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Edited by David Lindley
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THE NEW CAMBRIDGE SHAKESPEARE

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THE TEMPEST

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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Updated edition

Edited by

DAVID LINDLEY

University of Leeds



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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 appendixes, 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.

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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 Bigliuzzi 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 Playouse, 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

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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.

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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., Ard3). 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

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

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

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, <i>A Shakespearian Grammar</i> , 3rd edn, 1870; references are to numbered sections
a.	adjective
<i>AEB</i>	<i>Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography</i>
<i>Arcadia</i>	Sir Philip Sidney, <i>The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia</i> , ed. Maurice Evans, 1977
Ard3	<i>The Tempest</i> , ed. Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, 1999 (Arden Shakespeare)
Barton	<i>The Tempest</i> , ed. Anne Barton, 1968 (New Penguin Shakespeare)
Bate and Rasmussen	<i>The Tempest</i> , ed. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, 2008 (RSC Shakespeare)
Bevington	<i>The Tempest</i> , ed. David Bevington, 1988
Blount	Thomas Blount, <i>Glossographia</i> (1656). LEME: Lexicons of Early Modern English at www.leme.library.utoronto.ca
Boteler	<i>Boteler's Dialogues</i> , ed. W. G. Perrin, Navy Records Society, 1929
Brissenden	Alan Brissenden, <i>Shakespeare and the Dance</i> , 1981
Brotton	Jerry Brotton, "'This Tunis, sir, was Carthage': contesting colonialism in <i>The Tempest</i> ", in Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin, eds., <i>Postcolonial Shakespeares</i> , 1998, pp. 23–41
Bullough	Geoffrey Bullough (ed.), <i>Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare</i> , 8 vols., 1957–75
Burton	Robert Burton, <i>The Anatomy of Melancholy</i> , ed. Holbrook Jackson, 1932; references are to the section numbers
Butler	<i>The Tempest</i> , ed. Martin Butler, 2007 (Penguin Shakespeare)
Cam.	<i>The Tempest</i> in <i>The Works of William Shakespeare</i> , ed. W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright, 9 vols., 1891–3 (Cambridge Shakespeare)
Capell	<i>The Tempest</i> in <i>Mr William Shakespeare, his Comedies, Histories and Tragedies</i> , ed. Edward Capell, 10 vols., 1767–8
Collier	<i>The Tempest</i> in <i>The Works of William Shakespeare</i> , ed. J. Payne Collier, 8 vols., 1842–4
Collier MS	John Payne Collier, <i>Notes and Emendations to the Text of Shakespeare's Plays from Early Manuscript Corrections in a Copy of the Folio</i> , 2nd edn, 1853
conj.	conjecture, conjectured by

- 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
- Dryden² John Dryden, William Davenant and Thomas Shadwell, *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island*, 1674
- Dyce *The Tempest in The Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. Alexander Dyce, 6 vols., 1857
- 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*
- Erasmus, *Adagia* Desiderius Erasmus, *Adagia*, trans. Margaret Mann Phillips, *Collected Works*, vol. xxxi, 1982
- Erasmus, ‘Shipwreck’ Erasmus, *Colloquies*, trans. Craig R. Thompson, 1965, ‘Naufragium’ (‘The Shipwreck’)
- 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
- Gillies, ‘Masque’ John Gillies, ‘Shakespeare’s Virginian masque’, *ELH*, 53 (1986), 673–707
- Grant White *The Tempest in The Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. Richard Grant White, 12 vols., 1857–66
- Grey Zachary Grey, *Critical, Historical, and Explanatory Notes on Shakespeare*, 2 vols., 1754
- Gurr, ‘Industrious Ariel’ Andrew Gurr, ‘Industrious Ariel and idle Caliban’, in Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michèle Willems, eds., *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare’s Time*, 1996, pp. 193–208
- Gurr, ‘Tempest’ Andrew Gurr, ‘The Tempest’s tempest at Blackfriars’, *S.Sur.*, 41 (1989), 91–102
- Halliwell *The Tempest in The Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. James O. Halliwell, 16 vols., 1865
- Halliwell, *Notes* J. O. Halliwell, *Selected Notes upon Shakespeare’s Comedy of The Tempest*, 1868

