The Tempest is one of the most suggestive, yet most elusive of all Shakespeare’s plays, and has provoked a wide range of critical interpretations. It is a magical romance, yet deeply and problematically embedded in seventeenth-century debates about authority and power. In this updated edition, David Lindley has thoroughly revised the introduction and reading list to take account of the latest directions in criticism and performance. Including a new section on casting in recent productions, Lindley’s introduction explores the complex questions this raises about colonisation, racial and gender stereotypes, and the nature of the theatrical experience. Careful attention is also given to the play’s dramatic form, stagecraft, and use of music and spectacle, to demonstrate its uniquely experimental nature.
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The Taming of a Shrew: The 1594 Quarto, edited by Stephen Roy Miller
THE TEMPEST

Updated edition

Edited by

DAVID LINDLEY

University of Leeds
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Michael Le Poer Trench; 9, 19 and 22 by permission of the Royal Shakespeare Company; 10, 13, 16 and 18 from the Theatre and Performance collections, by permission of the Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum; 12 by permission of the photographer, Zoe Dominic; 14 by permission of Shakespeare’s Globe; 15 by permission of the photographer, John Haynes; 23 by permission of the photographer, Mike Kwasniak.
PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In preparing this second edition I have chosen to rearrange, rewrite and add to the Introduction in order to take note both of theatrical productions and of critical works that have appeared since the first edition was prepared, rather than to present a separate ‘update’ essay, since I wished to continue to treat the performance history as integral to the critical commentary rather than distinct from it. The suggestions for further reading have also been updated and rearranged, while only minor emendments and corrections have been made to the appendices, commentary and textual essay, to join the corrections already made in successive reprintings.

Performance history is a rapidly developing disciplinary area in its own right, but in this edition I use productions primarily as evidence for the possibilities the text has provoked and sustained, and for the second edition in particular have tried, where possible, to use examples I myself have seen. I have deliberately chosen not to attempt an exploration in any detail of the enormous number of productions of the play worldwide and in many languages, partly since it would be difficult indeed to set appropriate limits to such an enterprise, but also because many such productions fall, it seems to me, under the title of adaptations. The Tempest has, of course, generated a huge number of rewritings, adaptations, responses and creative critiques in poetry, film, drama, novel and opera. Their study, I would argue, is of a distinct kind – an important one, and one which is another significant growth area in Shakespeare studies, but one to which it would be difficult to do justice in a relatively short introduction to an edition of the play. I have therefore concentrated on a very few major examples of such adaptations which seem to me to raise specific issues in the criticism of the play itself. The interested reader is referred to the bibliography for studies which have focused on appropriation and adaptation.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Tempest has been part of my life for some fifty years, since I took the part of Miranda in a production at Wolverhampton Grammar School in 1959. Studied for A-level, and again during my undergraduate career, the play has continued to figure in my academic life ever since. During this continual, if intermittent, preoccupation, my view of the play has inevitably been influenced directly and indirectly by more people than it is possible to recall. Nonetheless my deepest debts are to two teachers – Ken Parker, who produced that initial performance and taught me at A-level, infusing the fundamental love of literature which propelled me to university, and then Emrys Jones, whose rigorous teaching at Oxford profoundly challenged and stimulated my reading of Shakespeare. The first edition was dedicated to them both; sadly, Emrys Jones died before the second edition was completed, but I wish still to express my indebtedness to two inspirational figures in my intellectual life.

As my work on the play has continued through my academic life, I wish to thank all my colleagues, initially at Stirling University and subsequently, for the last thirty-five years, in the School of English at Leeds. Their continued support has been fundamental to all my work, and I wish particularly to thank Martin Butler and David Fairer, for their patience, for their suggestions, and for many a lunchtime conversation, as well as for their always invaluable comments. Audiences at various conferences have by their criticisms sharpened my approach to the play. In the first edition I thanked audiences in Oxford, Reading and Durham, and in the run up to this second edition I have been particularly indebted to Kate McLuskie, for invitation to the International Shakespeare Conference, and to Silvia Bigliazzi and Eleonora Oggiano, for asking me to their conference on The Tempest in Verona. These two conferences enabled me to try out ideas on music and performance history that figure in this revised edition. Participants at the latter conference made significant contribution to the last stages of the second edition’s preparation. Richard Andrews and Robert Henke compelled me to pay more attention to Italian sources, and to Andrew Gurr and Kate McLuskie I owe particular debt for making their papers available to me.

