THE IMPRINTS OF PERFORMANCE:
EDITORIAL MEDIATIONS OF SHAKESPEARE’S DRAMA

by

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ABSTRACT

*The Imprints of Performance* is motivated by a longstanding interest in the fundamental interpretive challenges that face readers of printed plays. Reading a playtext is a means of dramatic realization that is absolutely unlike live performance, and it is not without good reason that theoretical formulations of page and stage tend to stress the incompatibility of the two modes. Without denying that printed plays distort and fragment performance practice, my dissertation negotiates an intractable debate by shifting attention to points of intersection in the rich printed and performance histories of Shakespeare’s plays. I detail how editors of Shakespeare encode for information that could otherwise only be communicated in performance, how, via ancillaries such as critical introductions, emended stage directions, and performance commentary, editors facilitate a reader’s ability to imagine performances. Central to my engagements with the informational structures of the edited page is the term *performancescape*, a textual representation of performance potential that gives relative shape and stability to what is dynamic and multifarious. I deploy *performancescape* in relation to editions ranging from the earliest extant quartos and folios to digital editions powered by hypertext. In analyzing formative editions from Shakespeare’s long textual history, I highlight instances where the malleability of the printed page renders awareness of performance an integral, and in some ways unavoidable, condition of the reading experience.
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My greatest debt is acknowledged in the dedication.
DEDICATION

to jeanette,
your love and your laughter make all things possible

Come live with me, and be my love . . .
Chapter One: Introduction

In the introduction to his study, *How Plays Work*, Martin Meisel describes the unique experience of reading printed playtexts. In his mind, the printed play exists as a manual or a blueprint for performance. It exists as a manual and as a representation, in its own right, of that which is to be performed—whether it ever is performed or not, whether it is performed many different times in many different productions, guided and enacted by many different minds, or only once under the eagle eye of the author. Reading plays in the fullest sense, then, means being able to read the dialogue and descriptions as a set of directions encoding, but also in a measure *enacting*, their own realization. It means bringing to bear something of a playwright’s or director’s understanding of how plays work on an imagined audience in the circumstances of an imagined theatrical representation. (1-2)

Engaging with plays in print, Meisel reminds us, involves complicated interpretive manoeuvres on the part of readers. The challenges arise in large part from the necessity of attending to a play’s performance potentialities, to the embodied, active aspects of the theatrical event that resist or refuse textualization. Meisel recognizes that readers’ imaginings of performances are facilitated by various forms of code—“a set of agreed on, or at least intelligible, conventions that ideally fade into unobtrusiveness” (2)—that mark the distance between the printed play and the play as it has been, or could be, performed. Put differently, the very characteristics that distinguish the printed play as a discrete literary object in need of specialized analytical procedures also gesture beyond the printed play, to the performed modes of realization that it can never contain. Plays in print demarcate the conceptual gaps between text and performance, but simultaneously, they also harbour the capacity to minimize these gaps, without ever completely closing them.

Meisel’s formulation places text and performance, page and stage, in an inevitable, and inevitably contentious, binary. As he puts it, “Production . . . entails making choices, by actors, directors, designers, from the inherent potentialities of the script, thereby putting flesh
on the bones” (vii). Rather aptly, this metaphor implicitly figures the reading of plays as an act of interpretive palaeontology, working closely with skeletal remains to speculate as to what the play’s fully formed life on stage might look like. The debate over the proper forensic tools necessary to elucidate the differences between plays in print and plays in performance, however, is far from a one-sided affair. Countering Meisel’s position are those who would like to see the text effectively stay buried, and to see the performance-as-animating-the-text analogy discarded altogether. A recent back-and-forth between R. A. Foakes and W. B. Worthen in the pages of the journal, *Shakespeare*, exemplifies the basic theoretical incongruities separating advocates of text and performance from one another. Indeed, the stated principles of the journal itself attest to a desire to alleviate tensions between the poles that the two critics represent: “Its principal aim is to bridge the gap between the disciplines of Shakespeare in Performance Studies and Shakespeare in English Literature and Language. The journal builds on the existing aim of the British Shakespeare Association, to exploit the synergies between academics and performers of Shakespeare.”¹

Foakes approaches matters from a textual, literary perspective; like Meisel, he figures the text as generative and multivalent, capable of producing a broad horizon of interpretations in performance: “Performance theorists think of the text as ‘fixed’ and somehow trapping the director or actor when in fact it may encourage them to choose from a spectrum of possible ways of interpreting language, action, and character so as to enhance their way of presenting the play and the connections they may wish to make with their own time” (56). Conversely, Worthen contends that performance does not merely realize the text’s instructions but rather absorbs and transforms the text along with various other elements involved in enacting the

¹ Taken from the journal’s website, accessed January 11, 2008. <http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/journal.asp?issn=1745-0918&linktype=1>
play; “Performance is an experiment, not an interpretation” (“Texts” 212), he writes, arguing that “the stage doesn’t reproduce the text: there may well be first and subsequent performances of a play, but these performances all subject the text to a different, unpredictable order of signification” (“Texts” 210).

Likely all the two sides would agree on is that reading a playtext is a means of dramatic realization that is absolutely unlike live performance; everything else beyond this premise—how much authority to assign to playwrights, the extent to which texts and readings determine performance, the capability of printed plays to communicate the possibilities of performance—is contestable. Without denying that printed plays distort and fragment performance practice, my dissertation negotiates this intractable debate by shifting attention to points of intersection in Shakespeare’s rich printed and performance histories. Printed plays hold the potential to be more meaningfully engaged with the play as performed than they tend to get credit for; to substantiate this claim means examining editorial principles and strategies that constitute, by necessity, a methodological network linking page and stage. My work seeks to establish the facets of the modern edition that are most strongly tied to performance potentialities, as well as locate the various traces of these attributes in the long history of Shakespearean editing. Central to my engagements with the informational structures of the edited page is the term performancecape, a textual representation of performance potential that gives relative shape and stability to what is dynamic and multifarious. I will deploy performancecape in relation to editions ranging from the earliest extant quartos and folios to digital editions powered by hypertext. Chapter Two defines and models performancecape, which I introduce after establishing the inclination of both contemporary editorial theory and performance criticism to stress the undeniably limited ways that texts can account for performance. Chapter Three will consider representations of
performance in early modern printed playtexts, paying particular attention to constructions of a play’s performance history and theatre audiences in prefatory and ancillary material.

Chapter Four continues to trace a broad historical arc, with the focus shifting to prominent editions of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries. While chapters three and four combine to suggest that throughout Shakespeare’s history in print, formulations of page and stage have been more synergistic than a binary that opposes “literary” and “theatrical” logic will support, Chapter Five addresses the specific referential capabilities of performance commentary—a prevalent form of modern editorial mediation that constitutes a major conduit between textual and performed modes of realization. Chapter Six reflects on Shakespeare’s printed incarnations through a consideration of the hypertextual promise of digital editions, and ultimately suggests that critical editions shaped and delimited by editorial procedures remain relevant and valuable even in the face of seemingly boundless digital archives. The final chapter serves as a brief epilogue.

As an example of the kind of encounter that lies at the heart of this study, consider Henry’s Paris coronation scene (4.1) in Michael Taylor’s Oxford edition of 1 Henry VI (2003). Newly adorned with the French crown, Henry soon finds himself breaking up a potential duel between Vernon and Basset, champions for Richard (Duke of York) and Somerset, respectively. While the large number of bodies on stage at this moment surely complicates a reader’s ability to maintain a vivid version of Meisel’s “imagined theatrical representation,” (2), I wish to zero in on an ostensibly simpler matter of stage business. The dialogue emphasizes the “sanguine colour” (4.1.92) and “paleness” (106) of the roses that Vernon and Basset presumably wear, their division and enmity thus reinforced visually and
rhetorically; here, significantly, is the central portion of what is Henry’s longest speech in the play, as it appears in Taylor’s edition:

Let me be umpire in this doubtful strife.
I see no reason, if I wear this rose,

*He takes a red rose*

That anyone should therefore be suspicious
I more incline to Somerset than York;
Both are my kinsmen, and I love them both. (4.1.151-5)

The sticking point—for readers, but not playgoers—is how, precisely, does Henry obtain his rose? Taylor’s note on the stage direction is worth reproducing in full: “From where? From whom? [Edward] Burns’s [Arden3] direction specifies from Basset, but Henry might well take it from Somerset himself, from Suffolk even. Better, perhaps, to leave open precisely who and where it comes from, but in the theatre it has to come from someone and from somewhere.” The note reinforces the inherent differences between reading and viewing plays: for an audience in a theatre, the matter of the rose poses no interpretive hurdle whatsoever, since actors and directors presumably will have solved the problem in advance. The stage is in a perpetual state of unalterable cause and effect: Henry’s rose must come from *someone* and *somewhere*. As we read, however, we have the freedom to imaginatively experiment with different causes and effects, or to not dabble in them at all—it seems entirely plausible that one could read the dialogue and relevant stage direction and be satisfied that Henry’s rose comes from *no one* and from *nowhere*, but is conjured into being by the necessities and peculiar physics of the imagined environment in which he exists as we read him into being.

Taylor’s playful and ambiguous “From where? From whom?” treats the source of Henry’s rose as what Meisel terms a “field of possibility” (73), a field that, as Taylor makes

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2 Taylor proposes in a commentary note that Richard’s “pledge” (4.1.120) to Somerset “need not necessarily be a glove or gauntlet (though this is customary). A white rose would be effective theatre.”
clear, can be reduced to a single interpretation on stage in a number of ways. Taylor’s utilization of the marginal space of his edited page to “open” the playtext to the possibilities of performance relies upon the contradictory properties of the two modes of realization: the necessity of somewhere and someone in the theatre is juxtaposed against the elusiveness and ambiguity of print’s relative fixity. If his note works in conjunction with his edited playtext as he intends, users of his edition will be reminded that reading and theatre-going are incongruent activities; however, Taylor’s note and edited playtext also combine to undo this incongruence. His commentary, that is, challenges readers to envision divergent stagings of a particular moment, a textually-entrenched interpretive move that respects and reflects the fluid possibilities of the play in performance. As the ambiguous origins of Henry’s rose suggest, and as the remainder of my study will demonstrate, the book of the play is not closed off from the possibilities of performance, but is instead a potentially fertile site of cross-pollination that links reading and imagining to performing, page to stage.
Chapter Two: Mediating Page and Stage

Every printed playtext bears the markings of its own unique performance history. This history tends to be encrypted and fragmentary in comparison to the narrative history that can be written about a play’s ongoing manifestations on stage, but it nevertheless constitutes an essential signifying property of a play in print form. The vestigial traces of performance—cumulatively, a kind of incomplete genetic imprint scattered throughout printed playtexts—take heterogeneous forms and appear with unsystematic and inconsistent frequency from play to play, text to text. In terms of the extant texts of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, some traces seem indicative of performance practices in the early modern theatre, as theatrical data offering brief glimpses of how certain moments were to be staged have somehow entered the complicated transmission process from manuscript to print: one thinks, for example, of stage directions rich with details clearly intended to guide performance—recall the Folio’s direction that Coriolanus “Holds her [Volumnia] by the hand silent” (TLN 3539). Other traces, more authorial in origin, anticipate performance potential rather than reflect performance practice: here one might consider signs of textual revision, or unstable speech prefixes, both of which seem in certain instances to provide tantalizing insight into a playwright’s dynamic understanding of his fictional characters and the real world actors portraying them (think of “Lady Capulet” shifting between Wife, Capulet’s Wife, Mother, and Lady). And still other traces—such as scenes which lack the requisite entrances or exits for certain characters, or those haunted by the (non-)involvement of silent, ghost characters like “Innogen,” identified as the wife of Leonatus in the opening stage direction of Much Ado About Nothing—are less remnants to be gleaned than lacunae to be

\footnote{Portions of this chapter have been published as “Imprinting Performance: Editorial Mediations of Page and Stage,” Shakespeare: Journal of the British Shakespeare Association 4.1 (2008): 24-44.}
filled, interpretive gaps which necessitate a consideration of the realities of performance. When texts undergo the interpolative work of editors as they are prepared for modern readers, certain traces of performance can be made explicit, some can be muted or even effaced, and new links to the play in performance will be forged. The bulk of the study that follows will interrogate the editorial treatment of, and influence on, all of these traces: the necessity editors face of having to decode (and usually recode) the markers of performance they find in the extant playtexts they are working from, as well as their ability to encode for performance wherever they deem useful to do so (in introductions, commentary notes, interpolated stage directions). My work is governed throughout by the belief that to read a printed play is to confront both stage and page, to engage with what W. B. Worthen calls "the interface of performance and writing" (Print 162).

That a printed play paradoxically gestures toward, yet forever remains separate from, its existence on stage means that the continued production and close study of playtexts by editors occur at the crossroads of a number of often disparate forms of inquiry: textual theory, bibliography, theatre history, as well as various streams of performance criticism all have a considerable interest in editorial practice. The reciprocal relationship between editorial practice and other modes of inquiry is a relatively recent phenomenon that came into being in the wake of the New Bibliography. Until the latter half of the twentieth century, the production of authoritative critical editions and the scholarly labours subsequently performed on these editions were seen as more or less discrete activities; editing and literary criticism were understood to speak fundamentally inharmonious dialects, with the former developing an ever-more intricate system of notation to collate bibliographical minutiae as well as sophisticated hypotheses to account for things like lost authorial manuscripts and memorial reconstructions, while the latter concerned itself with the pursuit of a different kind of truth—
definitive readings rather than definitive editions. Under the New Bibliographers, editing rose to prominence as it became more nuanced in its historical attentiveness and theoretical sophistication; significantly, the ongoing refinement of editorial activity was countered by a burgeoning critical awareness of editing itself being an interpretive act. Attentiveness to the effects of editorial labour (which began in earnest in the 1970s and was energized by the ascendency of Poststructuralism and New Historicism—both of which tend to destabilize texts and multiply authority) continues to be promoted with much zeal. Calls for an approach to texts that “would keep in play not only multiple readings and versions but also the multiple and dispersed agencies that could have produced variants” (Werstine 86), and of “rethink[ing] Shakespeare in relation to our new knowledge of collaborative writing, collaborative printing, and the historical contingencies of textual production” (de Grazia and Stallybrass 279) remain pervasive, and the desire for readers to be cognizant of editorial influence is now commonplace; in the words of one critic, “the more aware we are of the processes of mediation to which a given edition has been subject, the less likely we are to be caught up in a constricting hermeneutic knot by which the shaping hand of the editor is mistaken for the intent of the author, or for some lost, ‘perfect’ version of the author’s creation” (Marcus, Unediting 3).

To compress a rather convoluted story then, the decline of the New Bibliography toward the end of the twentieth century was precipitated by a scrutiny of critical editions and editorial customs that focused on the ways in which editorial practices inherently distort, and unrealistically stabilize, the production and transmission of texts. For those studying the Shakespearean canon and other early modern dramatic texts, the ramifications have been significant: in addition to the scope of inquiry expanding to include the numerous nonauthorial agents and factors that enhance stemmatic understandings of works, editors and
textual theorists have endeavoured to develop a more detailed understanding of the interconnectedness of a play's textual and theatrical manifestations. In short, engaging a play’s history in print is now largely inseparable from considerations of its performance potentialities. While the means by which editors grapple with issues of performance has become a popular subject for critical examination, the bulk of commentary on this issue tends to stress the fundamental differences between page and stage, and focuses on the inability of texts to adequately represent the realities of performance. David Scott Kastan, for instance, writes that “Performance operates according to a theatrical logic of its own rather than one derived from the text; the printed play operates according to a textual logic that is not derived from performance” (Book 9); similarly, Worthen states that “A stage performance is not determined by the internal ‘meanings’ of the text, but is a site where the text is put into production, gains meaning in a different mode of production through the labor of its agents and the regimes of performance they use to refashion it as performance material” (Force 23); and Lukas Erne claims that English Renaissance plays have a “double existence, one on stage and one on the printed page,” and calls for “a reception that takes into account the respective specificities of the two media. To simplify matters, performance tends to speak to the senses, while a printed text activates the intellect” (23). So entrenched is this line of thinking that critical editions of the late-twentieth and early twenty-first century, although engaged with issues of performance more than ever before, frequently concede the incongruity of text and performance as a matter of protocol. The general introduction to the Oxford Shakespeare, to provide a well-known example, stresses that more often than not an editor faces an inescapable choice: “should he offer his readers a text which is as close as possible to what

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4 Robert Weimann describes “the current upheaval in Shakespeare criticism” as an “exhilarating rapprochement among textual scholarship, theatre history, and performance studies” (xi).
Shakespeare originally wrote, or should he aim to formulate a text presenting the play as it appeared when performed by the company of which Shakespeare was a principal shareholder...?" (xxxv). Striking a similar chord, editors of a collected edition of the works of John Webster claim that

the Poem is editable, and available for discussion, while the Play is certainly not [...]. We cannot edit the Play since too much of the necessary data has been lost in the dark backward and abysm of time; we must therefore edit the Poem, which is what everybody has been doing all along, though not always in as explicit an awareness as could have been desired that this was indeed what they were doing. (Gunby et al. 37)

A heightened awareness of the thorny interconnections of text and performance—Poem and Play—in editorial circles is inseparable from developments in Shakespeare studies generally. Just as editors have seen fit to give more prominence to performance within their editions (sometimes, as we see in the quotation from the Webster editors, by apologizing for their inability to meaningfully account for it), so too have text and performance been continually reprioritized in other streams of critical practice. Using A. C. Bradley as a benchmark with which to measure changes to Shakespearean criticism in the twentieth century often seems like an involuntary retrospective reflex, but returning to Bradley here is worthwhile. An advocate of the revelatory potential of close reading—there are “minutiae which we notice only because we study [Shakespeare], but which nobody ever notices in a stage performance” (78)—Bradley begins his influential *Shakespearean Tragedy* by appealing to a reader’s imagination: those who possess “the habit of reading with an eager mind”

... read a play more or less as if they were actors who had to study all the parts. They do not need, of course, to imagine whereabouts the persons are to stand, or what gestures they ought to use; but they want to realise fully and exactly the inner movements which produced these words and no other, these deeds and no other, at each particular moment. This, carried through a drama,
is the right way to read the dramatist Shakespeare; and the prime requisite here is therefore a vivid and intent imagination. (2)

This emphasis on the participatory pleasures of close reading is characteristic of Bradley, as is his awareness of, but overall disinterest in, the nuances of theatrical pleasure and performance. Bradley constructs reading as a process that should be conscious of theatrical effect, but should never defer to it—it is readerly imagination and not staged performance that provides access to the “inner movements” of the text. G. Wilson Knight also argues for the existence of meanings that only reading the text can unearth; “each play [is] a visionary unit bound to obey none but its own self-imposed laws” (14), writes Knight, and it is to this self-sufficient and self-governing text that the critic must be true: “The proper thing to do about a play’s dramatic quality is to produce it, to act in it, to attend performances; but the penetration of its deeper meanings is a different matter, and such a study, though the commentator should certainly be dramatically aware and even wary, will not itself speak in theatrical terms” (vi). The battle lines over where exactly a play’s “meanings” are to be found are forever being redrawn, however, and Bradley’s “inner movements” and Knight’s “deeper meanings” have been superseded by equally pervasive (but no less slippery) terms like “thick description” and “social energy.” The turn to contexts, to the ways meanings are continually produced and thus subject to historical and ideological study rather than inherent within a stable text, is a move that reflects the extent to which developments in editorial

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An important differentiation between theatre and drama must be made here, for although Bradley “has often been viewed as careless of theatrical considerations, we nevertheless can notice a continuing and persistent attention to dramatic, as distinct from theatrical, effects and circumstance” (Dawson, “Impasse” 321). And further, it should be noted that there are instances of Bradley marshalling performance possibilities in support of his readings. When it comes to arguably the most horrific image in Macbeth, for instance—Lady Macbeth’s “I... know / How tender ‘tis to love the babe that milks me; / I would, while it was smiling in my face, / Have pluck’d my nipple from his boneless gums, / And dash’d the brains out” (1.7.54-8)—Bradley remarks that “her voice should doubtless rise until it reaches, in ‘dash’d the brains out,’ an almost hysterical scream” (371), adding the footnote, “So Mrs. [Sarah] Siddons is said to have given the passage.” Unless otherwise noted, Shakespeare quotations are from The Riverside Shakespeare, gen. ed. G. B. Evans, 2nd ed (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997).
practice and textual theory have become inextricably bound up with literary study in all of its theoretical guises. That is, the turns toward history and performance in Shakespeare studies are largely predicated on an understanding of printed playtexts being fundamentally unstable sites of scholarly inquiry for those who seek to read them closely. By way of example we can fast forward to the writings of Stephen Greenblatt, where it becomes clear that Knight’s understanding of the text as a sealed, “visionary unit” is a distant memory. Writing in 1988, Greenblatt claims that

... in the case of Shakespeare (and of the drama more generally), there has probably never been a time since the early eighteenth century when there was less confidence in the ‘text’. Not only has a new generation of textual historians undermined the notion that a skilled editorial weaving of folio and quarto readings will give us an authentic record of Shakespeare’s original intentions, but theater historians have challenged the whole notion of the text as the central, stable locus of theatrical meaning. (3)

The allusion to contemporary understandings of textual transmission and stability is tangential to the remainder of his study but it helps establish and validate the manner in which Greenblatt desires to read Shakespeare: with its stability undone and its periphery frayed, the text can be readily woven into larger historical, sociological, political, and religious patterns—a document recounting English colonial experiences in Virginia can inform a reading of Henry V, an anecdotal account of a Protestant sermon can be made to resonate in a discussion of Measure for Measure and The Tempest.

One major consequence of the widespread troubling of textual meanings is the belief that plays should not be read and interpreted as literary texts at all, but are instead dramatic scripts intended solely for performance that should be interrogated by critics using specialized analytical procedures; an emphasis on dramatic scripts has, to various degrees, underwritten performance criticism for the past thirty years or so, an eclectic movement that Erne has recently called “perhaps the most important development in Shakespeare studies in
the last century” (21). Not surprisingly, the initial efforts to swing the pendulum of critical orthodoxy towards a performance-oriented approach tended to be founded on claims that pushed things to the opposite end of the interpretive spectrum, formulating the theatre, rather than the printed text, as the exclusive medium in which a play’s meanings are to be located and understood. J. L. Styan’s *The Shakespeare Revolution*, published in 1977, was a momentous study in this regard; in it, Styan willingly cedes “the autonomy of the text” to New Critical modes of reading, claiming that analyzing a play as if it were a “linguistic or symbolic entity” fails to “recognize that a play is not made of words alone” (169). Alternatively, he proposes that “drama as an art form demands attention to the primacy of context,” by which he means that any worthwhile interrogation of a play must take into account “the pressures . . . perhaps governmental, economic, religious, political, cultural or sociological forces both national and local” (169) that come to bear on the play in performance. Styan’s *Revolution*, while undeniably influential, is now widely regarded as relatively facile in its attempts to codify a method of critical engagement with performance practices, primarily because the manner in which he understands criticism to respond to the fluidities of performance is ill-defined:

Stage-centred criticism is that which characteristically checks text against performance, and does not admit critical opinion as fully valid without reference to the physical circumstances of the medium. [. . .] When a new production of a play, perhaps in a different playhouse and before a different audience, reveals more of its qualities, then perceptual criticism must make an adjustment. As the play lives, so criticism is modified and refined to greater

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6 The formulation of playtexts as dramatic scripts is so engrained in critical consciousness that it is now disseminated as an irrefutable fact. Consider Stephen Orgel’s claim that “Shakespeare never conceived, or even re-conceived, his plays as texts to be read. They were scripts, not books; the only readers were the performers, and the function of the script was to be realized on stage” (*Imagining* 1). Erne, who has recently challenged this orthodoxy, provides a useful reminder of the fundamental historical difficulty that proponents of Orgel’s position must overcome: if plays were only written in order to be performed, “the very fact that a playtext has come down to us implies that a publisher counted on a considerable number of people thinking otherwise” (131).
accuracy, until at some unseen vanishing point the focus is felt to be exact and
the play defined. (72)

Styan, perhaps because he understands actors and audiences to come together in the “theatre
laboratory” (169), fashions his brand of perceptual criticism as having the potential for
scientific exactitude: each “modification” in the criticism is implicitly an improvement on
what has come before, and this perpetual “refinement” continues towards a seemingly perfect
and “exact” definition (although one must surely wonder what such a definition would
encompass). What is also significant in Styan’s work is that he understands a play’s
meanings to be “revealed,” rather than produced in the theatre, thus figuring the theatre as the
environment in which inherent meanings frozen in the text are fully freed and interpreted—
“the text will not tell us much until it speaks in its own medium” (237). If the theatre is a
kind of laboratory, then for Styan it is one in which the text figures as the indispensable,
invisible catalyst in all of the reactions and experiments that can be performed and that the
stage-centred critic is to study. Thus despite his repeated claims that “to stop short at the text
is . . . a kind of surrender” (237), Styan’s approach is guided by values conferred by a textual
understanding of Shakespeare’s plays: that they have meanings that are stable (and
apparently unchanging) through time, and most importantly, accessible under the correct
(stage-centred/perceptual) interpretive operations. Styan, essentially instituting a practice
whereby performances can be “read” as if they were texts, advocates the pursuit—in
performance, and in elucidations of performance—of an authentic “Shakespeare experience”
(5), a term that suggests the kind of totalized understanding of a play that he finds so
troubling in the literary readings of New Criticism. In the end, as Worthen has recognized,
“[Styan’s] claim that the modern stage restores an essentially Shakespearean meaning implies that this revolution is really a covert operation, a restoration in disguise” (Authority 158).

The ascendancy of performance criticism (like so many other “isms”) was aided by New Critical modes of close reading being increasingly perceived as theoretically unsophisticated and historically short-sighted, but, as the tacit elements in Styan’s study suggest, certain streams of performance criticism initially retained a dependency on the very kinds of textual interpretations that were ostensibly being supplanted. Worthen has done much to bring this dependency to light, seizing on Knight’s casual dismissal of “theatrical techniques” as valid forms of critical inquiry to demonstrate that many examples of performance criticism—despite claims of being solely concerned with the kinds of theatrical techniques that Knight deliberately marginalizes—operate within an interpretive model that reaffirms Knight’s (read: New Criticism’s old-fashioned) textual biases, “reifying [the] polarity between text and performance [rather than] suspending, clarifying, or interrogating it” (Authority 152). Citing numerous examples, Worthen convincingly demonstrates that “Shakespeare performance criticism tends to regard performance . . . as a way of realizing the text’s authentic commands” (Authority 160). What is at stake in marking habits of critical reasoning and writing that are implicitly dependent on notions of textuality? For Worthen, to

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7 In the introduction to Blackwell’s Companion to Shakespeare and Performance, Barbara Hodgdon identifies Styan’s work as belonging to the first incarnation of performance criticism, at a time when “stage-centered critical practice had to do with attempting to discern Shakespeare’s ‘intentions,’ with revealing the theatrical strategies traced out on the printed page” (“Introduction” 2). Notably, just as Styan’s “stage-centered” criticism morphed into “performance criticism,” Hodgdon proposes that the time is right for another modification in terminology. Hodgdon describes the term “performance criticism” as “uncomfortably oxymoronic: a label in which ‘criticism’ gives legitimacy to the messy, contradictory, slightly suspect materiality of theatrical culture” (2); she prefers “performance studies,” which is “a more encompassing, expansive, expressive, and relational arena for rethinking performance” (7). For the sake of simplifying sometimes convoluted narratives of critical practice, I am wielding the term “performance criticism” rather loosely in these opening pages, a term that Hodgdon rightly identifies as “an eclectic mix of critical styles and practices” (2). More detailed summaries of the diversity that gets subsumed under the heading of “performance criticism” can be found in Hodgdon’s introduction and in James C. Bulman’s introduction to Shakespeare, Theory, and Performance (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), 1-11.
consciously or unconsciously imply that performance is the result of merely realizing textual commands is to ignore the dynamic meanings and responses that are *produced* in performance, "to tame the unruly ways of the stage" (*Authority* 3). Worthen's metaphor is indicative of the ongoing struggle at the core of critical engagements with performance: the desire to allow the non-textual elements of performance to remain undistorted and "untamed" while also managing to somehow bracket performance and subject it to critical analysis.

Writing about performance is a task not unlike the one faced by the Third Gentleman from *The Winter's Tale* who reports on the apparently spectacular (re)union of Leontes, Perdita, and company; despite a presumably accurate and detailed account deeply coloured by his own interpretations and responses (Perdita "did . . . bleed tears; for I am sure my heart wept blood" [5.2.89]), he concedes to his rapt listeners that the event in question was "a sight which was to be seen, cannot be spoken of," an "encounter . . . which lames report to follow it, and undoes description to do it" (5.2.42-3, 57-8). As the Third Gentleman suggests, it is the physical immediacy of certain encounters that provide them with much of their signifying and affective power (and here I am extending his claim to include theatrical encounters between actors, and between actors and audiences), and a certain, undeniable measure of both immediacy and affect is lost almost as soon as they are produced, never to be recaptured in any account, no matter how detailed. The Third Gentleman's interpretation of the reunion can be voiced to his interlocutors in the world of the play, to the audience of the play in the world, and assume a typographical form in the play as printed text, but all of these versions of his report to some degree resist such textualization, the experience in question rendered "lame" (his words) or "tame(d)" (Worthen's).

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8 Tellingly, the First Gentleman processes the Third Gentleman's report into a kind of imagined performance: "The dignity of this act was worth the audience of kings and princes, for by such was it acted" (5.2.79-81).
The (often implicit) primacy given to texts and textual meanings in its earliest incarnations is something that performance criticism has become alert and responsive to; a consideration of a recent essay reveals the extent to which its practitioners have endeavoured to theorize performance in ways that do not reflexively defer to the text, but rather embrace what James C. Bulman calls “the radical contingency of performance—the unpredictable, often playful intersection of history, material conditions, social contexts, and reception” (1). The synchronic emphasis in the title of Ric Knowles’s “Encoding/Decoding Shakespeare: Richard III at the 2002 Stratford Festival” announces his focus on one such point of intersection. Noting that most performance criticism “has concentrated its attention primarily on . . . the performance text” (302), Knowles offers instead an expanded tripartite model of performance analysis that considers not just the performance text, but also the conditions of production (including actors, directors, the rehearsal process, and the neighbourhood in which the play is staged), and the conditions of reception (the historical/cultural moment in which the play is received). If (adapting Worthen’s formulation) performance is inevitably “tamed” when subjected to critical scrutiny, then what we find in Knowles’s essay is that the interpretive arena in which performance must be enclosed is made as expansive as possible. Thus, his attempt to answer how the opening night of a particular staging of Richard III generated “radically different readings of the same production” (297) means that Knowles takes into consideration everything from to the play’s central (and nostalgic) position in the Festival’s advertising campaign, to its mise en scène, to ticket prices, to the makeup of the Stratford Festival’s Board of Governors. Utilizing his theory of “materialist semiotics,” Knowles seeks not the meanings that Shakespeare might have originally intended when writing Richard III, nor Styan’s “Shakespeare experience.” In fact, Knowles stresses that no production (textual or theatrical) contains meaning; instead, “they produce meaning through
the discursive work of an interpretive community and through the lived, everyday relationships of people with texts and performances” (300). Consequently, Knowles’s project is “designed to undertake precise ideological analyses of the conditions, conscious and unconscious, both of production, within and through which performance texts come into being and make themselves available to be ‘read,’ and of reception, spatial and discursive, within and through which audiences perform those readings and negotiate what the works mean for them” (302). One can perhaps discern something of Styan echoing in the background here—“As a spectator judges by what he perceives in the theatre, so perceptual criticism assesses the intention, the conception, behind a play from a reconstruction of performance before a particular audience, and arrives at its meaning by recognizing its code of communication” (72)—but it is clear that in Knowles’s essay any recourse to the notion of stable, authorially-intended texts and textual meanings has become secondary to broader historical, cultural, and ideological lines of inquiry.

Part of this broadening is accomplished by Knowles’s use of “performance text,” which is a deliberate move away from “playtext,” one that reinforces the notion of printed plays as scripts intended for performance rather than texts available for more literary forms of analysis. The attractiveness of “performance text” for its proponents is that the term identifies performance as a source of meanings rather than a means through which the play’s immutable textual meanings are revealed and/or interpreted; performance is not assumed to be derivative, a play’s existence in print is not assigned any prior or preferential status. In the words of Barbara Hodgdon (a critic who has done much to define and explore performance as a distinct, non-derivative form of textuality that can be read in meaningful ways),

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9 Knowles's “materialist semiotics” was first articulated at length in Reading the Material Theatre (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004).
“performance text” is meant to invert (or at least undo) the traditional hierarchy by challenging “the notion that the written word represents the only form in which a play can possess or participate in textuality” (End Crowns All 18). The understanding that performance participates in textuality rather than being dictated by it has been instrumental in the continued prominence and relevance of performance criticism, allowing critics to free themselves from the rigidity of formulations that propose a deterministic relation between text and performance. Hodgdon's work consciously shifts its focus away from the authority of the text to consider instead “how performers and readers activate that authority in relation to other cultural contexts and discourses” (Trade xiii)—Knowles’s essay, it seems to me, is very much in this spirit.

My intention is not to offer a systematic critique of Knowles’s piece, but to use it to provide an example of how certain streams of performance criticism have now expanded the discussion well beyond the text/performance polarity.\(^{10}\) It is important to recognize, however, that this polarity is not removed from the equation in essays such as Knowles’s, only reprioritized, since any effort to write about performance involves textualizing it, to one degree or another. As Worthen himself admits, despite the concomitant distortions, textualizing a performance in order to engage with it (via description, recollection, critical inquiry, etc.) is not only inevitable, but useful as well: “A theatrical performance is not a text, but considering performance as though it participated in textuality helps us to see some of the

\(^{10}\) I’ll note in passing, however, that Knowles’s program, despite its sophisticated attempts to account for the complicated interrelations of the figures and forces involved in a play’s production and reception is nevertheless limited in at least two ways. Firstly, I am troubled by his insistence that audiences “perform” readings and that audiences are not “independent agents” but are themselves “constructed and ‘performed’” (302, 303); such a move threatens to reduce all forms of interaction to performance and subsequently dull the edges of his triangular model, producing more of a vortex in which performances beget performances ad infinitum. Secondly, his methods are restricted in terms of historical and geographical scope: in outlining the kinds of performances that his approach can best account for, Knowles admits that these are “almost exclusively [the] ones that I have seen myself” (302). In fairness, Knowles emphasizes that he is “not attempt[ing] to create a template that can be applied in any context” (303).
work, the theoretical work, it performs” \textit{(Authority 183).}\footnote{Worthen makes this point in the process of responding to Dawson’s essay, “The Impasse over the Stage.” In that essay, Dawson notes that construing and then critically reading a performance as if it were a text “is a perfectly legitimate, indeed an inescapable, strategy, since performance itself is obviously not stable, transparent or intrinsically knowable.” Dawson stresses that any such reading of performance must be “recognized as a critical maneuver, not a theatrical one” (318).} The conclusion of Knowles’s essay crystallizes this point: Knowles zeroes in on Tom McCamus’s delivery of Richard’s lines from 5.3 (the morning of Bosworth), claiming that the actor’s reading “resonated as the surfacing of tensions among the various encoded discourses that I have been analyzing” (316). Knowles’s insistence that McCamus’s “was the most clearly schizophrenic reading I have seen of Richard’s speech on the morning of Bosworth” (316) implicitly begins to demarcate Knowles’s prior interpretation of the text that he brings with him to the theatre as a Shakespearean scholar and playgoer. The antecedence of his own understanding of the play is what allows him to identify and measure the choices made by those involved in the production—his baseline reading establishes a kind of interpretive mean for \textit{Richard III}, which in turn enables him to recognize deviations from that mean that occur during performance. In this case, “most schizophrenic” suggests “more schizophrenic than any other actor I have seen playing Richard” but also “more schizophrenic than I understood Richard to be in my previous reading(s) of the text”; this latter point is evidenced when Knowles cites a portion of the speech in question, providing “different typefaces for the different vocal registers used by the actor” (316)—if the extreme schizophrenic reading that Knowles is attempting to recapture was readily available to a reader, these alterations to the text would presumably be unnecessary. In short, while I don’t dispute that Knowles is “reading” performance here, underlying this is the text and his (prior) reading(s) of it. The essay ends by returning to a specific moment and ostensibly entrenching various lines of argument \textit{in} the performance, with the strength of Knowles’s conclusions resting on the
claim that the institutional and cultural fissures that he has highlighted throughout his study can be understood to be "housed in [the actor's] body" (316) at this particular moment of the play. Whether this is true or not is beside the point; in the end, what is significant is that Knowles's essay does and does not return to performance, or rather, it does not return to performance so much as to a textualized recollection and representation of it: an isolated portion of a prominent speech that is re-lineated and bolded in accordance with Knowles's understanding of the performance that he is trying to read.\(^{12}\)

The scope and sophistication of Knowles's essay are representative of a new orthodoxy in performance criticism, one very much invested in recognizing and limiting the influence that printed playtexts might maintain over interpretive procedures. It goes without saying, however, that there remains a school of thought that would prefer to see printed playtexts retain the central position that they have long enjoyed in Shakespeare studies. That being said, the stability of texts has been so thoroughly undermined that those defending textual analysis can no longer remain a meaningful part of the debate by merely invoking scholarly tradition or claiming proximity to authorial intentions. To advocate the validity of reading dramatic texts closely entails defending such practices in increasingly sophisticated ways. One of the most theoretically-informed counter-attacks to the ascendancy of performance-oriented criticism remains Harry Berger Jr.'s *Imaginary Audition: Shakespeare on Stage and Page*. Since Berger's stated goal of explicating the validity of "imagined performance, of stage-centered reading that submits to literary rather than to theatrical controls" (28) speaks so clearly to my own interests, I would like to consider his work at some length. Berger would no doubt be untroubled by Worthen's conclusions that much

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\(^{12}\) That the very act of reproducing (and manipulating) certain lines in his essay reintroduces the tension between orality and print is ironically reinforced by the final lines that Knowles quotes: "My conscience hath a thousand several tongues, / And every tongue brings in a several tale . . ."
Shakespearean performance criticism "tends to regard performance . . . as a way of realizing the text's authentic demands" (*Authority* 160); that performance criticism must be vigilant not to reinscribe certain textual biases only confirms Berger's conviction that texts and the activity of reading texts are always prior to any performance. Berger's belief in the primacy of the text is never really in question, and he positions his book in direct opposition to a performance criticism that is either largely uninterested in reading printed plays or believes that "performance should provide the model and criteria that govern reading" (xi). Shrewdly though, despite its textual biases—Berger identifies himself as a "confirmed armchair interpreter" (xiv)—the opening pages of *Imaginary Audition* seem to indicate that Berger is not intending to reaffirm a deterministic relationship between text and performance. The main thrust of Berger's argument is that one can be an armchair interpreter and simultaneously remain cognizant of the stage, reading with an eye (or more accurately, an ear) attuned to the play as performed. Early on, Berger gives the impression of wanting to bridge the gap between page and stage, to refine what he perceives as the caricatured dichotomy of the "Slit-eyed Analyst and the Wide-eyed Playgoer" (xiv) perpetuated by "New Histrionicism [otherwise known as performance, or stage-centred, criticism]" (xiv). What his book purportedly details is a method of reading that corrects both "the reductive practice New Histrionicists advocate" and the "excesses of armchair interpretation which . . . they properly criticize" (xii); this practice of "stage-centred reading" is what he terms "imaginary audition." What the book ultimately details is something quite different.

But before explaining what I mean by that, I want to examine Berger's deployment of "imaginary audition," and in particular, question the extent to which it actually encompasses a "stage-centred" method of reading. The practice is first articulated as follows:
... it involves an attempt to reconstruct text-centred reading in a way that incorporates the perspective of imaginary audition and playgoing; an attempt to put into play an approach that remains text-centred but focuses on the interlocutionary politics and theatrical features of performed drama so as to make them impinge at every point on the most suspicious and antitheatrical of readings. (xiv)

A certain air of rapprochement pervades this brief outline: Berger has no desire to leave the confines of his armchair, but from his position of interpretive solitude he seems willing to entertain some of the signifying elements unique to the play as performed and bring these elements to bear on the literary forms of analysis that he favours; moreover, he suggests that this imaginative engagement with the stage will strengthen a text-centred reading. What soon becomes apparent, however, is that the aspects of playgoing and the “theatrical features of performed drama” that he will incorporate into his mode of reading are narrowly defined—it is the “audition” of “imaginary audition” that is absolutely central to Berger’s thesis. If Berger’s readings are indeed “stage-centered,” then the imagined stage that is synthesized with the text is almost exclusively an auditory one—the mind’s ear(s) are called into service, but the mind’s eye can effectively stay closed. Imaginary audition is first and foremost the readerly activity of imagined overhearing, what Berger refers to as “auditory voyeurism” (141). Premised on the belief that Shakespeare’s major speakers—even in their most formal and public utterances—“seem often to be listening to and acting on themselves” (75), Berger performs an extended demonstration of imaginary audition via a close reading of 3.2 in Richard II; Richard’s dialogue, argues Berger, throughout the play but particularly in this scene, assumes a unique valence “when we read it with imaginary audition attuned to its theatrical as well as its dramatic dimensions—when, that is, we distinguish between its character as performance before a theater audience and its character as utterance to fictional
interlocutors” (77). To read with the aim of attending to the “theatrical circumstances” (xiii) of Richard II is to “listen” to Richard listening to himself.

But to refer to a practice that focuses so intently on overhearing locutionary acts without attempting to account for other physical aspects of playgoing (particularly the visual) as “stage-centered” seems misleading. Berger can attempt to equate ears and eyes synaesthetically—“Like the eyes of tennis watchers, readers must follow with their ‘ears’ the movement and meaning back and forth from speaker to auditor, from one auditor to another, from auditor to speaker, and—most important—from speaker to himself” (75)—but the fact remains that the performed version of Richard II that Berger imagines as he reads is for all intents and purposes static, if not completely invisible.13 His program does not require him to imagine (or remember) other variables that might conceivably enhance a reader’s sensitivity to the “theatrical features of performed drama” (xiv), such as a particular mise-en-scène, or any specific movements by, or physical interactions between, actors. In essence, a reader practicing imaginary audition could envision a vigorous dramatic reading of a play rather than an actual performance, and the end result of the interpretation would seemingly be unaffected.

Despite some conciliatory gestures towards performance, Berger never actually modifies his default assumptions in which the text’s position relative to performance is one of absolute primacy; reading a text is the principal way in which a play’s “meaning” can be determined, and any and all “alternate and potentially stageable interpretations [are] inscribed in the playtext” (14, emphasis added). Theatre audiences, in Berger’s estimation, are extremely limited (relative to readers) in terms of both the amount of information they

13 As Keir Elam reminds us, “statically freezing theatrical performance” risks “sacrificing precisely what best characterizes it as a cultural and phenomenological experience, namely its open, dialectical character as a work or production—rather than product—ever in progress and ever in process” (“Wars” 83).
can take in during a live performance and the speed at which they can process that information. By continually stressing the nuances that can only be gleaned through close reading as well as readers’ unique ability to “decelerate” and “reaccelerate” the tempo of their engagement with the text, Berger is determined to remind his readers of “how much is withheld from an audience that can only hear and see, how much is occulted in the text they cannot read” (149). Berger’s reminder, however, is only half of an important equation: it can also be said that dramatic texts—particularly critically edited dramatic texts—simultaneously work to remind us that despite the likelihood that reading a play allows one to process information in more detailed and efficient ways, there remain myriad forms of information relayed in a performance that refuse textualization. This point leads me to the portion of Berger’s study that I find especially compelling. Berger cites Gary Taylor’s *Moment by Moment by Shakespeare* as an exemplar of the New Histrionicism that ignominiously disregards the “generosity or generativity of the text” (31). Berger takes Taylor to task for his treatment of *Henry V*, believing that Taylor’s performance-oriented readings are posited on distorted and over-simplified constructions of both the literary critic and the “innocent playgoer” (32). In his critique of Taylor’s reading(s), however, there comes a point at which Berger playfully and ironically claims that the very elements of performance that Taylor argues a reader is unable to imagine via “imaginary audition or visualization” (28) paradoxically brings those elements to the mind of Berger himself:

... Taylor’s own readings of the language lesson and several other scenes are finely imagined. They help at least one reader to a vivid apprehension of some of the ways performance can interpret the complexities of text. His account of the language lesson reduces my inability to ‘hear’ or respond to the jokes as if delivered. I suspect that Taylor’s ideal deprived reader is as inexperienced in theater as I am. Yet when he mentions the army and the empty space and great volume of the theater that do not exist for that reader, they begin to exist for this reader. Taylor helps me imagine the effect of Alan Howard’s passionate Henry aiming his Harfleur aria at me, and the effect of
the resonance of the French king’s voice giving life to the list of nobles. Even as Taylor belittles the reader’s ability, he increases it by his forceful literary portrait of a production. (28)

What is intriguing about Berger’s digression is that it assigns qualities to Taylor’s interpretive program that are also applicable to the interpretive work often done by editors in their own efforts to mediate text and performance for readers of critical editions.

Considering the primacy that Berger is committed to assigning to the text, it is curious that Imaginary Audition makes no real mention of editorial activities, especially since information provided by editors has the potential to create the kind of “forceful literary portrait of a production” that Berger evidently finds so influential. The most obvious illustration here would be Taylor’s own Oxford edition of Henry V, which predates Moment by Moment; a glimpse at Taylor’s edition reveals that it includes options as to how the Harfleur scene (to take just one item from Berger’s list) might have originally been staged in its commentary notes to 3.1, and the introduction to the play mentions different interpretations of the siege by actors such as Charles Kean, F.R. Benson, and Lewis Waller. Why can’t the work of editors—whose fingerprints, one must assume, are all over the texts that Berger wants to read closely—be utilized to enhance “stage-centered” readings? This is the sort of question that Berger, uninterested in “the psychological constraints that playgoing imposes on interpretation” (xiii), does not entertain, but it is precisely the question that I mean to grapple with. In my mind, a richer version of what Berger terms “stage-centered” reading can be realized by including in one’s scope the various forms of performance data that editors seek to explain, highlight, and in some instances supply. To only imagine moments of audition leaves large gaps in the virtual playgoing experience. Before attempting to bridge some of those gaps myself, however, I will first consider certain mediations of page and stage that can
be seen to—directly or indirectly—exert a more demonstrable influence on editorial practice than those I have detailed thus far.

