately to achieve James’s vision of the subservient wife. Leontes views Hermione strictly as his wife, exemplified in the statement that before this scene, she spoke “To better purpose” only once, when she said “I am yours for ever” and “earned a royal husband” (I.ii.104-06). However, Hermione’s overt sexuality leads to questions that threaten her husband: “Hermione’s pregnant body, rounding apace, testifies to her sexuality, but does its inner truth conform to social regulations of female sexuality then in force?” (Coldiron 33). Pregnancy puts Hermione’s sexuality on display, creating awareness on Leontes’s part about the possible threats to her obedience, leading to questions about her fidelity. These questions, despite being sparked by the image of her pregnancy, take up her role as wife: “Leontes accuses Hermione of both breaking the sexual role of marital fidelity and inverting the hierarchies of husband-king over wife-subject” (Coldiron 33). In a tirade, Leontes expresses anguish

about his inability to control Hermione in order to make her subservient to him as her husband:

There have been,
Or I am much deceived, cuckolds ere now,
And many a man there is, even at this present,
Now, while I speak this, holds his wife by th' arm,
That little thinks she has been sluiced in's absence,
And his pond fished by his next neighbor, by
Sir Smile, his neighbour—nay, there's comfort in't
Whiles other men have gates, and those gates opened,
As mine, against their will. (I.ii.188-96)

In using the sexual imagery of a “pond fished” and “gates opened,” Leontes reduces his wife to her sexual function: that which he is unable to control. When Leontes refers to his wife as “nothing” (I.ii.292), “an Elizabethan euphemism for the vagina,” Cohen argues that “Leontes metonymizes his wife...he reduces Hermione to a vagina” (217-19).

However, the language he uses expresses his desire to control her as the general “‘vocabulary’ that keeps driving to the surface of his speech is that of sexual abuse” (Cohen 218). Within the first act of the play, Leontes attempts to place the highly sexual image of Hermione in the role of James’s subservient wife, verbally, but ultimately fails.

Paulina also threatens Leontes and the system of patriarchy. She is first mentioned in the play by Antigonus who references “his wife” (II.i.135), and though the audience sees her visiting Hermione, it witnesses her first interaction with Leontes in connection with her husband (II.iii.27-205). Paulina, in the beginning, is established in Leontes’s

eyes as a wife. However, she is not an obedient wife and when she wishes to see Leontes, Antigonus “fails to prevent her independent stand” (Erickson 822). When Leontes questions Antigonus’s ability to “rule her” (II.iii.46), and keep her from court, Paulina speaks for him, answering: “trust it, / He shall not rule me” (II.iii.49-50). A.E.B. Coldiron claims that “Paulina’s particular transgressive threat—her crime—is that of vocal, accusatory, female agency” (62). She refuses to leave without showing Leontes his newborn daughter and defending the queen. In response, Leontes attempts to control Paulina and make her a subservient wife by holding Antigonus responsible for her. He orders Antigonus to remove her: “On your allegiance / Out of the chamber with her!” (II.iii.120-21). Eventually, Leontes even turns his anger and blame towards her husband: “Thou, traitor, hast set on thy wife to this” (II.iii.130). Leontes would like to place the highly vocal Paulina in the role of James’s subservient wife, asserting his authority over her husband and demanding that he assert his authority over her in an effort to do so.

The beginning of *The Tempest*, by contrast, depicts Prospero on the extreme of the spectrum that represents the absence of women’s influence; however, in the mentioning and reminders of both his wife and Sycorax, Prospero idealizes James’s vision of the subservient wife. Prospero’s wife is absent from the play. She is only mentioned when Prospero recounts his history to Miranda: “Thy mother was a piece of virtue” (I.ii.56). Miranda remembers only “four or five women once that tended me” (I.ii.47), but does not remember her mother. Therefore, the audience is to view the absent woman as Prospero’s wife, made known through his connections only, and not first as Miranda’s mother.

The witch Sycorax is also an absent woman on the island. She was absent before Prospero's arrival but he has learned of her from Ariel and Caliban, and he is the one to relate her history:

This damned witch Sycorax,
For mischiefs manifold and sorceries terrible
To enter human hearing, from Algiers
Thou know'st was banished—for one thing she did
They would not take her life. (I.ii.263-67)

Prospero's recounting of how Sycorax arrived on the island is evasive. He claims that she would have been killed for her crimes if it were not for "one thing she did," suggesting, which he later confirms, that she was pregnant at the time and, instead of death, her sentence was commuted. He does not, in the audience's first introduction to Sycorax, address her pregnancy because Prospero does not view her as a mother; instead he sees her in her role as a witch and a devil's mistress. Referring to Caliban, he alludes to Sycorax's sexual encounters: "Thou poisonous slave, got by the devil himself / Upon thy wicked dam" (I.ii.319-20). Prospero attempts to idealize James's view of the appropriate subservient wife, by demonizing Sycorax. He emphasizes her evil nature and her role as wife/mistress to the devil, to place her outside of the realm of human women, allowing him to maintain control over those in the roles of wives within a patriarchy.