Many individuals generously offered assistance with enquiries of various kinds during the first edition’s preparation, and simply to list them in alphabetical order is not to diminish my gratitude. I thank Jerry Brotton, Jonathan Hope, Richard Proudfoot, Barbara Ravelhofer, Jonathan Sawday, Debora Shuger, Jerry Sokol and Brian Vickers. Richard Strier kindly let me see an advance copy of his challenging essay on the play, and Reaktion Books provided a pre-publication copy of the collection edited by Hulme and Sherman, both of which helped me in the last
stages of the preparation of the first edition. Similarly, Carol Rutter generously made available a pre-publication copy of her *Shakespeare Survey* review before the second. To Tom Craik I am especially beholden, not only for his suggestion of a brilliant emendation, but also for his kindly thoroughness in reading through the whole of the text and commentary and saving me from error, prevarication and evasion.

I am thankful indeed for the continued help of the staffs of the British Library, the Bodleian Library and the Brotherton Library at Leeds. I am especially grateful to the last, my ‘home’ library, for their generosity in supplying photographs and waiving reproduction fees. My work on the play’s performance history would have been impossible without the assistance of the librarians and staff of the Bristol University Theatre Collection, the Theatre Museum in London (now the Theatre and Performance collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum); the archivists of the National Theatre in London, Shakespeare’s Globe, and the Shared Experience Theatre Company. I owe a special debt to the staff of the Shakespeare Centre Archive, whose support through the first edition, then during the work on my book on the play’s performance history at Stratford, and now towards this second edition has been of incalculable benefit. Times have not been easy for them, and I wish most sincerely to thank all the staff, past and present. Most recently, Helen Hargest has been a model of patience as I have repeatedly changed my mind over illustrations.

A grant from the British Academy enabled me to conduct early research on music in the performance history of the play, work that has been important in the development of my ideas for this second edition. Christine Dymkowski kindly allowed me to see her Shakespeare in Production edition of the play at proof stage before the completion of the first edition, and my admiration for her work has only grown over the years. Robert Smallwood commissioned the stage history of the play at Stratford, and by his example and editorial assistance helped me to understand what performance history might be. If this element is stronger in the present edition, then it is to Robert that much credit must go.

I was privileged to be allowed by Jude Kelly to attend some rehearsals and a number of performances of the play at the West Yorkshire Playhouse, Leeds, in 1999. The members of the Courtyard Company were not only unfailingly tolerant of a loitering academic presence during their extremely tight period of rehearsal, and generous in allowing me to interview each of them, but the experience of watching the play come together made me sensitive to its theatrical problems and potencies in a way which would otherwise have been impossible and has affected my thinking about it much more than I ever anticipated. I thank Susie Baxter, Claire Benedict, Paul Battacharjee, Claudie Blakley, Will Keen, Peter Laird, Sir Ian McKellen, Willie Ross, Rashan Stone, Clare Swinburne and Timothy Walker.

There have been many changes in the twelve years that separate the first and second editions – but some things don’t change – including my debts to Brian
Acknowledgements

Gibbons, for his patience, his advice and general editorial eye, and to Sarah Stanton for her encouragement – and her toleration of my slowness in completing the task. The first edition benefited hugely from the copy-editing skills of Paul Chipchase and Margaret Berrill; I now thank Hilary Hammond for copy-editing the second.

David Lindley

Leeds, 2000; 2012
ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Shakespeare’s plays, when cited in this edition, are abbreviated in a style modified slightly from that used in the *Harvard Concordance to Shakespeare*. Other editions of Shakespeare are abbreviated under the editor’s surname (Orgel, Bevington) unless they are the work of more than one editor. In such cases, an abbreviated series name is used (Cam., Ardl). When more than one edition by the same editor is cited, later editions are discriminated with a raised figure (Rowe²). All quotations from Shakespeare use the lineation of *The Riverside Shakespeare*, under the textual editorship of G. Blakemore Evans.