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Taylor's edition of *Henry V* has close ties to his work as co-general editor of the *Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, first published in 1986. For reasons of its theoretical sophistication and influence, the Oxford edition attests to the involvement of editorial practice in the increasingly complex ways that the text/performance polarity is conceived, formulated, and disseminated. What is more, the Oxford edition is a provocative example of how the manner in which editors confront (or ignore, or marginalize) the intractability of the two modes can dictate the shape that critical editions assume. The Oxford editors sought systematically to challenge a number of longstanding conventions in Shakespearean editing; chief among their contentious decisions was their commitment to understanding Shakespeare's dramatic work as intended solely for the theatre. In their preface they stress that "Performance is the end to which they were created, and in this edition we have devoted our efforts to recovering and presenting texts of Shakespeare's plays as they were acted in the London playhouses which stood at the centre of his professional life" (xxxix, emphasis added). To position themselves in such a way means that the Oxford editors sharply diverge from what was then the standard line in Shakespearean editing: that Shakespeare's printed texts were literary artifacts, and that Shakespeare, although immersed in numerous aspects of the early modern playhouse, was by and large an autonomous author whose intentions were, through the proper editorial and bibliographical procedures, fundamentally recoverable. The Oxford editors chose to publish their various editorial apparatuses in a separate volume, *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion*, and the introduction to this companion piece works to displace Shakespeare-as-author from his
central position in the editorial process: “Shakespeare . . . devoted his life to the theatre, and
dramatic texts are necessarily the most socialized of all literary forms” (15). In seeking to
recover the most socialized text, the Oxford editors select their various copy-texts based not
on their respective proximity to authorial manuscripts and/or intentions, but rather, they
“prefer—where there is a choice—the text closer to the prompt-book of Shakespeare’s
company” (Companion 15). These shifts, from private and authorial to public and socialized,
from manuscripts and authorial intentions to prompt-books and pluralized networks of
authority, are very much a product of the editors’ desire to engage with the theoretical
moment in which they found themselves. Indeed, the editors retrospectively admit that

It was an exciting but also a dangerous time to be editing Shakespeare.
Increasingly it was apparent that editorial practice had lagged behind textual
research. Long-held orthodoxies were in the melting pot; new work was
constantly appearing [...]. We were all agreed that we wanted actually to put
into practice the consequences of current textual study, not to evade decisions
on the grounds that this would be the ‘safe’ policy. (Wells and Taylor, “Re-
Viewed” 8)

One leading practitioner of the “current textual study” that the Oxford editors were greatly
influenced by was Jerome McGann, whose assistance is acknowledged in the preface to the
Textual Companion.

The insistence on the importance of the socialized text in the Oxford edition can be
viewed as a direct result of McGann’s own work, particularly that articulated in A Critique of
Modern Textual Criticism (1983). McGann’s influence in editorial circles stems from his
construction of literary authority as a “social nexus,” something that is “initiat[ed] . . . in a
necessary and integral historical environment of great complexity” (Critique 48). Diffusing
authority in this way has significant ramifications for McGann’s understanding of authorship
and authorial intentions: “[T]he concept of authorial intention,” writes McGann, “only comes
into force for criticism when (paradoxically) the artist’s work begins to engage with social
structures and functions. The fully authoritative text is therefore always one which has been socially produced; as a result, the critical standard for what constitutes authoritativeness cannot rest with the author and his intentions alone" (Critique 75). McGann is hardly oblivious to the conceptual value of authorial intentions from an editor’s perspective; he in fact acknowledges that the notion of authorial intention is “an important tool of textual criticism,” but believes that responsible editing must greatly restrict “the range and field of its usefulness” (Critique 68). In this light, when the Oxford editors affirm that “it is the texts as they were originally performed that are the sources of [Shakespeare’s] power, and that we attempt here to present with as much fidelity to his intentions as the circumstances in which they have been preserved will allow (Preface xv), they are, following McGann, attempting to acknowledge the relevance of Shakespeare’s authorial intentions, while simultaneously ensuring that these intentions are circumscribed by—and secondary to—the extensive social network of influences in which they are situated.

McGann’s work advocates what Peter Shillingsburg terms the sociological orientation of editing. Shillingsburg identifies this orientation within editorial labour “when the help given the author is noted as a social phenomenon, of interest and importance in itself, and integral to the creative process. Social institutions, and perhaps the historical fact of collaborative production of literary works, take precedence over the author” (21). Authority for this orientation resides “in the institutional unit of author and publisher” (22), or more broadly, amongst the author and any intermediary involved in the publishing process—in the case of early modern drama, scribes, compositors, and other authors are

14 In juxtaposing eighteenth-century editorial work with late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century practice, Marcus Walsh believes that “With the exception of the introduction of computerized technologies, there has been no more significant development in modern bibliography and editing than the pursuit of arguments for a sociological orientation” (7).
likely the most quantifiable of potential collaborative influences, with the feedback loop of performance practices and subsequent authorial revision(s) being no less important, but probably less demonstrable. It would be difficult to argue with the Oxford editors’ claim that “dramatic texts are necessarily the most socialized of all literary forms” (Companion 15), but it does not necessarily follow that a sociological orientation will yield a text free from complications and contradictions, nor that editors consistently operate within a single orientation. Shillingsburg identifies three other major editorial orientations, all of which are primarily determined by where an editor locates authority for a text. The documentary (or historical) orientation “is founded on a sense of the textual integrity of historical moments and physical forms” (17); authority for the documentary orientation resides in the particular historical document, “warts and all” (18). Shillingsburg identifies the aesthetic orientation as the “least ‘historical’ alternative”—editors are usually appealing to it when they “declare their objective to be the preparation of the ‘best’ text of a work” (18); authority for this orientation resides “in a concept of artistic forms—either the author’s, the editor’s or those fashionable at some time” (19). The authorial orientation is self-explanatory: this orientation is evident when editors “discuss authorial intentions, whether ‘original’ or ‘final’” (21); authority, not surprisingly, resides “with the author, though editors do not agree on what that means” (21).15

Despite asserting the social aspects of drama and associating their edited text with “Shakespeare’s plays as they were acted” (xxxix), the desire of the Oxford editors to retain

15 Just as Shillingsburg differentiates editorial practice along the lines of locating authority, Gary Taylor defines editing as the effort to establish a text proximate “to something we value.” “This conception of proximity,” writes Taylor, “allows us to recognize that there is no single source of editorial legitimacy” (“End of Editing” 129, 130).

16 Shillingsburg identifies a fifth orientation—the bibliographic—but admits that it “can be seen as an extension of either the documentary or the sociological” (23).
“as much fidelity to [Shakespeare’s] intentions” (xv) puts the Oxford editors in the rather paradoxical position of having two seemingly incompatible goals: producing the socialized text “as originally performed” seems to set the Oxford editors off on one expedition, while their inclination to stay true to Shakespeare’s intentions whenever possible suggests an editorial journey of a much different sort. In trying to do two things at once, the Oxford editors are often operating in a kind of interpretive limbo where any emendation is theoretically justifiable so long as it can be argued that it is tending toward theatrical performance or authorial intention, stage or page. To help make sense of these divergent principles it is useful to draw again from Shillingsburg, who offers important distinctions between three crucial terms: work, text, and document. Work, according to Shillingsburg, is purely conceptual, existing only “in the author’s mind” (42); furthermore, “From an author’s perspective a work is the product of the imagination,” which means that “From the editor’s and reader’s perspectives a work is represented more or less well and more or less completely by various physical forms, such as manuscripts, proofs, and books. These forms often are not textually identical” (42, 43). Most importantly, “A work . . . has no substantial existence” and “is only partially represented by any one given printed or written form” (43).

Shillingsburg also makes a vital distinction between texts and documents; a text, he argues, is the product of the author’s, or the author-and-other’s, physical activity in the attempt to store in tangible form the version the author currently intends.

17 Michael Dobson picks up on this inconsistency: “If this is, as some worried detractors have alleged, the first culturally relativist, post-structuralist edition of Shakespeare (and as such the last possible edition of Shakespeare As We Know It?), it is visibly dragging its heels . . . over the death of the author: it may in fact still be in the throes, however anxiously, of the death of the Bard” (“Design” 96).

18 Take, for example, the manner in which they handle texts censored by the state: where censorship can be “identified and repaired . . . the Oxford edition has restored the uncensored text” (Companion 15). Such a move is likely a more accurate representation of Shakespeare’s original intentions, but wouldn’t the most socialized text be the one that still bears the marks of its censorship? Andrew Murphy is certainly correct when he points out that “McGann’s theories are important and valuable, but they do not always make for easy editorial choices” (Print 257).
And yet a text (the *order* of words and punctuation) has no substantial or material existence, since it is not restricted by time and space. That is, the same text can exist simultaneously in the memory, in more than one copy or in more than one form. The text is contained and stabilized by the physical form but it is not the physical form itself. (46)

The physical form that contains and stabilizes a text is a *document*, which “consists of the physical material, paper and ink, bearing the configuration of signs that represents a text. Documents have material existence. Each new copy of a text, whether accurate or inaccurate, is a new document” (47).

Applying these definitions to the rationale of the Oxford edition suggests that the editors want to edit the texts of *works* (emending their copy-texts where they deem necessary in order to most accurately reproduce the plays that Shakespeare intended to write), but whenever possible they want the hypothetical underlying source of their copy-text to be the most socialized *document* (a playbook, not a manuscript). The difficulty with this premise is that the most socialized document does not necessarily contain the most accurate representation of an author’s work; in truth, what makes the socialized document a compelling artifact for textual scholars is the very manner in which it represents the dispersal of authority and intentionality. The situation is further complicated in that the Oxford editors—again following McGann—are conceiving of work in a particular way. Unlike Shillingsburg, McGann assigns “work” an ongoing temporal existence:

The ‘text’ is the literary product conceived as a purely lexical event; the ‘poem’ [roughly akin to Shillingsburg’s understanding of a “document”] is the locus of a specific process of production (or reproduction) and consumption; and the ‘work’ comprehends the global set of all the texts and poems which

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19 Thomas Tanselle helps to clarify the distinction between editing texts of works and texts of documents, noting that “when [textual scholars] come to prepare an edition of the text of a document (any artifact with a verbal text, whether a personal letter or a copy of a printed edition of a novel) . . . they can make no alterations in that text. If they do alter the text, then of course they are no longer presenting the text of the document but are focusing on the text of the *work* or statement that—in their opinion—was *intended* by someone in the past or is more desirable in the present” (57-8, emphasis added).
have emerged in the literary production and reproduction process. (*Textual Condition* 31-2)

McGann thus argues that there is no such thing as a Platonic literary “work,” but a series of textual events and performances that cumulatively constitute the “work”; in other words, no originary, authorial work called *Hamlet* guides the production of all subsequent texts and performances, but rather *all* textual and performative iterations of the play combine to yield a work called *Hamlet.* This pluralized understanding of work is made explicit in the appearance of two versions of *King Lear* in the Oxford Shakespeare rather than the traditional single, conflated text: one based on the 1608 Quarto and linked to a Shakespearean manuscript; the other based on the 1623 Folio text that incorporates, according to the Oxford editors, not only “a more obviously theatrical text” (943), but also authorial revisions so substantive that they produce a discrete literary work. The Oxford editors subsequently admitted that they would have liked to have applied this line of reasoning to other plays as well: “It now seems obvious that we should have included two versions of *Hamlet* as we did with *King Lear:* a Folio-based version . . . and also a version based upon Q2” (Wells and Taylor, “Re-Viewed” 16).

While I have been emphasizing the links between the influential Oxford edition and the writings of McGann, it would be a mistake to claim that the editors’ rationales were completely determined by McGann’s work or that the Oxford edition represents the epitome of McGannian textual theory. On the contrary, it seems to me that many of the complications and paradoxes in the Oxford edition result from the editors’ inability to fully adopt

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20 Joseph Grigely puts McGann’s basic assumptions into more extreme terms, claiming that a literary work is *never* complete, nor is it constituted by the sum of its texts; rather, it is “an ongoing—and infinite—manifestation of textual appearances, whether those texts are authorized or not” (99).

21 Wells and Taylor indicate that they “were concerned for simple reasons of bulk, about adding yet another long play,” and that “*Hamlet* was one of the last plays we edited; we were tired” (“Re-Viewed” 17).
McGann’s principles. Although they shift their attention to the plays as performed, the Oxford editors also find it necessary to hold on to a belief in Shakespeare as author and originary force, which means that they cannot quite bring themselves to do away with what McGann refers to as the “deeply problematic concept” (Critique 68) of authorial intention. I accentuate the connections between McGann and the Oxford edition for two reasons: first, to provide an example of the extent to which textual theory and editorial practice have become inextricable; and second, to begin to underscore the impact that conceptions of authorial work, texts, and performances have on editorial decision-making and the structure of critical editions. As Worthen points out, in shifting attention from the authorial to the social, McGann “moves the work from origin to consequence in the process of production” (Authority 13), which opens the door for performance to assume a prominent position in the critical editing of dramatic texts. Rather than perceiving performance as derivative of, and marginal to, textual versions of a work, McGann’s position essentially democratizes the idea of work, rendering both performances and texts as essential (and equal) components in a work’s ongoing existence. For editors sharing McGann’s diffused understanding of work, “what the author must have intended” need not dictate editorial procedures—elements in an extant text indicative of non-authorial influences (like performance practices) are potentially of greater importance than an author’s intentions since these secondary influences enable an editor to reconstruct the more fully socialized text.

Of course, as the Oxford edition confirms, some conception of authorship is an indispensable tool for editors and textual theorists, and there remains a school of thought that does not wish to see considerations of origins replaced by an exclusive focus on socialized networks and consequences. The most prominent of critics who could be placed opposite McGann is G. Thomas Tanselle, who argues strongly for locating the work within realms of
authorship and intentionality rather than dispersing that work amongst the material forms it assumes throughout its (ongoing) history. For Tanselle, the work as it existed in the mind of its author(s) should be the governing force behind editorial decision-making, despite the fact that this work might now be unrecoverable, indeed might never have had a material existence at all; a literary work, in Tanselle's estimation, is "a creation formed by a human being (or more than one) at a particular time in the past" (69-70). Tanselle is aware that non-authorial influences will inform a work's various material appearances—"the same work may vary as a result of alterations, both intentional and inadvertent, introduced by the author or by others involved in the production of those texts" (16)—but this fact negates neither the validity nor the historical reality of the work as conceived by its author(s). Thus in stark contrast to McGann, Tanselle conceives of texts as representing—with various levels of fidelity—the authorially-intended work; rather than emphasizing the layers of social strata that McGann sees as cumulatively constituting the work, Tanselle believes an editor's duty is to dig backwards through these layers to their authorial core, even if such an excavation goes beyond material texts to the domain of informed speculation.

This speculative or imaginative element is what most sets Tanselle apart from McGann: Tanselle is willing to distrust a text that is recorded in a surviving document if he believes that his own interpretive procedures can bring him closer to the authorially-intended text. Tanselle describes the physical text "as an occasionally unreliable, but always indispensable, guide" (15) to the work that an editor should be striving to faithfully reproduce. More provocatively, he is dubious of fully investing in material histories:

... those most emphatic in holding that the meaning of literature emerges from a knowledge of historical context—those most likely, that is, to believe themselves scrupulous in the use of historical evidence—are in fact hindering their progress toward their goal if they do not recognize that artifacts may be
less reliable witnesses to the past than their own imaginative reconstructions. (34)

The suggestion that an editor’s imaginative reconstruction of the text of a work might be a more accurate approximation than any extant text related to that work may seem presumptuous at first glance, but in actuality, it is difficult to conceive of most forms of editorial activity without this basic governing belief (or some variation of it). Those producing facsimile editions of texts can remain untroubled by even the most conspicuous of errors since any and all errors are a part of the document being reproduced (see above, n19); however, any time an editor finds it necessary to “correct” what is perceived to be an error in the text—even if that error seems utterly obvious, like an egregious spelling mistake or a piece of type inadvertently(?) inverted by a compositor—then that editor is acknowledging (explicitly or not) that the text does not accurately represent the literary work in question, and further, that a decision can be based on an imagined reconstruction of the work that might never have existed in a material form but is nevertheless conceived of as historically valid.

While those critical of Tanselle seize, as Leah Marcus does, on the way in which he “resort[s] to a Kantian or Platonic ‘ideal’ of the work” (Unediting 31), it is crucial to recognize that Tanselle’s interest in recovering an author’s intended work is in no way an ahistorical or anti-historical endeavour. Tanselle rightly points out that the “desires [of authors] have just as much historical reality as do the texts that were finally published, though the desires are likely to be harder to locate” (76). Other critics echo Tanselle in defending the historical validity of attempting to imaginatively approximate lost authorial intentions. Anthony Dawson, for one, embraces the “complex aesthetic pleasures that imaginative editing and reading can uncover,” and believes that an imaginary original text “is a necessary component of the interpretive process we call history” (“Imaginary” 159, 153).
Furthermore, Dawson puts forth that a rigid fidelity to the material form of extant texts does not sufficiently account for "the complexity of historical relations between texts"; Dawson writes that "a certain eclecticism" that involves recourse to an imaginary original text "might . . . be a more 'historical' way of proceeding since it acknowledges the necessary element of interpretation in all historical work" ("Imaginary" 148). When it comes to the undeniable interpretive aspects of editorial labour, Tanselle shrewdly points out that if one's goal is to produce the "[socialized] work as it emerged from the collaborative process that leads to publication or distribution," it follows that "one might well conclude that the most appropriate text need not necessarily entail reconstruction at all but might instead be one of the texts already published" (87). David Scott Kastan makes a similar point in slightly different terms:

> Once one takes as one's goal not the isolation of authorial intentions from their enabling forms and circumstances but precisely the opposite—the location of the text within the network of social and institutional practices that have allowed it to be produced and read—it becomes more difficult to imagine the form such an edition would assume and the procedures by which one would edit. Indeed arguably it becomes more difficult to justify editing at all, since the unedited texts, even in their manifest error, are the most compelling witnesses to the complex conditions of their production. (Book 122-3, emphasis added)

This point does not deny the usefulness of socially-orientated editing, but instead serves as a reminder of the ineluctability of authors and authorial intentions within discussions of literary work, even if the literature in question is as socially entrenched as drama.23

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22 In an earlier essay, Dawson reminds us of a simple yet indispensable historical fact that is often elided when literary authority is pluralized and material histories are emphasized: "Shakespeare after all was a real person who sat somewhere and wrote out something that was in some way 'in' his head" ("Impressions" 43).

23 Tanselle recognizes that "what is done to a text by the author's friends, scribes, printers, and publishers is also a matter of history," and that "decid[ing] to reconstruct the version of a work resulting from the ministrations of any of them . . . is as valid [a goal] as that of recovering the author's intended text: each is valuable and serves a different historical purpose" (84-5).
Explicitly or implicitly then, the theoretical spectrum represented by McGann and Tanselle can be understood to guide editorial practice. The shape that edited texts assume will be greatly impacted depending on whether an editor is attempting to reconstruct the play as printed or performed at some historical or (re)imagined moment (following McGann), or attempting to approximate the ideal, imagined work intended by the author(s) (following Tanselle). In discussing the forms of critical editions, Marvin Spevack believes that “when all is said and done,” editions of Shakespeare since the early twentieth century “are, in their core substance interchangeable” (79), adding that “as far as substantial verbal changes are concerned the text of Shakespeare is for all intents and purposes fixed” (80). Spevack is erring on the side of hyperbole here, but if we accept his basic point—that from a macroscopic perspective there is little variation in the “core substance,” or dialogue, of critical editions of the same play—then it follows that substantial distinctions between critical editions exist primarily in the interstitial matter of the playtext, in the editor’s manipulations of acts and scenes, speech prefixes, and stage directions. In many ways, these interstitial markers—what R. B. McKerrow refers to as a dramatic text’s “accessories” (19)—are where the line between the authorial and the social begins to blur, where the playwright’s authority is willingly dissipated amongst those involved in utilizing the text in performance. As Worthen puts it, “Stage directions and speech prefixes are important because they are where the authorial meets the theatrical, where the writing meets the performer, where the poetics of drama meet the conventions of the stage” (Print 28).

Scholars have situated a text’s “core substance” and its “accessories” in a number of ultimately analogous binaries. Taylor writes of Shakespeare’s dramatic works as having a “written text . . . depend[ent] upon an unwritten para-text which always accompanied it.” Taylor argues that this para-text—“an invisible life support system of stage directions”—
tends to be missing from the earliest editions of a play, while “modern editions, more or less comprehensively, attempt to rectify the deficiency, by conjecturally writing for him the stage directions which Shakespeare himself assumed or spoke but never wrote” (Companion 2).24 Similarly, in The Literary Work of Art, Roman Ingarden makes a firm distinction between dialogue and stage directions in his discussion of dramatic works; Ingarden differentiates between “the ‘side text’ [nebentext] or stage directions—i.e., information with regard to where, at what time, etc., the given represented story takes place, who exactly is speaking, and perhaps also what he is doing at a given moment, etc.—and the main text [haupttext] itself” (208). Ingarden’s nebentext appears more inclusive than Taylor’s para-text, expanding as it does to include scene designations and speech prefixes; Taylor and Ingarden also diverge in that Ingarden’s basis of differentiation is not what is left unwritten or incomplete by the playwright, but what is potentially spoken and unspoken in performance: “The main text of a stage play consists of the words spoken by represented persons, while the stage directions consist of information given by the author for the production of the work. When the work is performed on stage, the latter are totally eliminated; they perform their representing function and are really read only during the reading of the play” (377). Despite these differences, Taylor and Ingarden are essentially making the same distinction between a “core substance” and “accessories”; that Taylor moves forward from what the playwright did or did not supply for readers while Ingarden moves backward from what is and is not vocalized in a performance is a reminder that any such demarcation testifies to the often permeable and unfixed boundaries between page and stage.

24 Taylor’s formulation is further evidence of the Oxford edition’s conflation of authorial and sociological orientations: following Taylor, an editor is working with a base text written by Shakespeare, but missing stage directions integral to the text’s transition to the stage must necessarily be supplied by an editor in order to reproduce what is understood to be a script intended for performance.
Taylor’s text/para-text and Ingarden’s *haupttext*/*nebentext* distinctions thus help to define an editor’s mediatory position at a threshold of two types of textual information. Formulating a distinction between dialogue and ancillary, yet indispensable, directions for performance differentiates the editing of dramatic works from other forms of printed literature in that editors of drama engage—by necessity—with two arenas of signification: the literary and the theatrical. As exemplified by Tanselle and McGann, theoretical discussions of editorial practice tend to gravitate to one extreme or the other (literary/textual/authorial or theatrical/performative/social); the act of editing, however, is a more pragmatic affair since editors must negotiate *both* modes of production. In a series of essays, Margaret Jane Kidnie has thoughtfully explored the ramifications of this bi-fold authority for both editors of critical editions and their readers. Kidnie points out that unlike the “ultimately ephemeral” staging choices made by directors, editorial decisions have a material resonance, since “the editor’s staging choices, embedded in the script as text, impact on all subsequent literary interpretations and potentially even on those offered in performance” (“Text” 468). The materiality of editorial interpretations and emendations, while motivated by the desire to assist readers, can nevertheless be understood to cut in the opposite direction; adopting Ingarden’s terminology, Kidnie explains what “embedded” interpretations can mean for the appearance of the text:

... any alteration an editor may choose to make to the staging of a script will inevitably embed critical interpretation in the dramatic text. In a modernized edition the dramatic text no longer consists of the unity of *haupttext* and *nebentext* but that of *haupttext*, *nebentext*, and editorial interpretation of the staging, with the last two elements frequently presented to the reader as the same thing. (“Text” 467)

Here then is one crucial point at which understandings of editorial practice diverge: to what extent are an editor’s attempts to bridge “undeniable . . . gaps in the *nebentext* of an early
modern script” understood to be helpful, and to what extent are such interventions viewed as restricting a reader’s own interpretation by, as Kidnie puts it, “subjectively imposing staging on a dramatic text” (“Text” 465, 468)? Kidnie believes that editors have become too complacent in their belief that “interventionist editing of staging [is] a means by which the reader gains a richer understanding of the play in performance”; she argues that because of the inertia of the status quo, modern critical editions “impos[e] on the script editorial staging premised either explicitly or implicitly on modern theater practice,” and that rather than altering the text and subsequently misleading readers (especially “unspecialized” ones), editors of Shakespearean drama should instead seek a way to “acknowledge or embrace radical uncertainty, offering readers historicized understandings of both theatrical conventions and vagaries of performance with which to develop independent, even idiosyncratic interpretations of staging” (“Text” 465-6, 470).

Kidnie’s interrogations of the issues at hand are extremely insightful, but here she seems to tread a slippery slope. If an editor’s ultimate goal should be the acknowledgement and perpetuation of “radical uncertainty,” then one must wonder whether the production of a critical edition is the best way to promote such an understanding of early modern dramatic texts. Seeking to historicize and destabilize the text to such an extent verges into a grey area in which a socialized orientation implicitly begins to undermine editorial activity itself. It is telling that “asking readers to interact with the dramatic text as necessarily unfixed and unstable” means for Kidnie that “editors might resist modifying or supplementing extant stage directions altogether” (470). Indeed, it goes without saying that editing with an eye towards perpetuating an “indeterminate textual condition” (470) often means not editing at all (or at least not making the kinds of decisions traditionally associated with critical editions). The intractability of Kidnie’s position (wouldn’t extant or facsimile editions be
more accurate representations of a text’s “radical uncertainty”? is representative of the knife’s edge on which editorial work must often balance: while working to bridge unavoidable “gaps in the nebentext,” an editor simultaneously invites the reader to “interact” with the very ambiguities and instabilities that the bulk of editorial decisions are designed to smooth over. Or put another way, an editor inevitably constructs an interpreted version of a text, but this version should ideally be constructed in such a way that it does not preclude other, different interpretations.

Finding the means to address both the gaps that readers require to be filled for them and the gaps that they should fill (or at least confront) on their own in order to appreciate a playtext’s ambiguity is no easy task—the very gaps that are identified as substantive and the ways in which they are subsequently dealt with will vary from editor to editor; to her credit, Kidnie has explored what an edition that more fully acknowledges or “embrace[s] radical uncertainty” might look like. She proposes an edited page that arranges its information in a much different way than what is typically found in modern critical editions (a primary network of dialogue and stage directions taking up most of the page, with sections of collation and commentary beneath it). Influenced by Umberto Eco’s idea of the “open work,” where the “Blank space surrounding a word, typographical adjustments, and spatial composition in the page setting of the poetic text—all contribute to create a halo of indefiniteness and to make the text pregnant with infinite suggestive possibilities” (qtd. in “Staging” 158-9), Kidnie experiments with small sections of _Troilus and Cressida_ and _Romeo and Juliet_, seeking a means to “transfer the interpretive activity from the editor to the reader” (165). She attempts to do so primarily through the use of _marginal_ stage directions, a strategy conditioned by her belief that “Scripts are not comparable to performance, nor can they encode it” (158). Rather than a continuous interlacing of dialogue and stage directions
within her edited text, all stage directions in Kidnie’s hypothetical pages are moved to a separate “box” running down the left hand side of the dialogue—a move that Kidnie justifies by referring to a similar positioning in some surviving early modern manuscript plays and playbooks; the stage directions thus remain a conspicuous (perhaps more conspicuous) part of the printed page, but are now apart from the bulk of the edited text. Certain directions (especially entry or exit cues, to which Kidnie attaches arrows so as to highlight their fluidity) take on an indefinite, floating quality—this is deliberate on Kidnie’s part, reflecting the fact that many directions are variable in performance, and might even take place over a span of spoken dialogue rather than at a specific moment (as they might appear to do when “fixed” in traditional critical editions). The increased demands put on the reader to skip between the two boxes is likewise intentional: according to Kidnie, the reader is implicitly given “permission” to decide when to “dip into” or even ignore the stage directions, with any disruptions to the “smooth flow of the reading experience” intended to reflect the text’s inherent instabilities (169). All in all, Kidnie believes that modifying the appearance of the edited page simultaneously recognizes textual uncertainties and allows for readers’ interpretations to proliferate: “Instead of trying to fix (in both senses of the word) an unstable print document, this strategy builds into the spatial presentation of the page the textual indeterminacy typical of directions found in early modern printed and manuscript drama” (165).

It must be said, however, that although Kidnie understands most critical editions to severely circumscribe readerly interpretations, designing a text to promote notions of instability and indeterminacy is just the flip side of the same coin: Kidnie’s format might

25 The editors of the recent RSC Complete Works have employed a similar strategy of attaching arrows to marginal stage directions to indicate that “a piece of business . . . may occur at various different moments within a scene” (Ix).
“demystif[y] the editorial function” (169), but her particular interpretation (of early modern dramatic texts, if not of the plays in question) is still encoded into the text itself; if Kidnie’s text works as she intends, readers will understand playtexts to be indefinite, unstable objects—a revealing way to think about them, though only to a point. Kidnie’s hypothetical pages remain a highly mediated way of encountering a play, they just emerge from the mediatory process looking different than the pages of standard critical editions. And while Kidnie is adamant that text and performance are fundamentally incongruous, that “performance is never contained within the script” (“Text” 458), her rethinking of the editorial treatment of stage directions is intended to bring the two modes of production into the closest proximity that the printed page will allow. She suggests, for example, that the left hand box of stage directions can, at certain points, create “an impression of activity in the margin of the page” (“Staging” 169), and even more provocatively, that freeing stage directions from being “graphically fixed to a certain moment in the dialogue . . . creates as an effect in the print medium the sense one has when watching a theatrical performance of action occurring in space and time” (172). Live theatre cannot be captured on the page (of this there can be no dispute), but the nature of Kidnie’s proposed revisions to editorial practice speaks to editors’ capacity (be it tapped or untapped) for keeping text and performance in meaningful contact with one another within the bounds of the printed page.

26 Kidnie is not the first to experiment with the look of the edited page in order to highlight textual uncertainties. Consider Jesús Tronch-Pérez’s Synoptic Hamlet, a full-length version of the play that seems to do its job of destabilizing the text too well, since its synchronic presentation of variant readings—stacked, one on top of the other—means that on a very basic level, it can’t be read in any linear way (despite Tronch-Pérez’s insistence that he is in fact producing a “reading critical edition” (58)). The difficulty in reading Tronch-Pérez’s text emerges in his own description of it: his synoptic text “by means of a code system, points readers directly and immediately towards the significant variants, and at the same time, allows them to decode and read separately the discrete textual states or versions that have been ‘synopticized’” (57). How can any reader possibly process all of this “at the same time”? In my mind, it is more useful to think of Tronch-Pérez’s edition as a kind of archive of variant readings than a reading edition.
For my purposes, more important than debating the potential benefits of Kidnie’s hypothetical pages is engaging with the issues and questions that her work brings to the fore; Kidnie’s hypothesis and the reasons why we can even begin to entertain its usefulness are founded on certain assumptions about how mediations of text and performance are largely determined by the ways editors choose to select, organize, and transmit certain kinds of information to readers. Following McGann, Kidnie notes that “the visual design of a page encodes information in a manner quite apart from the linguistic meaning of the words printed on that page, or to put that yet a different way, readers construct meaning, not just by reading a page, but by looking at a page” (169). That Kidnie’s manipulation of “the spatial presentation of the page” (165) might have major ramifications for a reader’s interpretation of both text and performance—producing what she terms “textual performance[s]” (172, emphasis hers)—suggests that the blueprint that editors follow for constructing the space of their page (and more broadly, the space of their edition) is an integral factor in any inquiry into the treatment of text and performance in editorial practice. What must be considered involves not just the design and appearance of the edited page but also the basic elements selected to put it together, the information an editor deems necessary to provide—a commentary note introducing or dismissing certain staging possibilities can produce or encourage a specific kind of textual performance, as might a collation that includes notable decisions made in other editions, or a marginal invitation to consider prefatory material related to a play’s performance history. These are just some of the ways, in addition to Kidnie’s suggestions, that a critical edition is able to facilitate a reader’s ability to span the gap between the printed text and its transformations in, and by, the theatre. In what remains, I will introduce a concept intended to fill another sort of gap, one that I perceive in the
existing critical vocabulary used to discuss text and performance in studies of editorial practice. That concept is *performancescape*.

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My goal in implementing *performancescape* is to shift the discussion away from the incongruities of text and performance to focus instead on the symbiotic exchange between the two modes, as well as the ways this exchange can be structured in print. My development of the term is indebted to Kidnie’s description of how readers can process the heterogeneity of text and performance:

... in a dramatic text (the play as literature) the stage directions interact with the dialogue to create not the image of a real or potential performance but a sort of *virtual* performance, a theater of the mind. What the dramatic text can therefore provide us with is an ideal performance as imagined by the author and shaped by the dominant theatrical conventions of the historical and cultural moment of the play’s creation as literature. ("Text" 464-5)

I want to modify this claim by utilizing *performancescape* to consider the critical edition more broadly. While Kidnie’s understanding of “*virtual* performance” or “theater of the mind” is restricted to the interactions of dialogue and stage directions (as is Berger’s “stage-centered reading”), to limit such terminology to only the edited copy-text portion of critical editions reflects a somewhat narrow view of what these editions actually encompass. With new editions of Shakespeare’s plays growing exponentially in size, the edited text in question usually occupies only a fraction of an edition’s total page count (and often only fractions of those pages, given that more detailed collations and notes are perpetually expanding from the margins). What Kidnie calls a “*virtual* performance” can potentially be shaped by more than just the interaction of dialogue and stage directions: an edition’s introduction, commentary notes, appendices, illustrations or photographs—all of the performance-related information that an editor collects and organizes in fashioning the book of the play—are meaningful sites
of interaction between text and performance. Ancillary information provided by an editor is not a part of the playtext, but is often bound to it so firmly so as to imply that a reader's navigation of the playtext is dependent on it.\textsuperscript{27}

*Performancescape* can best be defined as a property of dramatic texts that is activated as a reader negotiates between the text proper and various forms of editorial intervention: as dialogue, stage directions and supplementary information intermingle, a virtual performance (or a variety of potential virtual performances) begins to take shape. A *specific* performance cannot be extracted from the raw material of the text (just as a representation of a cityscape cannot reproduce or recapture in full the multiple layers of detail and information that exist when one actually experiences a city by moving through it), but *performancescape* speaks to the ways that a text can begin to represent performance *potentialities*, to give relative shape and stability to what is dynamic and multifarious. *Performancescape* is meant to point in two directions at once: it refers to an editor's imagined performance of a textual moment or moments (the virtual “scape” of the imagined scene), as well as an editor's attempts to represent and communicate that virtual performance via the strategic arrangement of information within the edition itself (the “scape” of the page); once embedded in a text, a *performancescape* functions as an invitation for readers to share (and perhaps subsequently modify or discount) an editor's interpretation of the moment as it has been, or might be, performed. The term's value is that it offers a flexible model for discussing the interactions

\textsuperscript{27} My effort to retain a more totalized understanding of critical editions extends Manfred Phister's claim that a printed play consists of "primary" ("spoken dialogue between . . . dramatic figures") and "secondary" ("text segments that are not reproduced on stage in spoken form") texts—a formulation more expansive than Taylor's text/para-text or Ingarden's *haupttext/nebentext*. Pfister's "secondary" text includes "the title of the play, the inscriptions, dedications and prefaces, the dramatic personae, announcements of act and scene, stage-directions, whether applicable to scenery or action, and the identification of the speaker of a particular speech" (13-14). Pfister's definition facilitates a consideration of the potential intersections of page and stage within a printed text that goes beyond a focus on dialogue and stage directions; further, in regards to editorial practice, Pfister's understanding of what constitutes the play's "secondary" text is more representative of the myriad places at which an editor engages with the play.
between editors, dramatic texts, and readers; *performancescape* can be deployed to recognize
the ongoing negotiation between *mise en scène* and *mise en page*, a recognition that does not
come as readily from phrases such as “virtual performance” or “imagined performance.”

On the surface my interest in how information is arranged on a page, and distributed
amongst pages, appears materialist in nature, but I would stress here that printed editions and
how they are constructed and interpreted must be understood to be more than just derivations
of the materiality of the page; there is much more to the Shakespearean text than its
“absorbent surface” (de Grazia and Stallybrass 283). Hardline materialist approaches to
bibliography—like de Grazia and Stallybrass’s—that claim to move “outside metaphysics”
(particularly an author’s intended meanings) by proposing that texts can be conceived of as
having a purely material existence—“in the materials of the physical book itself: in *paper*”
(280)—often fail to attend to *how texts get used*, that is, to the activity of reading, which, as
David Schalkwyk reminds us, is “a fundamentally metaphysical problem, one that cannot be
confined to physics” (221). Issues of materiality will be salient to a thoughtful
consideration of the history of the Shakespearean text, but what must also be taken into
account are the uses to which the text can be put, the intentions and interpretations of those
individuals shaping critical editions and the inevitability of their confrontation with the
intentions of an originary author. Part of the appeal of *performancescape* is that in gesturing
toward both the *scape* of the printed page and the *scape* of the imagined scene, the term
registers the usefulness and the limitations of materialist analysis—keeping both kinds of
*scapes* in play recognizes that editorial activity engages the material and the ideal, the
tangible document and the intangible work.

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28 Or, as Zachary Lesser puts it, “Part of what makes a history of reading so difficult to write is that reading
occurs at the intersection of the material and the immaterial, the physical and the psychical, the letter and the
spirit” (“Typographic” 99).
Performancescape is thus a concept that is in the spirit of New Bibliographical attempts to engage the immaterial via the material text, with the aims of reconstruction shifting from authorial intentions and lost manuscripts to what for readers is the absent play-as-performed. Recourse to the imagination is hardly the height of critical fashion (a point that teases at the early modern currency of “scape” as a thoughtless transgression, (OED n1 2)), but embracing the role that this faculty plays in editorial activity helps to avoid succumbing to the impulses that might formulate page and stage as mutually exclusive. Any conceptualization of the links between the two modes of production, it seems to me, must allow for an imaginative element. The longstanding “zombie-theory of drama” (Worthen, Print 8) in which performance is understood to be absolutely derivative of the text, a mere realization of the text’s instructions, implicitly involves some sort of animating, interpretive force to awaken that which lays dormant on the page. More recent, nuanced treatments of the two modes of production that have rightly supplanted this “zombie-theory” must likewise account for the interpretive activity that facilitates the transition from text to performance: Worthen writes, for example, of “the theatre necessarily subject[ing] print to use, to labor, in ways that render it not the container of meaning, but raw material for new meanings” (Force 56)—“labor” becomes the term utilized by Worthen to fill the conceptual and rhetorical gaps between text and performance. If the dynamics of the stage are not contained within the text but are a product of non-textual labours, it does not necessarily follow that an edition’s performancescapes lack validity or usefulness, even though these approximations of performance will always be fragmentary, incomplete, and heavily reliant on the imagination. To edit is, at some level, to recognize that readers require certain levels of mediation; to accept this first point means accepting a second: that editing is an act of interpretation that involves making informed decisions in the pursuit of relative textual stability and
accessibility. Ideally, when it comes to giving readers a sense of how a play might function on stage, editors will not abandon readers in the face of obscurity, but provide the means to help bridge interpretive gaps by giving them a sense of the variability of performance.

The reader's position in the mediatory processes that *performancescape* is meant to explicate is rooted in the term itself, which can be read *performance-scape* or *performancescape* (with the "e" doing double-duty, ending one word and beginning the next).\(^{29}\)

Emphasizing the "scape" invokes the material and virtual aspects detailed above; the embedded "escape" functions in two ways: firstly, as an imaginative effort to "escape" the page and imaginatively approximate performance. Such an escape is always partial and temporary, just as an awareness of the "escape" in the term itself cannot permanently break from the fixity of print, the "performanc(e)" that precedes it. Secondly, the embedded "escape" is meant to imply that an editor's *performancescape* is something that some readers will be able to resist or "escape" from. Even *performancescapes* that appear prescriptive are not necessarily so, since a reader might (very easily) be able to imagine an alternative virtual performance that runs counter to an editor's *performancescape*; moreover, a reader can simply (or perhaps not so simply) ignore the supplementary matter provided by an editor.

The potential to read the term two ways nicely encapsulates certain tensions between orality and literacy that contribute to the fundamental rift between performance and text. Walter Ong explains: "Sound . . . exists only when it is going out of existence. I cannot have all of a word present at once: when I say 'existence', by the time I get to the '-tence', the 'exis-' is gone. The alphabet implies that matters are otherwise, that a word is a thing, not an event, that it is present all at once, and that it can be cut up into little pieces . . ." (91). Similarly, to give voice to *performancescape* is to recognize the ephemerality of dialogue uttered on stage.

\(^{29}\) My thanks to M. J. Kidnie for bringing to light the potential richness of this ambiguity.
and of performance in general—I must pronounce “performance-scape” or “performance-escape,” but cannot pronounce both terms at once; to print and read the term is to recognize the paradoxical fixity that print assigns—paradoxical in the sense that this ostensible fixity carries with it an awareness of how a printed word (and by extension, text) can be altered or “cut up.” Ong argues that writing can produce “exquisite structures and references [that] far surpass the potentials of oral utterance” (85), a point that has major ramifications for those attempting to measure the text/performance divide. How to treat the multiplicity of meanings inherent in printed texts is a function of one’s critical orientation: Berger, for example incorporates “the range of alternate and potentially stageable interpretations inscribed in the playtext” (14) into an argument that ultimately champions the primacy of the printed play over the play as performed; conversely, for Philip McGuire, performance becomes the primary mode of realizing a play since at key moments performance limits a playtext’s pervasive ambiguity: “only during a performance of the play,” writes McGuire, do “sets of meanings and effects . . . take on specific shape and coherence” (122).

Regardless of whether it is fashioned as an interpretive limitation or benefit, the inevitability of a performance’s foreclosure of certain textual ambiguities speaks to a crucial distinction between a reader’s and an audience member’s reception of a play. As Taylor points out, relative to a playgoer, a reader assumes a greater interpretive responsibility but also faces a lack of interpretive urgency: unlike those seeing a play performed, a reader “can govern the speed and direction of his reading, as an auditor cannot; he has time to puzzle out the lines, time to attempt to relate them” (Moment 202).30 A reader’s freedom to set some of

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30 Pfister makes the same point: “One consequence of the collective reception of dramatic texts is that the individual receiver is unable to vary the tempo of the reception process, nor can he usually interrupt it at will or have sections repeated if he has failed to understand the text. The reader . . . on the other hand, can determine
the basic terms of engagement with a play (tempo of reading, length of time spent reading, direction of movement within the playtext) is another reminder of just how dissimilar the activities of reading and seeing a play can be. Berger emphasizes this incongruity in his description of “decelerated microanalysis,” an interpretive tool exclusive to readers that “enlarges and emblematically fixes features not discernible in the normal rhythm of communication” (148). Put more simply, Berger places special emphasis on a reader’s ability to “decelerate” and “reaccelerate” his or her reading of a text, temporarily “holding it still in order to tease out its meanings” (143); his point is that playgoers receive more information than they can process efficiently or sufficiently, while readers, on the other hand, possess the luxury of processing information at a rate they find suitable, slowing down over passages they find particularly difficult or significant, likely even rereading them. This observation can be extended: what Berger does not explore is a reader’s ability to determine the amount and type of ancillary information brought to bear on an engagement with a critically-edited play. Readers can slow down, speed up, pause, stop, and restart, but they can also read in a variety of non-linear directions (as Berger’s frequent juxtapositions of passages from Richard II attest). I would put forth that readers of critical editions are often decelerating, pausing, or stopping their reading of a playtext in order to look up information located elsewhere on the page or within the edition—notes, appendices, glosses, dictionaries, illustrations, photographs, references to other plays and works of criticism are all forms of interpreted data that hold the potential to help one “tease out” a text’s meanings. The imposing bulk of modern critical editions of Shakespeare is due, at least in part, to the assumption that readers might find it helpful to stop reading the playtext, gain information

his own reading speed, abandon or take up the text when he wishes, or even simply leaf through it forwards or backwards as his whim takes him” (36).
from elsewhere, and start reading again. McGann refers to this process as "radial reading" (119), and he cites the critical edition as the most striking example of a text that encourages constant participation on the part of readers: "one moves around the edition, jumping from the reading text to the apparatus, perhaps from one of these to the notes or to an appendix, perhaps then back to some part of the front matter which may be relevant, and so forth" (120). McGann argues that by continually directing readers to other acts of reading within and external to itself, the edition accrues a complexity that "allows one to imagine many possible states of the text" (121); I would agree, adding that in the case of critical editions of dramatic texts, one such altered state is the text oriented toward performance. Rather than considering a reader's decelerations, reaccelerations, and changes of direction as qualities that make the reception of texts and performances fundamentally incongruous, I propose that these interpretive tools—which are always available—afford readers the opportunity to imaginatively approximate performance to the fullest extent that printed texts can allow. My proposal involves an underlying irony: it seems likely that the harder editions work to address the potential significations of the play in performance, the more explicitly one will be reminded of just how unlike the act of reading and the experience in a theatre are. Digressing through other portions of a critical edition essentially highlights the static nature of the play in print-form, since for as long as it takes a reader to navigate a tangential move away from the playtext, the printed play is paused, patiently waiting for re-engagement in a way that the play in performance never will. But, while the printed play is temporarily paused, reduced to mere marks on a page—while, in other words, it is at its most inert, most textual—a reader's negotiation of tangential information can result in a more nuanced understanding of the play as performed. The materiality of the scape of the page allows for a richer vision of the scape of the imagined scene.
Since *performancescape* deals with a reader’s movement from the immediacy of the text to abstract conceptualizations of performance, there is a danger of falling into the familiar trap of placing text and performance into a deterministic relationship; in light of this danger, I stress that the term is intended to complicate such a hierarchy. *Performancescape* describes a textual experience, but it is not meant to assert the primacy of textual meanings over those produced in the theatre, an assertion that would only perpetuate the intractability of the text/performance divide. Quite paradoxically, in fact, applying *performancescape* to the study of critical editions allows one to see that in negotiating an edition, readers can come to recognize that all of a play’s performance potentialities are not located exclusively in the text, that meanings are produced in performance, and that these meanings and interpretations are constantly shifting. Editors of *Henry V*, for instance, can inform readers of productions that have glorified the English triumph as well as productions that have emphasized the horrors of war, just as editors of *Measure for Measure* can make clear that the treatment of Isabella’s silence in the fifth act can have a significant impact on understandings of her character and the play as a whole. No extant text of *Henry V* provides a macroscopic blueprint detailing how directors and actors should handle the issue of warfare, and on a smaller scale, the same can be said for *Measure for Measure* and how a production decides to treat Isabella’s response to the Duke’s proposal. In Worthen’s words, “theatrical choices arise at the intersection between the text and the formal strategies of its meaningful production as theatre” (*Authority* 175); my intention with *performancescape* is to enhance awareness of such “intersections” and to provide a reminder that editions past and present direct readers toward performance options—some of which are relatively obvious and grounded in the text, some decidedly less so. A production of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* might begin with Hippolyta responding to Theseus’s “Now, fair Hippolyta, our nuptial hour /
I realize that I am setting up *performancescape* to bear a sizable interpretive weight, but I am confident this burden is preferable to the void posed by the lack of alternative terminology able to straddle textual and theatrical modes of production. While the term’s usefulness will be fully conveyed in the chapters that follow, for now, I will provide a brief example of the manner in which it can be deployed in relation to a recent edition of *Othello*, a play that poses a multitude of textual problems for any editor. Specifically, I would like to look at the opening stage direction of the play’s final scene in Michael Neill’s Oxford edition (2006). The initial stage direction of 5.2 is just one of a legion of differences between the 1622 Quarto (Q) and the 1623 Folio (F) versions of the play: Q prints the direction, “*Enter Othello with a light,*” while F prints “*Enter Othello, and Desdemona in her bed.*” Understandably, Neill conflates the two, yielding a direction that reads “*Enter Othello with a light, and Desdemona in her bed asleep.*” The variant stage directions can be reconstructed by way of reference to Neill’s collation, which prints both readings in full at an interstitial position on the page, beneath the edited playtext and above twin columns of commentary. Neill’s commentary note on the stage direction directs readers to opposite ends of his edition “for a discussion of the staging”: forwards, to an appendix of Longer Notes, and backwards to a small portion of his introduction. Flipping to the Longer Note reveals three hypotheses as to the handling of the bed in the play’s original staging: either the bed was “discovered” by...