Though Leontes and Prospero's patriarchies attempt to place women in the kind of role James advises, the subservient wife, they fail to achieve what they might regard as a sufficient level of control or authority. In this failure, the plays suggest that James's views of women's roles within a patriarchy are flawed or vulnerable. However, Leontes

and Prospero, in their transitions, move from this flawed form of patriarchy to a successful one by the end of the plays. Throughout the action, Shakespeare explores a patriarchy where women, in the cases of Hermione, Paulina, the absent duchess, and Sycorax, are not viewed as wives to be controlled, but rather as mothers and as figures with certain valid (if limited) claims to participate in the political realm.

In his transition to appropriate rule, Leontes comes to view Hermione and Paulina as mothers. After the death of Mamillius and the supposed death of Hermione, Leontes recognizes Hermione as the boy's mother instead of just his wife. He orders that the two be buried together, symbolizing their connection: "One grave shall be for both" (III.ii.234). Leontes continues to view Hermione as a mother over the course of the sixteen years that pass, for, when the play returns to Sicilia, he laments:

Whilst I remember

Her and her virtues, I cannot forget

My blemishes in them, and so still think of

The wrong I did myself, which was so much

That heirless it hath made my kingdom, and

Destroyed the sweet'st companion that e'er man

Bred his hopes out of. (V.i.6-12)

Leontes is not lamenting a subservient wife, but rather a "companion" who provided him with heirs: a mother. At this point, he also refuses to accept his lords' suggestions to remarry: "I'll have no wife" (V.i.69). Instead, agreeing with Paulina's arguments about the oracle, he accepts that he cannot replace the mother of his children. Leontes's first reaction to learning that Perdita is his daughter is also expressive of his new view of

Hermione. A gentleman reports: “Our King, being ready to leap out of himself for joy of his found daughter, as if that joy were now become a loss cries, ‘O, thy mother, thy mother!’” (V.ii.49-51). Leontes no longer considers Hermione, first, as a wife to control, but now, in her role as a mother to his children.

Leontes also comes to view Paulina in a role something like a mother. Paulina is a mother of three daughters; however, Antigonus is the one who introduces this fact to both Leontes and the audience prior to Hermione’s trial: “I have three daughters; the eldest is eleven, / The second and the third nine and some five” (II.i.144-45). After the death of Mamillius and Hermione, when Leontes begins his transition, Paulina takes on her role as a mother in his eyes. But, she does not dramatically become a mother to her own children; rather, she becomes a mother-figure to Leontes. Paulina shows an authority over Leontes in these scenes, educating him on the appropriate actions he should take regarding marriage, desire towards Perdita, and faith. She serves a “maternal function,” in which she guides him through his rebirth, acting as a “punitive and demanding mother” (Erickson 826). Leontes expresses in the final scene of the play that Paulina has provided him with “great comfort” (V.iii.1), expressing his thanks for the nurturing he has received from her. He no longer considers Paulina as only Antigonus’s wife, someone to be controlled, but now, in her maternal role over him.

In his transition to appropriate rule, Prospero also comes to view women in their roles as mothers. From the beginning, other characters recognize the importance of this role, despite Prospero’s ignoring of it. While her father relates his history with his brother, Miranda responds:

I should sin

To think but nobly of my grandmother:

Good wombs have borne bad sons. (I.ii.118-20)

She recognizes the role women play in men's affairs as their mothers. Caliban also recognizes women's influence in political affairs, as he explains his purpose for previously trying to rape Miranda: "Thou didst prevent me—I had peopled else / This isle with Calibans" (I.ii.349-50). His purpose was to impregnate Miranda so that she could act as a mother to his own race. Prospero does not recognize this intention, considering only the violation of Miranda, still focused on women as wives and sexual partners. However, in the last scene of the play, Prospero introduces Caliban in reference to his connection to Sycorax: "This misshapen knave, / His mother was a witch" (V.i.268-69). Instead of dismissing Sycorax's role as a mother, Prospero now acknowledges it immediately to the others. Through this recognition, he also comes to accept Sycorax's power, continuing:

One so strong

That could control the moon, make flows and ebbs,

And deal in her command without her power. (V.i.269-71)

He now views Sycorax, though absent, as Caliban's mother and also as a figure with impressive powers, and, in doing so, gives her a measure of respect.

Successful patriarchy in *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* emphasizes viewing women as mothers instead of subservient wives partly due to the need for the legitimacy of succession that falls on them as mothers. When Leontes questions Hermione as an unfaithful wife, he claims that she "give[s] scandal to the blood o'th' prince" (I.ii.327). The legitimacy of Leontes's children rests with Hermione and, ultimately, her word; therefore, an unquestioned heir is her responsibility. Even in Hermione's absence, she is

the one to solidify Perdita's legitimacy as the proofs include "the mantle of Queen Hermione's; her jewel about the neck of it;...[and] the majesty of the creature in resemblance of the mother" (V.ii.32-36). Hermione is important to Leontes's system of patriarchy as a mother because she is responsible for the continuation and legitimacy of succession.