1. Shakespeare’s works

*Ado* Much *Ado About Nothing*  
*Ant.* *Antony and Cleopatra*  
*AWW* *All’s Well That Ends Well*  
*AYLI* *As You Like It*  
*Cor.* *Coriolanus*  
*Cym.* *Cymbeline*  
*Err.* *The Comedy of Errors*  
*Ham.* *Hamlet*  
*¹H4* *The First Part of King Henry the Fourth*  
*²H4* *The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*  
*H5* *King Henry the Fifth*  
*¹H6* *The First Part of King Henry the Sixth*  
*²H6* *The Second Part of King Henry the Sixth*  
*³H6* *The Third Part of King Henry the Sixth*  
*H8* *King Henry the Eighth*  
*JC* *Julius Caesar*  
*John* *King John*  
*LLL* *Love’s Labour’s Lost*  
*Lear* *King Lear*  
*Luc.* *The Rape of Lucrece*  
*Mac.* *Macbeth*  
*MM* *Measure for Measure*  
*MND* *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*  
*MV* *The Merchant of Venice*  
*Oth.* *Othello*  
*Per.* *Pericles*  
*PP* *The Passionate Pilgrim*  
*R²* *King Richard the Second*  
*R³* *King Richard the Third*  
*Rom.* *Romeo and Juliet*  
*Shr.* *The Taming of the Shrew*  
*Son.* *The Sonnets*  
*STM* *Sir Thomas More*
List of abbreviations and conventions

Temp. The Tempest
TGV The Two Gentlemen of Verona
Tim. Timon of Athens
Tit. Titus Andronicus
TN Twelfth Night
TNK Two Noble Kinsmen
Tro. Troilus and Cressida
Wiv. The Merry Wives of Windsor
WT The Winter’s Tale

2. Other works cited and general references

Works mentioned once in the Commentary appear there with full bibliographical information; all others are cited by the shortened titles listed below.

Abbott E. A. Abbott, *A Shakespearian Grammar*, 3rd edn, 1870; references are to numbered sections

a. adjective

AEB Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography


Ard3 The Tempest, ed. Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, 1999 (Arden Shakespeare)

Barton The Tempest, ed. Anne Barton, 1968 (New Penguin Shakespeare)

Bate and Rasmussen The Tempest, ed. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, 2008 (RSC Shakespeare)

Bevington The Tempest, ed. David Bevington, 1988


Boteler Boteler’s Dialogues, ed. W. G. Perrin, Navy Records Society, 1929


Brotton Jerry Brotton, “‘This Tunis, sir, was Carthage”: contesting colonialism in *The Tempest*,” in Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin, eds., *Postcolonial Shakespeares*, 1998, pp. 23–41

Bullough Geoffrey Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols., 1957–75

Burton Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Holbrook Jackson, 1932; references are to the section numbers

Butler The Tempest, ed. Martin Butler, 2007 (Penguin Shakespeare)


Capell *The Tempest in Mr William Shakespeare, his Comedies, Histories and Tragedies*, ed. Edward Capell, 10 vols., 1767–8


Collier MS John Payne Collier, *Notes and Emendations to the Text of Shakespeare’s Plays from Early Manuscript Corrections in a Copy of the Folio*, 2nd edn, 1853

conj. conjecture, conjectured by
List of abbreviations and conventions

Considine John Considine, “‘Thy bankes with pioned, and twilled brims’: a solution to a double crux”, SQ, 54.2 (2003), 160–6
Dent Robert W. Dent, Shakespeare's Proverbial Language: An Index, 1981; reference is to proverbs by letter and number
Dryden John Dryden and William Davenant, The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island, 1670
Dryden 2 John Dryden, William Davenant and Thomas Shadwell, The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island, 1674
Dymkowski The Tempest, ed. Christine Dymkowski, 2000 (Cambridge Shakespeare in Production)
ed., eds. editor(s), edited by
ELH ELH: A Journal of English Literary History
ELR English Literary Renaissance
F Mr William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, 1623 (First Folio)
F2 Mr William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, 1632 (Second Folio)
F3 Mr William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, 1663–4 (Third Folio)
F4 Mr William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, 1685 (Fourth Folio)
Falconer Alexander Frederick Falconer, Shakespeare and the Sea, 1964
Folger The Tempest, ed. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine, 1994 (New Folger Library Shakespeare)
Fraunce Abraham Fraunce, The Third Part of the Countess of Pembroke’s Yvychurch, 1592
Furness The Tempest, ed. Horace Howard Furness, 1892 (New Variorum)
Gillies, Geography John Gillies, Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference, 1994
Grey Zachary Grey, Critical, Historical, and Explanatory Notes on Shakespeare, 2 vols., 1754
Halliwell, Notes J. O. Halliwell, Selected Notes upon Shakespeare’s Comedy of The Tempest, 1868
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Hanmer The Tempest in The Works of William Shakespeare, ed. Thomas Hanmer, 6 vols., 1743–4