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31 Peter Holland’s Oxford edition is the one I have in mind; his first commentary note references a production for the San Francisco Actors’ Workshop in 1966 where Hippolyta was “brought on as a captive animal wearing black body make-up and a leopard-skin bikini in a bamboo cage, her lines snarled with biting sarcasm” (131).

32 As Neill notes in his collation, the “*asleep*” portion of the direction was first introduced by Rowe.
way of drawing a curtain to the discovery space of the tiring-house, or it was placed within a curtained structure that was brought on stage, or it was “put forth’ on to the stage through one of the tiring-house doors” (467). Neill does not completely discount any of these possibilities, although he has reservations about the feasibility of bringing a special structure onstage, believing that this would “interfer[e] with the sightlines of a significant portion of the audience in the galleries” (467). The section from the introduction discusses the immense signifying power the bed would have had as a theatrical property; in early modern culture, writes Neill, the bed was “almost oppressively over-determined in its public and private meanings,” the site of both the beginning and end of life, “nuptial consummation and perpetuation of the lineage” (173). Neill stresses that within the world of the play, “the final spectacle of three corpses lying side by side on the same bed” is an “atrocious parody” that capitalizes “on the intimate association of sexuality and death” (173); he goes on to discuss the fatal irony of Desdemona’s attempts at “a symbolic reaffirmation of their marriage bond” (173) by providing Emilia with the two-pronged instruction to “Lay on my bed my wedding sheets” (4.2.105) and “If I do die before thee, prithee shroud me / In one of these same sheets” (4.3.22-3). It is possible, then, that a reader moves from the opening stage direction of 5.2, to the collation (where it can be discerned that Neill is conflating what is found in Q and F), to the commentary notes (where he or she is invited to read elsewhere), to the Longer Notes, and back to the introduction, all before the scene itself “starts”; during this tangential escape from the playtext, the reader negotiates three different kinds of information on a single page before delving into other sections of the edition distinct from the edited play itself, all the while gaining snippets of data that can potentially flesh out an imagined performance. Should the bed be an elaborate property (Neill draws comparisons to “ornate tester tombs, canopied beds of gilded marble”) that recognizes the “almost totemic
significance accorded to the marriage bed” (173) in its original context, or might a simplified version that in no way distracts from the interactions of Othello and Desdemona be preferable? Where should the bed be located on the stage? How might Desdemona—and later, the three corpses—be positioned on it? Should the bed realistically sit flat on the stage, or should it be angled in some way so that the audience can better view the bodies that end up there?

I am describing a complex network of textual circuitry—there is no guarantee that readers will make the same series of connections that I have outlined (or that they would be spurred to ask the same questions), and it is certainly true that a reader can navigate the edition in less complicated ways. But the point is that Neill’s edition is hardwired to “fire” in this way if the reader makes certain connections; the edition, that is, carries with it enough information to enable readers to meaningfully consider the relationship between the printed play and the play as performed, and further, to contemplate the sort of interpretive work that needs to be done to fill the space between where the mise en page of the text leaves off and the mise en scène of performance begins. If Neill’s textual note goes unread and a reader thus does not pause his or her reading of the playtext, there are other kinds of recorded intersections between text and performance that are much harder to ignore. About halfway through Othello’s “It is the cause” speech in the same scene, he speaks of “plucking [Desdemona’s] rose” and then says “I’ll smell thee on the tree” (13, 15). As Neill points out in his textual note, “smell thee” is “an implicit stage direction” that strongly implies Othello pauses to smell, and likely kiss, Desdemona (his next line begins, “O balmy breath . . .”). Even if a reader skims stage directions and ignores editorial commentary, textual moments that embed stage business in the primary text (and Othello is rife with “implicit” directions of this sort) reveal particularly permeable boundaries between page and stage. In the same note,
Neill briefly locates the gesture in the play's performance history: “[John Philip] Kemble insisted that Othello must bend over Desdemona at this point . . . and, in a detail later imitated by Patrick Stewart, Olivier deliberately anticipated the gesture when he made his first entry inhaling the fragrance of a red rose” (373). The note provides the most fragmentary of glimpses as to how the moment might be performed, raising more questions than it answers—as the actor playing Othello leans over Desdemona, how long does he linger? In what manner does he smell her? And if he does kiss her at this point, what is the nature of that kiss? No edition could possibly answer all of these questions and the countless others that one can think of, but what is worth pointing out is that the playtext and editorial note combine to represent certain performance potentialities—the act of leaning, of smelling, and (perhaps) kissing. Especially keen or curious readers might push even further, choosing to take advantage of the stasis that the printed play will so readily assume by decelerating their reading and changing direction to return to Neill’s extensive discussion of Olivier’s performance in the edition’s introduction. There they will find a photograph of Olivier’s lithe, angular Moor—a “combination of aristocratic swagger and savage otherness,” (88) writes Neill—as well as an extensive examination of the controversy raised by Olivier’s “stereotypical exaggeration” of “blackness” (59). The nature of tangential moves on the part of a reader is what performancescape is meant to account for: to recognize that a critical edition contains a breadth of interpretive resources devoted to the play as performed and that these resources can come to inform a textual engagement with the play. Text and performance represent distinct modes of realizing a play—I am not disputing this—but the incommensurability of the two modes must not be stressed to the point at which instances of symbiotic exchange between them are ignored.
Neill's edition of *Othello* is a decidedly modern example of a printed Shakespearean play that has the weight of hundreds of years of editorial practice and performance history behind it; accordingly, Neill has recourse to an assortment of apparatuses that those originally printing Shakespeare's plays did not: a critical introduction, photographs, commentary notes, appendices, etc. Nevertheless, early modern playtexts also grappled with what was the burgeoning dual existence of plays on the page and on the stage—albeit for different reasons, and by resorting to different kinds of printed codes. The next chapter (re)turns to these early texts, and the admittedly more difficult task of locating their intersections with performance.
Chapter Three: Text and Performance on the Early Modern Page

Having offered some preliminary suggestions as to the potential usefulness of *performancescape*, I must now confront its interpretive limitations, which become apparent when the term is applied to plays as they were printed in the early modern period. Considering that *performancescape* is meant to help triangulate the fluid relationship between editors, printed texts, and readers, early modern methods of textual production, printing practices, and modes of reception introduce a number of complicating factors that restrict the term’s scope and limit its utility. Editing—as we think of the task today—can only be applied anachronistically to the early modern publishing trade; this is not to say that texts printed during this time went unmediated, only that the types of mediation that took place were not discrete activities systematically aimed at emendation, organization, or elucidation. That mediation took place is undeniable; indeed, the understanding that mediation *always* takes place—that *all* texts are mediated texts, or as Alan Farmer writes, that “those who participate in the production and transmission of a text inevitably affect its final form” (164)—has become the *sine qua non* of the current critical moment. In the case of drama, the forces brought to bear on the transformation of written manuscripts into printed books are well documented. Scribal and compositor studies initiated by the New Bibliographers have demonstrated the ways in which a range of individuals could modify—

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33 Portions of this chapter have published as “English Renaissance Drama: The Imprints of Performance,” *Literature Compass* 5.3 (2008): 529-540.

34 Sonia Massai has recently challenged the “evolutionary understanding” of Shakespeare’s works “gradually deteriorating through the accumulation of accidental corruption in the printing house” until Nicholas Rowe officially establishes the editorial tradition in 1709. Massai examines the infrequent (and usually anonymous) annotations of manuscripts used as printer’s copy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and argues that “the conscious editorial manipulation of Shakespeare’s dramatic texts” began almost as soon as the playwright’s works first appeared in print (*Shakespeare* 1-2). She emphasizes, nevertheless, that these manipulations were sporadic and unsystematic: “What is significant is the *discontinuity*, rather than the *absence*, of editorial practices” (2).
perhaps emend, perhaps corrupt—texts in various ways, though it is only in rare instances that these modifications can be considered to have been executed with the same rigour or motivated by the same concerns that we now associate with editorial activity. Recent studies by Zachary Lesser, Douglas Brooks, Julie Stone Peters, and Mark Bland have expanded this sphere of influence, establishing that the efforts of publishers, printers, and certain playwrights to identify, construct, and market to specific readerships had a significant impact on the material shape of printed plays. Extant claims of mediation are not uncommon; the difficulty lies in establishing what pseudo-editorial methodologies—if any—might underlie these claims. John Heminge and Henry Condell refer to themselves as "Presenters" in the Folio’s dedication, but beyond matters of manuscript collection and perhaps the organization of the Folio itself, their influence over the final form of the texts printed in 1623 is likely limited. Although it seems fair to think of Heminge and Condell as Shakespeare’s first "editors," this designation stems from their administrative, rather than emendatory, efforts: in their words, their task was to “gather his workes, and giue them [to] you.” Some have recently put forth that Heminge and Condell weren’t the first to systematically prepare Shakespeare’s texts for printing, but that the distinction belongs to the

35 The compositors that produced Q2 Titus Andronicus (1600) for James Roberts’s printing house, for example, appear conspicuously diligent. It is generally accepted that they were not working from a manuscript, but set their text from a copy of Q1 (1594); in making improvements to Q1’s rather shoddy punctuation as well as smoothing over certain textual ambiguities, these compositors (likely two of them) seemed to be intent on emending their copy-text. Most admirably, the compositor setting the end of the play works around apparent damage to the final leaves of his copy of Q1 by reworking what should have been the last line of the play and then making up four more. This ingenuity passed unnoticed until a copy of Q1 was discovered in 1904. See Joseph S. G. Bolton, “The Authentic Text of Titus Andronicus,” PMLA 44 (1929): 765-88.

36 Facsimile reprints of the prefatory material from the First Folio are included in Evans 90-105 (Heminge and Condell’s epistle is reproduced on page 95). A contemporary poem, “To my good freandes mr John Heminges & Henry Condall,” similarly stresses their roles as collectors. The poem figures the two actors as treasure hunters who haven’t constructed the Folio so much as they have unearthed a pre-existing prize and facilitated its availability for the public: “Joyntly with vndaunted paynes .. yowe haue pleased the lyving, loved the dead, / Raysde from the woamb of Earth a ritcher myne / Than [Cortez]” See E. K. Chambers, William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1930), vol. 2, 234.
playwright himself; citing the 1598 quarto of *Love's Labour's Lost* that advertises a play “Newly corrected and augmented *By W. Shakespeare*,” Farmer suggests that “Though he was not the first author to be identified on the title-page of a play from the early modern professional theatre, Shakespeare was the first editor to be named on one” (158). Even claims that ostensibly deny any mediating presence between the play as performed and the play newly printed—like the title-page of Q1 *Richard II* (1597), which offers a text *As it hath beene publikely acted by the right honourable the Lorde Chamberlaine his servants* (variations of this formulation abound on title-pages from the period)—must nevertheless be understood to frame printed plays in meaningful ways for potential readers.

As for those readers, they are (in any historical period, including our own) notoriously difficult to identify; for this reason, their habits and expectations must be reconstructed in largely hypothetical, generalized ways. Reading, as Heidi Brayman Hackel reminds us, is a “historically invisible skill” that “survives in the historical record only when it is accompanied by writing” ("'Great Variety'" 141). With this in mind, what I propose to do in this chapter is approach early modern drama via its most conspicuous sites of interaction between those who produced printed plays and those buying and reading them: the various forms of preliminary and para-textual matter that adorned printed playtexts. These apparatuses can be understood as material evidence of individual readings (a form of reading-captured-in-writing that Hackel refers to), as well as efforts to promote and subsequently guide other, future readings. My strategy of extrapolating from the margins of early modern printed plays can be situated amid a number of recent studies that approach primary material

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37 Lukas Erne challenges the entrenched view that Shakespeare lacked any interest in the appearance of his plays in print in *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003).
Para-texts can be probed for insights into topics ranging from stematics to the early modern book trade; I will consider them in a very specific light: rather than connecting prefatory material and other textual apparatuses like title-pages and marginalia to issues of authorship, manuscript circulation, collaboration, or the complicated transmission process from playhouse to printing house, I will instead examine their ability to construct, and engage with, the play as performed. Larger historical, social, and economic factors certainly inform my readings of preliminaries, but my central concern remains pointed: adopting Hackel’s terminology, the question “What did readers do with their books?” is less my focus than is “What did books tell readers to do?” (Reading 9). Following David Bergeron, I understand para-texts to perform a dual role: they function as “authorial soliloquies, discrete, introspective, set-apart rhetorical musings that allow the author’s voice to be heard,” and they are also “portals or thresholds through which the reader moves in order to get to the playtext” (16). To be sure, in discussing things like title pages, epistles to readers, or dedications, I cannot claim that all readers would have understood them in the same way, or prove that they would have worked on readers with as much of the efficaciousness that I might retrospectively assign to them; instead, what I can argue is that particular kinds of readings and imaginings were encouraged (with varying amounts of zeal) by the ancillaries that accompanied printed plays, often rooted in the laudatory language of

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advertisement. As Lesser astutely reminds us, for example, the well-known preface to the second issue of Q1 Troilus and Cressida (1609) from “A neuer writer, to an euer reader” is primarily thought of as a somewhat cryptic marketing campaign, but it is also “a reading of the play,” a reading that “attempted to determine [how] customers would read it as well” (Drama 2, 3). Lesser’s impressive study reads para-texts in the context of publishing practice and the book trade. Reading para-textuals with an eye toward the play as performed brings different issues to the fore: if publishers of plays endeavoured to “successfully predict and creat[e] the desires of early modern book-buyers” (Lesser, Drama 35), what role did a play’s performance history have in creating interest amongst potential consumers? More specifically, how—if at all—was the absent play as performed meant to inform the reading experience? And how—if at all—did printed plays ask readers to imagine the relationship between the page and the stage?

Shifting attention to para-textuals also necessitates a shift away from Shakespeare’s extant texts to the texts of other prominent playwrights from the early modern period. Save for direct addresses to readers in the Troilus and Cressida quarto, Q1 Othello (1622), and the Folio (1623), printed plays attributed to Shakespeare in the period have very little to say to their potential readers. The Troilus epistle is worth pausing over, however, since it can be understood to epitomize the complicated, even intractable, relation between text and performance in the period. As mentioned, the epistle only appears in the second issue of

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39 The identity of the preface’s author is uncertain, but Lesser speculates that it was written by the publishers of the quarto, Richard Bonian and Henry Walley, since they had the most to gain from the sales that a successful advertising campaign would presumably result in. Further, as Lesser points out, the epistle was added (along with changes to the title-page) during the printing process, and few would have had access to the book at this late stage of production.

40 John Jowett remarks of Q1’s introductory matter that “Here we recover a sense of the Quarto not just as a material object (or, rather, a set of nearly but not fully identical material objects), but as a cultural object that exists in relation to posited readers” (Text 61).
Q1, helping to tighten the Gordian knot of the play’s printing history. The first, epistle-less issue of the quarto had boasted on its title-page of being “acted by the Kings Maiesties / seruants at the Globe,” a claim removed from the revised issue. In place of acknowledging the play in performance, the second issue provides the briefest of plot summaries: “Excellently expressing the beginning / of their loues, with the conceited wooing / of Pandarus Prince of Licia.” If this change to the title-page is a subtle means of shifting authority away from the play as performed, the epistle—in which “the playtext is radically reauthorized, even isolated as precisely a text” (Weimann 69)—makes the printed play’s association with the theatre devastatingly clear. “Eternall reader,” begins the epistle, “you have heere a new play, neuer stal’d with the Stage, neuer clapper-clawed with the palmes of the vulger, and yet passing full of the palme comical” (¶2r). Accurately or not, the epistle denies that staged performances have had any influence on the book of the play—this is a newly printed play that has not been tainted by the stage, but instead passes directly (with the assistance of the publishers) from the playwright’s creative parentage into the custody of discerning readers: “it is a birth of your [Shakespeare’s] braine, that neuer vnder-tooke anything comical, vainely” (¶2r). In disavowing a performance history for Troilus and formulating print as the sole medium for experiencing the play, the epistle presents Q1 Troilus to potential buyers as a specialized commodity, one that they might have to “scramble for” later should they pass it up now, “at the perrill of your pleasures loss” (¶2v).

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41 While there is no definitive evidence either way, the epistle’s claim that the play was never performed is a dubious one (especially since it utterly contradicts the original title-page). What is widely understood as the original entry for Shakespeare’s play in the Stationer’s Register in 1603 notes that it had been acted by the Lord Chamberlain’s Men; further, some believe that Troilus and Cressida’s armed Prologue is a riff on a similar figure from Jonson’s Poetaster, first performed in 1601. Where the play might have been performed—The Globe? The Inns of Court? Privately?—remains unsolved. Lesser offers an explanation for the epistle’s sudden appearance that is persuasive in its simplicity: the publishers (Bonian and Walley) “changed their minds about the play,” and sought, by adding the epistle, to position the play within “a particular niche of the print marketplace” (Drama 1, 2). See also above, n39.
Despite initially minimizing the relevance of performance, however, the epistle does gesture toward theatrical modes of realization. Through some extended punning, the writer of the epistle envisions a situation in which “those grand censors” that denigrate plays and theatres would flock to them for the maine grace of their grauities: especially this authors Commedies that are so fram’d to the life that they serue for the most common Commentaries of all the actions of our liues, showing such a dexteritie and power of witte that the most displeased with Playes are pleas’d with his Commedies. (¶2r)

That Shakespeare’s “dexteritie and power of witte” are apprehensible in print is the epistle’s larger point, but references to groups of people flocking together to witness actors portraying “the actions of our liues” serve as reminders that playtexts hold the potential to be utilized and transformed by the various collaborative forces participating in the theatrical event—neither mode of producing the play exists in a complete vacuum, despite the epistle’s explicit claims to the contrary. Indeed, that the epistle’s writer has performance in mind when discussing Shakespeare’s greatness is evidenced in the next paragraph with a nod to “his representations” (¶2r). The epistle does not suggest that the playtext is an encoded or memorialized record of an exchange system between “author’s pen” and “actor’s voice,” but the affective possibilities of staged performance do nevertheless seem to bubble just below its surface.

In the latter portion of the epistle, text and performance are again figured as mutually exclusive, this time as the ignorance of playgoers is conflated with the cloying sensorial experience of the theatre: readers are asked to “[not] like this the lesse, for not being sullied with the smoaky breath of the multitude; but thanke fortune for the scape it hath made amongst you” (¶2v). Not surprisingly, I will seize on the deployment of “scape” here, which

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42 This binary appears in the Prologue to the play, which appears only in the Folio version of the text.
in the context of the epistle refers to an "(e)scape" into the relatively unpolluted medium of print, where readers can engage with Shakespeare's play in a purified form. The manner in which I am incorporating the term throughout this study allows "scape" to reverberate more extensively, in ways no doubt unintended by the epistle's writer, but that speak to the equivocal juxtapositioning of text and performance that permeates the epistle itself. The "scape" that the play makes, away from performance, into print and the hands of readers is made possible by the relative fixity of the printed page. The epistle stresses that this escape into print—into the realms of typography, bibliography, and the entrepreneurial rhetoric of publication—marks the printed play as fundamentally different than the play as performed, and this is certainly true; for one thing, the play in print can be surrounded by discourses and narratives that have no direct counterpart in performance. The very existence of the epistle attests to the ability of para-texts to frame playtexts in particular ways, a point that the epistle's writer is cognizant of, since he hints that the preface could have contained more ancillary material than it already does: "And had I time I would comment upon it, though I know it needs not" (¶2r). That the materiality of the page allows for the play to be reconfigured and interpreted in unique ways is also demonstrated in modern incarnations of the work, where editors of *Troilus* often produce a text that includes the epistle found only in the second issue of Q1, begin the play with the Prologue found only in the Folio, and mix Q and F readings throughout. But as we have seen, the attempt to describe the two modes of realizing a play as mutually exclusive is undermined by the fact that the epistle, in importing references to the effects of performance in its efforts to promote the printed play, cannot

David Bevington believes that the "first big task" facing the editor of *Troilus* "is to sort out the matter of precedence between quarto and Folio, since much will depend on that decision as to what to use as a copy text and, in individual instances, what words or phrases to adopt in preference to the alternative presented by the other text." He adds that a "major difficulty is that nearly all the many variants in *Troilus* are reversible" (177).
completely deny the interconnectedness of page and stage. To push even further, "the scape it hath made amongst you" might also be read as a general affirmation of a reader’s ability to synthesize playtexts and their para-texts and imaginatively engage with the absent play as performed. That is, the epistle (despite its claims to the contrary) relies on a reader’s understanding that performance can powerfully represent "the actions of our liues"; the epistle does not involve a performancescape in the sense of inviting its readers to produce a virtual rendition of a particular moment from Troilus, but its use of "scape" highlights the text’s connection to both printed and performed modes of representation. Such a doubled conception of "scape" highlights the readerly navigation of the gap between "the absent imaginary landscape represented in the written text and the material site of its performance by visible, audible actors in front of living audiences" (Weimann 180).

The Troilus epistle is thus representative of the issues at the heart of this chapter: the ways in which printed plays do and do not engage with their performance history, how they construct both reading and theatre audiences, and their traces (or lack thereof) of encoded performance potentialities; it is especially tantalizing in that no other Shakespearean text printed in his lifetime asks its readers to face such matters so directly. Works by playwrights such as Marlowe, Jonson, Webster, and the tandem of Beaumont and Fletcher are much more explicit in their para-textual attempts to fashion the reading of plays as an imaginative experience distinct from, yet somehow still related to, what could be apprehended in a theatre; accordingly, these other playwrights and their printed playtexts will receive the bulk of my attention. Not surprisingly, the disparate plays and para-textual materials that I survey transmit different and often contradictory messages to their readers. Such discordant transmissions can be attributed to an understanding that "author’s pen" and "actor’s voice," while indelibly linked, are nevertheless distinct—opinions diverge (then, as now) as to what
precisely the two modes share, as well as what, exactly, one mode can offer that the other
cannot. The arc that I trace in what follows, then, confirms that printed playtexts of the early
modern period are perhaps best understood as a burgeoning site of exchange between two
incongruent modes of dramatic production in the midst of learning to identify and understand
their relation to each other.

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In his recent investigation into English Renaissance drama’s connections to
knowledge production in the fields of geometry and the practical spatial arts, Henry Turner
remarks that due to certain bibliographic conventions—such as speech-prefixes, pagination,
lineation, act and scene divisions, and distinctions between verse and prose—“the book
makes the play thinkable in formal terms that are quite distinct from theatrical performance,
where a different set of conventions, meaningful units, and interpretive responses are
required” (18). Turner’s point is an important one: to print a play is to allow that play to
absorb certain bibliographic and typographic properties from print culture, and these
properties can be construed as misrepresentative of the play’s existence in the theatre. To
produce a book of a play is to produce a dramatic work that implicitly and explicitly encodes
its identity in the language of print production and the literary; for better or for worse, the
printed play lends itself to considerations of authorial origins and intentions, to
considerations of the work’s stability and reproducibility, and, as discussed in Chapter One, it
is the user who sets crucial terms of engagement with the printed play, starting and stopping
the reading process, proceeding in any number of directions, and juxtaposing otherwise
disparate passages. As important as Turner’s point is, however, it is imperative that the
inevitable distortions of the printed page are counterbalanced by another, equally important,
consideration: conventions of printed plays—the very conventions that perpetuate what
Worthen calls a “dominant . . . rhetoric of print” (*Print*) 7) and Kidnie refers to as a “dominat[ing] . . . ideology of print” (“*Where is Hamlet?’*” 101)—are fundamentally reliant on readers’ familiarity with how plays function on stage. In other words, while different interpretive responses are produced and required by printed and staged modes of production, these responses, while distinct, are not mutually exclusive; typographic representations or indicators of performance established themselves in the second half of the sixteenth century as theatres were institutionalized and writers and printers experimented with how printed drama could meaningfully distinguish itself from other genres. The typographic markers that ultimately proved most useful in conferring this distinction—lists of *dramatis personae*, speech-prefixes and stage directions clearly distinguished from spoken dialogue, act and scene divisions, and unique prefatory or other ancillary matter (that often utilized images and metaphors from the theatre)—were effective largely because they provided readers with the means to conceptualize the play as a performance. If the printed play inevitably directs the reader’s gaze away from the stage, away from the nuances of performance, it does so in a Janus-faced manner, glancing back toward the stage at the same time.

The now standard conventions of printed plays are brought into relief when one considers the appearance of dramatic texts before the emergence of the professional theatre. As Peters explains, late fifteenth- and early sixteenth century drama “not initially geared towards readers accustomed to seeing staged plays” could be “conceptually indistinguishable from other genres (often meant equally for reading or public recitation, but not necessarily meant for scenic representation with actors)” (21-2). Peters continues, pointing out that throughout Europe in the first half of the sixteenth century, dramatic *mise en page* looked much like the *mise en page* of other kinds of works; only in the later sixteenth century did it develop conventions that reflected the drama’s generic particularity. The majority of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century dramatic texts [cheaply printed saints’ plays, farces, and certain kinds of
dialogues] long continued to be nearly identical to other kinds of works... with no *dramatis personae*, no distinctive generic identification, no mention of performance, and (most telling) narrative description rather than stage directions or conventionalized speech-prefixes. (23)

Generally speaking, the narrative descriptions that muddle printed drama’s generic status and normalize its appearance become unnecessary as writers, printers, and readers slowly work out a system of encoding the relevant narrative and theatrical information in abbreviated forms. For instance, the lack of an established method of encoding and a concomitant reliance on narrative conventions are evident throughout the 1528 printing of *Everyman*; the title-page of the book of this play presents itself as “a treatyse... in maner / of a morall playe,” and roughly outlines the events to follow (see Figure 1). The prose description on the title-page is funnel-shaped, seemingly aimed at directing the reader’s eye toward the emblematic figures of Everyman and Death that dominate the lower two-thirds of the page; further, judging by the manner in which words on the title-page are broken—“heuen sendeth dethe to so- / mon euery creature”—it appears that the integrity of the funnel shape was of greater importance than the clarity of the message. A much longer, more detailed narrative summary, provided by a Messenger, begins the play in earnest: it ends, “Here shall you se how Felawshyp and Jolyte / Both Strengthe, Pleasure, and Beaute / Wyll fade from the as floure in Maye / For ye shall here how our heuen kynge / Calleth Everyman to a generall rekyenynge / Gyue audyence and here what he doth saye” (A2r). The emphasis on “giving audience” and on seeing and hearing—imperatives originally aimed at an audience present at a performance or other form of oral presentation—are made conspicuous as soon as they are translated to print, becoming an implicit reminder to readers of the relative deficiency of

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44 Peters remarks that “letters on the page in the earliest printed plays (as in other kinds of books during the period) tend to follow large-scale visual patterns, responding to decorative sensibilities rather than serving ease of reading. Words are often broken randomly to fit visual-spatial designs” (17).
sensory stimulation that will mark their engagement with the drama. One might be tempted to conjecture that the translation of the Messenger’s speech to print implies a spurring of
imagined approximations of performance on the part of readers—they should read with the aim of “giving audience” in their mind’s eye; this is possible, but the remainder of the printed version of the play, because it is so rooted in narrative and scribal customs, does little to enable the ability of readers to attempt such approximations to any great effect. Where the title-page of *Everyman* utilizes the white space of the page for stylistic purposes, the printed text itself rarely uses white space to distinguish the drama as drama. Changes in speakers are indicated by paragraph markers that function in unison with marginal speech prefixes running down the right-hand side of recto pages and the left-hand side of verso pages; such a strategy becomes rather awkward on recto pages, as the eye must either read the dialogue from left to right and then associate the speech with a particular speaker, or, the eye must move to the right margin of the page to learn who is speaking before it moves to the left margin to begin reading the speech in question. Following the Messenger’s narrative summary, there immediately follows a centred direction, “God speketh” as well as a marginal speech prefix, “God”; this redundancy supports Peters claim that “creators of the earliest printed playtexts felt required to explain that a character was about to speak . . . rather than (as in texts to which we are accustomed) simply offering an abbreviated version of the name of the character, typographically differentiated from the actual speech” (23), although this “speketh” direction is not used consistently throughout *Everyman*. Early in the printed text there are centred directions that identify Death and Everyman and essentially mark their entrances, but after “Felawshyp speketh” (B1r), neither centred directions nor the “speketh” direction are used again—the other emblematic figures that pervade the drama simply appear unannounced on the printed page and start talking. The book’s colophon reasserts the work as being a “morall playe,” but cumulatively, the typographic features of the book significantly problematize this identification for its readers. With little white space and
marginally-differentiated speeches in relentless black letter providing the illusion of one long, interrupted narrative, the book of Everyman looks unlike many popular plays printed later in the century.

I am using Everyman to sketch the pertinent background in broad strokes, though highlighting what appears to modern eyes as its inconsistent or incomplete representation of itself as a printed version of a work intended for performance is not the same as arguing that the interpretive responses produced by page and stage must be understood to function antagonistically or parasitically. It is more appropriate to think in terms of printed and performed modes of realization informing one another in dynamic ways, of “the unsettled state of the ménage of ‘author’s pen’ and ‘actor’s voice’ [as] inseparable from both the unstable condition of the text itself and the dispersed modes of performance practice” (Weimann 9), or, in Douglas Brooks’s words, to consider that “various networks of engagement . . . both enabled and inhibited the materialization of plays as they passed from the stage to the page” (2). The first printed octavo edition of Gorboduc (O1, 1565) serves as a revealing example of the complexity of these “networks of engagement” as they existed near the mid-point of the sixteenth century as well as their impact on the dramatic mise en page.45 The title-page of the “Tragedie” crams information above and below the printer’s centred emblem: the portion above the emblem establishes the relationship of the printed version of the play to the play as performed, while the details below the emblem pertain to

45 Gorboduc has long been singled out as a watershed work in the history of English drama. Greg Walker, for instance, identifies it as “the earliest extant five-act verse tragedy in English, the earliest attempt to imitate Senecan tragic form in English, the earliest surviving English drama in blank verse, and the earliest English play to adopt the use of dumb-shows preceding each act,” claiming that “it offers itself as a point of departure for much of the Renaissance dramatic experimentation of the following decades” (201). Notably, O1 appears to have been unauthorized. A second edition of the play (O2) that includes a large number of substantive changes was printed in 1570; O2 also includes a note from the printer, John Day, which questions the legitimacy of the earlier text. For useful discussions of the relationship between the two editions, see James and Walker, and Brooks 24-40.
the play's publishing history—its journey through the print shop and subsequent emergence into the book trade. Brooks comments on the significance of this presentation: "the 'disjuncture' of printers and playwrights is represented here spatially as a kind of balance of power by the emblem that separates the two activities that have converged to make the printed dramatic text possible. Nearly all extant dramas printed subsequently would follow this format on their title pages" (27). The title-page thus spatially distinguishes between print and performance, but suggests that the printed book of the play serves to bridge the gap between the two modes—a point reinforced by the mediating position of the printer's emblem. Both methods of realizing the play are acknowledged in some detail: the play occurred at a specific time and place—"in her hignes / court of Whitehall, the xvij day of January, / Anno Domini. 1561. By the Gentlemen / of Thynner Temple in London"—and now, since being "IMPRYNTED AT LONDON / in Fletestrete, at the Signe of the / Faucon by William Griffith" it exists in a more widely-disseminated form; significantly however, the printed version locates its authority in its fidelity to the original performance: "Sett forthe as the same was shewed before the / QVENES most excellent Maiestie.” Print and performance are linked, with the former implicitly figured as somehow able to record or recapture the latter.

The remainder of the Gorboduc octavo displays several salient features that enable us to measure the play's distance from earlier printed works like Everyman. Following the title-page is a summary of the "argument of the Tragedie" situated opposite a comprehensive list of "The names of the Speakers" (see Figure 2). These para(llel)-texts look both backward and forward along the developmental lineage of printed plays: the detailed argument signals
a lingering reliance on narrative traditions, while the list of speakers foreshadows the ways in which emergent printing conventions will eventually come to make narrative foregrounding and summary unnecessary. That is, the information abbreviated in the list of speakers renders the narrative substance of the “argument of the Tragedie” somewhat redundant: “The names of the Speakers,” in addition to informing readers of key familial and political connections in the play, also hints at developments in the play’s action. The list lays out the major players: Gorboduc is “kynge of great Brittane,” Videna is “Queene and wife to kyng Gorboduc,” Ferrex and Porrex are his “elder” and “yonger” sons, and so on; in addition, the list of *dramatis personae* foreshadows significant happenings in the plot: Dordan and
Philander—counsellors to Ferrex and Porrex respectively—are parenthetically identified as "Both beynge of the olde kynges Counsell before"; Nuntius is described as "A Messenger of the [e]lder Brothers deth"; and a second envoy (also named Nuntius) is "A Messenger of Duke Fergus rysynge in Armes." Certain emblematic characterizations are also communicated: Hermon is "A Parasyte remaynyng with Ferrex," and Tyndar is likewise "A Parasyte" clinging to Porrex. Readers proceeding to the playtext from this list of speakers thus carry with them a proleptic awareness that informs and shapes their engagement with the play; crucially, this awareness of things to come marks the potential interpretive responses to the printed play as distinct from the play in performance, while at the same time infuses the act of reading with information intimately connected to the play as originally performed. For readers, the knowledge that Ferrex will eventually be killed might colour some of his lines—such as his early boast that "My brothers pride shall hurt him selfe, not mee" (A4)—with shades of irony that were perhaps unavailable or not evident to an audience who presumably had no access to a printed dramatis personae; further, a reader’s understanding of the parasitical natures of Hermon and Tyndar allows for a richer understanding of how these characters might have been played—information explicitly communicated through the actors’ bodies and intonations, while not available to readers in the same way as it is for an audience, is nevertheless transformed and retransmitted, encouraging users of the book of the play to imagine characters in ways that will approximate their representations in performance.46

When it comes to the printed playtext of O1 Gorboduc, distinctions between speeches and speakers have become clearer, relative to what was exemplified in Everyman. There are

46 Gary Taylor argues that certain forms of "identification tables" (a broad term that includes lists of dramatis personae) are aimed directly at readers, and "impinge upon the reading of the play text." These paratexts "inevitably summarize or characterize the play, affecting our assumptions about its fictional persons, and unlike other paratext [sic] they are often consulted or cross-referenced during reading, potentially interposing themselves at any point in the text" ("Order of Persons" 54).
no paragraph markers in the playtext (although the markers do linger in other places, preceding the opening argument as well as in the summaries of the dumb-shows), and there are no marginal speech prefixes; instead, speech prefixes are centred, resulting in a more generous allotment of white space on the page. Even so, in part because it is printed in black letter, and because *Gorboduc*, devoid of stage action, contains so many lengthy, moralistic speeches, some pages look very similar to *Everyman*—white space that is so conspicuous during exchanges of dialogue vanishes when characters wax moralistic and politic for pages at a time. In addition to the varying amounts of white space that by turns differentiates the printed drama as a distinct genre and confuses it with other narrative forms, there is another element that further complicates the intersections of text and performance in the first printed version of *Gorboduc*. Emblematic dumb shows introducing the play’s thematic concerns precede each act, which the printed version of the play, true to its titular claim to “Sett forthe” the play as it “was shewed,” describes in no small detail. The possibilities for typographically representing the performance of these dumb shows, however, are limited, since with no dialogue to record, the printed text is essentially rendered mute; it goes without saying that the text’s primary compensatory means of representing the dumb shows in print is to describe them, and these descriptions—indeed, the inevitability of them—crystallize the inherent differences between reading and seeing. The descriptions of the dumb shows, aimed at facilitating a reader’s awareness of the play in performance, paradoxically assert the very differences between page and stage that are ostensibly being minimized. As the printed play attempts to represent the figures and actions involved in the dumb shows, its only recourse is to more detailed forms of narrative, exemplified in its treatment of the first dumb show:

*Firste the Musicke of Violenze began to playe, durynge whiche came in uppon the Stage sixe wilde men cloathed in leaues. Of whom the first bare in his necke a fogot of smal stickes, which thei all both seuerallie and togither*
assaied with all their strengthes to breake, but it could not be broken by them. At the length one of them plucked out one of the stickes and brake it: And the rest pluckinge oute all the other stickes one after an other did easelie breake, the same beyng seuered: which beyng conjoyned they had before attempted in vayne. After they had this done, they departed the Stage, and the Musicke ceased.47

In its ekphrastic digression, in trying to make readers "see" and understand the action of the dumb show—to make its significations in performance present and available for readers—the book of the play must amplify the conspicuousness of its own textuality. Crucially, though, this heightening of the fundamental split between text and performance does not necessarily undermine the reader's ability to imaginatively negotiate the distance between the dumb shows as described in print and the dumb shows as performed; the descriptions of the dumb shows are sufficiently detailed to facilitate a rough mental version of what they might have looked like (and to some degree, even sounded like). That this imagined version might be understood as impoverished relative to the sensory richness of performance does not undo its potency or importance for readers. As subsequent portions of this chapter will suggest, encouraging readers to think of reading plays as a kind of performance while also reminding them that reading is fundamentally unlike seeing a play becomes a distinguishing feature of para-texts towards the end of the sixteenth century. Further, it is important to note that these kinds of descriptive excursions continue to pervade what we think of as modern editions of plays, although they are located in different, predominantly marginalized spaces on the page or within the book. Reliance on descriptions and narratives can also be located in those streams of performance criticism that proceed from a belief that textualizing a performance

47 Eric Rasmussen finds the dumb shows' use of the past tense unusual: "Seventy-one English Renaissance plays include dumb shows, the overwhelming majority of which are either in the present or future tense" (417). He goes on to build a short but convincing case that the dumb shows were not a part of the manuscripts used as copy for either of the first two printed editions of the play (1565 and 1570); he concludes that the dumb shows "are memorial reconstructions—not directions for a performance, and as such, quite naturally, in the past tense" (418).
can make that performance meaningfully present for readers, and more importantly, open up that perpetually-absent but imaginatively-and-memorially-recaptured performance for critical analysis.\footnote{See Chapter Two, pages 14-22.} This is precisely what the descriptions of the dumb shows attempt to do for the readers of O1 \textit{Gorboduc}, concluding as they do with what are in effect instances of performance criticism that carefully circumscribe the dumb shows’ meanings; the first description ends as follows:

Hereby was signified, that a state knit in vnytie doth continue stronge against all force. But beyng deuyded, is easely destroied. As befell vpon Duke \textit{Gorboduc} deuidinge his Lande to his two sonnes which he before held in Monarchic. And vpon the discention of the Brethrene to whome it was deuided.

In this way, the conspicuous deficiencies in attempting to “Sett forthe” in print the play as it “was shewed” are partially recuperated as the ineluctable textuality of the book of the play becomes a means of representational potency and a vehicle for interpretive insight. The printed play’s unavoidable recourse to mere words upon words when accounting for performance is at once its most glaring weakness and its greatest strength, yielding unique readerly information to compensate for performative data that remains both irrecoverable and of a different order.

Of course, since \textit{Gorboduc} was designed for private performance during the Christmas and New Year revels of 1561-2 (first at the Inner Temple, and then later before the Queen at Whitehall), few potential readers would likely have been familiar with the play as performed. With the rise of the public theatres towards the end of the sixteenth century, however, those purchasing printed plays might very likely possess memories of specific performances, leading to the interconnectedness of textual and performed modes of dramatic production gaining further layers of complexity. Peters suggests that “By the later sixteenth
century . . . [printing] conventions had begun to harden” and “printers seem to have come to rely on a readership familiar with both the theatre and the typographic conventions of the drama” (24). Indeed, as Mark Bland has argued, it seems probable “that the opening of the Rose Theatre in 1587 and subsequently the Swan implicitly brought with them a greater potential demand for printed playbooks, both as literature and as records of performance” (“Appearance” 106).

Few plays at the Rose were evidently as memorable as Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine*, which was first performed in 1587 and frequently revived during the 1590s; the play’s popularity with readers mirrors its success on the stage: after its initial publication in a black-letter octavo in 1590, the play was reprinted (in various forms) in 1593, 1597, and 1605-6, an impressive feat, considering Blayney’s calculation that “fewer than 21 percent of the plays published [between 1583 and 1642] reached a second edition inside nine years” (389). On stage and in print, Marlowe’s Tamburlaine was a revelation, a commanding presence possessing a seemingly limitless rhetorical power unique to English drama; the character’s potential for provoking wonder in both mediums was recognized by O1’s printer and publisher, Richard Jones. Jones’s epistle “To the Gentleman Readers” is a concise, though calculated effort to straddle page and stage, positing the printed *Tamburlaine* as able to retain the vitality so essential to the play’s success at the Rose, while also explicitly distinguishing the play as printed from the play as performed. The epistle is regularly touted as being instrumental in assigning drama a literary authority that it had previously lacked, thus helping to create a rift between page and stage that would only become more pronounced in the seventeenth century. Kirk Melnikoff has recently challenged this claim, believing that Jones

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49 For stage and textual histories, see Dawson, *Tamburlaine* xxviii-xliv. Part One could be performed on its own or in combination with Part Two (usually on successive days).
was not a “literary pioneer,” but was instead “very likely fashioning his Tamburlaine for the established print market of collected poetry and chivalric literature—a market that he had done much to shape” (209). Melnikoff’s contextualization of Tamburlaine within Jones’s larger printing career provides an important corrective for how to read the epistle, but it likely goes too far in discounting Jones’s campaign to position the printed play in relation to how its potential readers might have remembered it in performance. Melnikoff argues that “Jones was neither selling Tamburlaine as dramatic literature nor elevating the page over the stage” (209); I would agree with the latter portion of this statement, and while Jones might not be attempting to put forth the play as “dramatic literature,” he does, in my mind, fashion the reading of Tamburlaine as an experience that, while distinct from the play’s theatrical existence, is fundamentally linked to it.

Jones’s target market for “the two tragical Discourses of the Scythian Shepherd” is comprised of those familiar with the play in performance: “My hope is that they wil be now no lesse acceptable vnto you to read after your serious affaires and studies, then they haue bene (lately) delightfull for many of you to see, when the same were shewed in London vpon stages” (A2r). In tapping into the memories of Tamburlaine’s popularity in performance, Jones claims to be putting forth a play that is both like and unlike the one theatre audiences have come to know. In one sense, what is being presented is “the same” as what was “shewed” to London’s theatregoers; at the same time, however, Jones is candid about the fact that the printed play represents a distinct mode of representation, one that he has deliberately altered in order to distinguish from its performed iterations:

I haue (purposely) omitted and left out some fond and friuolous Iestures, digressing (and in my poore opinion) far vnmeet for the matter, which I thought, might seeme more tedious vnto the wise, than any way els to be regarded, though (happly) they haue bene of some vaine co[n]ceited fondlings
greatly gaped at, what times they were shewed upon the stage in their graced deformities. (A2r)

Significantly, then, Jones’s epistle is an admission of editorial activity: he is presenting a text he claims to have improved over the version of the play that was performed on stage. Melnikoff has demonstrated that this kind of textual manipulation is something Jones—“anything but a passive publisher”—did quite a lot of: “He compiled his own collections of poems and prose, changed and created many of his works’ titles, and for a publisher wrote an almost unsurpassed amount of prefatory material, material in which he was uniquely forthright about his own critical judgment” (208). What, if anything, Jones excised from Tamburlaine cannot be determined; it is equally unclear whether the “fond and frivulous jestures” in question were authorial in nature or the result of actors’ interpolations that were absorbed into a theatrical document informing Jones’s copy-text. Whatever the case, the reality or actual content of the deleted portions seem less important than Jones’s claim itself: he is constructing a particular text for his clientele—a streamlined version designed for discerning readers, one apparently devoid of the clownish elements that “to be mixtured in print with such matter of worth, it wuld prooue a great disgrace to so honorable & stately a historie . . .” (A2r-A2v).