Though Leontes does not discuss legitimacy regarding Paulina as mother, her husband does. Antigonus, worried that all wives are unfaithful if Hermione is, moves immediately to concerns about the legitimacy of his three daughters:

By mine honour,
I'll geld 'em all—fourteen they shall not see
To bring false generations. They are co-heirs,
And I had rather glib myself than they
Should not produce fair issue. (II.i.146-50)

Antigonus understands that legitimacy rests on Paulina, who is not only his wife but also the mother of his children. She is important to patriarchy because their children are the "co-heirs" of his family and important for his role in society.

Legitimacy is also an important focus in *The Tempest*. Prospero's only mention of his wife rests solely on this issue: "She said thou wast my daughter" (I.ii.57). Her word legitimizes Miranda so that she can be "his only heir / And princess no worse issued" (I.ii.58-59). According to Orgel, "the legitimacy of Prospero's heir, that is, derives from her mother's word. But that word is all that is required of her in the play; once it has been supplied, Prospero's attention turns to himself and his succession" (1). Miranda's mother

is important to patriarchy in one way: assuring legitimate succession; however, this is perhaps the most important aspect required for a successful patriarchal society.

The issue of legitimacy and its importance to succession also arises throughout the play with Caliban. He expresses his claim to the island to Prospero: “The island’s mine by Sycorax my mother, / Which thou tak’st from me” (I.ii.331-32). Caliban thinks he is the legitimate heir to the island because his mother ruled it until her death, and he, as her son, should have succeeded her. According to Caliban, Prospero “cheated [him] of the island” (III.ii.41-42), ignoring Caliban’s claim, and taking the island for himself. However, Sycorax was dead long before Prospero’s arrival, leaving only the rumours of Caliban’s conception that he was “got by the devil himself” (I.ii.319).⁸ Without her word that he comes from a human male blood line, and is not “a born devil” (IV.i.188)⁹,

⁸ According to Orgel’s timeline in the Oxford introduction to *The Tempest*, it is unknown exactly how long Sycorax has been dead, other than the fact that “Prospero never saw her, and everything he knows about her he has learned from Ariel” (19). Orgel calculates, in a later footnote: “Sycorax, then, died sometime before Prospero came to the island, and thus more than twelve years ago. Caliban is therefore at least twenty-four at the time of the play, and was at least thirteen when Prospero arrived with the three-year old Miranda” (I.ii.279n). These calculations regarding Caliban’s age take into consideration that Sycorax confined Ariel in a tree for “a dozen years” leading up to Prospero’s arrival (I.ii.279), and, therefore, a dozen years passed while Caliban was alive. It is undetermined how long Sycorax lived after Ariel’s imprisonment or how many years Ariel served Sycorax on the island before his imprisonment leading up to the “minimum” qualification placed on Caliban’s age.

⁹ Caliban’s devil status is also a reflection of James’s writings. Published in 1597 in Edinburgh and reprinted with the other texts in 1603 upon his ascension in England, James’s *Daemonologie* addresses his concerns and views on witchcraft. Included in this text is a treatment of incubuses, demons who have intercourse with human women, witches, either while inhabiting a male dead body or through the collection of human sperm (Latham 118-19). According to Jacqueline M. Latham, “James is surprisingly more cavalier in dismissing monstrous births as old wives’ tales; Shakespeare was obviously more interested in them” (120). Latham’s reading of the *Daemonologie* suggests that James would view Caliban as human because of the involvement of human sperm in his conception, despite the fact that it is “cold” (119): dead or removed from the living prior to intercourse. However, this humanity does not affect the questions of

Caliban has weak claims to lineal succession, stressing the importance of women to legitimacy.

Shakespeare suggests with these women that the success of a patriarchy relies on the legitimacy they provide as mothers; however, he also demonstrates this success. At least with those women present, Hermione and Paulina, in *The Winter's Tale*, Shakespeare depicts the harmony of a patriarchal society once women have been given the respect they deserve as something more important than subservient wives. Their newly recognized importance, as mothers, allows them to become co-partners in governance, though not equal partners. Hermione's outspoken behaviour during her trial calls for recognition of this partnership:

For behold me,
A fellow of the royal bed, which owe
A moiety of the throne: a great king's daughter,
The mother to a hopeful prince. (III.ii.36-39)

Based on her roles as daughter to a king and mother of a prince, Hermione calls for "a moiety of the throne" or a part of rule. Once Leontes recognizes her in these roles, he then offers her the partnership she demands. In the end, he is forgiven by Hermione and contracts a marriage for Paulina. Several scholars argue that this scene is less than a happy ending for the women. Williamson claims: "However triumphant the women might seem at the end of *The Winter's Tale*, the forgiveness of Leontes by Hermione once again signals, as in the comedies, the acceptance by women of an asymmetrical relationship in the greater male privilege to err with impunity" (152). Peter B. Erickson's

legitimacy because Sycorax remains absent, unable to confirm or deny rumours of conception, assert which male blood line, or specify paternity.