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Halpern	Richard Halpern, “‘The picture of nobody’: white cannibalism in <i>The Tempest</i> ”, in David Lee Miller, Sharon O’Dair and Harold Weber, eds., <i>The Production of English Renaissance Culture</i> , 1994, pp. 262–92
Hanmer	<i>The Tempest</i> in <i>The Works of William Shakespeare</i> , ed. Thomas Hanmer, 6 vols., 1743–4
Harrison	William Harrison, <i>The Description of England</i> , ed. Georges Edelen, 1968
Harsnett, <i>Declaration</i>	Samuel Harsnet(t), <i>A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures</i> , 1603
Hoeniger	F. David Hoeniger, <i>Medicine and Shakespeare in Renaissance England</i> , 1992
Hudson	<i>The Tempest</i> in <i>The Works of Shakespeare</i> , ed. N. H. Hudson, 11 vols., 1851–9
Hulme and Sherman	Peter Hulme and William Sherman, eds., <i>‘The Tempest’ and its Travels</i> , 2000
Johnson	<i>The Plays of William Shakespeare</i> , ed. Samuel Johnson, 8 vols., 1765
Jones	<i>The Tempest</i> , ed. Frank Jones, 1913
<i>Jonson</i>	David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, eds., <i>The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson</i> , 7 vols., 2012
Jowett, ‘Directions’	John Jowett, ‘New created creatures: Ralph Crane and the stage directions in <i>The Tempest</i> ’, <i>S.Sur.</i> , 36 (1983), 10–20
Kermode	<i>The Tempest</i> , ed. Frank Kermode, 1954 (Arden Shakespeare)
Kittredge	<i>The Tempest</i> , ed. George Lyman Kittredge, 1939
Lindley, Stratford	David Lindley, <i>The Tempest</i> , 2003 (Shakespeare at Stratford)
Mainwaring	<i>The Seaman’s Dictionary in The Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring</i> , ed. G. E. Mainwaring and W. G. Perrin, Naval Records Society, 2 vols., 1920–1
Malone	<i>The Tempest</i> in <i>The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare</i> , ed. Edmond Malone, 10 vols., 1790
Monson	<i>The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson</i> , ed. M. Oppenheim, Navy Records Society, 5 vols., 1902–14
Montaigne	Michel de Montaigne, <i>The Essayes, or Morall, Politick and Militarie Discourses</i> , trans. John Florio, 1603
<i>N&Q</i>	<i>Notes & Queries</i>
n.	noun
<i>NLH</i>	<i>New Literary History</i>
Noble	Richmond Noble, <i>Shakespeare’s Use of Song</i> , 1923
Norton	<i>The Tempest</i> in <i>The Norton Shakespeare</i> , ed. Stephen Greenblatt et al., 1997 (based on the Oxford edition)
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 2nd edn, 1989
Orgel	<i>The Tempest</i> , ed. Stephen Orgel, 1987 (Oxford Shakespeare)
Oxford	<i>William Shakespeare: The Complete Works</i> , gen. eds. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, 1986
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past & Present</i>
Peacham	Henry Peacham, <i>The Garden of Eloquence</i> , 1593 edn
Pope	<i>The Tempest</i> in <i>The Works of Mr William Shakespeare</i> , ed. Alexander Pope, 6 vols., 1723–5
Pulton	Ferdinando Pulton, <i>De Pace Regis at Regni</i> , 1609

Puttenham	George Puttenham, <i>The Arte of English Poesie</i> , 1593
Q	quarto
Rann	<i>The Tempest</i> in <i>The Dramatic Works of Shakspeare</i> , ed. Joseph Rann, 6 vols., 1786
<i>RenQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
Ripa	Cesare Ripa, <i>Nova iconologia</i> , 1618 edn
Rowe	<i>The Tempest</i> in <i>The Works of Mr William Shakespear</i> , ed. Nicholas Rowe, 6 vols., 1609
Rowe ²	<i>The Tempest</i> in <i>The Works of Mr William Shakespear</i> , ed. Nicholas Rowe, 9 vols., 1614
RSC	Royal Shakespeare Company
Sandys	George Sandys, <i>Ovid's Metmorphosis: Englished, mythologiz'd, and represented in figures</i> , 1632
<i>SB</i>	<i>Studies in Bibliography</i>
Scot	Reginald Scot, <i>The Discoverie of Witchcraft</i> , 1584
sig.	signature (printers' indications of the ordering of pages in early modern books, often more accurate than page numbers)
Smith	Bruce R. Smith, <i>The Acoustic World of Early Modern England</i> , 1999
<i>SQ</i>	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
<i>S.St.</i>	<i>Shakespeare Studies</i>
<i>S.Sur.</i>	<i>Shakespeare Survey</i>
Stanyhurst	Richard Stanyhurst, <i>The First Foure Bookes of Virgils Aeneis</i> , 1583
Staunton	<i>The Tempest</i> in <i>Routledge's Shakespeare</i> , ed. Howard Staunton, 3 vols., 1857–60
Steevens	<i>The Tempest</i> in <i>The Plays of William Shakespeare</i> , ed. Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, 10 vols., 1773
Strier, 'Politics'	Richard Strier "‘I am power’: ‘normal’ and magical politics in <i>The Tempest</i> ", in <i>Writing and Political Engagement in Seventeenth-Century England</i> , ed. Derek Hirst and Richard Strier, 2000, pp. 10–30
Sturgess	Keith Sturgess, <i>Jacobean Private Theatre</i> , 1987
Theobald	<i>The Tempest</i> in <i>The Works of Shakespeare</i> , ed. Lewis Theobald, 7 vols., 1733
Thomas	William Thomas, <i>The History of Italy</i> , ed. George B. Parks, 1963
Tilley	M. P. Tilley, <i>A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries</i> , 1950 (references are to numbered proverbs)
v.	verb
Vaughans	Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan, <i>Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History</i> , 1991
Warburton	<i>The Tempest</i> in <i>The Works of Shakespear</i> , ed. William Warburton, 8 vols., 1747
Williams	Gordon Williams, <i>A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature</i> , 3 vols., 1994
Wilson	<i>The Tempest</i> , ed. John Dover Wilson, 1921 (<i>The New Shakespeare</i>)