The play can be read, offers Jones, after one’s “serious affairs and studies,” and he is confident that the play in print will be no less “delightfull” than it was “in London vpon stages” (A2r). That Jones draws on Tamburlaine’s success in the theatre suggests his treatment of stage and page is not strictly hierarchical: performed and textual modes can both give pleasure, but the respective pleasures—while connected—are different, and they are produced by different means. Theatregoers are fashioned as a relatively more passive

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50 “jestures” is often modernized to “gestures,” but the original form seems to keep both “gesture” and “jesting” in play.
audience: they merely “see” the play rather than subject it to “serious” scrutiny; the “co[n]ceited fondlings” amongst them “greatly gape” at the “fond and friouloous lestures,” an image that figures certain portions of the audience as empty receptacles, inertly consuming whatever is presented to them. Conversely, Jones references readers’ “wisdomes” and appeals to their “learned censures,” implying that it will take some interpretive labour to delight in the play in its printed form. One cannot discount the entrepreneurial puffery that Jones is espousing in all of this, flattering potential customers into buying his product, but it must also be said that the epistle prefaces a play exceptionally suited to pronouncements of bold, unique ways of affecting audiences. The Prologue to the first part of Tamburlaine, recognized by one editor as a kind of “challenge, almost a manifesto (Dawson xi),” echoes Jones’s epistle in championing the play as a “matter of worth” by accentuating its distinctive, elevated language:

From iygging vaines of riming mother wits,
And such conceits as clownage keepes in pay,
Weele lead you to the stately tent of War,
Where you shall heare the Scythian Tamburlaine:
Threatning the world with high astoimding tearmes
And scourging kingdoms with his co[n]quering sword.
View but his picture in this tragicke glasse,
And then applaud his fortunes as you please. (1-8)

Similar to Jones’s epistle, Marlowe’s Prologue explicitly brings certain performance conventions to mind only to undermine their currency and deny their appropriateness, yet does so while nevertheless embracing the potential wonders and delights of staged spectacle (“View but his picture . . . / And then applaud his fortunes as you please”). Spoken at the Rose, the Prologue anticipates the theatrical effectiveness of Marlowe’s creation and locates the authority for that effectiveness in the playwright’s attempts to create a “textually determined purpose of playing,” a “verbal picture of an imaginary world” (Weimann 56, 57).
When published and read, the Prologue resonates differently, now recalling Tamburlaine’s spectacular presence and inviting readers to experience his “high astounding tearmes” in a printed form.¹¹

Jones’s epistle ultimately seeks to define Tamburlaine’s readers (and those readers’ interpretive skills) in relation to theatre audiences and the power of the play in performance. Such a strategy becomes more commonplace in the early seventeenth century, and it comes to be articulated most explicitly and forcefully not by publishers but by playwrights involved in seeing their works into print. While playwrights contributing prefatory material to their printed works are engaging with potential readers, like Jones’s para-text, these engagements often remain linked to the play’s life in the theatre, identifying readers by contrasting their position with “the social institution of the theater, the physical space and the people who inhabited it” (Farmer and Lesser 92). In certain instances, the link between text and performance was maintained precisely because a playwright sought to deny or diminish it, championing the legitimacy and potential appeal of a printed work by denigrating theatre audiences who had failed to respond to it properly. John Webster is one such playwright whose printed plays maintain a complicated—even paradoxical—relation to performance.⁵²

The title-page to the first quarto printing of The Duchess of Malfi (1623), for example, proclaims the book of the play to be “As it was Presented priuately, at the Blackfriers; and publiquely at the Globe, By the Kinges Maiesties Servuants,” but does not stop there, adding that the book is “The perfect and exact Coppie, with diuerse things Printed, that the length of

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¹¹ Bruce Smith’s remarks on the title-page to Q1 King Lear are applicable here: “The printed script offers itself as a mnemonic device for purchasers who may have actually seen and heard the play in performance... The words on the page become a way of returning, in memory, to that experience” (33).

the Play would not beare in the Presentment.” This would have it both ways: the text that follows is the play as it was presented on stage; the text that follows is the play that, because of “diverse things Printed,” has technically never been performed. What constitutes the Duchess of Malfi? The title-page suggests that the play is what Webster conceived and wrote (some of which was not performed), what private and public audiences were presented with (some of which was not written by Webster, as evidenced by his marginal note next to the song in 3.4, “The Author disclaimes this Ditty to be his” (H2r)), and also what the reader now holds in hand—it was all of these things and somehow more, the sum of the play being greater than its constituent manifestations.

Webster’s first solo playwrighting effort was, by his own admission, a failure. In an address “To the Reader” of the first quarto of The White Devil (1612), Webster initiates the play’s life in print by coming to terms with its death on stage:

In publishing this Tragedy, I do but challenge to my selfe that liberty, which other men haue tane before mee; not that I affect praise by it, . . . onely since it was acted in so dull a time of Winter, presented in so open and blacke a Theater, that it wanted (that which is the onely grace and setting out of a Tragedy) a full and understanding Auditory: and that since that time I haue noted, most of the people that come to the Play-house resemble those ignorant asses (who visiting Stationers shoppes their vse is not to inquire for good booke, but new bookees) . . . (A2r)

The rancour in Webster’s epistle is undeniable, his intense bitterness produced not just by the play’s short run at The Red Bull, but also by the fact that the play’s sudden and absolute failure was so cruelly disproportionate to his own labours: “I was a long time in finishing this Tragedy” (A2v). Webster describes the play’s utter lack of success in language of exposure, focusing on inauspicious elements both natural and human. The play, he claims, “was acted

53 The title-page to Barnabe Barnes’s The Devil’s Charter (1607) makes a similar, paradoxical claim, presenting a work “as it was plaide before the Kings Maiestie, upon Candlemasse night laste: by his Majesties Servants. But more exactly reviewed, corrected, and augmented since by the Author, for the more pleasure and profit of the Reader.”
in so dull a time of Winter, presented in so open and blacke a Theater, that it wanted . . . a full and vnderstanding Auditory." This suggests that harsh, gloomy weather prevented or discouraged individuals from making their way to the theatre (or perhaps from staying for the length of the performance); to push this claim further, Webster might also be suggesting that the unforgiving weather interfered with the ability of those who braved the open air to fully hear or even see what was being performed. What Webster does make clear is that those who made up the audience didn’t much like or comprehend what they saw: they were not “vnderstanding,” they were “ignorant asses,” they were “vncapable” (A2v). His formulation of the play’s original playing space and audience is put forth to support his belief that his work was thoroughly muddled by a distracting and distracted theatre.

Webster presses on, providing one final blast against those who so completely failed to appreciate his work: even “should a man present to such an Auditory the most Sententious Tragedy that euer was written,” he rails, “the breath that comes fro[m] the vncapable multitude is able to poison it” (A2r, A2v). Such a statement formulates the theatre as a space of extreme sensory stimulation; in addition to foul weather, the noxious air steaming from the audience—the symbolic product of their lack of refinement and interpretive shortcomings—can engulf the stage, contaminating performance. Cumulatively, these images of exposure and contamination in Webster’s epistle call forth an imagined scape of a theatre tainted by forces beyond its control, which is implicitly juxtaposed against the inherent stability and ostensible unambiguity of the scape of the page. Relative to the sounds, smells, and general confusion of the “open” theatre, the clarity and stasis of the printed play become interpretive.

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54 Webster’s contempt recalls lines spoken by Planet, a character from John Marston’s *Jack Drum’s Entertainment*, who comments that—quite unlike those in public venues—audiences at Paul’s indoor theatre “shall not be choakte / With the stenche of Garlick, nor be pasted / To the barmy jacket of a Beer-brewer” (H3v). It also echoes the epistle to the second issue of Q1 *Troilus*; see above, pages 67-8.
catalysts, textual properties that allow for Webster’s work to be experienced in a more controlled and productive way. The epistle concludes with Webster explicitly stating the terms and contexts in which he wants his printed work to be received. He refers readers to

*that full and hightened stile of Maister Chapman, the labor’d and understanding workes of Maister Johnson, the no lesse worthy composures of the both worthily excellent Maister Beamont & Maister Fletcher, and lastly (without wrong last to be named) the right happy and copious industry of M. Shake-speare, M. Decker, & M. Heywood,*

adding that, in printing his play, he is “wishing what I write may be read by their light.” To situate his works in relation to these other writers and to ask readers to do the same is to embrace the qualities of printed playtexts that make such comparisons and juxtapositions possible. Again, Webster’s understanding of his printed play can only be gleaned tangentially, but against the ephemerality of the performed play, the epistle—with its brief foray into performance history, Latin quotations, and references to successful playwrights—adumbrates a book that is present and permanent in ways that a production at The Red Bull could never be. The epistle’s final statement (taken from Martial), is, quite fittingly, an assertion of immutability: “non nurunt, haec monumenta mori”—“these monuments know not death.” Despite his resentment over the play’s failure and his championing of its merits in print, however, Webster is not invested in entirely discounting the potential of theatrical representation; in a footnote at the end of the playtext, he makes a point of praising those who originally performed his play:

> For the action of the play, twas generally well, and I dare affirme, with the joint testimony of some of their owne quality, (for the true imitation of life, without struing to make nature a monster) the best that euer became them; whereof as I make a generall acknowledgement, so in particular I must remember the well approued industry of my freind *Maister Perkins,* and
confesse the worth of his action did Crowne both the beginning and end. (M2v)\(^{55}\)

Such a conspicuous addendum subtly reasserts his claim in the prefatory epistle that the original audience was to blame for the play’s failure. Webster thus frames the book of *The White Devil* with efforts to differentiate textual and performative modes, sandwiching his playtext between recollections of the limitations—“so open and blacke a Theater”—and potency—“the true imitation of life”—of the playtext’s incarnation on stage.

This differentiation also takes place between Webster’s para-textual frames in that the play is printed continuously, a compositional technique whereby “verse lines broken between two speakers are set on one line to create a full metrical unit” (Lesser, *Drama* 66). The term “continuous printing” was first used by Greg, who included under its umbrella instances where “each new speech, instead of (as is usual) beginning a fresh line of print, follows on from the last, with the speaker’s name (or prefix) within the line” (*Bibliography I*: xviii). Since Greg’s definition would thus include compositorial efforts to save space and paper, Lesser restricts his own use of the term to instances where continuous printing “is clearly used to create a full verse line” (*Drama* 66 n23). Lesser’s refinement is significant: split verse lines could be set on a single line when a compositor or printer was intent on cutting the not insignificant costs of paper, or when the manuscript copy had been inaccurately cast off and a compositor had to cram lines together, but plays systematically featuring continuous printing appear motivated by aesthetic, rather than economic concerns. Such a stylistic choice was meant to present the printed playtext in a conspicuously literate form and

\(^{55}\) Webster doesn’t specify which part (Richard) Perkins played, writing only that “the worth of his action did Crowne both the beginning and end.” The general assumption is that Perkins played Flamino, but if Webster intended to be taken literally, it is Lodovico who begins and ends the action of the play. The Q1 (1623) and Q2 (1631) texts of *The Duchess of Malfi* also recognize performance in a unique way, including a listing for “The Actors Names” that uses roman numerals to distinguish between two different sets of actors who played the parts of Ferdinand, the Cardinal, and Antonio.
distance the book of the play from its theatrical heritage. Plays printed continuously were
literary objects, with the space of the page manipulated so as to distinguish the reading of
works like *The White Devil* from the experience of reading other, non-continuously printed
plays. Lesser argues that the process was

a means of creating a group of select plays. And while not obvious to the
buyer, a reader would surely have remarked it, since the change of speaker in
mid-line can be jarring until it becomes familiar. Once bought and read, then,
continuous printing, marking the play as literary, may have added cultural
capital to the play, making it more valuable to its owner, and therefore more
desirable for others. (*Drama* 70)

The implementation of such a strategy bespeaks an awareness of the interpretative and
affective ramifications that can be produced by altering the *scape* of the page. The fact that
this reversion to a more condensed appearance functioned as a sign of a “literary” play,
distinct from other plays in the bookshop, is indicative of just how well established it had
become to utilize white space in printed plays to distinguish between speakers and speeches.
Continuous printing would not have conferred any literary valence or other “cultural capital”
if non-continuous printing were not the predominant way of producing and reading a play.
Further, the deliberate minimization of white space implies that the book of the play is a
discrete arena for producing the work, a mode of production that can be differentiated from
performed modes by altering the way in which information is presented to readers—in this
case, increasing the textual density of lines on the page. If, as Worthen argues, we as modern
readers “now expect plays to deploy the (white) space of the page to register the drama’s
theatrical identity, to insert a sense of the temporality of the playing into the readerly text of
the play” (*Print* 77), the nascent forms of this position in the early seventeenth century would

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56 Lesser also finds a correlation between plays printed continuously and certain para-textual markers: these
plays are more likely to contain Latin on their title pages and/or “some indication of the author’s elevated social
status” (*Drama* 67, and see also Lesser’s table on pages 68-9).
have been undermined by continuously printed plays like *The White Devil*, which were designed to de-emphasize substantive linkages between viewing and reading experiences.

In setting broken verse lines as unified, full lines, continuous printing infuses the page with a textual logic that impels readers to consider verse exchanges between characters as mutually constitutive and synergetic; in performance, verse exchanges might not necessarily resonate in the same way. Continuous printing, then, along with other typographic features like act and scene divisions, contribute to what Turner refers to as the “conceptual unity” of the printed play; Turner continues:

> Redistributed across the page in deliberately segmented units of action, the newly unified ‘work’ makes possible a completely different sense of space from that which predominates on the stage: it allows the reader to project across the play in its entirety a homogeneous, unbroken, ‘containing’ space that is imagined to link or underlie the various ‘places’ of the fiction, whether these be onstage or off, ‘within’ or ‘without’. (180)

In addition to encouraging readers to conceive of the work in a comprehensive manner, the printed play often asks its readers to negotiate this unified space in specific ways, reminding them that they as readers are actively involved in utilizing the stability of the page to make meaning(s). Some para-texts concede that transferring a play from manuscript to print introduces errors into the text, but the corollary of this concession is that the interpretive burden is shifted toward readers, affording them more responsibility in correcting mistakes. In a post-script to the epistle prefacing the corrected version of his *Parasitaster, or The Fawn* (Q2, 1606), for instance, John Marston remarks that “Reader, know I have perused this coppye, to make some satisfaction for the first faulty impression: yet so urgent hath been my business, that some errors have styll passed, which thy discretion may amend” (A2v). In a similar vein, readers of the 1634 edition of *Philaster* are lauded as the play’s “skilfull Triers and Refiners,” with the actors rather casually dismissed as nothing more than “laboring
Miners” (A2v). The final page of Thomas Dekker’s account of James’s coronation pageant, *The Magnificent Entertainment* (1604), contains a note “To the Reader,” which instructs that “Some errours wander vp and downe in these sheetes, vnder the Printers warrant: which notwithstanding may by thy Authoritie be brought in, and receiue their due Correction” (I4r).

While these examples seem to draw a distinction between page and stage—indeed, Marston’s post-script adds that “Comedies are writ to be spoken, not read: Remember the life of these things consists in action”—other plays deliberately conflate the acts of textual production and reception with performance and theatrical activity. Francis Beaumont, in a commendatory poem to John Fletcher’s *The Faithful Shepherdess*, refers to the printing of the play as “a second publication” (t3v), with the first being an apparently short run in the theatre (due to the audiences’ confusion as to what they should expect from Fletcher “pastorall Tragie-Comedie” (t2v)). An errata sheet precedes the playtext of Dekker’s *Satiromastix* (1602), to which the playwright appends this message: “In steed of the Trumpets sounding thrice, before the Play begin: it shall not be amisse (for him that will read) first to beholde this short Comedy of Errors, and where the greatest enter, to give them in steed of a hisse, a gentle correction” (A4v). Peters helps to elucidate instructions such as Dekker’s, which “theatricalise the convention [of readers acting as correctors] in order to stress the active role of the reader, present to the reading, which becomes an alternative kind of performance” (133). Other references to readerly participation conflate reading and performing even more explicitly. John Ford lauds Philip Massinger’s *The Roman Actor* (1629), claiming that although the characters and plot were known to audiences before Massinger’s play, they

... meerly were related
Without a Soule, Vntill thy abler Pen
Spoke them, and made them speake, nay Act agen
In such a height, that Heere to know their Deeds
Hee may become an Actor that but Reades. (A4v)

Where Ford transforms Massinger’s readers into actors (and it is not clear if Ford means that readers “become” the classical figures represented in the play, the stage performers, or both of these at once), George Chapman champions Ben Jonson’s *Sejanus* (1605) as

*Performing such a liuely Evidenece*
*in thy Narrations, that thy Hearers still*
*Thou turnst to thy Spectators; and the sense*
*That thy Spectators haue of good or ill,*
*Thou inject 'st jointly to thy Readers soules.* (¶4v)

One assumes that Jonson, who acknowledges that the “voluntary Labours of my Friends, prefixt to my Booke, haue releiued me in much, whereat (without them) I should Necessarilie haue touched” (¶2r), approved of Chapman’s appraisal that reading *Sejanus* constitutes a unique form of spectatorship, especially since, toward the end of his epistle “To the Readers,” the playwright is determined to excise any memorial remnants of *Sejanus*’s performance history. “I would informe you,” writes Jonson, “that this Booke, in all numbers, is not the same with that which was acted on the publike Stage, wherein a second Pen had good share: in place of which I haue rather chosen to put weaker (and no doubt lesse pleasing) of mine own, then to defraud so happy a Genius of his right, by my lothed vsurpation” (¶2v). Unlike playtexts that claim to recapture or contain a play’s collaborative processes, Jonson’s “Booke” of *Sejanus* seeks to deny the validity of the play in performance coming to bear on a reader’s interpretive and imaginative activity. The play as it existed on the “publike Stage” represents a different version of the work, a memory that Jonson is seemingly content to let fade. In deliberately reshaping the text of the play and customizing an explicitly literary epistle, Jonson ensures that, in Orgel’s words, “the drama of *Sejanus* no longer requires the mediation of an acting company for its realization. The play is now a
transaction between the author and the individual reader, and the only performance takes place in the reader’s imagination” (*Imagining 2*). Orgel is striking at the heart of the matter, but his formulation, while accurate, raises a larger question: given Jonson’s ongoing project of shifting authority from the unruly ways of the theatre to his printed texts, what kind of performance are his readers being asked to imagine?

The short answer is that there isn’t just one answer: *Sejanus* represents a moving target in that the extant printed versions of the play appear driven by different objectives. The quarto edition of the play, in addition to being printed continuously (a stylistic reinforcement of Jonson’s literary pretensions), is bordered by relentless marginalia that reference Jonson’s Latin sources. The marginalia provide another layer of literary gloss to the playtext, but they are likely also a by-product of two things: the play’s lack of success in the theatre and the potential parallels that could be drawn between *Sejanus*’s conspiratorial themes and the contemporary political scene. Jonson claims that he has included the notes “onely . . . to shew my integrity in the *Story*, and save my selfe in those common Torturers, that bring all wit to the Rack” (f 2v), but, having already been questioned by the Privy Council after a performance of the play in 1603, he would have had good reason to ensure that his subject matter was not “misconstrued” once disseminated in print; alternatively, if Jonson did intend for *Sejanus* to be subversive, the notes serve as an effective material alibi. Either way, it is first the malleability and then the relative fixity of the printed page that allow him the opportunity to dampen the potential of unintended and/or dangerous readings. Jonson supplies the abbreviated author’s names, titles and page numbers of his Roman sources to shape and control the tangential moves that can be made away from the playtext; by (literally) framing his pages with information of his choosing, Jonson suppresses the possibility of contemporary allusions being made as he entrenches a reader’s engagement.
with the play in classical precedents and texts. The notes that border the quarto text of *Sejanus* are designed to create more of a literate conversation between playwright and reader than to cultivate an imagined performance: as Jonson admits, “Whereas, they are in *Latine* and the worke in *English*, it was presupposed, none but the Learned would take the paynes to conferre them” (¶2v). Jonson writes sardonically in his epistle of erasing the collaborative relationship with his co-author; in its place, his extensive notes establish a carefully managed collaboration with the reader, an esoteric exchange between Jonson as author/editor and those learned enough to navigate his marginalia. Jonas Barish writes of Jonson’s shift from “publike Stage” to private “Booke” that the actor’s voice represented “an unpredictable and untrustworthy element over which he had too little control; print offered an escape into a stabler medium” (qtd. in Weimann 36). I would concur that Jonson is invested in an “escape” from the theatre into the ostensible stability of print, adding that Jonson is much less intent on utilizing his *mise en page* to foster or inspire a return voyage back from the book to an imagined realization of the play as performed. As John Jowett explains, the marginal notes “destroy the horizontal axial emphasis” of a standard “play quarto’s page layout” (“Fall” 286); by precluding a reader’s rhythmic engagement with the dialogue, the marginalia undermines the “deployment of words and actions in time and space” (287). The *scape* of the page takes precedence over the *scape* of the imagined scene.

This dynamic between page and stage changes, however, in the folio version of *Sejanus*. Jonson maintains his firm control over the appearance of the printed text, this time by removing the referential marginalia that so distinguished the quarto edition of the play; the margins of the folio text of the play are thus largely bare, save for occasional stage directions, many of which are not found in the quarto text. Critics have long wondered about Jonson’s decision to remove his marginalia, since compiling the notes for the quarto must have been a
laborious task.\textsuperscript{57} Clues as to the motivations behind Jonson’s textual alterations are perhaps provided by the title page of the folio text, which distinguishes itself from its quarto predecessor in a significant way. The quarto title page locates its authority exclusively in its claim to be “Written by Ben Jonson,” while the folio title page, before recognizing Jonson as “Author,” recollects Sejanus’s (apparently short) performance history: “Acted, in the yeere 1603. / By the K. MAIESTIES / SERVANTS” (355). There are other conspicuous differences: both texts contain a long, detailed argument outlining the plot to follow, but only the quarto text, so concerned with delimiting the horizon of readings, attaches an interpretive post-script, “This we do aduance as a marke of Terror to all Traytors, & Treasons . . .”; and only in the folio text is it deemed necessary to set “THE SCENE” as “ROME” (359). The most meaningful difference, however, is found in the folio’s margins. The folio’s sporadic stage directions encode the playtext as just that—a playtext. Characters are given a certain level of mobility: “Drusus passeth by” (362), “They passe over the stage” (364); interlocutors speak to one another in particular ways: there are multiple directions in which characters “whisper” (362, 413); and other directions give specific performance cues: “He turnes to Seianus clyents” (366), “He turns to Laco and the rest” (411), “He salutes them humbly” (423). Cumulatively, stage directions such as these provide a more nuanced understanding of the play’s performance potentialities. Where the quarto’s supplementary information denied the possibility of meaningful performancescapes by directing readers away from the play-as-performed, toward texts and narratives of Jonson’s own choosing, the folio text offers intermittent opportunities to imaginatively engage with matters of performance by marking its margins with directions that situate the reader in the interpretive, transitional, and

\textsuperscript{57} Daniel Broughner describes the “sheer pedantry” of tracing Jonson’s references in Sejanus as “stupifying” (qtd. in Slichts 28 n18).
meaning-making space between page and stage. William Slights helps to explain the stark contrast between the two versions:

What was needed in the folio margins was a clear set of stage directions, absent from the quarto, for readers who may well not have seen the thirteen-year-old play performed. Bold enough to ignore printing house precedent in 1605 in mixing massive Latin marginalia with a vernacular stage play, Jonson was also willing to throw away the notes from his careful research when they no longer served the specific purposes for which he designed them. Those purposes originally included annotation, amplification, correcting errors of interpretation, justification of his own political stance, and explication . . . Such justification had lost its point by 1616. (32)

That Jonson is more committed to sharpening his readers’ sense of the play as enacted on stage is evidenced by the fact that stage directions are added to the text even when the surrounding dialogue renders them superfluous, as in act 5, where a direction is given, “The Senators shift their places,” followed immediately by Arruntius’s comment that “The place growes hot, they shift” (430). Side by side, the quarto and folio texts demonstrate Jonson experimenting with the appearance of the page to customize texts in accordance with what he believes to be the needs of his intended readership. What Barish might call Jonson’s second “escape” to the stability of the printed folio page takes on a richer connotation in that the folio text utilizes the typographical marker of the stage direction to gesture outside the bounds of the book, back at the forever absent and ephemeral play-as-performed.

The final verso page of the folio text of Sejanus mirrors the claims made on the title-page—“This Tragedie was first / acted, in the yeere / 1603. / By the Kings Maiesties / SERVANTS” (438)—and strengthens the printed play’s connection to its performance history by naming “The principall Tragaedians” in a list that includes “WILL. SHAKE­SPEARE,” “IOH. HEMINGS,” and “HEN. CONDEL.” These three figures are of course more famously linked by Shakespeare’s own Folio of dramatic works, with Heminghe and Condell apparently serving as the primary organizers of the collection. The impact of
Jonson’s and Shakespeare’s Folios on conceptions of dramatic authorship and the legitimization of the literary qualities of drama is well established, and I don’t believe it is necessary for me to return to these issues here. What bears reasserting is that the publication of Jonson’s Workes in 1616—“a culminating achievement of writing and patronage” (Bergeron 129)—fundamentally altered the way that printed playtexts could be encoded for readers. Where a playwright’s body of work would have previously only been available in a range of heterogeneous, largely perishable individual units produced by printers and compositors possessing varying levels of skill and care for the material at hand, Jonson’s Workes offered his collected plays (as well as certain poems, masques, and entertainments) in a systematically arranged and relatively uniform manner, and presented them to readers as dignified, permanent, and definitive. Moreover, Jonson’s Folio was designed and engineered to put forth a totalized understanding of his life’s writing: from its title-page featuring a proscenium stage, triumphal arch, obelisks, laurels, inscriptions, and statues, to its dedicatory poems (some of which are entirely in Latin), to the dedications accompanying each play, it is clear that the Folio is intended to position Jonson and his work within enduring, classical contexts. Jonson’s Folio has been described as possessing a textuality that is “antioccasional” and “antitheat[rical]” (Lowenstein, “Printing” 182); indeed, given some of Jonson’s prefatory efforts to disassociate his printed plays from the theatre, the “antitheatrical” label is one that is assigned to Jonson with great frequency. Yet, as we have seen, Jonson’s alterations to the Folio text of Sejanus reveal a playwright who was not above

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58 For recent explorations of folio production, authorship, and printed drama as literature in relation to Shakespeare, see Erne; de Grazia, Verbatim 14-48; and Kastan, Book 50-78. On Jonson’s Folio, see Bland, “Stansby”; Brooks 104-39; Brady and Herendeen; and Lowenstein, Jonson 133-210.

59 Jonson, it should be noted, was actively involved in the printing of his plays before their collection in 1616. Lowenstein argues that Jonson’s longstanding concern for the published shape of his plays—as expressed in his experimentation with epistles, dedications, apparatuses, and typography—served as an extensive preparation for the production of the Folio (Jonson 152-94).
utilizing and manipulating the space of the page to substantiate links between the play as printed and the play as (potentially) performed. Shakespeare’s Folio followed Jonson’s example in seeking to account for his canon in a cumulative way, although rather than emphasizing classical associations, Shakespeare is memorialized in Heminge and Condell’s epistle to readers as an author “Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it” (A3r). Later in the century, a Folio collecting the works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher reflects and refracts its predecessors in intriguing ways by projecting itself as a veritable archive of writing for the stage; the more explicit gestures toward the stage in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio are perhaps not altogether surprising given that it was produced during a period when public performances of the playtexts it collects were no longer an option. Despite the different motivations and forces behind the Shakespeare and Beaumont and Fletcher Folios (to which I now turn), they, like the Jonson Folio, suggest that spectres of performance continue to haunt the production of dramatic texts even after plays are collected and styled as authorial and literary, and despite the predominantly textualized ways that readers were asked to conceive of printed plays when encountering them in collected forms.

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That the Shakespeare Folio, is, as Kastan remarks, a “book [that] presents itself as literary” (Book 72) is beyond dispute. The most well mined source of the Folio’s pretensions is the prefatory note “To the great Variety of Readers,” where it is apparent that Heminge and Condell’s sense of the work they are collecting is a textual one. The Folio’s value, they

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60 Citing typographic markers such as “the extra provision of white space around the text,” and Jonson’s strict control over the punctuation of his Folio playtexts—an attempt “to escape from the limitations of the written or printed word and to emphasize its orality”—Mark Bland goes so far as to state that Jonson and his publisher/printer William Stansby “altered the spatial relationship of the text” so as to foster “the idea of the book as its own theatre” (“Stansby” 23, 19, 28).
propose, is not conferred by encapsulating or memorializing specific performances (a claim
made by many individually printed plays in the period), but by the texts’ proximity and
fidelity to Shakespeare’s original writings: “His mind and hand went together: And what he
thought, he vtttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarse receiued from him a blot in his
papers.” As I’ve argued elsewhere, if Shillingsburg’s definitions of work, text, and document
(summarized in Chapter Two, pages 32-3), are applied to the epistle, Heminge and Condell
imply that Shakespeare’s work (“what he thought”)—a concept that Shillingsburg
understands as possessing “no substantial existence” (43)—took on a material form in his
unblotted manuscript papers. Further, Heminge and Condell formulate the Folio as a
transmitter of this work, one absolutely free from distortion: the volume contains not just
Shakespeare’s “writings,” “perfect of their limbes, and . . . absolute in their numbers,” it also
represents these writings “as he conceiued the[m].” Heminge and Condell implicate
themselves in the perpetuation of Shakespeare’s creative efforts, and the lineage that they
sketch—from thoughts to papers to print—strictly concerns itself with textual purity and
stability, excluding the potential influences and interpolations of theatrical collaborators and
performances.

An effacement of performance also characterizes their (in)famous statement that

as where (before) you were abus’d with diuerse stolne, and surreptitious
copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of injurious
impostors, that expos’d them: euene those, are now offer’d to your view cur’d,
and perfect of their limbes, and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he
conceiued the[m].

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62 Much ink has been spilled in attempting to surmise what exactly “diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies”
refers to; a sampling of the more noteworthy interpretations would have to include Alfred Pollard’s, which is
integral to his influential theory of “bad” quartos (64-80); Kastan’s belief that the reference is to all earlier
printings of Shakespeare’s plays (Book 72-8); and Erne’s conjecture that Heminge and Condell’s comments are
specifically aimed at a group of ten quartos published and collected by Thomas Pavier in 1619 (255-8).
Again, Heminge and Condell concern themselves with the texts of Shakespeare’s plays, this time the extent to which they have previously been “maimed” and “deformed.” Their concern for what has been presented to readers in a damaged form surely refers not to the physical vessel that contains the text—i.e. the document (what we would retrospectively identify as a “good” quarto, “bad” or “short” quarto, scribal copy, or whatever)—but to the text (the intended order of words and punctuation) contained in that document. The claim of having cured and perfected the previously marred texts is founded on their apparent access to the purest wellspring of Shakespeare’s genius—his “papers”—which allow them to reproduce more faithful texts of Shakespeare’s works. Any involvement on the part of individuals involved in the theatrical production of the plays is excised from their equation.

That Heminge and Condell, actors both, would not incriminate the theatre when narrating Shakespeare’s history in print is to be expected. What is, as Kastan remarks, somewhat more “surprising” is their overall “disregard for the theater in the commemorative volume” (Book 71). According to Kastan’s reading of the Folio’s preliminaries,

One might think that they would emphasize the fruitful collaborations of playwright and actor, the popularity of the plays among audiences of all ages and social classes, or even suggest, as some play texts did, that the true life of drama is on the stage. But they make only a single gesture to the theatrical auspices of what is published. In their dedication to the Herberts they comment that so great was their Lordships’ ‘likings of the seuerall parts, when they were acted’ that even before it was published ‘the Volume ask’d to be yours.’ But rather than suggest the aesthetic priority of the staged play, here its priority is merely temporal; and indeed the play as performed is imagined not as the essential experience that the published play can only and belatedly approximate but as a more ephemeral form of the volume itself. (Book 71-2)

Kastan’s point is true to the mark: given Shakespeare’s long and intimate association with London’s theatrical scene, the Folio’s lack of direct engagement with the economic and creative issues related to dramatic production is striking, and the latter portion of Kastan’s claim effectively captures the transitory nature of performance within Heminge and
Condell’s para-texts. Regarding Heminge and Condell’s “single gesture” to the theatre, however, Kastan overstates his case: in identifying conspicuous absences from their writings, he neglects more subtle links to theatre and performance in Heminge and Condell’s epistle and in other sections of the prefatory matter (which one assumes Heminge and Condell had some organizational involvement in). From a broad perspective, the decision to group Shakespeare’s plays generically, though it necessitated forcing certain works (like *Cymbeline*) into misleading categories, might, as Orgel suggests, “have had the attraction of classical forms for Shakespeare’s first editors, conferring the dignity of ancient drama on the work of their fellow actor” (qtd. in Murphy, *Print* 42). Similarly, the inclusion of “The Names of the Principall Actors in all these Playes” could serve as a general reminder that “these Playes” did exist and thrive elsewhere, outside the bounds of the printed book, subjected to the interpretive labours of professional performers. The list of actors is not a hasty snapshot of the company’s makeup, but instead appears thoughtfully designed to encompass, at least in part, what was in actuality a fluid membership; S. P. Cerasano identifies “roughly four ‘generations’ of players” (331) that are recorded, from the company’s first sharers to those who were members when the King’s Men received their final patent in 1619. Subtly then, the list of actors connects the Folio’s playtexts to an extended history of collaborative theatre practice by identifying many of the individual performers who brought the plays to life. The list obscures much more than it reveals, however, and it will sustain a glance toward performance for only the briefest of instances; it is, as Cerasano remarks, above all “a memorial record, enshrining the names of key players but in no way characterizing the qualities that made them distinctive” (343).

To counter Kastan’s claims more specifically, the writings of Heminge and Condell in fact reference two contemporary theatres by name in the epistle, one of which, the
Blackfriars, assumed a central position in the latter stages of Shakespeare's career; they inform readers that

Censure will not drive a Trade, or make the Jacke go. And though you be a Magistrate of wit, and sit on the Stage at Black-Friers, or the Cock-pit, to arraigne Playes dailie, know, these Playes haue had their triall already, and stood out all Appeales . . .

In one sense, this passage differentiates the interpretation of Shakespeare’s printed texts from interrogations of live “Playes”—what follows in the Folio need not be subjected to the same kind of scrutiny that is applied to contemporary performances in the leading private theatres; but on the other hand, the passage also establishes for readers of the Folio that the success of the collected plays has already been proven and validated by their previous “triall(s)” in the public theatres. In one rapid swoop, the fate of plays in performance is both marginalized and recognized as primary and integral to success in print. A similar figurative mixture of page and stage lingers in Heminge and Condell’s instructions to “ludge your sixe-pen’orth, your shillings worth, your fine shillings worth at a time, or higher, so you rise to the just rates, and welcome.” Like so many passages in the epistle, this hierarchizing of readerly judgement is open to interpretation. On the surface, the passage applies the shifting price scale to the Folio itself, which perhaps suggests that Heminge and Condell are asking that readers proceed through the Folio in incremental units, play by play, in order to produce their money’s worth of enjoyment and then respond with the requisite amount of appreciation.

Yet as Hackel reminds us, “The instructions [also] evoke the language of the playhouse,

63 Richard Levin believes that Heminge and Condell are implying that there is a “fundamental similarity between the experiences of seeing and of reading a play” (557), but this seems to put too great a burden on the notion of the plays having “had their triall already.” Heminge and Condell are acknowledging that a certain segment of their potential readership is comprised of regular playgoers, but I don’t think it necessarily follows that reading and seeing a play are being described as essentially similar.

64 Folio prices were fluid relative to their bound or unbound state, but they would not have ranged within the denominations that Heminge and Condell cite. Unbound copies are estimated to have sold for 15s., with bound copies costing up to £1 (in plain calf). See West 8-13.
where admission prices did, in fact, operate on a sliding scale" ("Great Variety" 144). Hackel supports her reading with a quotation from the Induction to Jonson’s Bartholomew Fair, in which the Scrivener “grants the audience the right to judge the play according to their investments”:

It shall be lawful for any man to judge his six pen’orth, his twelve pen’orth, so to his eighteen pence, two shillings, half a crown to the value of his place: provided always his place get not above his wit. . . . marry, if he drop but sixpence at the door, and will censure a crown’s worth, it is thought there is no conscience in that. ("Great Variety" 145)

Heminge and Condell thus blur the distinction between reading and theatre audiences, equating their respective investments in dramatic works as providing similar opportunities for commendation or criticism. To claim that Heminge and Condell are positing reading and theatre-going as equivalent activities would be to push things too far, though clearly images and metaphors of the theatre informed their thinking as they endeavoured to sell their collection of the plays.

The epistle to readers ends with a tantalizing remark from Heminge and Condell: “And so we leaue you to other of his Friends, whom if you need, can bee your guides.” One might be tempted to take them literally here, and ascribe to the dedicatory poems that follow a concerted, systematic effort to direct readers’ negotiations with Shakespeare’s printed texts. As enticing as this sounds, the temptation must be resisted, not only because the spirit of Heminge and Condell’s piece is ultimately commercial rather than exegetical (“what euer you do, Buy”), but also because the poems themselves prove to be more concerned with lauding Shakespeare’s career and mourning his death than they do with providing interpretive blueprints. What the dedicatory poems do contain, nevertheless, are the explicit theatrical gestures that Kastan identifies as missing from Heminge and Condell’s prefatory material. Hugh Holland, for example, acknowledges the playwright’s most famous stage
through a pun: “His dayes are done, that made the dainty Playes, / Which made the Globe of heau’n and earth to ring.” Other prefatory pieces offer more complex assessments. Jonson’s poem concludes by way of referencing “the drooping Stage; / Which, since thy flight frō[m] hence, hath mourn’d like night, / And desaires day, but for thy Volumes light.” Hitting a similar note, Leonard Digges first stresses the permanence of the Folio—“This Booke, / When Brasse and Marble fade, shall make thee looke / Fresh to all Ages”—then proceeds to lament the impoverished stage that Shakespeare has left behind:

\[
\text{Nor shall I e’re beleuee, or thinke thee dead} \\
(\text{Though mist) vntill our bankrout Stage be sped} \\
(\text{Impossible) with some new straine t’out-do} \\
\text{Passions of Iuliet, and her Romeo; } \\
\text{Or till I heare a Scene more nobly take,} \\
\text{Then when thy half-Sword parlying Romans spake.}
\]

James Mabbe’s contribution, which figures Shakespeare as an animated (and animating) presence behind performed and textual modes of producing his works, is worth quoting in full:

\[
\text{Wee wondred (Shake-speare) that thou went’st so soone} \\
\text{From the Worlds Stage, to the Graues-Tyring-roome.} \\
\text{Wee thought thee dead, but this thy printed worth,} \\
\text{Tels thy Spectators, that thou went’st but forth} \\
\text{To enter with applause. An Actors Art,} \\
\text{Can dye, and liue, to acte a second part.} \\
\text{That’s but an Exit of Mortalitie; } \\
\text{This, a Re-entrance to a Plauditie.}
\]

Collectively, the dedicatory poems are, like Heminge and Condell’s epistle to readers, concerned with Shakespeare as author and creator, but all of them situate Shakespeare’s writings as existing within, and between, the bounds of both the book and the stage.

All this is not to say that Kastan isn’t correct in pointing out the ephemeral position that performance occupies in the Folio: the implicit, indirect nature of many of the references I have touched on essentially prove his point. When it comes to the playtexts collected in the
Folio, Heminge and Condell’s narrative involving Shakespeare’s unblotted pen and exclusive authority actually misrepresents two collaborative processes—that of performance and of print production—both of which inevitably transform playtexts as they descend in any number of permutations from manuscript (perhaps through the theatre) to print. In emphasizing Shakespeare as sole author, Heminge and Condell minimize the contributions of his various collaborators in the creative process: not just actors, but also other playwrights now recognized as determining the shape of plays ascribed only to Shakespeare (such as Middleton in *Macbeth* and *Timon*, Fletcher in *Henry VIII*). Also elided from Heminge and Condell’s description of the plays’ transition to the Folio are scribes and compositors, whose work with playtexts and their para-textuals will impinge on the way in which printed plays demarcate and negotiate the space between page and stage. In Worthen’s words, “For while punctuation, capitalization, exits and entrances, the placement and variation of speech prefixes are surely not the stuff of drama, by representing a relationship between writing and performance, the material properties of printed plays inevitably represent the identity of drama in the age of print: they frame the mise-en-page as a site of performance” (*Print* 11).

It is via the appearance of the play on the page that textual theorists and editors attempt to trace the origins of printed playtexts and estimate the extent to which they have come into contact with, and been transformed by, the contingencies of performance. The editors of the Oxford Shakespeare, for instance, distinguish between the vestigial markers of authorial foul papers, such as “loose ends, false starts, textual tangles . . . inconsistency in the designation of characters in speech prefixes . . . [and] ‘ghost’ characters called for in stage directions,” and the remnants of textual modifications produced during a play’s realization in the theatre, like stage directions that are “more systematically supplied . . . [and] more practically . . . worded,” and “characters [that are] more consistently identified in speech prefixes”
The distinction between relatively private and relatively socialized versions of playtexts, though it can “easily harden into a misleading dichotomy” (Companion 12), nevertheless allows for an understanding of reciprocity between written, printed, and performed modes of production: an original manuscript version of a play with the potential to guide performance is subjected to the interpretive labours of various individuals and institutions, from which demonstrably different versions of the original play are produced.

Challenging this linear, evolutionary model, Lukas Erne has recently endeavoured to prove that "Shakespeare’s ‘long’ plays”—most of which are found in the Folio—“were not performed in anything close to their entirety in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries” (174), a point that has huge ramifications for his understanding of the nature of many printed texts prepared for readers. Shakespeare, argues Erne, wrote “much material that was never, nor was ever intended to be, performed” (136). Erne believes that the longer texts (found in the Folio or in “good” quartos) “correspond to what an emergent dramatic author wrote for readers in an attempt to raise the literary respectability of plays,” while the “short, theatrical texts . . . record in admittedly problematic fashion the plays as they were orally delivered on stage to spectators” (220). Erne focuses on the variants between long and short versions of Henry V, Romeo and Juliet, and Hamlet, believing that the conspicuous differences between them “bespeak the different media for which they were designed” (223). There are difficulties with Erne’s larger claims, but one thing he does particularly well is demonstrate how the presence or absence of para-textuals—particularly stage directions—can

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65 Erne is on relatively firm ground in exhibiting that Shakespeare wrote overly long plays from the perspective of early modern playing times, and it also seems plausible that Shakespeare did, at times, write with readers in mind. The claim that Shakespeare wrote extra material so as to “raise the literary respectability of plays” is much more speculative. Worthen, though he recognizes the important ways that Erne’s study recognizes the complicated connections between printed playtexts, authorship, and performance, exposes Erne’s literary biases: “Is it at all plausible that as house playwright, Shakespeare might well have had the incentive and the freedom to write extra material not for literary posterity but to provide a wider range of options and opportunities for his company to think through the play’s performance potentialities? " (Print 25-6).
communicate information about performance in different ways, thus altering the imaginative demands made of readers. As an example of the kinds of conclusions Erne draws, consider his reading of (theatrical) quarto and (literary) folio versions of the entry of the French Herald during the battle of Agincourt in *Henry V*, after King Henry has discovered the slaughtered English boys. Erne notes that both texts are essentially the same save for one important difference. After the stage direction marking the Herald’s entry (he is “Mounioy” in the Folio), the Folio text includes an exchange between Exeter and Gloucester that is not present in the first quarto:

*Exe.* Here comes the Herald of the French, my Liege.

*Glou.* His eyes are humbler than they v’sd to be.

The significance of these lines, according to Erne, is “that they can be *acted* and therefore do not need to be *spoken*. In performance, the words would unnecessarily reiterate what the actor conveys through body language” (222). Referencing Berger’s “imaginary audition,” Erne states that “the two lines present in the readerly but absent from the theatrical text . . . allow a reader to imagine a point of stage business that could otherwise only be conveyed in performance” (222). Erne’s description of the way in which the printed text allows for a reader to imaginatively engage with the play as performed—in this instance encouraging readers to picture a noticeably subdued Mountjoy making his way towards Henry’s forces, a detail that impacts on not only the way one pictures Mountjoy’s body language, but also the manner in which he subsequently speaks—resonates with my descriptions of *performancescape* in Chapter Two. I am thus in accordance with his fundamental argument that the manipulation of para-textuals (and the *mise en page* in general) can potentially influence a reader’s ability to approximate performance. I do, however, wish to complicate his position, especially his assertion that some of Shakespeare’s plays were designed to
“function according to a ‘literary’ logic” (23). I contend that the connections between stage and page as they are recorded in print are more dynamic, more synergistic, than a binary that opposes “literary” and “theatrical” logic will support, and I believe a brief examination of a play first printed in the Folio will help illustrate my point.

The play is *Cymbeline*, which is admittedly a curious choice to bring to the discussion: it exists in only one extant state, it is not burdened with contentious textual cruces, it is (and has always been) a play of middling popularity. Erne doesn’t scrutinize *Cymbeline*, though this is because his study centres on explaining the differences between long and short versions of the same work. *Cymbeline* is extremely long, exceeded in the Folio only by *Hamlet, Richard III, Troilus and Cressida*, and *Coriolanus*, and, according to Erne, thus much too lengthy to be performed in its entirety in the seventeenth century. I am interested in the play’s fifth act, specifically the battle between the invading Romans and the British/Welsh soldiers, and the ensuing description of this battle by one of its key participants, Posthumus. It goes without saying that the battle itself, like most extended action sequences in Shakespeare, lacks a certain vitality or intensity when apprehended by way of the printed page. Where a theatre audience is presented with physical markers of dissonance—active bodies confronting one another, the grunts and moans of actors, the clamour of weaponry—readers have to make due with inert markings on the page, signs representative of theatrical potential and/or convention. Which is not to say that the stage directions in the Folio text of *Cymbeline* meant to account for the frenetic climax are not helpful: in the eyes of one editor, the directions for most of the fifth act seem “‘literary,’ descriptive rather than theatrical,” aimed at “help[ing] a reader visualize what is going on,

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66 Erne notes that a 1997 Stratford production of *Cymbeline* "played for nearly three hours, even though a full thousand lines were omitted" (137).
and perhaps to reflect a contemporary staging” (Warren 72). Curiously, after (in rapid succession) the defeat of Jachimo by Posthumus, the capture and rescue of Cymbeline, and the turning of the tide through the sheer will and valour of Belarius and the two hidden princes, what immediately follows is a long narrative description by Posthumus of the events that have just taken place on stage. Roger Warren notes that “there is no sign of textual disturbance at this point, so it is probably [safe] to conclude that the duplication is deliberate, Shakespeare choosing to show the audience the battle from the outside and then from the viewpoint of a participant” (74).

Warren seems to be thinking specifically of the effects of the doubled-perspective on theatre audiences, but what of readers? More specifically, what of readers encountering Cymbeline for the first time as it is printed in the Folio? They are first faced with the opportunity to, as Erne puts it in his discussion of Henry V, “imagine a point of stage business that could otherwise only be conveyed in performance” (222). As mentioned, the stage directions add touches that seem to go beyond merely recording theatrical detail; 5.2 opens with this direction:

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Enter Lucius, Iachimo, and the Romane Army at one doore: and the Britane Army at another: Leonatus Posthumus following like a poore Souldier. They march ouer, and goe out. Then enter againe in Skirmish Iachimo and Posthumus: he vanquisheth and disarmeth Iachimo, and then leaues him. (TLN 2892-7)```

The direction allows readers to position figures on an imagined stage and approximate their movements; the “Skirmish” between Jachimo and Posthumus is especially provocative, with “he vanquisheth and disarmeth Iachimo, and then leaues him” adding subtlety to a

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67 Warren attributes a share of the literary nature of the directions to the influence of Ralph Crane, the scribe who likely prepared the transcript serving as the basis for the Folio text; Crane’s influence on the playtext is discussed by Warren on pages 67-74.

68 Quotations from the Folio follow the Through-Line numbers of the Hinman facsimile.
confrontation that could easily be condensed into a more simplified form. The next direction in the scene appears similarly aimed at readers:

*The Battaile continues, the Britaines fly, Cymbeline is taken: Then enter to his rescue, Bellarius, Guiderius, and Aruiragus.* (2908-10)

Again, that Belarius and company not only “enter,” but “enter to his rescue” amidst a backdrop of a continuing battle facilitates a (relatively) more detailed readerly awareness of the moment’s enactment on stage. As helpful as the stage directions might be in producing *performancescapes* (of Posthumus “vanquishing” Jachimo, of a continuing battle), however, they don’t provide nearly enough information to fully encapsulate how the scene might be communicated by actors’ purposeful, active bodies. “Then enter againe in Skirmish” is richer than just “enter againe,” and the same can be said of “vanquismeth and disarmeth” as opposed to something like “Jachimo falls,” but the details that are supplied inevitably hint at the vast range of information that is missing. How long does the skirmish last? How, precisely, does Posthumus vanquish and disarm Jachimo? Does Posthumus linger over his prone victim (is Jachimo prone?), and if so, to what effect? Even if the text provided answers to these questions, the end result would be to produce more lacunae that a user of the text would need to fill. The stage directions close the gap between page and stage, but they also help to constitute that gap, reminding readers that it can never be completely closed.