argument is similar, noting that with the “transformation in the women as they shift from threatening to reassuring figures,” while “the removal of the threat permits the joyous happy ending, it also occasions a loss, since the women suffer a contraction of power” (825). Both argue that the women conform to the same end Leontes attempted to bring about in the beginning: to have them under his control. However, the ending remains joyous because Leontes has been truly changed. Leontes offers Paulina a husband just as she has found him his wife. The marriage to Camillo is his reciprocation in a form of partnership of rule that he and Paulina have had since his wife’s death: “Thou shouldst a husband take by my consent, / As I by thine a wife” (V.iii.136-37). Leontes has offered the women respect, recognizing their importance to patriarchy, and with that, they no longer need to be vocal in their demand for partnership in rule. They have not given up power, but rather, are satisfied with the measure of it that they have gained.

Though this partnership based on the importance of women is not equally treated in *The Tempest*, Shakespeare does show the audience a glimpse of it as Prospero pulls back the curtain on Miranda and Ferdinand. The two are “playing at chess” (V.i.171.2), and Miranda accuses Ferdinand of cheating: “Sweet lord, you play me false” (V.i.172). Though Ferdinand denies the claim, it seems as though Miranda both acknowledges and approves of his actions when she responds: “Yes, for a score of kingdoms you should wrangle, / And I would call it fair play” (V.i.174-75). Gary Schmidgall considers this scene important because “the chess game is not only a visual premonition of a happy union of husband and wife but also of a capable and prescient governmental style for the future Dukedom of Milan and Kingdom of Naples” (13). If the game of chess is to represent Ferdinand’s future rule, his play representing his strategy in a war over

“kingdoms,” Miranda is a decision maker, an advisor, and an opponent: a partner. She is, as Orgel claims in the text’s introduction, “declaring her perfect complicity in the act” (30); she is not ignorant to decisions of rule as James would prefer her to be.

In *The Winter’s Tale* and *The Tempest*, Shakespeare investigates another role for women that James abhors and, therefore, ignores: women as sole heir. James discusses female heirs only briefly in *Basilicon Doron* in a warning to his son regarding God’s punishment or reward for one’s behaviour:

Consider the difference of my successe that God granted in the Mariages of the King my grandfather, and me your owne father: the reward of his incontinencie, (proceeding from his euill education) being the sudden death at one time of two pleasant yong Princes; and a daughter onely borne to succeed to him, whom hee had neuer the hap, so much as once to see or blesse before his death: leauing a double curse behind him to the land, both a woman of sexe, and a new borne babe of aage to reigne ouer them. (39)

For James, a daughter as heir is a curse from God, whereas sons, and specifically, Henry, are a “blessing” (39). According to Charles Frey, “Kings need sons. When they produce daughters in a patrilineal society, they do less than the optimum to further a secure succession” (130). Female heirs are unacceptable in James’s vision of ideal patriarchy.

However, sons are not always an option and Shakespeare investigates what James ignores. Frey argues of patriarchal societies in general: “Sons, in particular, become tragic losers in this patriarchal overdetermining of loyalties, because they are, typically, used up in fighting feuds of their fathers; the desire for primogenitural progeny becomes

thwarted when the male line is forfeited in parental wars” (125). Though neither *The Winter’s Tale* nor *The Tempest* involve a son dying in war, in *The Winter’s Tale*, Leontes does lose a son. Mamillius dies before he is able to succeed his father and raise an heir of his own. His death is not due to fighting in his father’s war, but he does in part die because of Leontes’s feud over loyalty. A servant reports that Mamillius died “with mere conceit and fear / Of the Queen’s speed” (III.ii.142-43). He is sick, but it is with worry over his mother’s position that he dies, a position Leontes has put her in with his accusations of infidelity and lack of loyalty.

Shakespeare leaves Leontes with only his daughter, Perdita, as possible heir, just as Prospero has only his daughter Miranda to succeed him. This repeated plot choice can be read as a tribute to the late Queen Elizabeth, a woman who became queen because she was the last heir of King Henry VIII, but whose reign was long and prosperous. Williamson claims that Shakespeare was addressing a change in popularity towards the monarchy: “The concept of an Elizabethan revival in Jacobean times is based on a growing adulation of Elizabeth I, as James’s popularity waned” (159). However, this look to successful female heirs is not necessarily focused only on Elizabeth. Shakespeare is investigating what role women as daughter-heirs can play in a patriarchy, contributing to its success, taking up a path James’s dismisses. He considers what opportunities daughters can provide in succession that sons cannot.