Harsnett, Declaration Samuel Harsnett, A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures, 1603

Hoeniger F. David Hoeniger, Medicine and Shakespeare in Renaissance England, 1902


Hulme and Sherman Peter Hulme and William Sherman, eds., ‘The Tempest’ and its Travels, 2000

Johnson The Plays of William Shakespeare, ed. Samuel Johnson, 8 vols., 1765

Jones The Tempest, ed. Frank Jones, 1913


Kermode The Tempest, ed. Frank Kermode, 1954 (Arden Shakespeare)

Kittredge The Tempest, ed. George Lyman Kittredge, 1939

Lindley, Stratford David Lindley, The Tempest, 2003 (Shakespeare at Stratford)


Monson The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson, ed. M. Oppenheim, Navy Records Society, 5 vols., 1902–14

Montaigne Michel de Montaigne, The Essays, or Morall, Politick and Militarie Discourses, trans. John Florio, 1603

N&Q Notes & Queries

n. noun

NLH New Literary History

Noble Richmond Noble, Shakespeare’s Use of Song, 1923


Orgel The Tempest, ed. Stephen Orgel, 1987 (Oxford Shakespeare)


P&P Past & Present

Peacham Henry Peacham, The Garden of Eloquence, 1593 edn


Pulton Ferdinando Pulton, De Pace Regis at Regni, 1609
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Puttenham George Puttenham, _The Arte of English Poesie_, 1593
Q quarto
Rann _The Tempest in The Dramatic Works of Shakespear_, ed. Joseph Rann, 6 vols., 1786
RenQ _Renaissance Quarterly_
Ripa Cesare Ripa, _Nova iconologia_, 1618 edn
Rowe _The Tempest in The Works of Mr William Shakespear_, ed. Nicholas Rowe, 6 vols., 1699
Rowe² _The Tempest in The Works of Mr William Shakespear_, ed. Nicholas Rowe, 9 vols., 1614
RSC Royal Shakespeare Company
Sandys George Sandys, _Ovid’s Metmorphosis: Englished, mythologiz’d, and represented in figures_, 1632
SB _Studies in Bibliography_
Scot Reginald Scot, _The Discoverie of Witchcraft_, 1584
sig. signature (printers’ indications of the ordering of pages in early modern books, often more accurate than page numbers)
Smith Bruce R. Smith, _The Acoustic World of Early Modern England_, 1999
SQ _Shakespeare Quarterly_
S.St. _Shakespeare Studies_
S.Sur. _Shakespeare Survey_
Stanyhurst Richard Stanyhurst, _The First Foure Bookes of Virgils Aeneis_, 1583
Staunton _The Tempest in Routledge’s Shakespeare_, ed. Howard Staunton, 3 vols., 1857–60
Steevens _The Tempest in The Plays of William Shakespeare_, ed. Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, 10 vols., 1773
Sturgess Keith Sturgess, _Jacobean Private Theatre_, 1987
Theobald _The Tempest in The Works of Shakespeare_, ed. Lewis Theobald, 7 vols., 1733
Thomas William Thomas, _The History of Italy_, ed. George B. Parks, 1963
Tilley M. P. Tilley, _A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries_, 1950 (references are to numbered proverbs)
v. verb
Vaughans Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan, _Shakespeare’s Caliban: A Cultural History_, 1991
Williams Gordon Williams, _A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature_, 3 vols., 1994
Wilson _The Tempest_, ed. John Dover Wilson, 1921 (The New Shakespeare)