A much different scene follows: after “They [Belarius and his adopted sons] Rescue Cymbeline,” Posthumus re-enters and begins to recount his version of the encounter to a “Britane Lord.” While Posthumus’s recollection follows hard on the heels of the staged representation of warring British and Roman soldiers, his retelling of the battle moves further and further away from the kinds of detail that could be communicated in performance. He speaks of “the Enemy full-hearted, Lolling the Tongue with slaught’ring” (2935-6), of a lane,
"ditch’d & wall’d with turph" (2942), of emboldened British soldiers who began to “grin like Lyons / Vpon the Pikes o’th’ Hunters” (2966-7), and of numerous dead and wounded: “some mortally, some slightly touch’d, some falling / Meerely through feare” (2937-8). In short, Posthumus’s description expands beyond the possibilities of the stage: he details a battle that can only be realized by the imagination, infusing it with metaphorical and sensory details that no reading or performance of the previous scene can produce. Posthumus’s narrative privileges the literary over the theatrical, poem over play, but this does not mean that the literary assimilates performance, or, returning to Erne, that the literary is efficiently compensating for information that could otherwise only be communicated through the actor’s body (how does a lion grin?). In fact, the scene in question is introduced by yet another reminder of the incongruity of textual and performative modes. The entry direction to the battle scene had identified Posthumus as a “poore Souldier,” but in the narrative scene he enters (merely) as “Posthumus”. The shift in the para-textual description poses readers with a challenge that audiences won’t face, since the actor playing Posthumus will likely make it clear—through his posture, gait, intonation, etc.—if Posthumus should still be considered to be in a state akin to the last time he was seen on stage. In other words, an audience won’t have to decide if Posthumus is still “poore”—the decision will have been made for them.

To reverse field, consider Posthumus’s narrative from the perspective of a theatre audience. Warren writes in a commentary note that “the audience has already seen what he describes” (224), but this oversimplifies the matter: they have and they haven’t seen what Posthumus recounts. For one thing, the six-line, nationalistic rallying cry that Posthumus attributes to Belarius—“Our Britaines hearts dye flying, not our men, / To darknesse flete soules that flye backwards; stand, / . . . Stand, stand” (2952-3, 6)—is not found in the previous scene, only the more fragmented (and politically neutral) “Stand, stand, we haue
the’aduantage of the ground, / The Lane is guarded: Nothing rowts vs, but / The Villany of our feares” (2911-3). Further, the narrative itself hints at just how far Posthumus’s retelling of the battle deviates from a performance of it. There is a metatheatrical nod to limited numbers of live actors standing in for vast armies in Posthumus’s praise for the “Nobleness” (2961) of Belarius and the princes: “These three, / Three thousand confident, in acte as many: / For three performers are the File, when all / The rest do nothing” (2956-9). His claim that “Some slaine before, some dying; some their Friends / Ore-borne i’th’former wane, ten chac’d by one, / Are now each one the slaughter-man of twenty” (2975-7) similarly gestures at the finite numbers of human bodies that make up all acting companies—“each one the slaughterman of twenty” is a figurative remembering true to the world of the play that nevertheless bespeaks the imaginative participation required by audiences of the play in the world.

Whether in print or in performance then, these two scenes in Cymbeline are marked by the intersections and divergences of page and stage. Text and performance interpenetrate and inform one another, and in so doing, each mode of production reveals the limitations of the other. The literary and the theatrical intermix so innately that even portions of playtexts that seem designed to privilege reading audiences are imbued with the potential to produce imaginative engagements with performance potentialities. Yet the negotiations of text and performance need not be distilled into a binary of literary texts intended for readers versus scripts meant for performance; rather, it seems more useful to speak of the printed page as shaping and stabilizing a confluence of information that blends literary and theatrical elements. As Michael Dobson expresses in a wonderfully concise paradox, “If it is true that performance by its very nature exceeds the Shakespearian text . . . then we still need to acknowledge that the Shakespearian text exceeds any given performance” (“Writing” 160).
Textual negotiations of theatre and performance are reconstituted in another major folio from later in the seventeenth century collecting the "Comedies and Tragedies" of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher (1647). Those involved in compiling the Folio are upfront about its emulation of Heminge and Condell's collection: the dedication to Philip Herbert, also one of the dedicatees of the Shakespeare Folio, references "the example of some, who once steered in our qualitie, and so fortunately aspired to choose your Honour, joyned with your (now glorified) Brother, Patrons to the flowing compositions of the then expired sweet Swan of Avon SHAKESPEARE" (A2r). More subtle echoes of the Shakespeare Folio can be heard in the stationer Humphrey Moseley's claim that Fletcher "never writ any one thing twice, . . . never touched pen till all was to stand as firme and immutable as if ingraven in Brasse or Marble" (A4v), which recalls Heminge and Condell's assertion that "we haue scarse receiued from [Shakespeare] a blot in his papers." As in Shakespeare's Folio, the dedicatory poems to the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio avow that collecting and printing plays bestows deserved immortality on both the author(s) and the works themselves.

The prefatory material to the two folios differ in that the latter is much more explicit in its pronouncements regarding the actual reading experience the plays make possible, especially in terms of the texts' relations to the plays as performed. The apparent desire to create substantial links to the plays in performance is largely explained by the Folio's publication during the Interregnum, when the production of plays at public theatres was no

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69 Though the Folio presents Beaumont and Fletcher as co-authors of its entire contents, it has been established that this is likely far from accurate. Beaumont's share in the Folio is relatively small; G. E. Bentley argues that "[t]he evidence is overwhelming that Beaumont had nothing to do with most of the plays" attributed to both playwrights (qtd. in Brooks 145). For discussions of how the Folio's attributions complicate modern conceptions of authorship, see Brooks 140-88, and Masten 113-55.
longer a reality. James Shirley’s epistle “TO THE READER” acknowledges the absence of public performances, but reconfigures the quiet of the theatres into the Folio’s major selling point:

And now Reader in this Tragicall Age where the Theater hath been so much out-acted, congratulate thine owne happinesse, that in this silence of the Stage, thou hast a liberty to reade these inimitable Playes, to dwell and converse in these immortal Groves, which were only shewd our Fathers in a conjuring glasse, as suddenly removed as represented, the Landscrap is now brought home by this optick, and the Presse thought too pregnant before shall be now look’d upon as greatest Benefactor to Englishmen, that must acknowledge all the felicity of witt and words to this Derivation. (A3r-A3v)

Shirley navigates the painful emptiness of the darkened theatres by minimizing the representational power of the plays in performance. The emphasis on the ephemerality of performance—“as suddenly removed as represented”—sets off the interpretive and affective potential provided by the relative fixity of the printed page. The Folio allows for a more meaningful encounter with the dramatic works in question, one that is very much a product of the book’s ostensible stability; the value of the book’s permanence is expressed most provocatively in Shirley’s claim that it will bear the imprint of authors and readers: readers will be able to “stand admiring the subtile Trackes of your engagement” (A3v). In many ways, Shirley’s epistle to readers foreshadows Harry Berger’s binary of the “Slit-eyed Analyst and the Wide-eyed Playgoer” (xiv) and the prominence he assigns to the reading experience, to “how much is withheld from an audience that can only hear and see, how much is occulted in the text they cannot read” (149). Revealingly, the Folio’s ability to capture the richness of Beaumont and Fletcher’s creations is put forth in spatial and ocular terms: readers are enticed with the possibility that they can “dwell and converse in these

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70 I’ve retained the original spellings in this passage, but given the context it is difficult not to see “Landscrap” as a misreading of “Landscap[e]” (and a remarkably ironic misreading at that, given the claim that Shirley is in the midst of making).
immortal Groves,” an opportunity denied the plays’ first generation of interpreters since the works “were only shewd our Fathers in a conjuring glasse.” Where theatre audiences were witnesses to mere representation, readers are able to situate themselves in the works, their gaze refined by the “optick” that is the Folio; the promised end of readers’ negotiations with the printed “Derivation” of the plays is immersion in vivid, imagined (land)scapes.

Shirley’s articulation of loss in the face of the silent public theatres is reasserted in a number of the Folio’s dedicatory poems, as are his claims that reading the Folio offers a superior means of realizing the plays. The attempt to put forth the printed plays as capable of replacing any and all of the imports of performance often results in figurations that conflate acts of reading with acts of theatrical participation. James Howell remarks “Vpon Master FLETCHERS Dramaticall Workes,” asserting that although “the Stage is down . . . / And . . . we cannot have Thee trod o’th’ stage, / Wee will applaud Thee in this silent Page” (b4r). Robert Gardiner boasts that the Folio “at last unsequesters the Stage, / Brings backe the Silver, and the Golden Age” (c2r). Jasper Maine styles Beaumont and Fletcher’s shared pen as “part Stage and Actor” (d1r). In John Web’s commendatory poem, stage and book, actors and readers all become indistinguishable:

What though distempers of the present Age
Have banish’d your smooth numbers from the Stage?
You shall be gainers by’t; it shall confer
To th’ making the vast world your Theater.
The Presse shall give to ev’ry man his part,
And we will all be Actors; learne by heart
Those Tragick Scenes and Comicke Strains you writ,
Vn-imitable both for Art and Wit;
And at each Exit, as your Fancies rise,
Our hands shall clap deserved Plaudities. (c2v)

The excerpt from Web’s piece is particularly suggestive in that it seeks to distinguish unique properties of printed playtexts, such as stability that can sustain prolonged and repeatable
engagements—readers can “learne by heart” lines or entire scenes—while enfolding these attributes of print in extended metaphors of performance and theatrical participation. The notion that “The Presse shall give to ev’ry man his part” starkly contrasts the widespread dissemination of ostensibly uniform copies of an entire volume of plays against traditional “parts” distributed to actors—handwritten fragments of a greater whole, designed to be absolutely unique. As Peters observes of para-textuals such as those found in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio, “the commentaries on print and performance repeatedly draw attention to their own paradoxes, implicitly recognizing, at the same time that they attempt to define separate media, the limits of medium distinction. Like theatre, print is fixity and unfixity, it is accuracy and error, it is enlightenment and obscurity, it is order and chaos . . .” (111).

The mutability of playtexts is a point that the Folio’s stationer, Humphrey Moseley, finds himself compelled to address at length. Humphrey’s remarks on earlier incarnations of Beaumont and Fletcher’s plays in a prefatory letter addressed to readers have become central to recent reassessments of the transmission of dramatic texts. Moseley first stresses that “You have here a New Booke; I can speake it clearely; for of all this large Uolume of Comedies and Tragedies, not one, till now, was ever printed before”; he then proceeds to clarify this issue in a passage that has drawn much attention:

One thing I must answer before it bee objected; ’tis this: When these Comedies and Tragedies were presented on the Stage, the Actours omitted some Scenes and Passages (with the Authour’s consent) as occasion led them; and when private friends desir’d a Copy, they then (and justly too) transcribed what they Acted. But now you have All that was Acted, and all that was not; even the perfect full Originalls without the least mutilation; So that were the Authors living (and sure they can never dye) they themselves would challenge neither more nor lesse then what is here published; this Volume being now so compleate and finish’d, that the Reader must expect no future Alterations. (A4r)
Thus, while admitting that the plays collected in the Folio likely exist in various, conspicuously different versions, and positing the source of these variants as the contingencies or “occasion[s]” of the theatre, Moseley fashions his Folio as the endpoint of any further proliferation: it is “compleate and finish’d.” The printed text, that is, reins in the unruliness of the theatre and the slipperiness of the written word. Though (or perhaps because) the source of the actors’ copies is not clear—are they copying from memory? from written texts? from some combination of the two?—textual theorists have seized on Moseley’s description of actors’ transcriptions of playtexts. Scott McMillin, for instance, positions Moseley’s comments as central to his theory of actors collectively dictating plays to scribes, and Erne utilizes the passage to underline his distinction between shorter theatrical texts and longer literary ones—Moseley’s address suggests, according to Erne, that the practice of actors producing abridged texts of plays was “well established” (261). Peter Blayney’s reading of Moseley, if true, offers a more profound hypothesis: assuming that a reconstruction by actors of a shortened performance text “might emerge noticeably garbled,” Blayney concludes that “What Moseley has been trying to tell us since 1647 is, I believe, the commonplace and innocent origin of the kind of text that Pollard called a Bad Quarto—but we have been too busy chasing imaginary pirates to listen” (394). Edward Pechter is more cautious in his assessment: “[Moseley] is referring not to a general category of text, only to instances in which some of ‘these plays’, the ones included in his Folio, might be said to have been published before” (24). Rather than scrutinize the plausibility of these conjectures (though I lean toward Pechter’s), I wish instead to note that the range of scenarios to which

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71 McMillin’s position is outlined in the introduction to *The First Quarto of Othello*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001). For the limitations of McMillin’s theory, see Neill’s edition of *Othello* (405-33), and Pechter.

72 Moseley’s epistle is also essential to Erne’s discussion of playing times in the theatre: “If the relatively short ‘Beaumont and Fletcher’ plays were significantly abridged, how likely is it that the same company performed the full text of Shakespeare’s substantially longer plays?” (150).
the Moseley passage has been put is a function of Moseley deliberately situating the Folio amidst competing forms of authority. Whether he is espousing the predictable rhetoric of a bookseller merely hawking his wares or transmitting a rosetta stone for early modern textual scholars is secondary to the fact that printed plays in his narrative are assuming a mediating role between the written and the performed. Moseley’s apparent fidelity to “the perfect full Originalls” privileges text over performance, but the two modes of production are nevertheless innately and inextricably linked: Moseley’s copy-texts are perfectly full not because they exclude the influences of the theatre and its practitioners, but because they encompass performance history and performance potentialities, “All that was Acted, and all that was not.”

Moseley reasserts the Folio’s connections to both page and stage more explicitly in a distinctive poem that functions as a transition piece from the commendatory verses to the plays. The poem, under the heading of “THE STATIONER,” reads as follows:

As after th’ Epilogue there comes someone
To tell Spectators what shall next be shown;
So here, am I; but though I’ve toyld and vex’t
‘Cannot devise what to present ye next;
For, since ye saw no Playes this Cloudy weather,
Here we have brought Ye our whole Stock together.
’Tis new, and all these Gentlemen attest
Under their hands ’tis Right, and of the Best;
Thirty foure Witnesses (without my taske)
Y’have just so many Playes (besides a Maske)
All good (I’me told) as have been Read or Playd,
If this Booke faile, tis Time to quit the Trade. (g2r)

Moseley here provides one final reminder of the heightened possibilities and limitations of printed drama during a period in which the performance of plays is prohibited. The poem epitomizes the spirit of the Folio’s para-textuals; as Brooks explains, “by enacting within print a now prohibited bit of theatrical ritual, Moseley briefly reminds his readers of that
which has been taken away from them, and simultaneously implies he can provide the next best thing” (149-50). But Moseley is not quite finished. He actually creates one final textual interstice in a “POSTSCRIPT” below his poem that makes a number of hasty claims, most of which indicate an awareness of the shape and organization of the page affecting the reading experience: some of the prologues and epilogues to playtexts found in the Folio were not written by Beaumont or Fletcher; the Commendatory Verses prefacing the playtexts have a “different Character” because they were “(for expedition)” sent to “severall Printers”; and despite the use of several printers for the verses, the work itself is uniform, “one continued Letter”. Ultimately then, the postscript “struggles to account for two sets of collaborations—one in the printing house, the other in the playhouse” (Brooks 150). In essence, this chapter has been devoted to the site of the struggle Brooks highlights: the early modern printed page and the ability it is presumed to possess in representing meaningful connections to drama’s performed modes.

The Beaumont and Fletcher Folio embodies many early modern formulations of page and stage, making, as it does, competing claims about what is being presented to readers: on one hand, the accuracy and completeness of the collected plays are championed, with the Folio put forth as a permanent record of authorially-intended texts. On the other hand, the printed plays are figured as intimately connected to a past in which a vibrant, collaborative theatre first brought them to life, with the Folio channeling the necessary energies to animate them once more. The Beaumont and Fletcher Folio thus records inherent tensions between textualized and performed modes of realization, offering readers the best of both worlds: the “perfect full Originalls” and works that are essentially performed when read, replacing the

73 R. C. Bald writes that “the implication that the body of the book is the work of one printing-house is . . . not to be relied upon. The plays were divided into eight rather uneven sections, and each was handed to a different printer, who signed his section with a separate alphabet” (qtd. in Brooks 151).
vacuum of the age’s silent stage. Poem and play are in perfect, conflated harmony. The subsequent printing history of the works of Beaumont and Fletcher is neither extensive nor diverse enough to trace this conflated authority through to any great effect. When considered in light of the edited afterlives of Shakespeare’s texts, however, the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio’s complicated and contradictory assessment of a printed playtext’s ability to engage with performance—its awareness of itself as both an archive and portal through which performance can be imagined—proves prescient. Echoing Brooks, I would contend that all printed drama reminds readers of what has been taken away from them, though these reminders can be more implicit than Moseley’s; further, as the remaining chapters in my study will demonstrate, editors at the forefront of shaping Shakespeare’s drama in print have employed a number of strategies that go a long way towards compensating for this loss.
Chapter Four: Performance and the Editorial Tradition

Thus Conscience does make Cowards,
And thus the healthful face of Resolution
Shews sick and pale with Thought:
And enterprises of great pith and moment,
With this regard, their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action.

In any other passage, in any other play, the changes might pass unnoticed, but in what has become the most famous speech in Shakespeare’s most famous work, the alterations, though subtle, are impossible to miss. The quotation remains instantly recognizable as the conclusion of Hamlet’s “To be or not to be” speech; the “native hue” of Resolution so familiar to modern eyes and ears, however, has become “the healthful face,” and this face is no longer “sicklied o’er with the pale cast of thought” but rather “Shews sick and pale with Thought.” The modifications, which are printed in a 1676 quarto of the play, were made by William Davenant, Restoration theatre manager of the Duke’s Men, one of two companies supported by royal proclamation when the public theatres reopened in 1660 (the other being the King’s Men led by Thomas Killigrew). The title-page to The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark declares the text representative of the play “As it is now Acted at his Highness the Duke of York’s Theatre,” and the Players’ Quarto, as it is frequently called, is understood to be a fairly accurate representation of Hamlet as it was performed in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Davenant’s efforts to render the final portion of Hamlet’s famed speech more readily intelligible might be conspicuous, but other forms of mediation on Davenant’s part are much more profound; the justifications for his treatment of the play are communicated in a stark prefatory note “To the Reader”:

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Portions of this chapter have been published (in a slightly different form) as “A Brief History of the Edited Shakespearean Text,” Literature Compass 3.2 (2006): 182-94.
This play being too long to be conveniently Acted, such Places as might be least prejudicial to the Plot or Sense, are left out upon the Stage: but that we may no way wrong the incomparable Author, are here inserted according to the Original Copy, with this Mark “ (A2r)

Those passages distinguished by quotation marks are not insignificant: around 800 lines of the Q2 text were evidently cut from performance, including most of the play’s political undercurrents (the Danish ambassadors, most mentions of Fortinbras before the final scene), roughly half the “O, what a rogue and peasant slave am I” speech, all of Hamlet’s advice to the players, and the entirety of Hamlet’s final soliloquy.

The implications of Davenant’s address to readers, as well as the appearance of the quarto’s pages—a record of lines that simply did not exist when cut from performance, “a synoptic vision of Shakespeare’s play, book and performance side by side, each commenting upon the other” (Taylor, Reinventing 49)—must not be overlooked. As one twentieth-century editor of Hamlet puts it,

The Players’ Quarto recognizes that by 1676 there were two Hamlets not one. On the one hand, there was the play script, a kind of quarry from which the theatre manager might extract whatever he thought most suitable to make up an evening’s entertainment . . . On the other hand, however, there was the Shakespearian text, already establishing itself as a literary masterpiece, which no reader of the play would forgo. (Hibbard 20)

Or more succinctly from Peter Holland, “[Davenant’s note to readers] marks one step in the opening of an explicit gap between text and performance in the representation of the text” (qtd. in Erne 167). The Players’ Quarto is thus designed to mark its deviations from the play as performed, to encode the printed play with a means by which to recognize, and perhaps even interrogate, the distance between printed texts and performance texts. Davenant’s address to readers is intriguing not because it acknowledges a gap between text and

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75 Anthony Dawson remarks that “virtually all of these cuts are to be found in Olivier’s 1948 film, a testament to the remarkable staying power of theatrical tradition or perhaps to film’s coincident stress on action” (Hamlet 24). For a more detailed list of the cuts, see Dawson, Hamlet 23-4, Erne 167, and Taylor, Reinventing 46-51.
performance—in many ways, *Hamlet* has from its first incarnations in print registered such a

gap, with Q1 (1603) championing the play "As it hath been diverse times acted by his

Highness’s servants in the City of London . . . and elsewhere", and Q2 (1604), "Newly

imprinted and enlarged almost as much again as it was, according to the true and perfect

Copy," locating its authority in a superior text. What is significant about the 1676 quarto is

the implication that the printed page can demarcate the gap itself, give shape to it, and in the

process become a meaningful site of exchange between the two modes of production. The

introduction of a relatively simple bit of code into the text—quotation marks identifying lines

not spoken in the theatre—allows readers the opportunity to utilize the *scape* of the page to

produce more accurate imagined approximations of the play in performance.

Despite the significance of the way in which the Players’ Quarto negotiates text and

performance, Davenant is not regarded as a major figure in the establishment of editorial

principles related to the Shakespearean text, and strictly speaking, he is not; as Marcus Walsh

writes of the performance editions that began to proliferate in the next century and applied

similar strategies for identifying the reduced texts used in the theatre, "The eighteenth-

century theatre texts are functional reprints rather than works of scholarship, . . . bearing

virtually no signs of editorial intervention in terms of commentaries, glossaries, or

introductions" (126). It is true that performance editions, for the reasons Walsh outlines,

have had a minimal impact on the development of editorial practice; interestingly, however,

Davenant’s “functional reprint” can, from certain angles, be seen to be doing what we now

think of as editorial work. Consider again the passage that opened this chapter: the insertion

of “the healthful face” and “Shews sick and pale with Thought” were changes meant to

facilitate the apprehension of theatre audiences, but when recorded in the printed play, the

alterations are akin to editorial mediations meant for readers. In Gary Taylor’s words, “What
later editors and commentators will put into the footnotes—paraphrases that explain
Shakespeare’s meaning—Davenant simply sticks into the dialogue itself” (Reinventing 47-8). Thus, while the Players’ Quarto is not governed by a systematic, rigorous methodology (aimed at such things as elucidating textual variants present in earlier printings or resolving textual cruces), it is nevertheless a useful introduction to this chapter in that it offers a striking example of how the malleability of the printed page can render awareness of performance practice an integral, and in some ways unavoidable, condition of the reading experience.

Davenant’s edition, moreover, was known by those editors of the early eighteenth century who laid the cornerstones that have shaped editorial procedures related to the Shakespearean text ever since—Nicholas Rowe, for one, follows certain cuts and additions that Davenant had implemented in his version of Hamlet. It is to the founding texts of the editorial tradition that I now turn, to critical editions of Shakespeare that are governed by discernible strategies related to emendation and elucidation. The names of the key figures (in addition to Rowe) will be well known: Pope, Theobald, Capell, Malone. The work of these editors is, quite rightly, usually studied in relation to their adjustments to, and idiosyncratic refinements of, playtexts that were increasingly understood as discrete, literary objects: retrospective assessments of their work tend to zero in on matters of emendation, textual commentaries and glosses, modernization, and adjustments to punctuation, lineation, and metre. The overriding concern of these editors was with recognizing Shakespeare’s plays “as constituting a body of literary work, within a literary context, recoverable and interpretable

76 The most recent edition of the play (Arden3, 2006), for instance, glosses—in the margins, of course—“native hue” as “natural colour” and “sicklied o’er with the pale cast of thought” as “unhealthily covered [with the] pallid tinge of contemplation” (Thompson and Taylor 287).

by the scholarly study of that context" (Walsh 124). Without denying their disproportionate interest in Poem over Play, my focus will shift attention to a less thoroughly-mined topic: how the strategies of Shakespeare’s early editors—which often display a lack of concern with or even explicit dismissal of performance practice—represented for readers the dynamic relationship shared by page and stage. That representations of performance in early critical editions ranged so widely—from excision and marginalization of what were deemed to be theatrical interpolations (Pope), to esoteric symbols meant to encode staged action into the text (Capell)—indicates that from the outset, editorial engagements with Shakespeare involved utilizing the manipulable space of the page to configure some sort of harmony between text and performance. Moreover, given the scholarly endeavours to recover, restore, and authenticate Shakespeare’s plays in print and the concurrent preference for heavily adapted and transformed versions of Shakespeare in the eighteenth-century theatre, when critical editions from the period do gesture toward the stage, these gestures tend to be in terms of idealized, imagined performances figured as being located in the literary text; that is, the editions more often than not imply that performance potentialities are “contained” in the text and that the imagined performances that reading can produce are thus merely realizations of the text’s instructions. Although not referring specifically to eighteenth-century editorial practice, Worthen makes use of an apt metaphor, that of the text as “blueprint”: “It implies on the one hand that the performance will materialize the implications of the text in a very different form, and that the materialization will necessarily specify and particularize the design; on the other hand, it also implies that the final performance is prescribed, that its structures and mechanics have already been laid down, and that performance is merely following the directions” (Print 172). Worthen’s point is that this blueprint analogy persists in many current formulations of page and stage, but the metaphor is also applicable to the
earliest incarnations of critical editions of Shakespeare, where certain forms of editorial mediation allow for an awareness of performance contingencies to be built from the text and its apparatuses.

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The sub-current of attention directed toward matters of performance, largely subsumed by more prominent and powerful streams of attention devoted to emending and modernizing the text, is exemplified in the work of Rowe, the first Shakespearean editor to be identified for his efforts. As Rowe makes clear in the dedication to his six-volume collection of Shakespeare’s works (1709), he understands his central task to be “to redeem him from the Injuries of former Impressions” (vol. 1, A2r). “Impressions” is key here: Rowe is not seeking to counter the adaptive impulses of the contemporary theatre, but instead refers to the lineage of Shakespeare’s texts; the “Injuries” in question have been dispensed in the process of printing, not in the theatre. Further, Rowe’s redemptive energies are clearly fuelled by authorial and literary concerns: “I must not pretend to have restor’d this Work to the Exactness of the Author’s Original Manuscripts: Those are lost, or, at least, are gone beyond any Inquiry I could make; so that there was nothing left, but to compare the several Editions, and give the true Reading as well as I could from thence” (vol. 1, A2r-v). Rowe thus situates himself within a history of textual dissemination in writing and in print that can be traced (albeit only in theory) back to Shakespeare’s originary creative acts; Rowe delves no further into his strategies, but he succinctly identifies the major obstacles facing any editor of Shakespeare’s texts: the prevalence of errors that have been introduced to the texts, authorial manuscripts that can be reconstructed only via a combination of interpretive and imaginative

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78 Rowe later remarks that “many of his Plays were surrepticiously and lamely Printed in his lifetime” (vol. 1, p. x).
work, and the existence of extant versions that are connected in uncertain ways. Rowe’s account does not specifically acknowledge the influence that the play as performed might have on either the printed versions produced for readers or on the reading experience itself—the “true Reading(s)” that he seeks to restore can presumably be attained without recourse to the exigencies of performance. The edition’s investment in the materiality of printed playtexts is further demonstrated in the piece following the dedication, “Some Account of the Life” of Shakespeare, where Rowe occasionally references other pages in his multi-volume collection; in his discussion of *The Merchant of Venice*, for example, he remarks on “two Passages that deserve a particular Notice. The first is, what Portia says in praise of Mercy, *pag. 577*; and the other on the power of Musick, *pag. 587*” (vol. 1, p. xx). Comparisons of this sort have become absolutely commonplace in editorial practice, but the implications of such a move are worth remembering: not only is Rowe implying that exemplary passages can be appreciated when removed from their general context, his comments also attest to the fact that these passages (and their respective contexts) can be accessed readily by readers. Singling out passages in this way embraces properties unique to plays produced in print: Rowe’s edition is searchable; noteworthy passages can be flagged; disparate passages can be juxtaposed; readers can navigate the edition in any direction and at any speed.

Rowe’s prevailing concern with printed “Impressions” of the plays is echoed in most retrospective assessments of his edition, which often emphasize the prolonged influence that Rowe’s work has had on the shape of subsequent editions of Shakespeare. His most conspicuous alterations to his copy-texts have to do with modernization and standardization: Rowe updates spelling and punctuation to conform to contemporary standards, divides plays into acts (and usually scenes as well), provides each play with a list of *dramatis personae*, inserts exits and entrances where they had not been previously marked, and begins each play
with a brief reference to its location (doing the same for some, but not all, later scenes in each play). Holland, writing in the introduction to a facsimile of Rowe’s edition, has gone so far as to claim that Rowe’s edition “was the single greatest determinant on the way Shakespeare’s plays appeared in collected editions, in some respects even more important than the early quartos or the First Folio” (vol. 1, p. vii). Of further significance is that Rowe—himself a playwright (of marginal success) very much in tune with the realities of the eighteenth-century stage—utilizes the page to imprint performance in significant ways; his approach to things like scene locations and stage directions is not entirely systematic, but the noteworthy ways in which he altered the shape of texts (relative to their previous incarnations in the seventeenth-century folios) are informed by considerations of theatrical production. Somewhat ironically then, given Rowe’s emphasis on the materiality and textuality of the plays, “The editorial virtues of his text derive in large part from his theatrical background” (Companion 53). Rowe remains such a significant and contentious figure not only because he was the “first” editor of Shakespeare’s collected works, but because he was the first critical interpreter of Shakespeare whose extended engagement with both text and performance was worked out on the space of the page. That is, the very means by which he made the texts more reader-friendly are also the means by which he facilitated readers’ imagined approximations of performance, or, put differently, Rowe’s strategies for enabling readers to engage with, and imagine, printed playtexts as drama paradoxically gave them a literary form that misrepresented performance in fundamental ways. Rowe’s introduction of act and scene divisions is a case in point: as Holland remarks, “Given that most of Shakespeare’s plays were written for a theatre where act divisions were not marked in

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79 An earlier commentator calls Rowe’s work “the matrix of English critical editions” (Jackson 468).
performance but the performance ran continuously, Rowe is imposing a shape often against the grain of the text's own articulation of its shape” (vol. 1, p. xiv).80

Holland's position is a representative one: Rowe's imposition of a particular shape on Shakespeare's texts garners the bulk of commentary on his edition. Rowe uses the Fourth Folio (1685) as the basis for his own collection, a decision that set a precedent for subsequent editors of Shakespeare (until Edward Capell in 1767) to use a received text rather than extensively collate extant materials.81 Rowe's rather bathetic assessment of his editorial efforts in his dedication—he has taken "some Care," and has worked "pretty carefully"—seems, in retrospect, to be honest and accurate. It has been documented that he consulted printed editions other than F4, predominantly other Players' quartos from the Restoration, though his consultations of earlier versions of texts is far from comprehensive.82 Barbara Mowat assesses the impact of Rowe's random practice of conflation:

It was Rowe who began the scholarly tradition of combining Folio and quarto texts to make what we now call conflated texts, and it was Rowe who established the practice of combining them with no signal to the reader that the editor had found lines and passages in different 'editions'—as Rowe called them—and that the editor had himself been responsible for putting them together to make a text of his own. (“Rowe” 319)

It is difficult to argue with Mowat's critique, though her summation that "what Rowe constructed was a conflated text that hid the fact of its constructedness" (319) is anachronistic in that it holds Rowe to modern standards that he did not concern himself with.

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80 Murphy similarly observes that “[Rowe] introduced act and scene divisions for all plays, thus foregrounding their literary quality as printed texts, at the expense of their theatrical lineage” (Print 61).

81 Rowe's decision to use F4 as his copy-text is deeply troubling to modern editorial sensibilities; G. B Evans, for instance, argues that "The result was a generally inferior text that seriously vitiated later editions for the next sixty years or more" (60). It is worth pointing out, however, that Rowe was selected to edit Shakespeare by the Tonson publishing cartel, who also published the editions of Pope, Theobald, Warburton, Johnson, Steevens, and Capell. Encouraging their editors to base their editions on a received (Tonson) text would have been a means for the Tonsons to perpetuate their copyright privileges. See Dugas 144-7, Seary 133-5, Jarvis 94-5, and Murphy, Print 57-100.

Mowat’s complaint that Rowe combines Folio and quarto texts “with no signal to the reader” discounts Rowe’s mention of his effort “to compare the several Editions”—perhaps this is all the signal that Rowe deemed necessary to account for his haphazard consultation of other printed texts. Rowe, simply put, was not invested in collating procedures that have since become integral to the editorial process. Furthermore, the dedication’s bevy of first-person pronouns (“I have taken,” “I must not,” “beyond any Inquiry I could make,” “I could,” “I have”), combined with numerous verbs representative of editorial work (“restor’d,” “compare,” “give,” “endeavour’d,” “render’d”), yields a statement that is not quite an admission of his own complicity in constructing Shakespeare’s text, but does reveal an awareness of his influential role in the reproduction of Shakespeare’s “Work” for readers.

The most provocative piece of evidence suggesting that Rowe was aware of his influence over the shape of the printed page is the existence of a trial sheet for his edition, dated 1708. Consisting of the title-page and the first eight pages of text from The Tempest, the sheet is described by Holland as “an experiment in setting, establishing both the format for the page and significant elements of the house style that would be used for the full edition” (Holland, “Modernizing” 25). Holland identifies numerous subtle differences in spelling and punctuation between the 1708 trial sheet and the 1709 collected version of the play; the trial sheet, unlike the edition proper, is based on F2—likely a “convenient presence on Rowe’s shelf” (27)—and Rowe follows this earlier folio in printing the classical “Actus Primus. Scæna Prima.” rather than the more contemporary “ACT I. SCENE I.,” which would become his standard in 1709. “This trial sheet,” writes Margaret Jane Kidnie, “makes one aware, in a very concrete way, of the constructedness of an editorial tradition that can otherwise seem transparent, or ‘natural’. Rowe experimented with possible formats” (“Staging” 164, emphasis hers).
Rowe’s most prominent means of (re)constructing Shakespeare’s works involve not his conflation of texts but his manipulation of para-texts, particularly lists of *dramatis personae*, scene locations, and stage directions. His deployment of these editorial apparatuses, though undeniably influential, is not entirely consistent in that a range of information is communicated to readers across the edition, often differing from play to play. The majority of the lists of *dramatis personae* provide comparable amounts of information related to the social standing and relationships amongst characters. The most scant list, that of *Troilus and Cressida*, identifies all male characters as only “Trojan” or “Greek”; other lists encode fragments of narrative, hinting at developments in the play’s action: Saturninus in *Titus Andronicus*, for example, is “Son to the late Emperor of Rome, and afterwards declar’d Emperor himself.” General scene locations found under the *dramatis personae* also vary greatly: rather than attempt to detail the dizzying changes in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Rowe describes the scene as “Several Parts of the Roman Empire”; the locations of *Julius Caesar*, on the other hand, receive a more expansive treatment, with “the first three Acts and beginning of the Fourth in Rome, for the remainder of the Fourth near Sardis, for the Fifth in the Fields of Phillipi.” That these scene indicators introducing each play are meant to provide readers with nothing more than rough mental maps helps to explain how plays as disparate as *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* and *Timon of Athens* inhabit nearly identical imagined spaces: “Athens, and a Wood not far from it” and “Athens, and the Woods not far from it” respectively. Mowat, commenting on Rowe’s “influence in the presentation of Shakespeare’s dramatic world,” remarks of the scene locations that they “encourage readers of the plays to read them novelistically or to imagine them within a proscenium arch on a stage filled with backdrops and furniture. Further, they sometimes encourage readers to imagine a scene in a setting at odds with the dialogue—or at least not demanded by the
dialogue" ("Rowe" 318). Mowat identifies two of Rowe's most influential decisions—placing much of act three of *King Lear* on "*A Heath*" and his call for Hamlet to encounter the Ghost on "*The Platform before the Palace*" (emended in most modern editions to "the battlements")—as lacking explicit textual support ("Rowe" 318). It is likely that the authority for these decisions, and many other of Rowe's interpolations in regard to matters of staging, were the product of contemporary performance practice. For example: Massai, noting that it was Nahum Tate's 1681 production of *Lear* that first set the third act on a "Desert Heath," suggests that Rowe "was probably affected by his familiarity with the play as performed on the Restoration stage," and posits that Rowe's use of the scene location "may actually signal an interesting instance of cross-fertilization" between Shakespeare as produced for theatre audiences and Shakespeare as produced for readers ("Working" 192).

As for where exactly Hamlet converses with the Ghost, no quarto or folio version of the play marks a division between the gathering of Hamlet, Horatio, and Marcellus and Hamlet's private conversation with his dead father (1.4 and 1.5 in most modern editions); in fact, a discrete scene for the re-entrance of Hamlet and the Ghost was not introduced until Capell's edition in 1767—which he nevertheless locates at "Another Part of the same [Platform]."

Since the action in 1.4 and 1.5 is continuous and a change in venue is not made explicit in the dialogue, Rowe's emendation specifying the positioning of Hamlet and the Ghost appears representative of what eighteenth-century performers and audiences understood as a protracted scene on Elsinore's platform(s).^{83}

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^{83} I do not share Mowat's belief that "if we are to imagine Hamlet and the Ghost in any location at all, it must be on solid earth, or Hamlet's 'Well said, old mole. Canst work i' th' earth so fast?' makes Hamlet seem quite mad indeed" ("Rowe" 318). All that can be known for certain is that Hamlet and company agreed to meet "Vpon the Platforme twixt eleuen and twelue" (TLN 452), and that Hamlet later asks the Ghost "Where wilt thou lead me?" (TLN 682), indicating that he has moved away from the initial meeting place. It seems to me perfectly reasonable to assume that Hamlet and the Ghost are still on the platforms of the castle, with the image
Mowat's conclusion that "Rowe laid a heavy early-eighteenth-century hand on the way Shakespeare is still perceived on the page" ("Rowe" 320) is, strictly speaking, accurate, though of course it is worth adding that all editors impose a shape on the texts they prepare for their modern readers; Rowe remains something of a lightning rod because some of his means of modernizing the text proved to be remarkably influential. Mowat's reading of Rowe is insightful in its expression of how the organization of the text on the page and an editor's concomitant mediations via para-textuals can have a tremendous impact on the reading experience. A way of rephrasing Mowat's assessment of Rowe's edition—one that does not denigrate his achievements or hold him to anachronistic standards—is to say that Rowe's means of producing *performancescapes* have proven themselves to be remarkably evocative and adaptable. More specifically, the areas of the playtext that he is best known for purposefully manipulating—the *dramatis personae*, scene indicators, stage directions—remain the surest means of facilitating readers' navigations between *mise en page* and *mise en scène* and thus sharpening *performancescapes*. Rowe's direction, for example, that Timon scatters the "detested Parasites" at his fateful banquet by "Throwing the Dishes at them, and drives 'em out" (vol. 5, p. 2196) funnels a reader's imagination towards a very specific range of possibilities; the Folio versions of the play contain no such direction, meaning that readers receive no information supplementary to the dialogue as to what, if anything, Timon is throwing. Editors have continued to tinker with this particular moment in *Timon*: subsequent editions have sometimes specified that Timon first throws hot water and then hurls stones at his dinner guests, interpolations that absorb and modify Rowe's, producing a *performancescape* that invites readers to envision Timon's explosion of hostility (and its of the mole digging in the earth becoming a metatheatrical gesture akin to Hamlet's reference to the Ghost being located in the "selleredge" (TLN 847) under the stage.)
potential ramifications) in a different way. The shift from no direction to dishes to stones likely has no great bearing on one’s overall assessment of the play, but considering that Timon is also physically repelling callers after he retires to his cave outside Athens, an editor’s treatment of the banquet scene can resonate much later. Though the Folio text does not contain a stage direction, the dialogue implies strongly that Timon fires a stone at Apemantus during the climax of their verbal sparring: “Away thou tedious Rogue, I am sorry I shall lose a stone by thee” (TLN 2009-10); an editor inserting directions for a stone (or stones) to be thrown at the banquet and then later at Apemantus can provide a consistency to Timon’s violent misanthropy that is otherwise not necessarily available to readers of the play. Rowe himself does not make such a link, but his willingness to introduce para-textuals that govern a reader’s engagement with the Shakespearean text essentially instituted the practice that make such a link possible.

The other influential practice initiated by Rowe’s edition was its inclusion of engravings depicting particular scenes from each play. While the claim that “all of [Rowe’s] engravings depict early-eighteenth-century costumes, scenes, and staging techniques” (Dugas 145) overstates the case (one need only look at the first engraving in the collection prefacing The Tempest, complete with a roiling ocean, capsizing vessel, bolts of lightning, and various winged creatures to realize that the illustrations are not bound to the possibilities of theatrical representation), it is clear that many of the illustrations do reflect the contemporary stage. The ghosts that appear to Richard in the final act of Richard III, for example, are emerging from a trap door in the floor (see Figure 3), while the engraving of the assassination scene in Julius Caesar includes in its background a Roman cityscape on painted flats (the likes of which had been popularized on the Restoration stage). Other engravings are even more

84 A less fantastic moment is depicted in the 1714 edition of Rowe’s text: Ferdinand and Miranda playing chess.
Figure 3. The frontispiece to Rowe’s edition of *Richard III* (1709).
nuanced in their approximations of performance: an overturned chair is prominent in the foreground of the illustration of the closet scene in *Hamlet*, an acknowledgement of the actor’s point popularized by Thomas Betterton (?1635-1710), who abruptly recoiled at the reappearance of the Ghost (see Figure 4).\(^8^5\) Even though no engraving can be linked to a specific performance, the cumulative effect of the illustrations is that the “Imagination is subordinated to a realistic portrayal of the modes of the contemporary theatre” (Jackson 470).

The engravings can thus be understood as a means by which the plays are made present for readers—in the full sense of both contemporary and visible. The prominence of powdered wigs, three-cornered hats, and immense head-dresses are, along with Rowe’s treatment of punctuation and spelling, part of an effort to modernize Shakespeare’s text; the engravings also carry with them the potential to ground readers’ imaginings of particular incidents, a point that would have been especially important for those plays that had yet to enter the eighteenth-century repertory, like *All’s Well That Ends Well* and *The Comedy of Errors.*

Since they carry no identifying tags or underlines, the engravings cannot always be matched to specific acts, scenes and line numbers—T. S. R. Boase remarks that “Troilus and Cressida are frankly taking a curtain call” (86-7), though it seems more likely that what is being depicted is Cressida passing Troilus’s sleeve to Diomedes. Though the engravings range widely in terms of the relative dynamism of the moments they capture, their comprehensiveness (one for each play, including the six apocryphal works that Rowe imported from F4) and consistent placement (before the *dramatis personae* of each play) create a conduit that runs throughout Rowe’s edition, one that allows for symbiotic

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\(^8^5\) Betterton is in fact singled out by Rowe for his “fine Performance” of Hamlet, and the actor also looms large in Rowe’s “Account of the Life” of Shakespeare; Rowe explains that “I must own a particular Obligation to him, for the most considerable part of the Passages relating to his Life, which I have here transmitted to the Publick; his Veneration for the Memory of *Shakespear* having engag’d him to make a Journey into *Warwickshire*, on purpose to gather up what Remains he could of a Name for which he had so great a Value” (vol. 1, p. xxxiv).
Figure 4. The frontispiece to Rowe’s edition of Hamlet (1709).
exchanges between textual and performed modes. More specifically, the inclusion of the engravings originate a systematic practice that facilitates visual representations (or approximations) of performance coming to bear on readers’ engagements with Shakespeare’s printed texts. A revealing example is provided by the engraving introducing *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (see Figure 5), where the fractured state of Oberon and Titania’s relationship is rendered strikingly: two rival factions of fairies stretch across the page, centred by the confrontation of their respective leaders; Oberon and Titania each carry sceptres that they rather ominously point at one another, the tips of which are almost, but not quite, touching; a moon is shaded by a passing cloud in the sky of the flat-like background. It is not that the engraving is absolutely true to a specific performance, nor that the engraving totally determines a reader’s imagining of Oberon and Titania’s meeting, nor that it is impossible for a reader to produce a similarly symbolic visualization of the meeting without a suggestive illustration; what the engraving represents is the potential of a para-text to enhance the text proper and enrich the reading experience. A reader moving through 2.1 of Rowe’s text of the play might recall or make reference to the engraving, and in doing so, encounter an image that stimulates or enhances an awareness of certain lines (“the Forgeries of Jealousie”), images (“the Moon . . . / Pale in her Anger, washes all the Air”), or matters of tone and tension (Titania’s summation of the “Progeny of Evil” that are the result of “our Debate, . . . our Dissentión”). Combined with the text, the engraving provides a palette from which the reader’s imagination can extrapolate more vivid and resonant *performancescapes*. Many of the engravings found in Rowe’s edition now appear remarkably stilted and static, though this is due in large part to the fact that high-quality photographs have come to pervade Shakespeare editions of the past fifty years; these photographs, though usually more provocative than an engraving, are performing the same role of mediating page and stage.
Figure 5. The frontispiece to Rowe’s edition of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (1709).
Rowe never explicitly positions his edition relative to live performance and theatrical history; as my reading of his edition has shown, the manner in which his editorial strategies constructed the links between text and performance must be inferred from his treatment of para-textuals like stage directions and scene locations. Rowe’s successor, Alexander Pope, is much more forthcoming in his edition (1723-5) about his understanding of the relationship between Shakespeare’s plays in print and on stage. Pope demonstrates a greater interest in, and familiarity with, the early quartos, though his consultation of texts that predate the Folios is far from comprehensive or systematic; significantly, his desire to canvass early editions in search of alternate readings is driven by an unequivocal distrust of the First Folio. For Pope, the theatre is a poisonous influence on Shakespeare’s written works that subsequently contaminates the transmission of these works into print.\(^{86}\) Particularly damning for the First Folio is that it was compiled by two actors, Heminge and Condell:

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\ldots\text{how many faults may have been unjustly laid to [Shakespeare’s] account from arbitrary Additions, Expunctions, Transpositions of scenes and lines, confusion of Characters and Persons, wrong application of Speeches, corruptions of innumerable Passages by the Ignorance, and wrong Correction of ’em again by the Impertinence, of his first Editors? (vol. 1, p. xxi)}
\]

The Folio, in Pope’s formulation, contains an accumulation of “trifling and bombast passages ... For whatever had been added, since those Quarto’s, by the actors, or had stolen from their mouths into the written parts, were from thence conveyed into the printed text ...” (vol. 1, p. xvi). Pope is intent on removing the taint of theatrical interpolation, though this is not to say that the purified text that Pope is interested in producing is intended to be entirely Shakespeare’s, or even Shakespeare in his entirety. Pope does consult the early quartos that he can get his hands on, but he is uninterested in judging their relative authority or delving

\(^{86}\) He states early on that the “business” of his preface “is only to give an account of the fate of his Works, and the disadvantages under which they have been transmitted to us” (i).
into stemmatics; instead, matters are much simpler: all early texts share the same potential for corruption, which allows him the freedom to "unsystematically . . . pick and choose among variant texts as some particular readings appealed to him more than others" (Murphy, Print 65). This approach to variant readings and theatrical interpolations has, not surprisingly, major ramifications for the shape of Pope's edition.