The first aspect that daughters provide over sons is that of the opportunity for the best successor. Sons are not necessarily the best choice to become ruler. They can be of an “evil nature” (I.ii.93), as Prospero’s brother Antonio is, or they can be a “copy” of their father as Mamillius is of Leontes (I.ii.121). Leontes expresses that he and his son are

“almost as like as eggs” (I.ii.129). Mamillius, as Leontes’s heir, could grow up to be exactly like his father as his physical description suggests. Leontes does not rule appropriately at the beginning of the play, and perhaps Mamillius would grow to do the same, suggesting that rule would not change, remaining stagnant. However, Shakespeare also presents a moment that suggests that this may not always be the case with fathers and sons. In the scene with his mother and the ladies attending him, the young prince treats women much differently than his father does. Mamillius, in his youth, is playful with the ladies and when one asks about his remarks, “who taught this?” he responds that he has “learned it out of women’s faces” (II.i.11-12). Though this is a rather insignificant remark about women’s eyebrows, it highlights that Mamillius has been paying attention to women and learning from them, rather than solely learning from his father. The prince’s death means that he does not have the opportunity to grow into the kind of ruler he would be, as at this point, Shakespeare provides glimpses of both one alike and one different from his father.

This possibility for either is where the danger lies when it comes to succession. Instead, daughters provide the opportunity to choose who becomes ruler. Frey argues that, with daughters, “in place of patrilineal succession, we have a new procreative process in which direct male issue are bypassed—perhaps as too competitive, aggressive, promiscuous, or death-dealing—in favor of virginal daughters who promise to win reinvigorations of the family through outside stock” (132). With a female as heir, the man chosen to be her husband has already grown into the man he will be, a manifestation of the king he will become. Daughters allow for a son-in-law to replace the son, and, as is emphasized in both plays, worth becomes a factor in succession.

Paulina emphasizes worth in *The Winter's Tale* when she expresses her thoughts on Leontes remarrying to have another son:

The Crown will find an heir. Great Alexander
Left his to th' worthiest; so his successor
Was like to be the best. (V.i.47-49)

In choosing a male outside of the family to marry the daughter-heir, the ruler has the opportunity to evaluate a man's worth so that he is passing his kingdom on to "the best" candidate. Leontes, though unaware at this point that Florizel is to be his son-in-law, expresses his praise of the young man with Perdita:

Your father's blessed,
As he from heaven merits it, with you,
Worthy his goodness. What might I have been,
Might I a son and daughter now have looked on,
Such goodly things as you! (V.i.173-77)

Reflecting James's notion of a son as a blessing from God, Leontes claims that Florizel is a worthy reward for Polixenes's goodness. Leontes expresses his desire to have a son like Florizel. His evaluation of the young man deems him of good quality and a worthy choice of son if one could choose, which, after Perdita's reunion with her father, he is able to do, introducing Florizel to Hermione as, "this is your son-in-law" (V.iii.149).

Prospero's method of evaluation is taken up in the "trial" of Ferdinand (I.ii.468). The young man must "remove / Some thousands of these logs and pile them up" in order to gain Miranda's hand (III.i.9-10). After Ferdinand completes the test, Prospero claims that he has "worthily purchased" Miranda (IV.i.14). Perdita and Miranda, as daughters

and heirs, allow Leontes and Prospero, respectively, to choose successors based on worth and quality, not only blood¹⁰, ensuring the success of the patriarchy.

Women as daughter-heirs, in choosing husbands to succeed, also provide the opportunity for union and reunion. Frey argues:

The function of each daughter is not to represent, as a son might, the father in the father's battles but rather to leave home, travel widely, perhaps marry the son of her father's chief enemy (as in *Winter's Tale* and *Tempest*), and return home to instill virtues of forgiveness and the lesson of pardon in the father. The solution for patriarchal overcontrol and quasi-incestuous inwardness seems to be a dramatic destruction of the progenitive center and an explosion outward through time and space that lends to regrouping at the end and visions of a wide incorporative harmony. (129)

¹⁰ I make the comment "not only blood," here, because Florizel and Ferdinand are still of royal blood. Worth is not the only factor for a suitor as it would be unacceptable for either daughter-heir to choose someone outside of nobility. Shakespeare does not complicate the matter by having a daughter fall in love with someone of the lower classes as his purpose seems to be to highlight the importance of the young women to succession and not possible rebellious natures. Frey suggests Shakespeare avoids another complication, here, that he progresses to explore later in *Henry VIII*, a daughter-heir who chooses not to marry: "The daughters themselves, however, are hardly permitted the alternative of not choosing a mate. To do so would be un-thinkable. They must take mates to save and extend the families of their fathers, their fathers who remain so much in evidence. After working out this "solution" in the Romances, Shakespeare went on, nonetheless, to consider the matter further (as was his custom) and even to question the solution" (132). In *Henry VIII*, Shakespeare's true tribute to Elizabeth, "though the father's search for male issue remains important, is never more important than here, the daughter need now elect no husband to fulfill her function" (133). It would be interesting to consider whether *Henry VIII* presents a further solution, supporting and developing the importance of women or whether it complicates the matter considering Elizabeth's "purity" and her refusal of the role of mother.