Tellingly, Pope claims that "one may look upon [Shakespeare's] works . . . as upon an ancient majestick piece of Gothick Architecture, compar'd with a neat Modern building: The latter is more elegant and glaring, but the former is more strong and more solemn. It must be allow'd, that in one of these there are materials enough to make many of the other" (xxiii). The metaphor is revealing: beyond fashioning Shakespeare's works as an enduring creation worthy of reverence, it also betrays Pope's willingness to subject these works to his own system of editorial architectonics. If Shakespeare's plays are a "majestick piece of Gothick Architecture," then they are also in need of continual upkeep and refinement, even large-scale reconstruction. Pope may elide his influence by claiming to have "discharged the dull duty of an Editor, to my best judgement, with more labour than I expect thanks, with a religious abhorrence of all Innovation, and without any indulgence to my private sense or conjecture" (xxii), but his mise en page tells a much different story. "[P]ointing out an Author's excellencies," writes Pope, "[is] the better half of Criticism" (xxiii), and to this end he devises a number of strategies for signalling readers: "Some of the most shining passages are distinguish'd by comma's in the margin; and where the beauty lay not in particulars but

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87 Murphy quotes a note in the Weekly Journal (November 18, 1721), in which Pope and his publisher, Jacob Tonson, canvass the general public for quarto editions of "the Tempest, Mackbeth, Julius Caesar, Timon of Athens, King John, and Henry the 8th." Of course, no such quartos exist: all of these plays were first published in F (1623); the slip, Murphy adds, "indicates that the centre of gravity of Pope's edition was not historically located" (Print 64). What did Pope have access to? "It appears from his 'Table of the Several Editions of Shakespear's Plays, made use of and compared in this Impression' [which follows the Index in volume VI], that Pope had access to at least one Quarto edition of every play published in Shakespeare's own lifetime, with the exception of Much Ado, as well as to copies of the first and second Folios" (Walsh 130).
in the whole, a star is prefix’d to the scene” (xxiii). Distinguishing what he deems exemplary portions of text in these ways proves to be relatively unobtrusive: noteworthy passages marked by marginal commas run from just a few lines (Cleopatra’s “Peace, peace! / Dost thou not see my baby at my breast, / That sucks the nurse asleep”), to much longer speeches (Mercutio’s Queen Mab speech and Prospero’s summation of his magical achievements, “Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves . . .” are among those recognized), and as Pope explains, extended sequences worthy of a reader’s attention are identified by an innocuous star prefacing the scene—the post-assassination confrontation between Brutus and Cassius in *Julius Caesar* (4.3 in Pope’s edition) is an example of a scene evidently worthy of this distinction.

Much more significant—and conspicuous—are the textual ramifications of Pope’s anti-theatrical bias. His claim that there are “almost innumerable Errors, which have risen from one source, the ignorance of the Players, both as his actors, and as his editors” (xiv) is no mere flourish; rather, this position determines on a fundamental level the manner in which Pope’s edited text is presented to readers. When it comes to the influence of the theatre, he takes an uncompromising stance: “Some suspected passages which are excessively bad, (and which seem Interpolations by being so inserted that one can entirely omit them without any chasm, or deficiency in the context) are degraded to the bottom of the page; with an Asterisk referring to the places of their insertion” (xxii). What is important to understand about Pope’s strategy of marginalizing “theatrical interpolation” is that despite being the product of an anti-theatrical stance, it nevertheless represents a conscious, systematic engagement with performance. The deep irony of Pope’s intention has never been sufficiently addressed: in removing what he understands to be the “excessively bad,” interpolated passages, Pope draws attention to the very influences that he seeks to suppress. An examination of Pope’s
edition reveals an ostensibly discriminatory strategy that seems to subvert itself as soon as it is put in motion, with "degraded" passages set off in the margins in a reduced font, distinguished in a manner not unlike Pope's use of commas or stars to identify exemplary passages. Thus, in the very act of attempting to strip what he considers to be theatrical interpolations of their authority, Pope simultaneously confers a certain measure of authority on particular passages in his inability to do away with them entirely. Paradoxically, the more egregious and expansive the supposed influence of the players, the more conservative Pope becomes in his alterations to the playtext and his mise en page: a marginal note to 1.2 of The Two Gentlemen of Verona explains that

This whole Scene, like many others in these Plays, (some of which I believe were written by Shakespear, and others interpolated by the Players) is compos'd of the lowest and most trifling conceits, to be accounted for only from the gross taste of the age he liv'd in . . . I wish I had authority to leave them out, but I have done all I could, set a mark of reprobation upon them, throughout this edition. ††† (vol. 1, p. 157)

Remarking on eighteenth-century editorial practice in general, Robert Weimann writes that "determined efforts to sift out the infringements of performers tended to petrify what must have been mutually responsive, fluctuating lines of demarcation between dramatic text and theatrical performance" (33-4), a statement that elucidates Pope's attempts to isolate and insulate the dramatic text from the influence of performance practices. Significantly, however, Pope more often than not supplies readers with the means to undo the petrifaction that his strategy introduces: the "low and vicious parts and passages" (xxi) that he "sifts" from the text are not scattered to the winds but shifted to a different site on the page, and readers are given specific instructions as to how they can blend two otherwise discrete elements into a fuller version of the playtext. It is worth noting that Pope explains his asterisks as marking not the deletion or excision of passages, but "the places of their
insertion" (xxii), a rhetorical move that seems to give readers an implicit invitation to reconstitute that which has been divided. Ultimately then, although text and performance are separated and placed in discrete segments of the page, in a strange, likely unintended way, Pope's edition has the potential to foster readings that put the opposed elements of Poem and Play into meaningful contact with one another.

Pope's position on theatrical interpolation prefigures Fredson Bowers's now infamous desire to "strip the veil of print from a text" (87). Bowers is of course referring to his New Bibliographical mandate of determining the precise nature of the underlying copy behind a printed playtext, something that Pope has no interest in; nonetheless, both editors are driven by a belief in the truth of the text, truth that has been vitiated by various intermediaries involved in printed transmissions. For Bowers, the "veil of print" obscures (to one degree or another) an authorial manuscript; for Pope, it obscures the most aesthetically appealing text. The two differ in that Pope's work on Shakespeare attests to a "prolonged attempt to strip the vulgar traces of production and performance from the text" (Weimann 31); for Pope then, print is less a medium to be "seen through" than cut up and rearranged: Shakespeare's printed plays are comprised of an identifiable mixture of literary and theatrical elements from which Poem and Play can be tagged and separated. Comparisons between Pope's tenets and formative editorial principles of the early and mid-twentieth century can only go so far, but they help bring to the fore distinguishing features of Pope's approach to Shakespeare in print. The changes to the appearance of Pope's page bespeak his aesthetic orientation; indeed, he could be the textbook example of Shillingsburg's description of this editorial philosophy:

From the historical texts aesthetic editors will select the forms they think the author wanted and accepted or should have wanted and accepted. Depending on how much such editors respect historical forms, they will adhere to or alter the text, appealing to what they think the author's aesthetic principles were, or
what they wish they had been, to correct textual ‘infelicities’. (26, emphasis added)

Pope is out to fashion the “‘best’ text” (Shillingsburg 18), but the arbiter of what is “best” is Pope, and Pope alone. Marcus Walsh provides a concise assessment of Pope’s strategies, engaging the poet-editor on his own terms:

He conceived his business as the mediation of Shakespeare, the author of a past and less cultivated age, to readers in his own. This is a form of modernization more liberal and extensive than that found in recent modernized text editions, but not essentially different in motive. There seems little point in asking whether his judgments are consistent with aesthetic criteria that Shakespeare might have used. They are not, because Pope’s orientation is not authorial. (131)

Let us consider an example of Pope’s policy of “reprobation” in more detail, keeping in mind that his lack of interest in performance practice and willingness to physically manipulate the appearance of the text on the page are inseparable from his aesthetic orientation. Pope has little patience for crude humour or elaborate word-play—Love’s Labour’s Lost, for instance, is heavily cut, while the quibbling of Viola/Cesario and Feste in 3.1 of Twelfth Night (a play that is otherwise largely spared Pope’s censure) is an example of a scene given the triple-dagger treatment. It is unsurprising then that the opening forty or so lines of the Porter scene in Macbeth (2.4), which include the Porter’s ruminations on the knocking at the gate and his initial exchanges with Macduff on the effects of drunkenness, are confined to the margins. Confined, that is, but not necessarily permanently banished. The degraded passage begins the scene in the Folio, meaning that Pope’s edition of the Porter scene begins not with the Folio’s direction for a “Knocking within,” but with an emended entrance, “Enter Macduff, Lenox and Porter” followed by Macduff’s “Is thy master stirring?” Although it is entirely plausible that a reader would completely ignore the cut passage and proceed directly from the end of 2.3 (page 541 in the edition) to Pope’s revised
starting point for 2.4 (which is conveniently located overleaf at the top of a new page, 542), it is also plausible that a reader would finish reading 2.3 and follow the asterisk after a concluding “Exe[unt]” to the bottom of page 541, where the cut passage is reproduced (see Figures 6 and 7). To be sure, Pope intends for a reader making this tangential move to view the bits with the Porter as uncouth humour unworthy of serious consideration, the unfortunate by-product of Shakespeare’s obligations “to please the lowest of people, and to keep the worst of company” (vol. 1, p. ix). Yet Pope’s treatment of the degraded passage is noteworthy: not only is it reproduced in its entirety, it appears in an edited form that is commensurate with the text proper. He maintains the use of regularized speech prefixes and retains stage directions found in the Folio (the “Knocking within” that begins the scene and various “Knock[s]” throughout the Porter’s first speech). Pope is thus careful not to damage or significantly alter the portion of text being amputated; the cut passage remains intact, meaning that a reader shuttling between the text proper and Pope’s unique form of para-text can reattach it rather seamlessly—the degraded passage carries over to the next page, ending with an “&c” that directs the reader back up to the text proper and Pope’s preferred starting point for the scene.

What is Pope removing from his version of *Macbeth* in marginalizing the role of the Porter? What might readers who skip the cut passage be missing out on? Alternatively, what might readers who engage with the degraded passage be made especially aware of? For one, the Porter’s discourse on the dangers of “equivocation” is absolutely in tune with the larger thematic concerns of a play steeped in matters of doubleness and double meanings. The opening of the Porter scene may not be integral enough to its immediate context or the play

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88 Michael Dobson writes that Pope “Identif[ied] moral corruption and textual corruption alike as symptoms of Shakespeare’s unfortunate association with the public stage” (*Making* 129).
The Tragedy of MACBETH

How is't with me, when every noise appalls me?
What hands are here? hah! they pluck out mine eyes.
Will all great Neptune’s ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? no, this my hand will rather *
Make the green ocean red———

Enter Lady.

Lady. My hands are of your colour; but I shame
To wear a heart so white. I hear a knocking
At the south entry. Retire we to our chamber;
A little water clears us of this deed.
How easy is it then? your constancy.
Hath left you unattended———hark, more knocking! [Knock.
Get on your night-gown, let occasion call us,
And shew us to be watchers; be not lost.
So poorly in your thoughts.

Macb. To know my deed, ‘twere best not know my self.
Wake Duncan with this knocking: would thou couldst! [Exc. *

S C E N E

* will rather
Thy multitudinous feet incursinadine
Making the green one red.

Enter Lady, & c.

* wouldst thou couldst?

S C E N E IV.

Enter a Porter.

Port. Here’s a knocking indeed: if a man were porter of hell-gate, he
should have old turning the key. [Knock.] Knock, knock, knock. Who’s
there, it’s name of Betzebek? here’s a farmer, that hanged himself in th’ ex-
pectation of plenty: come in time, have napkins enough about you, here
you’ll sweat for’t. [Knock.] Knock, knock. Who’s there in th’ other de-
vil’s name? faith, here’s an equivocator, that could swear in both the scales a-
gainst either side, who committed treason enough for God’s sake, yet could
not equivocate to heaven: oh come in, equivocator. [Knock.] Knock,
knock, knock. Who’s there? faith, here’s an English tailor come hither for
stealing out of a French hole: come in taylor, here you may roasty our goode.
[Knock.] Knock, knock. Never at quiet! what are you? but this place is too
cold for hell. I’ll devil-porter it no further: I had thought to have let in some
of all professions, that go the primrose way to th’ everlasting bonfire. [Knock.

Anon, anon, I pray you remember the porter.

Figure 6. The end of 2.3 in Pope’s edition of Macbeth.
The Tragedy of Macbeth.

Scene IV.

Enter Macduff, Lenox and Porter.

Macd. Is thy master stirring?
---Our knocking has awaked him; here he comes.
Len. Good morrow, noble Sir.

Enter Macbeth.

Macb. Good morrow both.

Macd. Is the King stirring, worthy Thane?

Macb. Not yet.

Macd. He did command me to call timely on him,
I've almost flipt the hour.

Macb. I'll bring you to him.

Macd. I know this is a joyful trouble to you:
But yet 'tis one.

Macd. The labour we delight in, physic's pain;
This is the door.

Macd. I'll make so bold to call, for 'tis my limited service.

[Exit Macduff.

Enter Macduff, and Lenox.

Macd. Was it so late, friend, ere you went to bed,
That you do lye so late?

Port. Faith, Sir, we were carolling 'till the second cock:
And drink, Sir, is a great provoker of three things.

Macd. What three things doth drink especially provoke?

Port. Marry, Sir, sleep-painting, sleep, and urine.
Lecchery, Sir, it provokes, and unprovokes: it provokes the desire, but it takes away the performance. Therefore much drink may be said to be an equivocator with lechery; it makes him and he murders him; it lets him on, and it takes him off: it perpends him, and disheartens him; makes him stand to, and not stand to; in conclusion, equivocates him into a sleep, and giving him the lie, leaves him.

Macd. I believe drink gave thee the lie last night.

Port. That it did, Sir, 'tis very true: but I required him for his lie, and I think, being too strong for him, though he took up my legs sometime, yet I made a shift to call him.

Len. } heals or causes pain.

Scene 4, &c.

Figure 7. The beginning of 2.4 in Pope's edition of Macbeth.
as a whole for its removal to create what Pope refers to in his preface as a “chasm” or “deficiency” (xxii) in the playtext, but the bulk of the Porter material has its echoes elsewhere in the work—the Porter’s rant against “an equivocator, that could swear in both the scales against either scales, who committed treason enough for God’s sake, yet could not equivocate to heav’n” (541) finds a more succinct formulation in Macbeth’s paranoia over “th’ equivocation of the fiend / That lies like truth” (593). With the role of the Porter fully intact, concerns over equivocation and doubleness can be seen to pervade the world of the play from its highest levels of leadership to its most base attendants. Thinking specifically in terms of the dynamic interconnections of text and performance, the Porter scene—and Pope’s treatment of it—becomes even more resonant. It has often been noted that the Porter in Macbeth (who asks, “Who’s there i’th’ name of Belzebub... Who’s there in th’ other devil’s name?”) might have been intended to recall devil-porters at the gates of Hell in medieval miracle plays; indeed, the character claims at one point that “I’ll devil-porter it no further.” Though this trace of a medieval theatrical type might not be readily apprehensible for modern audiences, the character of the Porter does seem to be linked to a mode of playing founded on physicality and histrionics (Weimann 11). The Porter is curiously positioned in the play, buffering as he does the Macbeths’ responses to Duncan’s murder and the visceral reactions to the horrific scene of his death that follow the arrival of Macduff and Lennox; the abrupt (though brief) shift in tone that accompanies the Porter—whose commentary is rife with English proverbs and perhaps even veiled references to current events—can be understood to momentarily suspend the intensity of the imagined and imaginative effects that

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89 Since Pope’s edition does not use line numbering, parenthetical references are to page numbers.

90 One editor of Macbeth notes that “None of the surviving [miracle plays] has a designated porter on the mouth of Hell, but various plays dealing with Christ’s activities after his death offer two or three devils on the gate” (Brooke 79).
surround him, allowing the world of the play to be temporarily subsumed by the play in the world. With its emphasis on histrionics and humour, the Porter scene is in many ways the epitome of the type of passage that Pope seeks to expunge from the purified literary object that he fashions from Shakespeare’s printed forms. Most compelling of all though, the passage itself dramatizes the tension between text and performance that is typographically and spatially represented on Pope’s hierarchized page. The necessities of plot and action demand that Macduff and Lennox enter, so that Duncan’s corpse can be discovered, so that Macbeth can be crowned, so that the play can advance toward its conclusion, but the Porter stems the dramatic tide in refusing to answer the knocks at the gate for as long as he can. In not only denying the knocking but seeking to define for the audience what (and how) the knocks might signify, the Porter momentarily asserts the authority of the performer over defining stage space and staged meaning. When the scene is communicated in print, the text of the Porter’s dialogue (a digression that begins, “Here’s a knocking indeed”) and certain instructions for performed actions (the stage directions for “Knock[ing]”) are typographically interwoven. As a result, readers of Pope’s text, though encouraged to discriminate against the transformation of the text into staged action, are still privy to instances such as this scene from Macbeth in which the printed play can encode for performative authorities. Pope renders the Porter’s ribald philosophizing discrete, but this cuts both ways: it removes the “bad” passage from Pope’s best-text of the play, but it also makes this passage conspicuous on the page. Paradoxically, the Porter’s clowning—and the prominence of this clowning, given his position in the play—becomes both muted and accentuated. Due to Pope’s

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91 Many critics suggest that the Porter’s description of the “equivocator” is an allusion to the Jesuit Father Garnet, who claimed equivocation as a religious right when under examination for his involvement in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. Steven Mullaney’s “Lying Like Truth: Riddle, Representation and Treason in Renaissance England” (English Literary History 47.1 [1980]: 32-47) deftly weaves the play through the contemporary political atmosphere. In Mullaney’s words, “Macbeth is perhaps the fullest literary representation of treason’s amphibology in its age” (38).
Pope’s aesthetic sensibilities and understanding of the corrupted nature of Shakespeare’s extant printed plays mean that he is uninterested in, and doubtful of the very possibility of, efforts to “repair the deficiencies or restore the corrupted sense of the Author” (vol. 1, p. xxiii). The title selected by Lewis Theobald for his book-length assault on Pope’s edition—*Shakespeare Restored* (1726)—thus immediately marks his distance from Pope and from Rowe as well (Rowe, you will recall, claimed that “I must not pretend to have restor’d this Work to the Exactness of the Author’s Original Manuscripts” (vol. 1, A2r)). By way of an introductory essay and a detailed critique of Pope’s treatment of *Hamlet* (as well as an appendix challenging Pope on a variety of textual issues from other plays), *Shakespeare Restored* sketches Theobald’s strategies for engaging the Shakepearian text, planting seeds that would eventually develop into his own critical edition of the plays (published in 1733).

Theobald subjects Pope’s edition to remarkable scrutiny, repeatedly faulting Pope “where he has *maim’d* the Author by an unadvis’d *Degradation*; where he has made a *bad* Choice in a *Various Reading* and degraded the better Word; and where he, by *mistaking* the *Gloss* of any Word, has given a wrong Turn to the Poet’s *Sense* and *Meaning*” (*Restored* 134). Unlike Pope, Theobald does not believe that it is incumbent upon an editor to bring Shakespeare into line with contemporary tastes and literary fashions—which is not to say that Theobald is

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92 The full title of Theobald’s piece is even more explicit (and damning): *Shakespeare Restored: Or, A Specimen of the Many Errors, as well Committed, as Unamended, by Mr Pope in his Late Edition of this Poet.*

93 Pope famously exacts his revenge by immortalizing Theobald as the disciple of the goddess Dulness in *The Dunciad* (1728). Theobald gets the last laugh, however, when it comes to editorial practice: Seary points out that Pope’s second edition of the plays (also published in 1728) incorporated—more often than not, *silently*—some 106 corrections that Theobald had proposed (97).
above emending or altering Shakespeare’s text; rather, his editorial principles, combined with a more powerful authorial orientation than either Rowe or Pope had exhibited, lead him to ensure his emendations are founded in a defensible methodology. Theobald remarks that wherever an editor

finds the Reading suspected, manifestly corrupted, deficient in Sense, and unintelligible, he ought to exert every Power and Faculty of the Mind to supply such a Defect, to give Light and restore Sense to the Passage, and, by a reasonable Emendation, to make that satisfactory and consistent with the Context, which before was so absurd, unintelligible, and intricate. (Restored v)

This rationale finds its fullest expression in the preface to his edition of Shakespeare, with Theobald going so far as to refer to a “Science of Criticism” (vol. 1, p. xl) that is applicable for editorial purposes. This “Science” is broken down into three major “Classes: “the Emendation of corrupt Passages; the Explanation of obscure and difficult ones; and an Inquiry into the Beauties and Defects of Composition”; Theobald goes on to explain that the first two categories “[are] the proper Objects of the Editor’s Labour” (xl, xli). In The Dunciad, Pope had lampooned Theobald’s commitment to textual minutiae, his dull dedication to “all such reading as was never read” (9), but Theobald unabashedly appropriates this characterization in his preface. Unlike his predecessors, Theobald had read extensively in the English Renaissance—not just dramatic texts other than Shakespeare, but prose and poetry as well as crucial reference texts like Hall, Holinshed, and Plutarch; for Theobald, this broad reading both authenticates the editor’s commitment to his primary material and legitimizes any emendations that are made: “An Editor . . . should be well vers’d in the History and Manners of his Author’s Age, if he aims at doing him a Service” (vol. 1,

94 Using Theobald’s terminology, it is clear that Pope focuses his efforts on the third class of inquiry.
Greater familiarity with Shakespeare’s context, contemporaries, and sources allows Theobald to detect and emend or gloss corrupted and obscure readings that had puzzled Rowe and Pope. In addition, Theobald displays a greater concern for the authority of the early quartos. His position (which echoes Pope’s) is that Shakespeare’s works were initially corrupted by “Mutilations or Additions made to them” (I. xxxviii) in the theatre, and these corruptions have become further ingrained with each printed incarnation:

To these obvious Causes of Corruption it must be added, that our Author has lain under the Disadvantage of having his Errors propagated and multiplied by Time: because, for near a Century, his Works were republish’d from the faulty Copies without the assistance of any intelligent Editor… (vol. 1, pp. xxxviii-xxxix)

What is significant about this position is that Theobald does not recklessly heap all of the blame for corrupted texts on lowly players, but expresses an awareness that “the material circumstances in which the texts were produced and transmitted . . . are responsible for their inadequacies” (Jarvis 93). A more nuanced understanding of the early quartos is a point of pride for Theobald: “I have thought it my Duty, in the first place, by a diligent and laborious Collation to take in the Assistances of all the older Copies” (xlii).

Theobald’s collation is certainly more extensive than anything that had yet been attempted, but he is far from consistent in how he employs his bibliographic knowledge. Jarvis explains that Theobald’s “decisions as to whether Quarto or Folio readings should have priority in disputed cases are often made on the basis of a variety of aesthetic or

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95 Theobald’s claim that he read “above 800 old English plays” (vol. 1, p. lxviii) is likely hyperbolic, but Walsh observes that “The Catalogue of the Library of Lewis Theobald, Deceas’d (1744) contains some hundreds of such items, including a lot of ‘One hundred ninety-five old English Plays in Quarto’ . . . in addition to works by Marston, Massinger, Lyly, and Beaumont and Fletcher, as well as Theobald’s copies of early texts of Shakespeare himself” (140-1). See also Seary 231-6.
linguistic, rather than bibliographical, criteria” (101). Theobald’s edition is thus not entirely imbued with the courage of its prefatory convictions. His stated principles are also undermined by the fact that he continues the tradition of basing his edition on a received text—in this case, Pope’s. That said, Theobald’s mise en page is noticeably different from that of Rowe or Pope: where their pages were relatively clean (save for Pope’s predilection for demoting passages to the bottom of the page), Theobald’s pages contain more prevalent and conspicuous annotation. In this regard, a number of pages in Theobald’s edition look remarkably like those of more modern editions, complete with extensive textual commentary that often dwarfs the text itself, threatening to consume Shakespeare from the margins. Theobald defends his liberal use of notes in his Preface, suggesting that they provide his edition with a measure of textual stability: “a Note on every [obscure or emended passage] hinders all possible Return to Depravity; and for ever secures them in a State of Purity and Integrity not be lost or forfeited” (xlv).

The idea that the text can be “secured” by surrounding it with editorially-prescribed para-texts is absolutely central to Theobald’s programme. If Theobald’s edition exemplifies a turn in Shakespearean editorial practice (and I think it does), it is toward utilizing verifiable documentary records to temper an editor’s aesthetic impulses when making decisions regarding textual variants and cruces. David Greetham makes the point that “the archive of public memory and the archive of documentary record often bear an uneasy, shifting relation to each other” (5), but near the mid-point of the eighteenth-century, editorial procedures exhibit no real anxiety in regard to these two modes of memorialisation. The printed book

96 Theobald is rhetorically crafty about this: where defending or restoring an F reading, he refers to it as the “old” or “first” Folio; where he is emending an F reading, F is often described as the “players’ edition” (Jarvis 101).

97 “Theobald’s use of Pope’s edition as the basis for printer’s copy is primarily responsible for the reservations about his editorial judgment felt by modern textual critics” (Seary 133). See above, n81.
and the staged performance may have been acknowledged as different though nevertheless connected ways of producing the same dramatic work, but the book was given precedence; Samuel Johnson, for example, is willing to accept that “A play read, affects the mind like a play acted,” but it is clear that in his mind, a performance merely activates that which is textual: “a dramatrick exhibition is a book recited with concomitants that encrease or diminish its effect” (vol. 1, p. xxix). In Theobald’s case, securing his emendations and para-textual negotiations with Shakespeare by linking them to other material records—a move produced by his desire for “a State of Purity and Integrity” that is exclusively textual and literary—means that he turns away from more intangible archives constituted by performance histories, memories of performance, and the repertory. Shaping and organizing the ephemera associated with performance (beyond firming up stage directions and scene locations) were tasks that the editor need not be overly concerned with. Theobald tips his hand as to his understanding of the text/performance dynamic as early as the opening sentence of Shakespeare Restored’s dedication to theatre manager John Rich: “It may seem a little particular, that, when I am attempting to restore SHAKESPEARE, I should address that Work to One, who has gone a great Way towards shutting him out of Doors; that is, towards banishing him the Benefit of the Stage, and confining us to read him in the Closet.” This suggests an intractable polarity of Shakespearean production—stage and page seem to exist in mutual exclusion here, as if Shakespeare’s works can maintain a popular existence in one arena or the other, but not both at the same time. In many ways Theobald’s edition reifies this distinction: despite a determined effort to elucidate the Shakespearean text by recalling larger literary and canonical contexts existing alongside the apparent belief that

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98 Rich was manager of Lincoln’s Inn Fields, where his company staged a seemingly inexhaustible run of pantomimes, many of which Theobald devised or contributed to. See Seary 18-28.
Shakespeare’s works are deserving of “the Benefit of the Stage,” the one archive that Theobald does not delve is that of performance history.

The rare instances where Theobald references the stage in *Shakespeare Restored* are general rather than specific, and serve to reinscribe the priority of the printed playtext in dictating performance practice. In his explanation for choosing *Hamlet* as the central battleground for his critique of Pope, Theobald writes that “For these thirty Years last past, I believe, not a Season has elaps’d, in which it has not been perform’d on the Stage more than once; and, consequently, we might presume it the most purg’d and free from Faults and Obscurity. Yet give me Leave to say, what I am ready to prove, it is not without very gross Corruptions” (vii). One might assume (wrongly, according to Theobald) that the popularity of *Hamlet* on stage stems from an uncompromised text; this is not the case, but Theobald is not seeking to rectify any discrepancies between page and stage or bring the two modes into a meaningful accord. He is entirely devoted to the textual side of the equation, to producing what Walsh refers to as “a text which fully reported all of the holy writ constituted by Shakespeare’s own words” (118) rather than an approximation of the play as performed. A later interrogation of Pope’s edition involves a similarly deterministic arrangement of text and performance: Pope had fiddled with Claudius’s lines, “But you must know, your Father lost a Father, / That Father lost, lost his . . . ”(TLN 271-2); Theobald argues against any emendation on the grounds that there is unanimity amongst readings found in “All the Editions, that I have met with, old and modern, (and so, I know, the Players to this Day constantly repeat it)” (13). Here the practice of “Players” is used to support Theobald’s analysis, but only because that practice conforms to extant printed versions (Q2 and F). Theobald goes even further in debunking Pope’s removal of the “lost, lost” anadiplosis by citing five other plays in which Shakespeare utilizes this rhetorical figure—“either to assert
or deny, augment or diminish, or add a Degree of Vehemence to his Expression” (13). In juxtaposing disparate pieces of text to establish things like poetic tendencies and habits of figuration, Theobald’s work highlights the stability conferred by the printed page—in his hands the edited text becomes a massive source of data that makes rapid retrieval and cross-references a necessary means of defending editorial emendation. Theobald’s marginalia becomes a kind of latticework that interweaves playtext, editorial commentary, random collations of alternative emendations, and other textual sources (most of which are Shakespearean, though Theobald does reference the work of other Renaissance playwrights as well); unlike those in Pope’s edition, Theobald’s margins are not a site of degradation but of elucidation—what Theobald writes in the margins is meant to contribute to the reading experience rather than remain distinct from it. Theobald’s edition does not produce especially vivid performancescapes precisely because of where he locates meaning and value: imaginative reconstructions of the ephemeral, collaborative elements of a play’s potential realizations on stage are not what his manipulation of para-textuals is meant to account for. In Murphy’s words, Theobald “privileges historically rooted meaning, intelligible through a process of textual recovery” over “social meaning constructed over time through the force of tradition” (Print 69-70).

Theobald’s commitment to stabilizing the text and his disinterest in engaging with performance potentialities become most apparent when he is dealing with moments of complicated or ambiguous stage action. A revealing example is his treatment of the monument scene in Antony and Cleopatra, where the mortally wounded Antony is carried on to the stage and somehow lifted up to his lover on an upper-stage or structure above. Michael Neill describes the staging of this moment—particularly the matter of hauling
Antony’s body aloft—as “especially awkward” and “difficult to resolve” (363). In fairness to Theobald, at the time of preparing his edition a “straight” version of *Antony and Cleopatra* was not a part of any repertory; John Dryden’s adaptation of the play, *All For Love*, was first produced in 1678 and was the preferred performed version until the early nineteenth century. Dryden’s version does not involve the hoisting of Antony’s body implied by the Folio text (in fact, Dryden alters the ending of the play to have the dead bodies of Antony and Cleopatra on stage together), so Theobald likely had not confronted the scene as we are familiar with it today. The bulk of Theobald’s energies are directed toward making sense of an exchange between Antony and Cleopatra that he finds confusing; Theobald’s received text (which he collates below the text proper) provides this reading:

[Ant. *I am dying,* Ægypt, *dying; only yet*]
*There importune Death a while, until*  
*Of many thousand Kisses the poor last*  
*I lay upon thy Lips.*

Cleo. *I dare not, dear,*  
*Dear my Lord, pardon; I dare not,*  
*Least I be taken.*

Theobald adds this comment:

... how inconstantly is the Lady made to reply? *Antony* says, he only holds Life ’till he can give her one last Kiss: and She cries, She dares not: What dares She not do? Kiss *Antony*? But how should She? She was above lock’d in her Monument; and He below, on the Outside of it. With a very slight Addition, I think, I can cure the whole; and have a Sort of Warrant from *Plutarch* for it into the Bargain. [...] Now *Plutarch* says, “*Antony* was carried in his Men’s Arms into the Entry of the Monument: Notwithstanding, *Cleopatra* would not *open the Gates*, but *came to the high Windows*, and cast

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99 I am compelled to point out that Neill’s edition organizes a tremendous amount of information about the play in performance and about the performance of this monument scene in particular. Perusing his text led me to a commentary note attached to his stage direction mentioning the “controversial” matter of hauling Antony aloft. This same note directed me to an appendix in the back of the edition devoted to the stage business in question; this appendix included two photographs, one representing a more traditional staging (Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, 1951), and one a more stylized staging in which Antony is not lifted up but dragged across the stage (Royal Shakespeare Theatre, 1978). The tangential moves supported and encouraged by Neill’s edition supplied me with a range of *performancescapes* that now inform my reading of the text.
out certain Chains and Ropes, &c.”—So that Antony might very reasonably desire her to come down; and She as reasonably excuse herself, for fear of being insnared by Caesar. (vol. 6, pp. 313-4)

The issue for Theobald (as it is throughout his edition) is to elucidate the text where he perceives the sense to be muddled, to provide what he calls “a real Restoration of the true Reading” (vol. 1, p. xl)—to rectify the perceived corruption, Theobald adds the purely conjectural “Come down” to the end of Antony’s speech in the exchange, so that what Cleopatra is refusing is not a kiss, but the request that she descend from the monument. As this example makes clear, Theobald’s understanding of a “true Reading” exists on an exclusively textual, literary continuum: his emendation of the text (dubiously rooted in a reference to Plutarch) is not required to adhere to potential stage practice (or “original” stage practice), nor is it meant to enrich or even facilitate a reader’s imaginative approximation of the play as performed. Theobald’s edition includes the direction, “They draw Antony up to Cleopatra” (the Folio direction reads “They heave Anthony aloft to Cleopatra (TLN 3045)) but otherwise passes over the issue of Antony’s body being raised up. If anything, Theobald’s commentary only exacerbates any potential confusion as to the staging of the scene by basing his emendation on the physical separation of Antony and Cleopatra and raising the possibility of Cleopatra possessing “certain Chains and Ropes.”

Edward Capell’s ten-volume edition of Shakespeare, published some thirty-five years after Theobald’s, involves a much different rendering of the scene, in terms of both the methodology driving Capell’s practice and the appearance of his edited pages. What is immediately striking about the look of Capell’s edition is its cleanness: Capell reserves his commentary and notes for a completely separate three-volume publication, Notes and Various Readings to Shakespeare (1779-83), which means that the pages of his edition appear remarkably stark in comparison to other eighteenth-century editions. Extensive
marginal commentary had persisted in editions of Shakespeare after Theobald; Samuel Johnson, who believed that “Notes are often necessary, but they are necessary evils” and found himself juggling readings by Rowe, Pope, Theobald, Thomas Hanmer, and William Warburton, had included in the famous preface to his edition of the plays the invitation for readers to “read every play from the first scene to the last, with utter negligence of all his commentators” (vol. 1, p. lxix). What Johnson laments but cannot do without, Capell adopts a deliberate policy to counter: the relative bareness of Capell’s pages is a powerful response to what he calls the “the paginary intermixture of text and comment” (vol. 1, p. 30). Walsh observes that these uncluttered pages “privileg[e] the authorial text over any form of editorial gloss” (183), marking Capell’s editorial authority as secondary to his presentation of Shakespeare’s works in a visually-purified form. His edition has been hailed as “a revolutionary achievement” (Taylor, Companion 55) primarily because Capell deviates from the received-text tradition—he is the first editor to build his edition from scratch rather than annotate the printed text of his predecessor. While he is best known for his refined bibliographic understanding, Capell deployed a markedly unique approach to accounting for performance potentialities on the page that is also deserving of consideration, and this distinct approach is on full display in his handling of the monument scene in Antony and Cleopatra.

As fate would have it, Capell possessed a special familiarity with bridging the gap between the text and performance of the play: in 1758 David Garrick had commissioned Capell (who was already at work on his edition of Shakespeare) to prepare a streamlined version of Antony and Cleopatra for performance at Drury Lane. Ten years later, when his

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100 For information on Capell’s adjustments to the text, see George Winchester Stone, Jr., “Garrick’s Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra,” Review of English Studies 13 (1937): 20-38. Stone writes that “The
complete edition of Shakespeare's works was published, Capell in fact included his treatment of "Antony's death" in a prefatory list of "additions" or "insertions" that he made to Shakespeare's text that "may, possibly, merit the reader's thanks, for the great aids which they afford his conception" (vol. 1, p. 27); it is clear then that Capell was not only moved to contemplate the exegencies of a cryptic portion of the Folio text being transformed into staged action, he was also concerned with the manner in which the death scene was presented to readers and the ability of those readers to imagine the scene working itself out on stage. His most significant alteration is to the scene's central direction: in Capell's text, the direction reads, "Cleopatra, and her Women, throw out Certain Tackle, into which the People below put Antony, and he is drawn up" (vol. 8, p. 102)—this is the same direction that he had employed in his adaptation for Garrick. The fuller direction includes—relatively speaking—more information than users of the text might otherwise bring to their reading, and this information has the potential to sharpen—again, in relative terms—their imaginings of the moment as it could be performed. Capell's text, in other words, is designed to offer richer performancescapes. While it is more detailed than what is found in the texts of either the Folio or any of his predecessors, Capell's emendation nevertheless raises as many questions as it seems to answer: What kind of "Tackle," and who lifts him up? Cleopatra asks that her attendants "Help me," so perhaps she, Charmian, and Iras all heave together? Is the direction in a suitable place, or could it come later in the scene? Is Cleopatra meant to be in an upper gallery or on a special structure representing the monument? These unanswered questions (and one could easily think of dozens more) reassert basic incongruities of reading versus seeing, but they need not lead to understandings of the printed page as being plan, as it proved, was [for Capell] to render the play actable by excision and rearrangement only, not by the addition of scenes or the creation of new speeches" (25).
disengaged from performance. Capell’s stage direction remains a fragmentary and incomplete thing, but performancescapes—no matter their relative vividness—are always fragmentary and incomplete. Any printed text is necessarily unable to recapture in full the nuanced sensory experience of live performance; what Capell’s para-textual adjustments demonstrate is the ability of the printed page to frame the interpretive gap between page and stage and consequently heighten readers’ awareness of the interpretive labours required to transition between one mode and the other.

While the incremental benefits of Capell’s more detailed direction for imagining performance are open to debate, it is useful to consider the subtle differences in interpretive demands that his direction makes. The raising of Antony up to whatever is serving as the monument is something that takes a certain amount of time for actors to accomplish, to say nothing of the way in which those involved in a performance may wish to slow the moment down to ensure communication of its symbolic import—as Leslie Thomson observes, the design of the monument scene actualizes “the related ideas of weight, bearing, drawing, rising and falling that fill the play” (qtd. in Neill 366). What is true of any stage direction meant to account for the moment (and true of most stage directions in general) is that it will not take nearly as long to read the direction as it would to enact it on a stage. The same can be said of envisioning a performance: there is a disconnection between the time it takes to read a moment comprised of a portion of playtext and its accompanying para-textuals (stage directions, speech prefixes, scene locations) and how long one imagines it would take to perform this moment; put a different way, there exists a tension between the temporal dimensions of reading a playtext and what Keir Elam calls—in reference to the perpetual
"presentness" of dramatic action—the "discourse time" (Semiotics 117) of a play.\textsuperscript{101}

Theobald's "They draw Antony up to Cleopatra" or the Folio's "They heave Anthony aloft to Cleopatra" are both sparse enough that they can be, and perhaps are prone to being, processed at the speed of reading; by this I mean that in eliding detail, directions such as these simply don't provide much in the way of firm footing upon which to ground imaginative extrapolations.\textsuperscript{102} Although it must be said that a reader is under no obligation to interrogate the feasibility or level of detail in each and every stage direction he or she encounters, when it comes to fostering considerations of the drama's potential for representation on stage, not only does Capell's direction add information, it also has sequential actions embedded within it: Cleopatra and company make some sort of rigging available, Antony is (somehow) attached to it, and then he is subsequently borne aloft. Such a formulation certainly does not supply all of the specifics (what stage direction could?), but it does go further than earlier editions in inviting readers to consider the movement of Antony's body as resulting from a series of events that take time to be realized in performance. Furthermore, in building on Kidnie's argument that "readers construct meaning, not just by reading a page, but by looking at a page" ("Staging" 169), one can observe that Capell's lengthier direction literally opens up a bigger space within the printed

\textsuperscript{101} Elam identifies four temporal levels in total, the other three being "plot time"—"the order in which events are shown or reported"; "chronological time"—"the actual temporal ordering of events" abstracted by a spectator; and "historical time"—"the precise counterfactual background to the dramatic representation" (117). All four temporal levels would be intuited differently by readers and spectators, but I would argue that the notion of "discourse time" is heightened for readers since it involves the most interpretive labour to reconstruct—a reader's awareness of matters of plot, chronology, and history are not as contingent upon imagining performance practice.

\textsuperscript{102} Which is not the same as saying that these directions are incomplete; I agree with Kidnie's argument that early modern stage directions "are not deficient in any absolute or transhistorical sense. They just seem deficient to us" ("Staging" 160). As Neill hypothesizes regarding the staging of the monument scene in his edition of the play, "we must conclude either that the technical solutions were so self-evident that Shakespeare did not bother to elaborate his stage direction, or that he relied on the ingenuity of his colleagues to realize a scene he had conceived in largely symbolic terms" (365-6).
playtext; in bearing a greater weight of the *mise en page*, the direction appears like a more significant piece of stage business. There is nothing inherently (r)evolutionary about the kind of direction Capell chooses to provide; extant early modern plays often deploy directions indicative of sequential actions that highlight the rift between time-spent-reading and time-spent-seeing/imagining—indeed, the Folio text of *Antony and Cleopatra* includes this direction earlier in the play: “*Camidius Marcheth with his Land Army one way over the / Stage, and Towrus the Lieutenant of Caesar the other way: / After their going in, is heard the noise of a Sea-fight. / Alarum. Enter Enobarbus and Scarus*” (TLN 1973-6). While a reader might process this as a single direction or discrete para-textual imit within the printed text, the direction is structured in such a way that it makes apparent the impossibility of its constituent elements occurring simultaneously on any stage, real or virtual. What makes Capell’s modification to the monument stage direction noteworthy is just that: it is a modification meant to actuate a reader’s “conception” at a point in the text where “conception” might otherwise lack instigation.

Capell’s attempts to grapple with performance within the margins of his text go further than making alterations to stage directions. His reworked version of *Antony and Cleopatra* was published in 1758, just ahead of Garrick’s production, and this publication served as a kind of testing ground for a system of symbols meant to highlight and encode details of performance within an edited playtext. The symbols first implemented in 1758 are subsequently deployed throughout the ten volumes of his complete edition of Shakespeare: underscores (_ _) indicate a change of address within a speech; double quotation marks indicate an aside; crosses (†) denote dramatic gestures, highlighting things pointed to or shown on stage, while double-crosses (‡) do the same for props delivered or presented;
finally, a superscript dash is meant to distinguish irony.\textsuperscript{103} Capell believes that “the punctuation he has follow’d (into which he has admitted some novelties)” will be of “much benefit to the Author” and result in “profit and understanding” for readers (vol. 1, p. 28). In essence, what Capell develops is a method of shorthand notation for referencing potential points of emphasis in performance; that he makes use of the most basic of symbols testifies to his unwillingness to clutter the appearance of the page—he remarks that he “does not possess the secret of dealing out notes by measure, and distributing them amongst his volumes so nicely that the equality of their bulk shall not be broke in upon the thickness of a sheet of paper” (vol. 1, p. 30). In employing the symbols Capell is walking a fine line between strict textual fidelity and opening up the text to the plurality of performance potential: he would rather not meddle with the playtext more than he has to, but clearly he wants to recognize the links between page and stage. As Winchester writes, Capell “hoped . . . readers would visualize the action in their minds’ eyes upon an invisible stage, with the result that the print would take on an active as well as a poetic life” (26).

Capell’s system of symbols serve as a reminder that the more nuanced and meaningful the engagements with performance attempted by a printed incarnation of a play become, the more the book of the play will have to amplify the conspicuousness of its own textuality and lean more heavily on some of the fundamental features afforded by print. In the preceding pages I have highlighted the tendency of printed playtexts to resort to ekphrastic, narrative digressions to provide readers with details that could otherwise only be communicated in performance; I have also argued that the relative stability of the printed play—its ability to support decelerated readings and tangential moves away from the

\textsuperscript{103} Capell’s employment of this last strategy is suspect, if for no other reason than the fact that he “remarks no instances of irony in \textit{Hamlet}” (Walsh 125).
playtext—affords readers the opportunity to gain information located elsewhere in a critical edition that can come to enhance *performancescapes*. Worthen writes of “print culture’s efforts to imprint the stage, to locate the signs and signals of appropriate, authorial performance within the text itself” (*Print* 85), an assertion that gets to the heart of Capell’s undertaking, which is to literally encode performance into the body of the playtext, to capture certain speeches, actions, and behaviours, in standardized (and thus reproducible) printed symbols. Such a plan might well sound misguided and wholly impractical, the epitome of a printed text’s inherent tendency to utterly distort the realities of performance. It is crucial to remember, however, that what Capell is offering is a streamlined version of commonplace forms of para-textual mediation: the asides, changes of address, gestures, and manipulations of props that Capell is compelled to codify are otherwise represented by editors within square brackets or silently added to an existing framework of stage directions; but in whatever form it is expressed, a codification of performance data is the goal. Capell’s system is all the more striking because it has the audacity to expose and amplify one of the basic principles upon which all printed drama is based: that elements of performance can, at some level or another, become a form of (in his words) “punctuation,” encapsulated in print and distributed throughout a playtext in various para-textual formats.