Perdita and Miranda allow for healing as they marry the sons of their fathers' enemies. Perdita's desire to marry Florizel brings his father, Polixenes, back to Sicilia where the two kings reunite. Her return brings the opportunity for the two to express their forgiveness, and, in the end, her marriage to Florizel will unite the two kingdoms, expanding, not restricting, Sicilia's political power.

Miranda, similarly, allows for healing between her father and a conspirator in his usurpation, Alonso, in her union with his son Ferdinand. The image of the young lovers allows a scene of forgiveness, in which the duchy of Milan will become united with the kingdom of Naples, with the two as "the king and queen there!" (V.i.150). Though this union is not equal as is the union of the two kingdoms of Sicilia and Bohemia, Prospero does not lose power in the union. Orgel argues that, in fact, Miranda's marriage allows for Prospero to ensure the success of Milan, thwarting his brother's possible future control:

Milan through the marriage becomes part of the kingdom of Naples, not the other way around. Prospero recoups his throne from his brother only to deliver it over, upon his death, to the King of Naples once again... Prospero has not regained his lost dukedom, he has usurped his brother's. In this context, Prospero's puzzling assertion that "every third thought shall be my grave" can be seen as a final assertion of authority and control: he has now arranged matters so that his death will remove Antonio's last link with the ducal power. His grave is the ultimate triumph over his brother. If we look at the marriage in this way, giving away Miranda is a means of preserving his authority, not of relinquishing it. (12)

Prospero chooses Ferdinand, a worthy son-in-law, over future male-blood succession. Miranda allows for Prospero to maintain and expand his authority in the patriarchal system of fictional Italy.

Shakespeare's vision of appropriate patriarchy differs from that of James. However, the connections between the two suggest *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* are exploring James's views. The system of government found in both plays resembles patriarchy in their family structures, taking up the metaphor of king as father and the subject as child that existed in early modern England. The plays also take up James's views on women as Leontes and Prospero attempt to move towards James's idea of the appropriate role for women, at the median, from opposite extremes. However, the two rulers fail to gain any authority in these attempts, and, during their transitions, come to see other roles for women, leading to a more appropriate form of authority than James envisions, and with that, a successful patriarchy. Shakespeare explores roles for women that James dismisses in his political writings, including recognizing the importance of women in a patriarchy as mothers and as daughters and, in limited ways, as political partners. The plays suggest that though James may be partly correct concerning the aspects of an appropriate ruler, he does not advise his son regarding the best form of patriarchy. James does not adequately consider the importance of women, and Shakespeare uses the female characters of these two plays both to show the resulting failure of those views when taken up by a ruler and to consider other, more successful, forms.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

Shakespeare's romances *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* address the same political issues that his histories do, though they are not equally regarded politically. These two plays, not unlike the history plays, take up the role of a king or ruler and the duties of that position. They dramatize the rules of men and their relationships with others as well as their progress in understanding themselves. However, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* suggest what it is to be a good ruler through the development or manipulation of a fictional example rather than through the lessons of history.

Leontes and Prospero, in the beginnings of their respective plays, are not good rulers. Leontes is, in fact, a bad king, abusing his power over others and denying the efficacy of faith. Prospero, on the other hand, is a poor ruler, not active in his failure as Leontes is, but, before the action of the play begins, he has been too passive both in his power and in religious works. These two men teach the audience what it is to be a good ruler by moving from these failures and becoming good rulers themselves. Leontes moves from being a tyrant who ignores his advisors and orders the death of innocents to become a king who listens to those around him and acts moderately. He also recognizes his lack of faith and receives forgiveness of his sins through an act of repentance. Prospero moves from being too passive, ignorant of the crimes of others until he held no power, to become a ruler who commands authority over his subjects, recognizing the need for both punishment and mercy. He also learns to act on his theoretical religious knowledge, educating others and doing good works. At the end of the plays, both men are examples for the audience, embodying something of Shakespeare's commentary on ideal rule.

These thoughts on ideal rule and rulers taken up in the images of Leontes and Prospero are not unique to Shakespeare, however, as they are at least partially dramatic renderings of common contemporary political theory. Similar theories are expressed by King James I in his political treatises *Basilicon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, which also address what it is to be a good ruler and the possible failures to avoid. The monarch, writing to his son, advises against pitfalls similar to those Leontes and Prospero experience in the beginning of each play, including tyranny and passivity, faithlessness and the dangers of isolation or the seclusion of self-absorbed study. Overall, James's texts endorse a form of kingship similar to that which Shakespeare's Leontes and Prospero come to exercise.