The duplicability of the symbols makes a specific kind of claim about the nature of the text’s relationship to live performance, suggesting that (to borrow again from Worthen’s summations on printed drama in general), “performance is merely a reiteration of the text by other means, means that aspire to conditions of mechanical reproducibility that seem to guarantee the persistence of the work’s ghostly substance across a varied range of incarnations” (*Print* 7-8). The irony of Capell’s achievements is that his privileging of the stability of printed forms greatly undermines the usefulness of his edition. For all of his
interest in helping readers’ "conception" of the plays in performance, his methodologies and commentaries on Shakespeare are spread across a series of publications that do not make for easy navigation; in fact, contemporary readers’ access to the motivations behind Capell’s edition of Shakespeare was hampered by a publishing schedule that was not completed until after his death. He relies on users of his edition to read across his body of published work in order to familiarize themselves with his editorial strategies. So, he remarks—in a footnote—of his idiosyncratic symbols that “If the use of these new pointings, and also of certain marks that he will meet with in this edition, do not occur immediately to the reader, (as we think it will) he may find it explain’d to him at large in the preface to a little octavo volume, intitl’d—‘Prolusions, or, Select Pieces of ancient Poetry;’ publish’d in 1760 by this editor, and printed for Mr. Tonson” (vol. 1, p. 28 n12). While readers are sent in search of pre­existing explanations of Capell’s coding system, they are informed that they must wait for the commentary and various glossaries that are meant to accompany his edition: “For the explaining of what is said, which is a little wrap’d up in mystery at present, we must inform that pub­lick—that another work is prepar’d, and in great forwardness, having been wrought upon many years; nearly indeed as long as the work which is now before them” (vol. 1, pp. 30-1). The third and final volume of Capell’s promised commentary, Notes and Various Readings to Shakespeare, was not published until 1783, fifteen years after his edition proper, and two years after his death; understandably, this delay muted the reception and influence of Capell’s achievements and undermined the potential utility of his edition, since its “rationale . . . was not immediately understood” (Murphy, Print 85). Ultimately then, it was for the worse that Capell’s shaping of the Shakespearean text was a diffuse affair, his work disseminated over a range of books separated by a considerable span of time and often held

104 For a detailed account of the contents of Capell’s Notes, see Walsh 182-98.
together by nothing more than cursory footnotes; to assess his corpus in a cumulative way (as I have done) is to distort the accessibility that his edition offered to its first readers. That being said, one cannot overlook that his concern with enabling a reader’s conception of live action prefigures a similar interest in engaging performance practice in critical editions of the late-twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

The last great edition of the eighteenth century, while indebted to Capell’s bibliographic achievements, is in some ways its antithesis—at least in terms of its formal structure: Edmund Malone’s ten-volume edition of Shakespeare (1790) synthesizes emendatory activity with archival impulses, submerging the plays in the documentary record to produce a staggering collection of information related to the playwright, the production of his works, and his historical milieu. It is for this diverse and extensive ancillary material that Malone is best known; “it is not in his achievements as an editor” that he accomplished most, writes one critic, “but in the elaboration of a larger context for the practice of textual scholarship, . . . [in making] Shakespeare’s work more accessible in a historically distant context” (Bristol 84, 85). Malone’s edition involves the reproduction of important documents as well as a number of original essays that extrapolate from this documentary record: the plays are printed after the transcription of things like Shakespeare’s will and a list of “Dramatick Pieces on Which Plays were Formed by Shakspeare,” as well as lengthier investigations such as “An Attempt to Ascertain the Order in which the Plays of Shakspeare Were Written” and “An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the English Stage.” Critics have interpreted Malone’s undeniably influential collection in vastly different ways: it has been hailed as “the culmination of the eighteenth-century editorial tradition” (Murphy, “Birth” 105), but has also been put forth as a discernable break from what had come before, “a striking example of how the Enlightenment represented its constructs as Truth, inscribing
factual objects and autonomous subjects (each grounded in the other) in the process of reproducing Shakespeare” (de Grazia, *Verbatim* 226).

However construed, Malone’s volumes certainly offer ancillary information that is exponentially more detailed than anything found in previous editions. In his preface Malone argues that “mere assertion” will no longer carry the day and that in its place must stand judgements and interpretations “substantiate[d] by proof” (vol. 1, p. xx). This overriding concern with matters of proof and completeness powers everything in Malone’s edition: his desire to establish a chronology of Shakespeare’s plays; his inclusion of the Sonnets (Malone’s is the first collected edition to do so); his unique and exacting standards of collation, which he explains as involving “every proofsheet of my work read aloud to me, while I perused the first folio” or the relevant “first quarto copy” to ensure that “not a single innovation, made either by the editor of the second folio, or any of the modern editors, could escape me” (vol. 1, pp. xlv-xlvi); even his marginal commentary on the plays themselves—which is bursting with Malone’s suggestions interwoven with readings proposed by previous editors—is meant to be a site where “conjecture and emendation have given way to rational explanation” (vol. 1, p. lvi). Malone expresses some concern over the sheer mass of material that often crowds out the edited playtext on the page, indicating that he has actually been quite selective about the information that he includes: “I have in general given the explication of a passage, by whomsoever made, without loading the page with the preceding unsuccessful attempts at elucidation, and by this means have obtained room for much additional illustration” (vol. 1, p. liv); despite this claim though, the *scape of his edited pages

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105 de Grazia’s argument that Malone’s edition instituted a practice that dictated subsequent Shakespeare scholarship’s concern with individuality and authenticity has been challenged on a number of fronts: see Bristol 79-87; Jarvis 9-10; 187-8; Murphy, *Print* 96-8; and Postlewait 61-4. Roughly speaking, these critics of de Grazia’s position all suggest that her investment in Foucault’s notion of *episteme* means that she unrealistically fashions Malone’s edition as profoundly different from what had come before.
suggests that Malone was not overly troubled by marginal commentary greatly outweighing playtext so long as, in his mind, the bulk of the commentary concerned itself with fact rather than speculation. As for his treatment of para-textuals such as stage directions and scene locators potentially useful in producing performancescapes, Malone claims that

All the stage-directions throughout this work . . . I have considered as wholly in my power, and have regulated them in the best manner I could. The reader will also, I think, be pleased to find the place in which every scene is supposed to pass, precisely ascertained: a species of information, for which, though it often throws light on the dialogue, we look in vain in the ancient copies, and which has been too much neglected by the modern editors. (vol. 1, pp. lvi-lix)

Although this seemingly indicates a commitment on Malone’s part to utilizing the scape of his page to facilitate readers’ imaginings of a contemporary theatrical performance, in Malone’s hands, particularly in his essay surveying the “Rise and Progress of the English Stage,” the stage becomes less an element of imaginative experimentation than it does another site of inquiry that requires fastidious documentation in order to add to the detailed historical framework that the fullest understanding of Shakespeare’s works will be built around.

His essay on the history of the English stage is the quintessential survey of the archivist, piecing together as it does excerpts from other writers, records of performance (Malone is the first editor to make significant use of Henslowe’s diary), records related to the payment of playwrights and actors, information from early maps of London, and biographies of noteworthy (and not-so-noteworthy) actors—chiefly those listed in the First Folio. To point out that conceptualizations of live performance are rendered somewhat sterile or even completely marginalized by the narrative patchwork of documentary history is not to denigrate Malone’s achievement: the scope of the “meticulously documented” (Schoenbaum 127) piece remains astounding and, at the time, it was unprecedented. As promised by his
title, Malone extends his gaze from the English stage’s medieval origins right through to contemporary practice, lingering, of course, over the Elizabethan period. Worth noting, though, are Malone’s attempts to place textual and performed modes of dramatic representation in a fixed hierarchy, with (not surprisingly) textual modes in the position of greater influence and importance. As the essay enters the eighteenth century, for instance, Malone remarks that

> From 1709, when Mr. Rowe published his edition of Shakespeare, the exhibition of his plays became much more frequent than before. Between that time and 1740, our poet’s *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, *K. Henry VIII*. *Othello*, *K. Richard III*. *King Lear*, and the two parts of *King Henry IV* were very frequently exhibited. Still, however, such was the wretched taste of the audiences of those days, that in many instances the contemptible alterations of his pieces were preferred to the originals. (vol. 2, p. 281)

In a similarly revealing passage, Malone associates theatrical success with his own understanding of textually-based authenticity; Garrick is the age’s finest actor, for example, largely because he is a gifted reader and researcher:

> [Garrick’s] good taste led him to study the plays of Shakespeare with more assiduity than any of his predecessors. Since that time, in consequence of Mr. Garrick’s admirable performance of many of his principal characters, the frequent representation of his plays in nearly their original state, and above all, the various researches which have been made for the purpose of explaining and illustrating his works, our poet’s reputation has been yearly increasing, and is now fixed upon a basis, which neither the lapse of time nor the fluctuation of opinion will ever be able to shake. (vol. 2, pp. 283-4)

Malone’s essay on the English stage—and his edition in general—thus registers the tension between the production of critical editions during the eighteenth century that were increasingly intended to be authoritative, and the transformations and adaptations undergone by Shakespeare’s works in the theatre. While the urgency to adapt for theatre audiences what were deemed to be the uncouth or archaic aspects of Shakespeare had largely died down by
the time of Malone’s edition,¹⁰⁶ his comments on Rowe and Garrick make clear that Malone was still operating at a time when the theatre’s potential lack of fidelity to textual “originals” remained a sensitive issue; indeed, Malone’s praise for Garrick is founded on the actor’s representation of the plays “in nearly their original state.” For a large portion of the eighteenth century, it was certainly true that “On stage, Shakespeare’s words were free to be rearranged, refined and revised, all in the service of keeping them current; on the page, in a different spirit of adulation, they were to be restored to their authentic form” (Kastan, Book 95). If Malone’s edition is to be understood as the culmination of eighteenth-century editorial practice, it is because his work on Shakespeare represents the most concerted attempt to provide a verifiable historical context for anchoring the desire for authenticity that had haunted printed collections of Shakespeare’s drama since the First Folio boasted of providing his works “according to the True Originall Copies.” It is not that Malone was oblivious to drama’s potential significations on the stage, only that Malone’s edition firmly located the authority of collected editions elsewhere. If we adopt Taylor’s argument that “Editing seeks to establish texts that are proximate to a source of value” (“End” 130), then what Malone valued—what he wanted his edition to most accurately reflect and communicate to readers—was Shakespeare as situated in verifiable historical contexts that could be recovered from the documentary record.

Malone’s rigorous historical approach casts an imposing shadow over collections of Shakespeare produced throughout much of the nineteenth century; in truth, there is a measure of repetitiousness to edited versions of Shakespeare for about the next seventy years. After examining numerous eighteenth-century editions in some detail, it might seem irresponsible

¹⁰⁶ Some exceptions remained, such as Nahum Tate’s adaptation of King Lear (first performed in 1681, complete with a surviving Lear and a betrothal for Edgar and Cordelia), which held the stage until the middle of the nineteenth century.
to pass over large portions of the nineteenth century; truth be told, however, the editorial tradition after Malone becomes largely derivative. George Steevens edited the second edition of Samuel Johnson’s text in 1773, and (with the help of Isaac Reed) followed this up with editions in 1778, 1785, 1793, and 1803. This fifth Johnson-Steevens-Reed collection, along with Malone’s 1790 edition, proved popular in reprint well into the 1800s. Both of these heavily reprinted editions eventually ballooned to twenty-one volumes in length thanks to “a burgeoning accretion of commentary and annotation” (Murphy, Print 188).

With derivations of Johnson(-Steevens-Reed) and Malone holding sway, the most influential version of the nineteenth century does not appear until much later, when the Cambridge edition is published in nine volumes between 1863 and 1866. Taylor notes the influence of the institutional, financial, and intellectual resources powering its production: “The Cambridge edition, as its cognomen declares, was the first academic edition of Shakespeare. Shakespeare had until then been edited by poets, barristers, aristocrats, clerics, journalists [...]. With the Cambridge edition the professed professionals took over, announcing that Shakespeare was a fit subject for professional academic research” (Text Comp 56). The achievements of the Cambridge editors are monumental. For one, they are the first “To number the lines in each scene separately, so as to facilitate reference” (vol. 1, p. ix); while editors since Rowe had been comprehensive in numbering acts and scenes, this particular system of reference “has become so familiar to literary scholars that we can hardly appreciate its revolutionary significance in facilitating data retrieval” (Taylor, Reinventing 191). In dividing the canon into individual units made up of single lines, the Cambridge edition enhances some of the unique interpretive options that printed plays make available:

107 The editors themselves (William George Clark, John Glover, and William Aldis Wright) acknowledge this: “Cambridge afforded facilities for the execution of the task such as few other places could boast of” (vol. 1, p. x).
the speed and accuracy of navigating in, and between, plays, is improved, as is a reader’s
ability to search and cross-reference.

The greatest stride the Cambridge editors made is one rooted in printing history rather
than performance history: on the opening page of their preface they reveal that they sought
“To base the text on a thorough collation of the four Folios and of all the Quarto editions of
the separate plays, and of subsequent editions and commentaries” (vol. 1, p. ix). In
comprehensively collating previously printed editions, the Cambridge editors systematically
collect and arrange a wealth of information in a tidy, two-column arrangement at the bottom
of the page (which remains the scholarly standard to this day); more importantly, their
detailed collation of individual plays helps to distinguish substantive texts from derivative
ones, and thus establish a genealogy for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions. The
ability to classify and arrange substantive and derivative printed editions held the promise of
something new, of transforming the editor’s task from an impressionistic endeavour into an
objective science. After all, if one could arrange say, the numerous and disparate quarto and
folio versions of *Romeo and Juliet* into some sort of logical sequence of derivation, one could
then conceivably identify the most authoritative text and strictly adhere to it as a copy-text.

While a tantalizing proposition for some editors, others were disturbed by the spectre
of objectivity so prominently on display in reprints of Malone and the Cambridge edition;
accordingly, the mechanization of editorial labour came to be challenged and refined in the
first half of the twentieth century. Those who led the counter-movement became known as
New Bibliographers, and their work shifted editorial value once again, though not yet toward
the stage. W. W. Greg—“the hero of the movement” (Honigmann 91)—sought to establish a
defensible methodology that allowed for editorial practice to be guided by the pursuit of
authorial intentions, one that would place limits on the amount of objectivity that the
genealogical classification method could provide:

The genealogical method was the greatest advance ever made in this field, but
its introduction was not unaccompanied by error. For lack of logical analysis,
it led, at the hands of its less discriminating exponents, to an attempt to reduce
textual criticism to a code of mechanical rules. There was just this much
excuse, that the method did make it possible to sweep away mechanically a
great deal of rubbish. What its more hasty devotees failed to understand, or at
any rate sufficiently bear in mind, was that authority is never absolute, but
only relative. ("Rationale" 41)

Greg and the New Bibliographers work from the premise that “It is impossible to exclude
individual judgment from editorial procedure” ("Rationale" 48); accordingly, they seek to
validate and rationalize the admittedly subjective judgements that all editors must make.
Rather than claiming to objectively decide on a copy-text and then slavishly adhere to its
readings, the New Bibliographers seek to confer on editors the freedom to integrate
substantive readings from other texts into their critical editions. Here is Greg again:

... an editor who declines or is unable to exercise his judgment and falls back
on some arbitrary canon, such as the authority of the copy-text, is in fact
abdicating his editorial function. Yet this is what has been frequently
commended as ‘scientific’... and the result is that what many editors have
done is to produce, not editions of their authors’ works at all, but only editions
of particular authorities for those works, a course that may be perfectly
legitimate in itself, but was not the one they were professedly pursuing.
("Rationale" 50-1)

In other words, if editors essentially abdicate their decision-making duties by adhering to
readings from their copy-text simply because it is their copy-text, the ultimate consequence
of this practice would be that they end up editing texts of historical documents, not texts of
authorial works. Greg views the former as a valuable pursuit in its own right, but he believes

108 Alan Farmer is useful here: “Although frequently misunderstood, Greg’s essay ["The Rationale of Copy-
Text"] called for increased editorial freedom in the decisions that editors make, in contrast to the previous
theory of limited editorial interference, and critics who view it as a ‘strict formula’ consequently misunderstand
its central import: different documents might be closer to the author’s original text in different ways, and, as a
result, editors should not feel especially beholden to the readings in any one text alone” (168).
that such work should not be conducted under the rubric of an authorial orientation: “A
critical edition does not seem to me a suitable place in which to record the graphic
peculiarities of particular texts” (“Rationale” 52).

Guided by his desire to establish “what the author wrote” (“Rationale” 51), Greg and
company advocate a rigorous examination of bibliographical data in order to determine the
underlying manuscript copy that served as the source for early printed editions. They attempt
to codify a distinction between different forms of variant readings: some differences between
texts are “substantive”—“those namely that affect the author’s meaning or the essence of his
expression”—while some are “accidental”—“such in general as spelling, punctuation, word-
division, and the like, affecting mainly [the text’s] formal presentation” (“Rationale” 43).
Most (in)famously, they are invested in establishing, and experimenting with, interpretive
tools that can be used to determine the underlying manuscripts behind printed editions: “if a
play was printed from the author’s original draft—his ‘foul papers’ as they were called in the
theatre—we may expect to find in it contradictions and uncertainties of action and unresolved
textual tangles; if, on the other hand, a play was printed from a theatrical fair copy, we may
indeed expect to find such contradictions and tangles smoothed out” (Greg, Editorial viii-ix).
Armed with the knowledge of what sort of manuscript is behind a printed text, editors can
then make an informed decision as to which printed text might best reflect an author’s
intended meaning. Despite their fidelity to the pursuit of authorial intention, New
Bibliographers did not tend to make claims that an author’s intended meaning was completely
knowable (although their critics often assume that they did); Greg, for example, states that

in the case of Shakespeare—and the same applies to the Elizabethan drama
generally—we cannot hope to achieve a certainly correct text, not so much on
account of the uncertainties of transmission—though they are sometimes
serious—as because the author may never have produced a definitive text for
us to recover. All textual criticism, I suppose, is in a manner tentative; but the
conditions that obtain in Shakespeare’s plays, in spite of the greater confidence warranted by recent research, still appear such as to make our conclusions even more tentative than usual. (Editorial ix, emphasis added)

Greg clearly understood that Shakespeare the author worked amidst various institutional and social forces, and that the realization of his plays—in print or onstage—could not happen without the involvement of numerous parties. That Shakespeare’s intentions might only be partially recoverable, however, did not mean that they were not worth pursuing.

Part of the difficulty in assessing the New Bibliographers is that the designation itself cannot encompass the various interests and tactics of the scholars that have been attached to it.109 Second-generation theorists inspired by Greg and company subtly alter their precepts: the rhetoric becomes more inflated, the promised ends more extravagant and exact, and New Bibliographic tenets ironically begin to assume the form of scientific rules that can guarantee the very objectivity that New Bibliographers originally set out to deny; in some cases, the emphasis shifts from selecting copy-texts and being well-versed in matters of textual transmission to recreating Shakespeare’s lost manuscripts. Thus Fredson Bowers later writes of stripping away “the veil of print,” (“New Textual” 271), and of seeking “a scientific basis of factual evidence to assess the influence of the manuscript” (271-2). New Bibliography as a practice tends to get unfairly painted with a single brush, and comments like Bowers’s have long garnered the most attention and criticism. Bowers’s contentious remarks likely misrepresent the thinking of many of his peers, but his claims for the exactitude of editorial and bibliographical procedures echo back through the tradition, past the genealogical classification system of the Cambridge editors, past Malone’s suggestion that his expertise can “precisely ascertain” (vol. 1, p. lviii) matters for his readers, past Theobald’s descriptions

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109 “Often referred to now as if it stood for a clearly defined programme at a particular moment in time, the New Bibliography would be more justly described as a journey of discovery undertaken by a group of colleagues who could not know exactly where they were going” (Honigmann 77).
of the "Science of Criticism" (vol. 1, p. xl), perhaps even past Rowe's attempts to "give the true Reading as well as I could" (vol. 1, A2r-v), all the way back to the hyperbolic claims of the First Folio to represent Shakespeare's works "absolute in their numbers, as he conceiued the[m]."

Though New Bibliography is mistakenly thought of as the most audacious form of a misguided desire for scientific objectivity in editorial mediations, the fact remains that aspirations for objectively "fixing" (in both senses of the word) the text have lingered throughout Shakespeare's history in print. It must also be said that devoting editorial energies almost exclusively to sorting stemmatic tangles and glossing difficult passages with the utmost precision has a significant impact on an edition's engagement with the plays' performative modes of realization. Throughout this chapter I have demonstrated that both the rationale and shape of formative critical editions of Shakespeare were variously modified in order to account for playtexts—though predominantly understood as literary artifacts—having the potential to be transformed by the exigencies of the stage. Admittedly, however, these efforts to address performance practice—ranging in extremes from Capell's esoteric system of codes to Pope's excision of "theatrical interpolations"—tended to be peripheral, indirect, even convoluted. The ultimate decline of the New Bibliography helps us to understand the quarantined position that performance assumed through centuries of critical editions. As I recounted in the opening pages of Chapter Two, it is not until notions like authorial intention, textual stability, and historical context are thoroughly troubled in the latter half of the twentieth century that performance histories and performance potentialities—both of which recognize as a matter of course dispersed agencies, collaborative processes, and textual ambiguities—come to be recognized as meaningful variables in editorial practice. Entrenching the editing of Shakespeare in the pursuit of
verifiable facts and documentary evidence means that such things as anticipating
performance potentialities, supplying performance commentary, or enriching para-texts
concerned with performance practice all become much harder to justify as worthwhile
editorial pursuits. An overriding emphasis on ostensibly objective engagements with the
text—the glossing of words or passages by way of recourse to parallel passages or by making
use of early modern definitions, the recording of alternate readings of other editors—leaves
little room for subjective imaginings of performance or for the introduction of less-material
forms of performance history that primarily exist only in memory. Put differently, the
vagaries of memory and imagination involved in recalling the ways in which live bodies can
enact plays within designated spaces find a central place in the edited Shakespearean text
only when meanings inhering in the text itself are brought into question.

The relatively simple strategy for demarcating the transformative processes linking
text and performance that opened this chapter—Davenant’s method of citing contemporary
performance practice by distinguishing lines cut in the theatre with marginal quotation
marks—has now evolved into a prominent and elaborate form of editorial intervention. My
next chapter moves away from broad, historical surveys to concern itself with more recent
incarnations of the impulse to document performance within the bounds of the critical
edition. Specifically, I shift my focus to performance commentary, an editorial strategy
positioned somewhere between text and performance, materiality and absence, remembering
and forgetting.
Chapter Five: The Performance of Performance Commentary

I would like to begin with what is likely an unremarkable moment early in *Hamlet*, or, more accurately, with what is likely an unremarkable textual moment from Harold Jenkins’s edition of the play (1982). As planned, Hamlet meets Horatio and Marcellus “Upon the platform ’twixt eleven and twelve” (1.2.252); chilled by “a nipping and an eager air” (1.4.2), the company waits with nervous anticipation for the Ghost of King Hamlet to appear. In the midst of their attempts to establish the precise time of night, we are given this stage direction: “A flourish of trumpets, and two pieces of ordnance go off.” If we, like Horatio are confused by the flourish and cannon fire, Hamlet reminds us that Claudius had earlier promised this revelling, and the sudden noises “thus bray out / The triumph of his pledge” (1.4.11-12). Now consider Jenkins’s commentary note: “It is with an effective irony—which perhaps the audience does not always note—that the cannon by which Claudius celebrates Hamlet’s staying on in Denmark are heard by Hamlet at the very moment when he waits for his father’s ghost.” The note continues: “And the echoes of the new King’s revelry will still be in our ears when the ghost of the King he has murdered tells how he got the crown.”

I begin with this moment because of the way in which Jenkins attempts to reconcile reading and theatre audiences, to engage with both text and performance. He first makes an implicit distinction between readers and theatre-goers: a theatre audience might not pick up on the irony of Claudius’s riotous celebration, but Jenkins is able to highlight the matter for you, the reader, as you diligently slog your way through the margins of his text. Jenkins then seems to conflate readers with theatre audiences when he claims that the cannons will still be

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10 Portions of this chapter have been published as “Imprinting Performance: Editorial Mediations of Page and Stage,” *Shakespeare: Journal of the British Shakespeare Association* 4.1 (2008): 24-44.

111 Unless otherwise noted, citations of *Hamlet* refer to Jenkins’s edition.
echoing in “our ears” when the ghost of the dead King begins his tale of murder most foul. Readers and spectators become indistinguishable in Jenkins’s note, a point that brings with it several implications: Jenkins is suggesting that we can synaesthetically “hear” these cannons as we read (so much so that they continue to echo one hundred or so lines later), that we as readers can thus partially experience the text of the play as if it were a staged performance, and that such an experience is enabled, at least in part, by his editorial mediations. It is precisely this kind of editorial gesture that I wish to consider in this chapter: the impossible attempt to describe or return to the forever-absent play-as-performed.

Rememberings and citations of performance in the margins of critical editions constitute a form of editorial work that, until very recently, has not been subjected to much critical scrutiny. Keir Elam, in providing a semiotic analysis of theatrical practice, demarcates the issues that are now beginning to be seriously interrogated by those studying editorial procedures. Elam positions the written text (or “dramatic text”) in a mutually constitutive relationship with the significations of that text in performance (the “performance text”); he writes that “the dramatic text is radically conditioned by its performability,” adding that “The written text, in other words, is determined by its very need for stage contextualization, and indicates throughout its allegiance to the physical conditions of performance, above all to the actor’s body and its ability to materialize discourse within the space of the stage” (*Semiotics* 209).\(^{112}\) If we accept Elam’s point, then, by extension, informing readers of the ways in which plays have, or could be, performed serves as an important conceptual bridge between text and performance. Editorial mediation in the form of performance commentary does not necessarily privilege one mode of production over

\(^{112}\) Elam describes the “dramatic text” as “that composed *for* the theatre,” while the “performance text” is “that produced *in* the theatre” (3).
another, but instead reminds readers of what Elam refers to as "intertextualities": "Each text bears the other's traces" (209), writes Elam, and editors can bring this point home for readers in powerful and provocative ways.

John Russell Brown is among those who have begun to survey these "intertextualities," or intersections between page and stage as they appear in performance commentary, and he provides a useful summary of the intrinsic limitations of editorial gestures toward the play as it has been, or could be, performed:

... no-one can possibly annotate all that has, could, or should happen on stage: the possibilities are infinite, the effects fleeting. Editors can describe a moment in particular performances by quoting brief eyewitness accounts but this involves ruthlessly selecting from among available evidence and presenting it without reference to the moment's place in an entire performance and, usually, without regard for the cultural viewpoint and personal prejudice of the witness. Alternatively, an editor may describe an imaginary performance in terms of movements on stage and physical actions that seem to be called for by the words of the text, although such a speculative account can provide no more than a disembodied staging, more like a diagram than a theatrical happening, a map than a terrain. All these modes of annotation take a reader only a little distance towards a play's theatrical potential and deal with it in fragmentary and abbreviated form. ("Annotating" 157-8)

Brown suggests that despite the ways in which the potentially infinite, fleeting effects of performance are inevitably decontextualized, "disembodied," "fragmented" and abbreviated" when recounted by editors, readers can nevertheless reconstitute something out of the distorted jumble—not a performance in and of itself, but something that begins to approximate performance, moving "a little distance towards the play's theatrical potential."

What Brown outlines as a set of loosely connected textual apparatuses and responses—descriptions of particular or imaginary performances; rough, mental "diagrams" or "maps" of staged action; performance fragmented into textual forms—I have attempted to unify under the term performancescape. Performancescape is meant to substantiate links between the arrangement of information within the scape of the edited page and the imagined
performances that this information can induce; performance commentary, because it represents a vital means by which editors can give relative shape and stability to the ephemerality of performance, is a crucial component in the exchanges that performancescape seeks to account for. Utilizing the notion of performancescape in relation to performance commentary can sharpen one’s understanding of its relationship to the edited text as well as the kinds of work that this commentary accomplishes within the edition as a whole.

In tracing the “performance” of performance commentary—the ways in which narratives of the play as performed become a part of the edited page and potentially impact the reading experience—it is imperative that I clarify my position regarding an important issue that looms large just as soon as one begins to discuss readerly engagements with citations of performance and the concomitant imagined performances that are produced. Throughout this study, I have consciously avoided equating reading with performance, avoided referring to reading as a performance, and I want to continue to resist blurring the two modes of production into one another. I realize that I am treading a fine line in distinguishing between readers absorbing textualized details of the potentialities of performance and formulating reading itself as a kind of performance, but the distinction is a significant one; the reading-as-performance analogy seems to me to dull what we mean when we write or speak of live performance in a theatre. Martin Meisel, for example, posits that stage directions can “make vivid for the reader what the actor must otherwise supply, and incidentally steer the actor to what in the situation waits to be supplied. The result on the page is a melding of reading and performance—a script that becomes performance in the reading” (6); such a proposition, though it usefully acknowledges a symbiotic relationship between page and stage, relies on a significantly scaled-down conceptualization of performance in order to hold true. To my way of thinking, W. B. Worthen’s recognition of
the fundamental differences between acts of reading and acts of performing is a much more useful proposition to carry forward:

Whatever we can say about reading, however rich the ambiguities it opens, however readily it might enable the reader to set the play’s hypothetical action in the theatre of the mind, a reader does not use the text as part of a regime of embodiment, a means of transforming the text into a different mode of publication, in which the words are situated within and conveyed through an event, inflected as living human action, as behaviour to an audience of spectators itself engaged in its own complex, reciprocal life. (“Texts” 211)

Simply put, to imagine moments of performance based on a reading of a text is not the same thing as enacting and embodying those moments, and to metaphorically conflate the two muddles the unique interpretive responses that each method of realizing a play demands from its audience.

With this caveat in mind, I will now proceed to examine examples of performance commentary in more detail; such commentary, it must be said, is an editorial practice that major publishers of Shakespeare have increasingly recognized as a valuable means of tapping a play’s potential significations on stage. The General Editors’ Preface to the Arden3 series, for instance, contains the assertion that its “notes and introductions focus on the conditions and possibilities of meaning that editors, critics and performers (on stage and screen) have discovered in the play” (Thompson and Taylor xiv.); the New Cambridge Shakespeare series similarly promises to be “more attentive than some earlier editions have been to the realisation of the plays on the stage” (Edwards ix); and promises of “an appraisal . . . of the play’s particular effects in performance” with “detailed commentary pay[ing] particular attention to . . . staging” (Hibbard i) preface each edition published under the Oxford Shakespeare umbrella. As Michael Cordner has pointed out, however, such proclamations are not necessarily indicative of a consistent rationale by which an edition will proceed.

Generally speaking, performance commentary is deployed unsystematically, with editions of
different plays in the same series varying widely in terms of the attention paid to performance in introductions and notes. In Cordner’s words, “a revolution has been decreed without any consistent planning as to how to carry it out” (“Are We Being Theatrical” 399). To track the implications of this scattershot revolution, I will focus on performance commentary in recent editions of Hamlet and Titus Andronicus. Both Hamlet and Titus are characterized by complicated stemmas that make choosing between textual variants a complicated affair, and both exist in versions that reflect demonstrably different incarnations of the work in question: certain early versions seem relatively more authorial and “literary,” while others seem to have absorbed elements of performance practice. Tensions between page and stage are thus at the forefront of editorial engagements with each of these plays. Furthermore, dissimilarities in terms of content and popularity (both in print and on stage) yield revealing points of comparison. With its canonical status firmly entrenched since the eighteenth century, Hamlet possesses a seemingly inexhaustible performance history from which editors can potentially draw. Titus’s history in the theatre is not as extensive, and to this day many have trouble associating its grotesqueness with Shakespeare; nevertheless, the play’s numerous instances of horrific spectacle—indeed, the extent to which the play itself seems to revel in horror and trauma—provide editors with opportunities to cite performance by way of references to the complexities of staging, special effects, and influential productions. What Hamlet and Titus present to editors, then, are much different opportunities for remembering performance, for what Kidnie describes as the act of “sift[ing] through the residue of performance—the stories composed through direct experience of the event, related by spectators, or formulated through investigation of the archives” (“Citing” 122-3).

The “stories” or narrative descriptions that so conspicuously circumscribe medieval and sixteenth-century printed plays have thus in some ways never really gone away, only
shifted to more marginal positions on the page. What has changed is the general function of the narratives themselves: with coded forms of information (lists of *dramatis personae*, stage directions, speech prefixes) now widely understood and readily decoded by readers, narratives recalling a specific performance or the potential meanings of performance are no longer utilized to supply an internal logic or consistency to the printed play; rather, anecdotes or citations of performance in modern editions are often a means of demonstrating the myriad uses to which the playtext can be put. In Patricia Parker’s words, editorial annotation represents “a crossing of textual boundaries that undoes the notion of the discrete text itself” (171-2). Citations of performance thus have the ability to “open” up the playtext, leading some commentators to suggest that when it comes to ambiguous moments of staging, editors are best served to do two things: not emend the text, and embrace multifariousness and ambiguity in their marginal notes. I am in agreement with these “postmodern” or “open” methodologies that the deployment of performance commentary can supply readers with the means to entertain interpretations that might be otherwise unclear or unavailable from a reading of the playtext alone. Where I seek to refine current thinking about ambiguity and editorial commentary is in proposing that readers’ interpretive freedom is not necessarily precluded by editorial *foreclosures* of ambiguity; rather, performance commentary can function quite effectively—perhaps *most* effectively—when it allows editors to acknowledge the limitations and distortions produced by their own subjective, emendatory acts. “Open” texts are not the only catalyst for producing readerly resistance and meaning-making; texts “closed” by the shaping influence of an editor are nevertheless able to have their readers confront ambiguity and uncertainty, and performance commentary is often the means by which this is accomplished. Performance commentary can be understood as an interpretive

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113 See the discussion of *Everyman* and *Gorboduc* in Chapter Three, pages 72-81.
tool that punctures the playtext, linking the printed play to the play as performed and
establishing for readers meanings and responses produced in the theatre that might intersect
with, or might diverge from, their own textual engagements with the play. What results from
engaging a text that forecloses rather than accentuates ambiguity is not intrinsically inferior
or less useful readerly labour, just labour of a different sort.

* * *

The one story that all editors of Hamlet inevitably must conjure for their readers is
also the story that, ironically enough, no one can be sure about: the stemmatic narrative that
explains the underlying connections between the original printed texts of the play. The First
Quarto (Q1, 1603), the Second Quarto (Q2, 1604), and the Folio text of Hamlet (F, 1623)
constitute the major pieces of the puzzle, but without definitive evidence explaining how the
pieces connect or even what kind of picture the pieces are meant to cumulatively represent,
editors are left to make informed hypotheses as to each text’s particular provenance as well
as to the amount of influence that one text might have had over another. Given Andrew
Murphy’s comment that “The most complicated issue facing an editor is undoubtedly the
business of making sense of the relationships among the surviving early texts of any given
play” (“Introduction” 11), it must be said that Hamlet poses as great a challenge as any play
in the canon; among the issues problematizing an editor’s ability to produce a detailed map of
the play’s authorial, theatrical, and printed streams of transmission is the likelihood that the
order in which the plays appeared in print is not representative of their order of composition,
as well as the spectre of a lost Ur-Hamlet that predates Shakespeare’s play and informs it in
uncertain and unverifiable ways. The differences between the three early texts have been laid
out at great length elsewhere, and providing a comprehensive assessment of the minutiae that distinguish one text from another exceeds the scope of this chapter. For my purposes, it will suffice to recount some of the features that editors and textual scholars generally recognize in each text; I can then proceed to a detailed consideration of how an editor’s understanding of *Hamlet’s* textual lineage shapes the horizon of imagined performances that an edition most strongly encourages.

Q1, whose title-page announces a printed play “As it hath beene diverse times acted by his Highnesse servants in the Cittie of London: as also in the two Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where,” is by far the shortest of the three extant texts. The earliest printed version of *Hamlet* locates its authority in performance practice—“As it hath beene diverse times acted”—and the playtext itself bears this out: Q1 is undeniably a streamlined version of the play, with a “general emphasis on action and drive” (Dawson, *Hamlet* 27). With its relative brevity, brisk pacing, and a number of unique stage directions—among them, the call for the distraught Ofelia (note the spelling) to enter “playing on a lute, and her hair down, singing”—Q1 is widely understood as a “reported” text, though there is little consensus as to why or for whom a memorial reconstruction of the play was produced. Whatever the proximate forces behind its creation, Q1, though “lack[ing] in terms of philosophic range and refinement of language,” is now recognized as

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114 Useful summaries can be found in Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion* 396-402; Werstine, “Textual Mystery”; Urkowitz; and Marcus, *Unediting* 132-76.

115 Theories abound: the hypothesis that an unauthorized reconstruction of a longer version of the play was produced for the printing house is now largely out of favour; this “bad quarto” theory of memorial reconstruction (first coined by A. W. Pollard) has been replaced by the theory that Q1 represents a text that in some way reflects a script used by a company for touring the provinces, though Lukas Erne posits that “short” quartos like Q1 *Hamlet* might be representative of performances in London (see 192-219). There is also a camp that recognizes Shakespeare’s direct involvement at some stage in the preparation of Q1: see Urkowitz, who explores the possibility of Q1 representing an early draft of the play, and Melchiori, who proposes that the underlying text behind Q1 might be an authorial revision for the stage.
possessing “an abundance of theatrical energy” (Marcus, *Unediting* 145); the editors of the Arden3 edition of the play identify three noteworthy characteristics: “(1) the perceived ‘theatricality’ of Q1 and its links with original staging practices; (2) its speed and narrative drive; (3) its lack of introspection and ‘literary’ elaboration” (Thompson and Taylor2 36).116

All of the perceived qualities that mark Q1 as “at once familiar and oddly alien” (Thompson and Taylor2 16) are a product of unavoidable comparisons to the other extant texts of the play; for better or worse, we cannot help but interpret and make sense of Q1 relative to Q2 and F, and these much longer texts of *Hamlet* are more representative of the attributes at the heart of modern conceptions of the play and its hero: not action, but introspection; not drive, but delay, not theatricality, but literariness. Q2 is the longest of the three early texts, and the claims of its title-page distinguish it sharply from the shorter quarto that had appeared the year before: “Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppie.” With Q2 then, the location of *Hamlet*’s authority is transferred from the stage (“As it hath beene diuerse times acted”), to the page (“the true and perfect Coppie”); editorial practice—itself so long guided by efforts to reconstitute a text representative of something akin to Shakespeare’s “true and perfect” manuscript—has leaned heavily on Q2, tending to use it as copy-text in the formation of critical editions. The F text lacks over two hundred lines found in Q2, but also adds around eighty lines that are not to be found in the longest text. F also corresponds quite closely to Q1 in certain areas, which perhaps suggests some connection to a theatrical manuscript, a point that is bolstered by stage directions in F that are sometimes more refined than those

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116 Citations of “Thompson and Taylor2” refer to *Hamlet: The Texts of 1603 and 1623* in the bibliography. This edition, containing the Q1 and F texts is “designed to be supplementary to the Arden *Hamlet* volume containing the 1604-5 (Q2) version” (1). The centerpiece of the Arden3 *Hamlet* is the edition of the Q2 text, which will be cited as “Thompson and Taylor”. 
found in the longer Q2 text—at the beginning of act 2, for example, Q2’s opening stage direction “Enter old Polonius, with his man or two (the adjective “old” and the imprecise number of attendants being the kinds of subtleties one associates with authorial foul papers) becomes “Enter Polonius, and Reynoldo” in F (Q1 reads “Enter Corambis, and Montano”). F, however, also displays “literary” qualities akin to those exemplified in Q2; in fact, F has been described as “tidier” than Q2, “more consistent in its speech prefixes” and displaying a “preference for more capitalization, heavier and more extensive punctuation, and some unsystematic ‘modernization’ of language” (Thompson and Taylor 484).

What can be made of the intractable tangles of Hamlet’s early printing history? Graham Holderness summarizes: “we know that more than one Hamlet play appeared on stage and we can with reasonable confidence surmise that as both ‘play’ and ‘text’, Hamlet existed in a contested multiplicity of modes and manifestations” (Textual 180). Holderness’s practical assessment speaks to the complexities an editor faces, since the production of a critical edition is driven in large part by the desire to minimize or remove multiplicities and ambiguities. “Editing is by its nature a choosing among available alternatives,” writes Leah Marcus, “a setting of limits upon a range of possible forms and meanings” (“Editing” 128). Editors, that is, must wade into the mire to choose a copy-text that befits their orientation. With the approximation of authorial intentions being the guiding principle behind critical editions for most of the twentieth century, editors of Hamlet favoured Q2 as copy-text since its length, literary richness, and apparent proximity to Shakespeare’s foul papers made it the most defensible selection. Nailing down intentions is a tricky business, however, and more often than not Q2 was emended and supplemented by readings from F, yielding a conflated version of the play that, in its mixedness, deviated from all three of the original textual witnesses. The conflated text became less prominent in the mid-1980s, when the editors of
the Oxford Collected Works—seeking to represent the more socialized versions of Shakespeare’s plays, the texts “as they were acted” (xxxix)—used F as their copy text, with substantive Q2 passages shifted to an appendix; this strategy was followed by the editor of the individual Oxford edition, G. R. Hibbard. More recently, the Arden3 series has produced a two-volume set containing the Q1, Q2, and F texts edited separately, a strategy cultivated by the now widespread understanding that to pursue unified, authorial meanings is to distort a play’s distinct textual forms and the historically contingent, fluid interpretations the play has produced.

The publication of the Arden3 edition of Q1 is indicative of the earliest quarto’s changing fortunes. Because of its relative brevity and emphasis on action, Q1 has long been difficult to synthesize with prevailing concerns for intentionality and literariness. Editors have needed to somehow explain Q1 away, recognizing its anomalous properties while simultaneously marginalizing or circumscribing its strangeness. The editor of the New Cambridge Hamlet, Philip Edwards, accurately describes Q1 as an “acting text” that represents the play “in a severely truncated form” (61), but goes on to negate Q1’s bibliographical and emendatory usefulness for the very reason that it is associated with the stage: in Edwards’s mind, once the play falls under the influence of “[Shakespeare’s] colleagues who began to prepare it for the stage . . . what one can only call degeneration began, and it is at this point that we should arrest and freeze the play, for it is sadly true that the nearer we get to the stage, the further we are getting from Shakespeare” (32). Edwards’s position typifies the juggling that editors must do with a text that is recognizable as a version of Hamlet, but a version that does not square with entrenched notions of the play’s profundity. Further complicating an editor’s handling of Q1 is the fact that despite longstanding biases against it, certain portions of the Q1 text—especially those stage
directions for which it is the lone source—have been integral to Q2/F conflations of the play on both page and stage; it is not uncommon, for example, for a production or edition of the play to have the ghost of King Hamlet appear in his nightgown in 3.4, though Q1 is the only text that supplies this direction. Hibbard inserts the direction into his edition, adding in a note that it “seems right to preserve [it],” since it “is the only indication we have of how the Ghost appeared in this scene in Shakespeare’s day” (282); he goes on to add that “the nightgown has at least two functions: it reminds the audience that it is night on the stage; and, in its domesticity, it suggests that old Hamlet is about to play a rather different role from that of the martial figure of the first act. In fact, [the night-gown] modifies our previous impression of him greatly by bringing out his humanity” (3.4.95.ln). Hibbard’s impulse to include the direction is a reminder of the persistent interdependency of textual and theatrical logic: in his introduction Hibbard describes Q1 as “completely illegitimate and unreliable, . . . having no direct contact with any Shakespearian manuscript” (69), but he is later compelled to recognize Q1’s “value,” which is that “through the fog . . . one catches glimpses of an acting version of the tragedy current in the seventeenth century” (89).

Thus while editors endeavour to sort out Hamlet’s printing history and make careful distinctions between the play’s earliest manifestations, when it comes to constructing an edition of the play, these distinctions often lose their rigidity. On one level, distinctions break down whenever an editor imports a variant from another textual version in order to correct or improve what is deemed to be a corruption in the copy-text. On another level (illustrated by Hibbard’s adoption of the nightgown direction), the textual incarnations of a play tend to blur together in the margins wherever the performance potentialities of other printed versions are discussed. In other words, the formulation of Hamlet’s complex history in print impacts the shape of the edited text of the play as well as an edition’s engagements
with the play as performed, and a major conduit between textual and performed modes of realization is performance commentary.\footnote{Though not referring specifically to performance or performance commentary, Thompson and Taylor argue that “editorial practice . . . [is] to some extent a function of the editor’s choice of transmission theory” (502). Wells and Taylor make essentially the same point, observing that “differences in interpretation result from irreconcilably opposed ideologies of literary production” (Textual Companion 400).}

The treatment of the graveyard scene (5.1) serves as an especially revealing example of the matrix linking understandings of Hamlet’s textual archaeology, the informational structures of the edited page, and imaginings or recollections of performance practice. The graveyard figures as a particularly permeable boundary between stage and page in the play, a site where details found in the early texts are frequently emended to harmonize with engrained opinions of what “should” happen in performance. Perhaps the image of Hamlet meditating with Yorick’s skull in hand—surely the most recognizable in Western drama—acts a kind of imaginative epicentre, with an amplified consciousness of the play’s realization on stage radiating outward from it; this image has, strictly speaking, no textual basis, at least not as a surviving stage direction. Hamlet’s handling of the skull is very strongly implied by the dialogue,\footnote{Q1 Hamlet appears to call for the gravedigger to hand the skull over: “I prethee let me see it” (echoed by F’s “Let me see”). In Q2 and F, the gravedigger’s use of the demonstrative shifts from “this” to “that,” which implies that he has handed the skull to Hamlet (though he and Hamlet could perhaps be gesturing or pointing instead): Clo[wn]: . . . This same Scull Sir, this same Scull sir, was Yoricks Scull, the Kings lester. Ham: This? Clo[wn]: E’ene that. (F TLN 3368-71).} and Hamlet is obviously examining the skull closely enough to recoil from its stench—a variation of the familiar “And smelt so? Pah!” (5.1.194) exists in all three early texts. That said, most editors of the play since Capell make matters explicit for readers, adding directions for Hamlet to pick up the skull and then set it back down (in Hibbard’s edition, Hamlet “throws the skull down” (5.1.191SD)). The iconic image of Hamlet is also the quintessential instance of crossover between the character’s textual and theatrical

\textit{Through Companion} 400.}
afterlives: the playtext suggests particular interpretive decisions be made in the theatre, and this stage practice becomes so firmly established that it in turn comes to inform subsequent printed versions of the text as an editorial emendation.

So familiar is the image of Hamlet with Yorick's skull that the insertion of a stage direction to this effect is hardly the stuff of methodological controversy. Moreover, Hamlet's extended ruminations on "To what base uses we may return" (5.1.196) are in tune with the seemingly more tranquil character who returns from his sea-voyage. As Margreta de Grazia observes, "Modern criticism has taken the graveyard meditation to mark a profound change in Hamlet" (*Hamlet* 129); the character who returns to Denmark in act 5 that is, tends to be interpreted as a more serene version of the figure whose bitterness and flashes of violence proved so caustic to Elsinore's court for the bulk of the play. Identifying a distinct transformation in Hamlet before and after his self-described "*sudden and more strange return*" (4.7.45), however, is largely contingent upon a staging or imagining of Hamlet's confrontation with Laertes at Ophelia's grave that finesses the indecorousness of an explicit stage direction in Q1: "*Hamlet leapes in after Leartes [sic]*". A physical struggle between Hamlet and Laertes quite clearly occurs in all three early texts, though Q2 and F are unclear as to where this struggle takes place, or if Hamlet is brazen enough to instigate a skirmish over Ophelia's corpse (F includes a direction for Laertes to leap into the grave in his fit of mourning, while Q2 does not provide a direction for either combatant). It is not just that editors' representations of Hamlet's confrontation with Laertes can vary, but that editors' strategies at this specific point in the play have a significant impact on the sort of Hamlet they encourage their readers to envision. Further, *performancescapes* at this juncture can
accentuate the space of Ophelia's grave as part of an active, imagined topography of the
stage, or alternatively, effectively fill it in and render it largely inert.\textsuperscript{119}

Marcus seizes on the textual ambiguities surrounding the confrontation between
Hamlet and Laertes in the graveyard to advocate an editorial methodology that embraces a
postmodern ethos of “perpetual negation,” and “stimulate[s] readers to experience elements
of undecidability in their reading of Shakespeare” (142):

Clearly, much is at stake in the editorial decision whether or not to have
Hamlet leap into Ophelia’s grave after Laertes. Rather than offer a specificity
that forecloses interpretive possibilities that two out of three early texts leave
open, an editor working with a postmodern textual framework in mind would
be likely to leave the matter undecided, weighing the differences among the
early texts in a note. (“Editing” 138-9)

Putting aside the impossibility of Marcus’s call for an editor to leave the matter “undecided,”
she is quite right to draw attention to the synergistic relationship between text and
commentary, the way in which notes can supplement a reading by providing (or dismissing)
interpretive options. Surveying the treatment of the graveyard struggle in major critical
editions of Hamlet from the past twenty-five years reveals the range of uses to which
citations of performance potentialities can be put.