The Winter's Tale and *The Tempest*, as well as James's texts, focus conspicuously on power. Leontes and Prospero are failures, as one is abusive in his rule while the other is too passive. Neither has the ability to rule appropriately, which is, as James suggests, to rule fairly, listening to the advice of others, offering both punishment and mercy. However, in the end, Leontes and Prospero come to rule in this manner, as Leontes is confronted with his tyranny by Paulina, and Prospero is given the opportunity to practice proper rule over Caliban and Ariel as well as his daughter and the whole company of Europeans under his control. Though their failures are different, both rulers discover a point or a method of appropriate rule regarding the use of power and authority over their subjects.

The second aspect of rule that Shakespeare's dramatized political theory addresses, and arguably the most important, in James's theory, anyway, is that of religious knowledge. Leontes and Prospero fail as rulers according to the respective

empases they place on faith and its application. Leontes lacks faith altogether, denying the word of God in the oracle, and committing sins in the forms of jealousy and his order of infanticide, while Prospero places too much focus on his theoretical knowledge of faith, ignoring the Christian requirement for good works. Both of these failures, ignorance and seclusion of faith, are taken up specifically by James, who advises his son to read the Scripture and follow its instructions closely. In the end, Leontes and Prospero come to rule with a level of faith similar to what James suggests is appropriate, acknowledging and knowing God, while teaching and encouraging others to do so.

However, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* offer dramatic representations that differ from or go beyond those of James. These plays seem to be in opposition with James's political theories regarding several points addressed in the king's treatises, including his thoughts, or lack thereof, regarding women within a patriarchy. Unlike James's advice to his son that women are to be controlled as wives with only the semblance of any authority over the household and that female heirs are punishments from God, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* suggest and demand otherwise for their female characters. Shakespeare suggests that women hold a greater importance within a patriarchy as mothers and daughter-heirs, contributing to a partnership role in rule. Hermione, Paulina, the deceased Duchess of Milan, and Sycorax, as mothers, are crucial to succession, as they provide proof of legitimacy. The women of *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* also hold importance in succession as Perdita and Miranda provide the opportunity for the worthiest successor through marriage. Of those women present within the action, Hermione, Paulina, and, even briefly, Miranda, demand to be recognized for their contribution to rule, demonstrated with Hermione's request for "a moiety of the

throne” (III.ii.38), and the chess scene with Miranda and Ferdinand, suggesting a form of partnership between man and woman, husband and wife, king and queen, in order to rule successfully. James does not allow for any such partnership.

Shakespeare’s stance on women within a patriarchy raises several questions not easily answered or even significantly addressed within this thesis on ideal rule.

Shakespeare seems to provide an opinion and even examples, in the forms of Leontes and Prospero, of what it is to be a good ruler and rule appropriately over oneself and one’s subjects. He dramatizes for the audience what a successful rule should accomplish; however, the end system of government is a highly modified and complicated version of the contemporary patriarchal system under James. Women, as with Hermione, are offered recognition for their contributions to rule and are shown to be involved in the decision making process. These contributions are also demonstrated with the glimpse of Miranda’s potential in the chess scene or even Perdita’s outspokenness regarding Florizel’s dealings with his father while in Bohemia. What does this increased influence of women mean for patriarchy and how far does Shakespeare think such influence should reach? Hermione does not ask for an equal sharing of duty between king and queen, but merely asks for acknowledgment as a partner in rule, the daughter of a king herself, and Miranda is shown to be merely complicit in Ferdinand’s strategy rather than as an equal partner. However, at the end of the plays, the future rule is embodied by a young betrothed couple, poised to rule after the death of Leontes or Prospero. Succession is plainly dramatized for the audience in the form of a partnership: a union of the two heirs and the kingdoms or states they bring with them. Does this union also suggest an equal role for Miranda and Perdita in rule? Is Shakespeare suggesting that, despite the level of

appropriateness achieved by the male ruler, for a truly successful rule, ultimately, women must overcome some of the more rigid forms of the conventions of patriarchy and be collaborators in a form of joint rule? And, looking toward Shakespeare's next play, *Henry VIII*, his last individual address on kingship and rule, with the continued evolution of the role of women, is there the possibility for ideal rule under a woman alone? Shakespeare ends this play with the birth of Elizabeth. Is he suggesting, just as with the lovers as future rulers in the romances, that she will lead a more successful rule than that of any man, or one more successful than that of an equal partnership even? Perhaps, in looking at the historical reign of Elizabeth I, the joint rules of the young lovers are only an intermediate state of successful government.

WORKS CITED

- Adams, Robert M. *Shakespeare: The Four Romances*. New York: Norton, 1989. Print.
- Allen, Don Cameron. "William Shakespeare: *The Tempest*." *Image and Meaning: Metaphoric Traditions in Renaissance Poetry*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1968. 77-101. Print.
- Barbour, Kathryn. "Flout 'em and Scout 'em and Scout 'em and Flout 'em: Prospero's Power and Punishments in *The Tempest*." *Shakespearean Power and Punishment: A Volume of Essays*. Ed. Gillian Murray Kendall. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1998. 159-72. Print.
- Barroll, J. Leeds. "The Question of Censorship." *The Revels History of Drama in English: Volume III, 1576-1613*. Ed. J. Leeds Barroll, Alexander Leggatt, Richard Hosley, and Alvin Kernan. London: Methuen, 1975: 41-46. Print.
- Bergeron, David M. *Shakespeare's Romances and the Royal Family*. Lawrence, KS: UP of Kansas, 1985. Print.
- Bethell, S.L. "Sin, Repentance, and Restoration." *Shakespeare's Christian Dimension: An Anthology of Commentary*. Ed. Battenhouse, Roy W. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1994. 236-39. Print.
- . *The Winter's Tale: A Study*. New York: Staples Press, 1947. Print.
- Cantor, Paul A. "Prospero's Republic: The Politics of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*." *Shakespeare as Political Thinker*. Ed. John E. Alvis and Thomas G. West. Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2000. 241-59. Print.

- Cohen, Derek. "Patriarchy and Jealousy in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*." *Modern Language Quarterly* 48.3 (1987): 207-23. *MLA International Bibliography*. Web. 12 August 2013.
- Coldiron, A.E.B. "'Tis Rigor and Not Law': Trials of Women as Trials of Patriarchy in *The Winter's Tale*." *Renaissance Papers* (2004): 29-68. *MLA International Bibliography*. Web. 12 August 2013.
- Craig, Hardin. *Shakespeare: A Historical and Critical Study with Annotated Texts of Twenty-one Plays*. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1931. Print.
- Ellison, James. "*The Winter's Tale* and the Religious Politics of Europe." *Shakespeare's Romances: Contemporary Critical Essays*. Ed. Alison Thorne. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003. 171-204. Print.
- Erickson, Peter B. "Patriarchal Structures in *The Winter's Tale*." *PMLA* 97.5 (1982): 819-29. *JStor*. Web. 12 August 2013.
- Frey, Charles. "Shakespeare's Imperiled and Chastening Daughters of Romance." *South Atlantic Bulletin* 43.4 (1978): 125-40. *JStor*. Web. 12 August 2013.
- Goldberg, Jonathan. *James I and the Politics of Literature*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1983. Print.
- Griffiths, John ed. *The Homilies*. 1547. England: Brynmill Press, 2006. Print.
- Hunter, Robert Grams. *Shakespeare and the Comedy of Forgiveness*. New York: Columbia UP, 1965. Print.
- Jordan, Constance. *Shakespeare's Monarchies: Ruler and Subject in the Romances*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997. Print.

- Kernan, Alvin. *Shakespeare, the King's Playwright: Theatre in the Stuart Court 1603-1613*. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1995. Print.
- Latham, Jacqueline E.M. "The *Tempest* and King James's *Daemonologie*." *Shakespeare and the Ideas of his Time*. Ed. Kenneth Muir. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1975. 117-23. *MLA International Bibliography*. Web. 12 August 2013.
- Moseley, Charles. "The Literary and Dramatic Contexts of the Last Plays." *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's Last Plays*. Ed. Catherine M. S. Alexander. *Cambridge Companions to Literature*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2009. 47-70. Print.
- Muir, Kenneth. *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays*. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1978. Print.
- Orgel, Stephen. "Prospero's Wife." *The Tempest: William Shakespeare*. Ed. R.S. White. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999. Print. 15-31. *JStor*. Web. 12 August 2013.
- Rondet, Henri. *The Theology of Sin*. Trans. Royce W. Hughes. Notre Dame: Fides Publishers Association, 1960. Print.
- Schmidgall, Gary. "The Discovery at Chess in *The Tempest*." *English Language Notes* 23.4 (1986): 11-16. Print.
- Shakespeare, William. *The Tempest*. 1611. Ed. Stephen Orgel. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1987. Print.
- . *The Winter's Tale*. 1611. Ed. Stephen Orgel. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996. Print.
- Siegel, Paul N. "Leontes A Jealous Tyrant." *The Review of English Studies* 1:4 (1950): 302-07. *JStor*. Web. 12 August 2013.

Stuart, King James VI and I. *Political Writings*. 1599-1622. Ed. Johann P. Sommerville.
Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994. Print.

Velie, Alan R. *Shakespeare's Repentance Plays*. New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson UP,
1972. Print.

Walter, James. "From Tempest to Epilogue." *Shakespeare's Christian Dimension: An
Anthology of Commentary*. Ed. Battenhouse, Roy W. Bloomington: Indiana UP,
1994. 271-82. Print.

Williamson, Marilyn L. "The Romances: Patriarchy, Pure and Simple." *The Patriarchy of
Shakespeare's Comedies*. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1986. 111-75. Print.

Yates, Frances A. "Magic in the Last Plays: *The Tempest*." *Shakespeare's Last Plays: A
New Approach*. London: Routledge, 1975. 87-106. Print.