Edwards’s Cambridge edition does its best to shift both combatants away from the
grave. Although Edwards includes F’s direction for Laertes to leap into the grave,
immediately following Hamlet’s movement out of his hiding spot—“This is I, / Hamlet the
Dane” (5.1.224-5)—he adds the direction, “Laertes climbs out of the grave.” In a long
commentary note, Edwards explains his reasoning:

\textsuperscript{119} de Grazia reinforces the centrality of the space of the grave to the entire scene: “From beginning to end, the
Graveyard scene centers on the grave. Upon entering, all characters gravitate there: the sexton appears with
spade in hand and proceeds to dig the grave; Hamlet and Horatio linger there contemplating its exhumations;
and the royal funeral procession clusters around it for the burial service. […] Everything in 5.1 is focused on
that little patch of recessed ground that at the Globe would have been indicated by the open trap, the 5’ x 2’
rectangle at the center rear of the stage floor” (Hamlet 129).
Traditionally, Hamlet jumps into the grave at this point, and the two men struggle. The authority for this is the Bad Quarto, ‘Hamlet leapes in after Leartes.’ Q2 and F are silent. Shakespeare cannot have intended Hamlet to leap into the grave and so become the attacker. [...] To couple Hamlet’s defiant confrontation of Laertes and Claudius with a jump into the grave and a scuffle is unthinkable. Laertes scrambles out of the grave when he sees Hamlet advancing and rushes upon the man who killed his father. (5.1.225 SDn)

Edwards’s rationale involves a thorough blending of textual and theatrical logic. Recall that Edwards understands performance itself as a process that essentially amounts to textual corruption: “One can’t really complain that the stage debases Hamlet: it has to. One can complain about degrees of debasement, however” (66). Q1, given its apparent proximity to an original staging, thus represents the most thoroughly debased text of the play, and Edwards wants little to do with it. His commentary note acknowledges Q1’s encounter in the grave, but dismisses it in favour of a reading that does not exist in any of the original textual witnesses. Ironically though, Edwards supplements his readings with reference to an imagined original staging: in support of his direction for Laertes to enter and exit the grave, Edwards’s note directs readers back to the introduction and a series of three drawings by C. Walter Hodges that attempt to recreate an early modern staging of the scene at Ophelia’s grave. The illustrations track Laertes’s movements into, and out of the grave, as well as Hamlet’s advance from behind a pillar; cumulatively, the drawings function as a visual realization of Edwards’s imagined performance, with the final illustration clearly presenting Laertes as the instigator: his left hand is grasping Hamlet’s neck, and reproduced below is Hamlet’s line, “I prithee take thy fingers from my throat” (5.1.227). Edwards dismisses Q1’s encounter in the grave not because of a comprehensive bias against performance practice, but because the performance that Q1 approximates does not mesh with his own understanding of the scene and its combatants. In fact, despite his principle that “the nearer we get to the
stage, the further we are getting from Shakespeare” (32), Edwards appeals to the play’s performance history in the conclusion of his note: “Neither [Henry] Irving nor [Edwin] Booth observed the business of leaping into the grave.”

Edwards’s note, despite explicitly excluding the possibilities available in Q1’s treatment of the scene, is not cut off from performance, but rather situates text and performance in a rigid, deterministic relationship. Edwards’s comment that “Laertes scrambles out of the grave when he sees Hamlet advancing and rushes upon the man who killed his father” functions as a kind of secondary stage direction, one that treads the line between drama and performance. In fleshing out the direction for Laertes to climb out of the grave, Edwards supplements his playtext with an almost novelistic description of dramatic action that positions the reader as a spectator. The added details in the note provide the kind of direction that one might expect had Shaw written the play rather than Shakespeare, a snippet of narrative that in Meisel’s terms, “make[s] vivid for the reader what the actor must otherwise supply, and incidentally steer[s] the actor to what in the situation waits to be supplied.” This secondary direction “goes beyond cueing the bare physical action, to clueing attitude and expression (the actor’s), heightening the reader’s/audience’s anticipation for what comes next.” “The impulsion,” writes Meisel, is not just to stage mechanics, “but to the drama itself” (6). When the primary stage direction and secondary stage direction in the commentary work in tandem, a relatively vivid performancescape takes shape. Edwards suggests not just that Laertes leaves the grave to assault Hamlet, but also details the manner in which he does so: he scrambles out, and begins to rush upon his father’s killer at the mere sight of him. The apparent cost of the more vivid imagining of the confrontation is tighter restrictions on a reader’s interpretive options—Edwards clears the ground for his imagined staging by asking readers to discount the possibilities recorded in other texts.
Jenkins similarly utilizes a commentary note to dismiss Q1’s call for Hamlet to enter the grave in his Arden2 edition, though the note registers his aversion to the Q1 staging in a more subtle way. Like Edwards, Jenkins includes a direction for Laertes to enter Ophelia’s grave; unlike Edwards, however, Jenkins does not go so far as to call a leap by Hamlet into the grave “unthinkable.” Rather than a clear direction for Laertes to exit the grave following Hamlet’s announcement of his presence, Jenkins inserts a direction for Laertes to begin “grappling with him.” Does Laertes begin “grappling” while he is in, or out of, the grave? Jenkins addresses this matter tangentially: he mentions Hamlet’s audacious leap in Q1 in his note, but accepts the argument “that the action requires Laertes, the aggressor, to come out of the grave rather than Hamlet to leap in. Moreover, attendants must be able to part them” (5.1.252n). Why the action “requires” that the skirmish must take place out of the grave, Jenkins (like Edwards) does not say. One must infer that the image of Hamlet attacking Laertes in the grave simply does not conform to Jenkins’s image of a protagonist who in the play’s final act “perceives in the universe, embracing all its apparent good and evil, a supreme if mysterious design” (157). A Hamlet impulsive enough to leap into Ophelia’s grave sharply deviates from Jenkins’s understanding of “a man, who after questioning the meaning of creation, comes to accept a design in it beyond our comprehending” (159).

Jenkins’s mention of the potential difficulty of separating Hamlet and Laertes should they both be in the grave is a rather unconvincing attempt to envision the complexities of staging the scene in the physical space of an actual theatre. The suggestion that Hamlet and Laertes must be out of the grave is in fact invalidated by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor’s Arden3 volume containing edited versions of Q1 and F; the introduction to this supplementary volume includes a photograph from a 2000 Globe production (based on F), which captures Hamlet and Laertes being hauled out of the grave/trapdoor by attendants. In
the primary volume of the Arden3 *Hamlet* (the edition of Q2), Thompson and Taylor's
commentary note on the staging includes the now familiar reference to Q1's direction for
Hamlet's infamous leap, but the editors address the physical difficulties of Q1's staging by
pointing to a specific moment in the play's performance history: "at the Globe in 2000
Hamlet did leap into the 'grave' made by the trapdoor, and the subsequent fight was not
easily visible from the yard" (5.1.247 SDn). Like Edwards and Jenkins before them,
Thompson and Taylor do not incorporate the Q1 direction for Hamlet to leap into the grave,
although this decision is a direct product of their unique methodology: in producing three
separate editions of the play, Thompson and Taylor are under no obligation to unify the early
textual witnesses into a single, conflated text. Whenever a copy-text reading (in their Q1,
Q2, or F texts) is deemed defensible and plausible (such as Q2's lack of a grave-bound leap
for Hamlet), emendation is unnecessary since each of the early texts is being edited as "an
independent entity" (92). In their words, "Our editorial approach is to produce a
conservative edition of each text, while providing the reader with enough information to
entertain a less conservative edition" (510). When it comes to stage directions they explain
that "We have refrained from correcting the copy-text when there is no problem of meaning.
We have followed the copy-text for stage directions (except where they need amplification or
emendation according to Arden conventions, or when it clarifies the action, or helps the
reader to visualize the play in performance)" (516, emphasis added). What is significant
about this latter strategy is that although Thompson and Taylor remain conservative in their
treatment of Q2's directions for Hamlet, the graveyard encounter does mark a point of
editorial intervention. Q2 lacks a direction for Laertes to enter the grave, and Thompson and
Taylor evidently feel the need to rectify this deficiency: they (like Edwards and Jenkins)
emend the Q2 text by incorporating the F direction for Laertes to leap into the grave, and
then invent a new direction that helps illuminate the action: Laertes "Leaps out and grapples with him."

At this stage it is worthwhile to set these combinations of edited playtext and commentary on a sort of continuum, and circle back to reconsider Marcus's thoughts on the role of performance commentary in her hypothetical descriptions of the "postmodern" edition. Edwards, Jenkins and Thompson and Taylor disseminate what is essentially the same set of data as they manage textual ambiguity in their margins, but they utilize their performance commentary to different ends. Edwards synchronizes his edited text and commentary to argue that the confrontation should only be realized in one way, that alternative stagings must be eliminated from consideration so that a particular arc of realization—Laertes leaping into, then scrambling out of the grave—takes shape. On one level, this is precisely what happens in performance: textual ambiguities are removed as decisions are made—Hamlet either picks up Yorick's skull or he doesn't; he either leaps into Ophelia's grave or he doesn't. Where Edwards distorts matters is in implying that text and performance exist in a one-to-one, deterministic relationship, as if from a range of possibilities one—and only one—choice is possible. Jenkins too, acknowledges and dismisses Q1's directions for Hamlet, though not in so forceful a manner as Edwards. Jenkins's playtext retains a measure of ambiguity in that it lacks directions that dictate the positioning of Laertes or Hamlet; Jenkins's commentary note, however, serves to remove any uncertainty surrounding their positioning by referring to Laertes as the "aggressor [who] come[s] out of the grave." Thompson and Taylor are, strategically speaking, in a position that most closely resembles Marcus's descriptions of the postmodern editor: because they are

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120 "When Edwards writes of the stage failing to 'meet the challenge of the personality that Shakespeare created', he himself fails to see that Shakespeare seems to have 'created' more than one personality and it is in the nature of stage performance to embody differing visions of such a multiple figure" (Dawson, Hamlet 28).
editing all three texts "independently," they are able to reference alternatives that destabilize or open up the edited text, thus freeing readers to envision potentialities that the playtext might not make explicit. Their tripartite approach would seemingly enable them to actuate Marcus's postmodern blueprint for handling the scene's assorted leaps: "leave the matter undecided, weighing the differences among the early texts in a note" ("Editing" 139). It is thus extremely revealing that Thompson and Taylor manoeuvre Laertes in and out of the grave when their copy-text, Q2, does not explicitly do so. "Editors sometimes cannot refrain from providing answers themselves," write Thompson and Taylor in their introduction, adding that "the proliferation of square brackets in our stage directions indicates the frequency with which we, like all editors, have felt the need to fill some of the gaps in the original texts" (134-5).

This compulsion for clarity—to "fill in the gaps"—is why I resist Marcus's suggestion that leaving matters "undecided" is a feasible plan of action for editors to follow, or even the most useful strategy if one has a(n inexperienced) reader's best interests in mind. It is certainly true that performance commentary is an editorial tool that allows for the plurality of performative options at any given moment to be integrated into a textual engagement with a printed play. Marcus's point that "a little suggestiveness" in the margins "can go a long way in encouraging readers to generate possibilities for themselves" ("Editing" 140) is crucial: in my mind, the citation of performance potentialities is an absolutely vital element of contemporary editorial practice, even if potentialities are raised only to be dismissed. That being said, the foreclosure of ambiguity is such an intrinsic

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121 Marcus knowingly contradicts the definition of editorial practice that she provides at the beginning of her essay: "Editing is by its nature a choosing among available alternatives, a setting of limits upon a range of possible forms and meanings" (128). While the remainder of her piece explores possibilities for shifting acts of "choosing among available alternatives" to readers, in my mind, her definition of editorial work, with its emphasis on making choices and limiting meanings, is indispensable. "Readers" (and their various needs) fast becomes a slippery term in this discussion, a point that I will address more fully later in this chapter.
element of editorial practice that it will be nearly impossible to switch it off completely. The editors of the Arden3 Hamlet have, given their copytext, no methodological reason for supplying stage directions for either Hamlet or Laertes to leap into the grave other than their desire to clarify stage action, and significantly, Thompson and Taylor emend the Q2 text so that Laertes does leap. Furthermore, even in instances of predominantly “open” texts, “weighing” differences in a note will not present alternatives as a purified pool of data into which readers can innocently immerse themselves. As Kidnie incisively remarks, “editorial annotation has the ability simultaneously to recover and to create” (“Citing” 132), which reminds us that citations like performance commentary are interpretive procedures that shape the information they set forth; the manner in which performance possibilities are communicated could very well place them in a discernable hierarchy, since any details about specific productions or eyewitness accounts that an editor shares will have passed through various interpretive filters. The mention of Q1’s unique staging in the Arden3 commentary note could be seen to backhandedly dismiss the prospect of Hamlet leaping into the grave by drawing attention to visibility problems for many audience members. Had the note lauded Hamlet’s leap in the 2000 performance at the Globe as especially effective (as it likely was for some theatre-goers whose sightlines were not obstructed), Q1’s alternate staging would have been framed quite differently.

All of the commentary notes that I have mentioned above do, in fact, make reference to a particular document that appears to recollect Hamlet’s leap as a powerful moment; the anonymous elegy on the death of the most esteemed actor of the age, Richard Burbage (1619), remembers

... young Hamlet, old Hieronimo,
King Lear, the grievéd Moor, and more beside
That lived in him have now for ever died.
Oft have I seen him leap into the grave,
Suiting the person which he seemed to have
Of a sad lover with so true an eye
That there, I would have sworn, he meant to die.
(Chambers, Elizabethan vol. 2, 309)

One cannot be certain that the “leap into the grave” refers to Burbage’s performance in
Hamlet, but given the context, this seems the most likely option.\(^{122}\) That all of the recent
editors of the play cite the “leap” portion of the anecdote in their commentary is indicative of
the powerful gravitational force that original performance practices exert on editorial
thinking. Barbara Hodgdon, surveying recent examples of performance commentary,
observes: “Intriguingly, though perhaps not surprisingly, both in past and present climates
driven by (differing) notions of authenticity, the performance most regularly and consistently
canonized is the absent performance, the ‘original’ early modern production about which
little or nothing is certain (but much imagined) and which is largely irrecoverable”
(“Collaborations” 216). Although Hodgdon goes on to argue that resisting the pull of
originary moments of performance practice on an open platform stage is necessary to
produce commentary that is “attuned to changing spaces and to fluid potentialities of how
bodies and texts take on meanings” (217), it is difficult to envision a situation where the
imaginative pursuit of original stage practices would not be a valuable exercise for editors, if
for no other reason than to provide a kind of idealized baseline from which to measure
subsequent performance choices. “Authentic” early modern performances are in no way
more recoverable or historically verifiable than ideal, originary texts, though the former are
infinitely more palatable to those that prefer their authorities socialized and diffuse, their
texts pluralized and unstable. Just as imagining an ideal text is often a generative part of the

\(^{122}\) Edwards makes the dubious claim that “This is assumed to refer to Hamlet, but the sad lover meaning to die
sounds more like Romeo” (5.1.225 SDn).
emendation process, so too is imagining performance practices—whether “much imagined” early modern ones, or those partially recorded in assorted historical documents and archives—an integral part of fully engaging with performative modes of production. Whether editors dismiss the Burbage elegy (as Edwards does, substituting in its place his own conception of how original performances might have run), or absorb it (like Hibbard, who believes it lends credibility to the Q1 direction), a commentary note that addresses the anecdote marks a pathway that readers may follow.

The necessity and usefulness of imagining performance practice lead to the other difficulty I have with Marcus’s theoretical formulation of the truly postmodern edition: her suggestion that the playtext must remain “open”—that is, the editor refrains, whenever possible, from emending the text to clarify stage action—in order for the performance possibilities cited in the margins to resonate most fully. Marcus implies that, optimally, an editor’s performance commentary will be deployed in conjunction with moments of uncertainty and ambiguity in the playtext, thus allowing readers—not editors—to reduce the proliferation of meaning. The examples of performance commentary that I have summarized above, however, suggest that inconsistencies and alternatives in the margins can co-exist with the foreclosure of ambiguity in the edited playtext. Granted there are instances where the fluid boundaries shared by text and performance are misrepresented—Edwards’s edition is troubling in that his playtext and commentary combine to funnel readers toward envisioning a single performed realization of the text. Here though, I would recall the embedded escape

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123 See Chapter Two, pages 36-8.

124 To be fair, Marcus acknowledges the difficulty in fulfilling the theoretical promise of postmodern editing: “An edition that left everything open (if indeed that were possible) would be so formless as to be unusable in practice for all but the most sophisticated readers, its postmodernist art of ‘perpetual negation’ working against the need of most readers to have something tangible to grasp as an identifiable text of Shakespeare” (142). Interestingly, this would suggest that the most open, “postmodern” text is the unedited, early modern one.
in *performancescape*: it is possible for readers to resist or break away from an editor’s virtual performance—in the very act of dismissing alternative stagings of the graveyard confrontation in his note, Edwards simultaneously supplies readers with the tools to deviate from his imagined realization. To “escape” from Edwards’s imagined staging requires analytical dexterity on the part of readers, but difficult analytical work is also required should an edition pose frequent instances of textual “openness” and ambiguity. The flexing of a reader’s perceptual muscles is inevitable—the issue is whether these muscles are used to rein in potentialities in the playtext that have been exposed by an editor, or to wrest control from an editorially-imposed reading that has smoothed over ambiguities in advance.

In truth, openness or foreclosure likely won’t be deployed as comprehensive, mutually exclusive strategies by editors; realistically, editors of any stripe will confront moments they are comfortable leaving relatively open, and also find it necessary to foreclose other moments where they foresee ambiguities posing problems for readers.\(^{125}\) In discussing the preparation of the *Arden3 3 Henry VI* (co-edited with Eric Rasmussen), John Cox lobbies strongly for editors to “reduce sharply or even eliminate completely the stage directions they add to early texts” and in their place “[outline] staging options in the commentary notes” (178). Cox explains that he and Rasmussen intended to add as few stage directions as possible, in the hopes of offering “a text whose openness might approximate the openness of Shakespeare’s stage, unencumbered by scenery, elaborate props, or the expectation of verisimilitude,” thus presenting readers with “both the information and the freedom to imagine the staging for themselves” (179). Ultimately, Cox regrets that the edition ended up being “a compromise” between this philosophy and “the house style for all Arden3 editions”

\(^{125}\) “[T]he job of the editor is a paradoxical one, wherein an excess of clarity can falsify but yet where too little intervention results in muddle” (Dawson, “What Do Editors Do?” (178).
(179), which necessitated the insertion of stage directions at points where he and Rasmussen would have preferred only to present options in the notes. I must make clear that I have no quarrel with Cox and Rasmussen’s approach per se; asking readers to confront indeterminacies of staging is a worthwhile endeavour that can produce meaningful considerations of the various interpretive (and transformative) labours required to span the gap between a text and an actualized performance. Where I diverge from their position is in asserting the effectiveness of performance commentary being used in combination with subjective decisions on the part of editors. While Cox rightly points out that “What editors reconstruct through stage directions . . . is not the real performance (and never can be)” (178-9), it must also be said that an edited playtext that removes an indeterminate moment of staging is like a performance in that it brings a range of potential meanings and effects to a close. Even the open early modern stage that Cox and Rasmussen seek to mirror would have had to have supplied a specific shape to a text’s various staging possibilities during any given performance. What I am suggesting is that the freedom to choose on the part of readers is not precluded by editorial foreclosures of ambiguity. Performance commentary can function quite effectively, it seems to me, when it allows editorial decision-making to acknowledge the institutional and collaborative forces that can propel the text in any number of interpretive directions.

The Arden3 3 Henry VI was published the same year as an Oxford edition by Randall Martin (2001), and a brief digression to compare their respective treatments of an instance of open staging in the Folio text of the play helps to clarify my point. Early in the first scene, the Yorkist forces storm Westminster and eventually seize control of the throne—“the Regall Seat,” (TLN 31) as Warwick refers to it. Despite the absence of a stage direction in the F text, at some point during the scene, York evidently seats himself in the throne, for when the
Lancastrians finally enter to confront the invaders, King Henry’s initial remark is, “My Lords, looke where the sturdie Rebell sits” (TLN 58). At what point, then, if at all, should an editor indicate that York sits down? Cox and Rasmussen, seeking to retain “F’s interpretive openness,” opt to provide neither a stage direction nor a note: “Readers of this edition can imagine York seating himself wherever they want to” (Cox 185, 186). Cox concedes in a footnote to his essay that readers might be confused by Henry’s reference to a seated York even though no direction has been provided for York to sit, but he claims that “An editorial stage direction for York to sit seems to reflect editorial yearning for closure rather than a concern for puzzled readers” (193 n26). Martin’s edition, however, undermines this argument. He inserts the direction, “York is seated” at the earliest possible instance, adding this bit of staging to an F direction indicating the Yorkists “goe vp” (TLN 38) to the raised chair of state. Martin’s edition is thus “closed” relative to Cox and Rasmussen’s, but it is far from a hermetically sealed space that stifles a reader’s freedom. In Martin’s opinion, York seats himself in the throne as soon as possible, but his commentary notes reintroduce ambiguity almost as soon as it is removed. Only seventeen lines later, at the line from Warwick immediately preceding the entrance of the Lancastrians—“Resolve thee, Richard, claim the English crown” (1.1.49), Martin adds this note: “York may seat himself here, perhaps after hearing the Lancastrians approach, rather than [at the earlier direction in the scene].” Together then, Martin’s emended stage direction and commentary note bracket the range over which the actor playing York could settle into the throne. I do not think Martin’s edition is “better” than Cox and Rasmussen’s, only different; it is important to note, however, that the commentary notes—or strategic lack thereof—in both the “closed” and “open” editions are suggestive of the amorphousness of the text before it is shaped by interpretive procedures. That the freedom of Cox and Rasmussen’s “open” edition is worth the cost of its
ambiguities is far from self-evident. That is, it is not clear to me that Cox's admittedly "puzzled" readers are in a preferable position compared to those readers of Martin's edition who confront the combination of an edited playtext that removes ambiguity and marginal notes that embrace it.

Of course, editorial commentary is not always directed at such conspicuous ambiguities. Before leaving Hamlet, I will return one last time to Jenkins's edition and the textual moment with which I began: Hamlet and company waiting on the platform and the sound of cannons exploding in the night. Recall Jenkins's note, which claimed that "the echoes of the new King's revelry will still be in our ears when the ghost of the King he has murdered tells how he got the crown." Jenkins's text (in combination with his commentary) is not encapsulating performance here, or even representing a specific performance in a necessarily accurate way—if anything, his performancescape seems too limited, since it is equally plausible (and perhaps more likely) that in performance, the King's revelry won't be echoing in our ears (metaphorically or otherwise) by the time the ghost "scent[s] the morning air" (1.5.58) and begins to relate the details of his demise. That Jenkins is an editor best known for his exegetical vigilance rather than a profound concern for the nuances of performance is part of the point: the imagining of a staged Hamlet that seeps into his commentary suggests that performance is an integral part of even a "literary" editor's thinking, and thus an inevitable condition of the reading experience. What this particular moment represents is an instance of symbiotic exchange between text and performance, of the sort that tends to get lost or ignored when the incongruities of the two modes are stressed. The possibilities of the play in performance are informing Jenkins's text, providing it with a certain measure of authority, albeit an absent one—a kind of "dying voice" (5.2.361), to adopt Hamlet's final lines. If the gap between text and performance is insurmountable and
the two modes are incommensurable, if, in other words, the rest is silence (I am thinking here of “rest” in the sense of “space” or “interval”), it is a silence that can nevertheless be punctuated by resounding textual materializations of performance potentialities.

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The space separating text from performance can seem a veritable chasm when one moves to consider a play as reliant on gore and visual spectacle as Titus Andronicus. In reading Titus, one is faced time and again with the fundamental incongruities of page and stage: encountering in print the newly-mutilated Titus asking his family’s assistance in lugging away the severed heads and hand that mark their ruin—“Come, brother, take a head, / And in this hand the other I will bear. / And, Lavinia, thou shalt be employed: / Bear thou my hand, sweet wench, between thy teeth” (3.1.280-3)—tends to mute the potentially ridiculous tenderness of the moment when it is enacted on stage (the Andronici share some of the most perversely sweet familial interactions in the canon). Even reading a stage direction as provocative as the Folio text’s “Enter the Empresse Sonnes, with Lavinia, her hands cut off and her tongue cut out, and ravish!” (TLN 1068-9) fails to convey just how shocking the first appearance of the ravaged Lavinia can be for a theatre audience. Such instances of carnage and trauma, as well as the play’s investment in elaborate and often emblematic uses of stage space, are constant reminders that the two modes of production can be conspicuously out of sync: the printed stage directions—in any of the early quartos or the Folio, or even those enhanced by editorial emendation—cannot possibly provide all the data necessary to adequately represent the myriad ways that complicated pieces of stage business can be worked out. The preliminary comments of one of the play’s most recent editors, Alan Hughes, crystallize matters: “Titus Andronicus is not everyone’s favourite play. It ‘reads

126 Unless otherwise noted, references are to Jonathan Bate’s Arden3 edition, 2004.
badly’; but in comparatively recent years, theatre audiences have been learning that it frequently ‘plays well’” (vii).

Given this assessment, it is clear that Titus poses significant challenges to editors who, like Hughes, endeavour to provide readers with “a fuller sense of what is going on in the playhouse” (159). These challenges, it must be said, are different than those presented by better-known tragedies like Hamlet. For one thing, Titus simply does not occupy a similarly prominent position on the cultural radar. Because of the relatively recent discovery of the play’s effectiveness on stage, editors of Titus have a somewhat limited performance history against which to trace the foreclosure of various textual ambiguities. The play was immensely popular in its time—Jonson laments in the Induction to Bartholomew Fair (1614) that “Andronicus” is still considered (by some audience members at least) amongst the “best plays” some “five and twenty, or thirty years” after it first appeared (qtd. in Waith 1); since Edward Ravenscroft prefaced his 1687 adaptation of Titus Andronicus with an apocryphal story that cast doubt on Shakespeare’s sole authorship, however, many readers followed suit and did their best to dissociate Shakespeare from a play that can be laughably horrific.127 Productions of Titus tended to be heavily adapted affairs until well into the twentieth century. Many now recognize the 1955 Stratford-upon-Avon production directed by Peter Brook and starring Laurence Olivier as a landmark, even a “major event in theatre history” (Dessen 14), that altered Titus’s fortunes. One critic remarks, “The post-1955 decades witnessed an eruption of deeply enthusiastic writing about Titus, partly enabled by Brook’s demonstration of its theatrical potency” (Cordner, “Actors” 401). Deborah Warner’s uncut, unflinching,

127 While assigning Titus to Shakespeare no longer leaves quite the foul taste that it once did, metrical and stylistic analyses suggest that it is not entirely his. George Peele is thought to have had a hand in 1.1; a detailed argument in support of Peele’s contribution can be found in Brian Vickers, Shakespeare as Co-Author (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), 148-243.
and visceral Royal Shakespeare Company production from the late 1980s—to which Julie
Taymor’s successful film version (1999) is greatly indebted—offered a much different vision
than Brook’s heavily stylized violence, but it too helped sustain critical energies for the play.
As we shall see, resonant productions (like those of Brook and Warner) create powerful
memorial spectres that can influence the reading of critical editions depending on the extent
to which editors do, or do not, choose to invoke them.

Before undertaking a detailed examination of editorial engagements with Titus’s
performance history, however, it is worthwhile to consider two things: first, the nature of the
earliest printed texts and their relationship to editorial practice; and second, current critical
assessments of performance commentary’s impact on the reading experience. To the first
point: Titus’s path to theatrical and cinematic acceptance may have been long and
convoluted, but its textual history (including the state of the earliest textual witnesses) is
relatively less complicated. Differences between quarto and folio texts are not as substantive
(or intractable) as those found in the various forms of a play such as Hamlet; moreover,
differences between the texts of Titus are relatively easier to account for, since the early
printing history involves what appears to be a direct line of descent from the first quarto. Q1
(1594) has the features of a text printed from authorial foul papers: vague stage directions,
varying speech prefixes, and entrances marked for an unspecified number of characters; Q2
(1600) is a reprint made from a copy of Q1 that was apparently damaged in some way,
resulting in a number of variant readings in the play’s final scene as a compositor valiantly
attempted to render coherent what was incomprehensible and/or unreadable; Q3 (1611) is a
page-by-page reprint of Q2 and includes the minor corrections and corruptions that one
assumes might occur in such an undertaking; F (1623) is printed from a copy of Q3, but
contains a number of noteworthy differences: an additional scene (3.2), relatively normalized
speech prefixes, and stage directions enhanced with theatrical detail (Q1, for example, does not contain a single “Flourish,” while F contains ten of them). As such, it is generally supposed that F was printed from a copy of Q3 that had been annotated (albeit unsystematically) after consultation with some other source involved in theatrical productions of the play. Because the relationship between these early texts is “basically a direct line of descent” from the original quarto, “A responsible modern edition of Titus Andronicus has to be based on Q1, which represents something unusually close to a play as Shakespeare wrote it” (Bate 97-8). Another modern editor of Titus agrees: “Since . . . each edition after Q1 was based on the preceding one, Q1 is inevitably the prime authority” (Waith 43). While the lineage of extant texts is simple enough, one significant observation must be made: Q1 likely offers an early version of the play before it reached the stage, while F exists in a state that has been altered for performance. As Stanley Wells explains, there are special problems that arise [for an editor] when there are two basic texts, one pre-theatrical, as it were—a quarto printed from foul papers—the other printed from a manuscript or an annotated quarto which has been influenced by theatre practice. This situation faces the editor with the need, not merely to decide how far to go in indicating the text’s implied staging, but also to choose between variants. (Re-Editing 79)

Much like the situation we observed with Hamlet, then, any editorial imaginings of performance are partially shaped by, and inextricably bound to, Titus’s history in print.

The “special problems” posed by Titus lead Michael Cordner to use the play as a “test-case” (“Are We Being Theatrical?” 400) for how modern editions of Shakespeare meet the “demand[s] for a new responsiveness to a script’s performance implications” (399). Cordner is a prolific evaluator of the limitations and possibilities of performance commentary, and I would like to address his major assertions in some detail before returning to Titus. In a series of essays, Cordner has detailed various points of crossover between
scholarly editing and performance practice, and has made repeated calls for editorial annotation to “avoid prematurely delimiting [the] rich field of [performance] potentiality” ("Annotation" 187). Cordner traces a similar arc in each of his essays devoted to performance commentary: broadly speaking, he examines citations of performance in a sampling of recent editions of a particular play; more often than not, Cordner zeros in on what modern performance commentary excludes in order to stress that this form of editorial mediation actually tends to limit a reader’s interpretive horizons. The basis for Cordner’s program is that “At numerous moments actor and reader alike, whatever their choice of edition, will be left without the information they have the right to expect” ("Are We Being Theatrical" 402). Given the limited quantity of performance-related information that they can realistically provide, Cordner argues that editors must “[be] explicit about what [they] are doing and why they are doing it as well as about the nature of the evidence from which they are working. Anything less entails in the end systematic misrepresentation of the true situation. It also serves to reinforce the gulf between study and stage” ("To Show" 182).

Cordner’s analysis, it soon becomes clear, concerns itself with three key issues that performance commentary raises as a matter of course: the willingness or ability of an editor to be forthright about his or her interpretive shaping of the play in commentary notes; basic spatial restrictions of plays in book form; and the discrepancy between what readers should be made aware of or have the “right to expect” and what editors in fact provide for them. In

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order to elucidate Cordner’s interrogations of performance commentary, his handling of each of these issues must be considered in turn.

Cordner’s preferences when it comes to editorial engagements with performance recall Marcus’s “postmodern” edition and Cox’s “open” text. Whenever he encounters a textual moment that has been, or could be, performed in multiple ways, Cordner stresses that editorial practice must remain true to multifariousness and possibility; as he puts it, “editors should respect the text’s openness and not seek to impose their own preferences as if they were the only legitimate interpretation” (“Actors” 195). This inclination for recognizing multiple performance options leads Cordner to formulate the foreclosure of ambiguity in curious ways. The interpretive and subjective forces behind editorial decision-making become, in his writings, the products of a overwhelming desire to command an unruly text: “The impulse to control and circumscribe meaning can be a powerful impulse in scholarly activity, and devising the annotation for an ambitious [sic] text provides many opportunities and temptations for an editor to indulge that impulse” (“Actors” 183). Alternatively, but no less strikingly, an editorial insistence on “only one way of imagining” is a “type of colonization of the text,” a product of a “territorial imperative” (“Memory and Performance” 104). These references to power and authority recognize the undeniable influence that editors have over the shape of their texts and the readings that their texts most strongly encourage, but Cordner’s disparaging tone suggests that he would like to see an editor’s interpretive preferences removed from the equation altogether. As we saw in the treatment of Hamlet in the graveyard, however, such a desire is difficult to realize: it is hard to imagine even the most “open” of commentary notes that does not still present performance options in mediated—even biased—ways.
Cordner himself walks a fine line between what he believes commentary *should* make available, and what it realistically *can* make available. He is under no illusion that a commentary note could possibly archive all of the relevant performance details at any given moment; performance histories are simply too rich, and there are limits on how much information a commentary note, or even an entire edition, can contain. What Cordner advocates, though—“a sympathetic, ambitious, and historically informed sense of the potentialities of exceptional performance” ("Memory and Performance" 111-12)—is much easier to theorize than it is to exemplify. While Cordner is able to identify instances of performance commentary that are incomplete, misleading, or redundant, he does not provide a clear model of what commentary that will “truly assist in the disentangling of a genuine interpretive problem” ("Memory and Performance" 116) looks like.

“[T]ruly assist” and “genuine interpretive problem” give the game away, since any editorial move to identify a potential interpretive problem for readers that requires, or could benefit from, performance commentary, is itself the very sort of subjective, preferential act that Cordner finds so troubling. In other words, no two editors will configure the same list of “genuine” obstacles, just as it must be said that no two readers will require identical levels of assistance. An example from Corder’s analysis of editions of *Macbeth*, though it takes us further from *Titus*, will allow me to more fully address the ambiguities of his assessments of performance commentary. Cordner takes issue with A. R. Braunmuller’s treatment, in his New Cambridge edition (1997), of Macbeth’s exit to Duncan’s chamber in 2.1. Braunmuller supplies a note, “Henry Irving made an actor’s ‘point’ of his exit when he hesitated an unusually long time before leaving the stage very slowly,” to which Cordner ultimately has this to say:
Highlighting Irving’s interpretation in this way seems in the end merely anecdotal. If Irving is to be invoked, why not also tell us about the handling of this exit by David Garrick and by Laurence Olivier, by Ian McKellen and by Edmund Kean, and so on, until, at the very least, a representative sampling of different staging options had been laid before the reader? But what would be the expository purpose of a note which offered such a survey? What problem in the text, likely to cause readers difficulty, would it be designed to unknot? That Macbeth is intended to leave the stage after his soliloquy seems indisputable. How he might leave it is best left to readers—and to actors—to surmise. (“Memory and Performance” 95)

The main difficulty I have with Cordner’s *modus operandi* stems from quotations like the one above. On one hand, readers constantly face the threat of being gulled into having their faculties shackled or manipulated by a misleading or unnecessarily restrictive note, while the same(?) readers nevertheless possess the interpretive wherewithal to foreclose certain ambiguities themselves. Cordner is correct in observing that Braunmuller’s note does not solve an apparent problem (though surely an editor’s job isn’t to address only conspicuous problems), but his response to Braunmuller’s commentary—the nature of Macbeth’s exit “is best left to readers”—speaks to the larger issue of identifying readers and their needs. In identifying the “genuine interpretive problems” in the various editions that he surveys, Cordner simultaneously dictates the capabilities of the “readers” to which he refers. Significantly, Cordner blurs two classes of readers into one: those that will apparently take every suggestion in editorial commentary as legislative and incontrovertible constitute one class, but this group morphs into readers that, when faced with indeterminate information suggesting a wide range of potential meanings, are capable of the “firm, inventive decisions” (“Actors” 194) that imagining performance requires. That the capabilities of all readers appear to change depending on Cordner’s own understanding of what constitutes a substantive staging issue not only takes the sting out of some of his criticisms of contemporary performance commentary, but also reinforces the obvious fact that any
editorial mediation is going to be processed by readers of varying skill sets. It would seem to me that a firm sense of inventiveness can also resist, or deviate from, a reading “imposed” by editorial decision-making. In other words, Braunmuller’s note on Irving, despite being anecdotal and belying staging options, is defensible in my mind, more defensible than excluding it on the grounds of leaving the text “open” at every available opportunity. If certain readers can foreclose the text themselves, it seems likely that these same readers can escape or resist the performancescapes that are deployed in the margins. Arguably, supplying the note could help relatively less inventive readers, without necessarily hindering those who are already capable of making inventive approximations of performance. 

Of Titus, Cordner observes that the play is “extremely adventurous in its exploitation of the acting and physical resources afforded by late Elizabethan playhouses and their companies. Decoding the details of its intended staging poses many, sometimes perhaps insuperable, problems for the commentator” (“‘Are We Being Theatrical’” 407). The first act is especially challenging for editors, as it involves a complicated assortment of entrances and exits involving large groups of actors, movements to and from the upper playing area, various acts of supplication, and large shadows of ambiguity looming over the staging of both Bassianus’s seizing of Lavinia and Titus’s murder of Mutius—to say nothing of numerous corpses that need to be moved about. In order to help readers better envision the action, modern editors often find it necessary to emend certain stage directions and devote large portions of their commentary to matters of staging. Jonathan Bate stresses that his “admiration for the play’s stage qualities” has led him “to include very full stage directions to

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129 I would also add that a note raising only one possibility in performance can implicitly raise other options that might be excluded for reasons of space and clarity. Any citation of a specific decision made by a specific performer marks the portion of text being cited as open to interpretation. In this case, that Braunmuller finds Irving’s unusually long delay in leaving the stage noteworthy implies that Macbeth need not exit in this manner, and perhaps can even hurry off.
help the reader visualize it in action” (105), or, as he expresses it elsewhere in his introduction, “to assist the reader in a mental staging of the play” (108). The New Cambridge (1994) editor, Hughes, makes a similar assertion: “In order to clarify the action for the reader I have amplified or added stage directions” (62). An example of a potentially confusing element of the opening act is the question of just how many coffins accompany Titus in his pyrrhic return from warring with the Goths, given that it is clear he is meant to have more than one dead son in tow. Marcus states that Titus is “bearing his valiant sons / In coffins from the field” (1.1.34-5), and Titus himself refers more than once to multiple bodies:

These that I bring unto their latest home,
With burial amongst their ancestors.

Make way to lay them by their brethren
farewell to their souls.
In peace and honour rest you here, my sons;
In peace and honour rest you here, my sons. (1.1.86-7, 92, 152-3, 159)

As the action proceeds toward the internment of Titus’s “sons unburied yet” (1.1.90), however, the stage directions contradict the dialogue. Both Q1 and F specify that as Titus makes his first entrance, he is accompanied by, among others, “two men bearing a Coffin couered with blacke” who eventually “set downe the Coffin” (Q1: TLN 105, 109; F: TLN 84-5, 88-9). When the fallen Andronici are finally entombed, Q1 sticks with a lone coffin—“lay the Coffin in the Tombe” (TLN 193)—while F finally makes a switch that explicitly contradicts the earlier direction—“and lay the Coffins in the Tombe” (TLN 175).

With references to numerous corpses and only one coffin (or in the case of F, a single coffin that later multiplies), an editor must decide how to rectify the contradiction. Stanley Wells argues that
There is no conceivable reason why Shakespeare should have wished to talk of the interment of two (or more sons) yet to provide the means for the burial of only one. A director who is consciously faithful to the apparent discrepancy in the text is taking pedantry to the point of irresponsibility to both author and audience. (92)

Accordingly, Wells conjectures that the first direction should be emended to include the phrase "men bearing coffins." Hughes's Cambridge text goes one step further: citing Wells's conjecture in the collation, Hughes alters the entry direction to specify "men bearing [two] coffin[s]," and provides a commentary note that makes no mention of Q1's single coffin.

"There must be two coffins," states Hughes, "Titus buries two sons" (1.1.69 SDn). The singularity of Hughes's vision of the action verifies Cordner's warning regarding performance commentary: it can misrepresent or unrealistically delimit performance options. For a reader using Hughes's edition to contemplate the use of a single coffin is not impossible, but since Hughes definitively dismisses performance alternatives at this juncture, such a deviation from the editor's imagining would involve a dextrous navigation of the collation in order to reconstruct the Q1 reading. On the other hand, both Bate and Eugene Waith, editor of the Oxford edition (1984), believe Q1's call for a lone coffin is correct, and their use of performance commentary is more in line with how Cordner would like to see it deployed. Bate acknowledges F's pluralized direction, but notes that "Elizabethan staging was often more emblematic than literal" (1.1.72.1-6n), and Waith—who also recognizes the F direction for "coffins"—believes that "several coffins . . . would crowd the stage and require more 'extras' in an already large cast" (1.1.149.1n). Neither Bate nor Waith emend Q1's single coffin, and while this decision shuttles readers' imagined approximations of staged action toward an emblematic and symbolic end, both editors identify an alternative reading even as they justify the shape they have imposed on the text.
The list of ambiguous moments of stage action that editors must confront in this play could be multiplied. Without stage directions in the earliest texts, how does one sort out the movements of the various parties in the moments leading up to, and following, Titus’s murder of Mutius? What kind of weapon or instrument does Aaron use to cut off Titus’s hand in 3.1? Who calls for the ladder enabling Aaron to ascend the scaffold in 5.1? Most editors emend the text so that Lucius gives the order, but Q1 assigns “Get me a ladder” (TLN 2053) to Aaron himself—might the Moor, in yet another outrageous, defiant act, embrace the prospect of being hanged? Surveying the performance commentary (or lack thereof) that accompanies these moments would produce a mirror-list, one consisting of examples of commentary that are arguably too restrictive, too open, or somewhere in between. Rather than jump from moment to moment and critique or approve particular editorial decisions, I would like to take a different approach and consider instead the influence that performance histories can exert on editorial practice. By this I mean that certain productions are simply more influential, more resonant—more memorable—than others, and this influence, not surprisingly, will bleed over into editorial streams of thought. Any new critical edition of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, for instance, would not be doing its due diligence if it failed to make mention of Peter Brook’s 1970 white-box production; editions of *A Merchant of Venice* must account for the most provocative interpretations of Shylock, like Charles Macklin’s “fierce, relentless” (Halio 63)—but not comic—villainy of the mid-eighteenth century, and Irving’s pathos-infused rendition of the nineteenth century. Canonical performances and productions have become an integral part of modern editorial practice; editors, we must remember, are also theatre-goers and theatre historians, and the most firmly imprinted personal or recorded memories of performance can influence their understanding of the play and, by extension, their treatment of the playtext. In Kidnie’s words, “Whether one
participates in it as actor or spectator, the experience of a moment is thereafter relived as
memory, and it can only be communicated to others through forms of story-telling”; she goes
on to remark that “by citing the stories, one enables others to remember, if not performance,
then at least the narrativized memories of performance; the uncited performance, by contrast,
slides into an oblivion of forgetfulness” (“Citing” 117, 118). Bate in fact grounds his
interpretation of the Titus coffin/coffins crux in performance history, mentioning that “the
Warner production had a single wide multiple coffin; its entry procession was simple but
stunning, with Titus sitting on a ladder held horizontally by his sons, the prisoners’ heads
stuck between the rungs” (1.1.72.1-6n). The reference to Warner sharpens Bate’s
performancescape, the production living in, and giving life to, his edited text.

Memories of Warner’s production permeate Bate’s edition. By my count, Bate cites
Warner’s production twenty-one times in the commentary notes; in contrast, Brook’s 1955
production, certainly the most influential version before Warner’s, is mentioned only
twice.130 Clearly then, images, narratives, and memories of Warner’s production impinge on
Bate’s imaginings of the play’s performance possibilities at numerous points. In his
introduction, Bate stresses that Warner’s “realism enabled [her] to bring out [the play’s]
representation of how ordinary human beings can be driven to extraordinary extremities of
violence and cruelty on the one hand, resilience and tenderness on the other” (65-6). The
play’s constant and rapid oscillations between savagery and kindness—so accentuated in
Warner’s production—are elements that Bate endeavours to make readily available to readers
of his edition. Central to Bate’s memorial engagements with Warner is the figure, or more
accurately, the body, of Lavinia. Lavinia’s mutilated body is, without a doubt, a powerful

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130 Warner’s production serves as an especially rich resource for editors, since it presented the play in its
entirety—“trust the script” was the production’s mantra (Dessen 57). According to Dessen, Brook’s production
“cut about 650 lines” (51)
marker of the play’s rampant horror and violence; after she is raped and disfigured, her family struggles to make sense of what has been done to her, to understand not only what she is trying to mean, but also what she has become. “This was thy daughter,” says Marcus, presenting Lavinia’s ravaged body for the first time, to which Titus responds, “Why, Marcus, so she is” (3.1.63-4). The rift between “was” and “is” is produced by the offstage trauma that Lavinia undergoes at the hands of Chiron and Demetrius, and the bulk of the action in the second half of the play involves the efforts of the Andronici to both mend this rift—“who hath martyred thee?” (3.1.81), “who hath done this deed?” (3.1.88)—and respond to it by way of “Mortal revenge upon these traitorous Goths” (4.1.93). Moreover, Lavinia’s silent, damaged body becomes a site of interpretation for an audience as well: as Bate puts it, “Lavinia is a ‘Speechless complainer’ but a bodily presence. Her body is at the centre of the action, as images of the pierced and wounded body are central to the play’s language” (36).

To encounter Lavinia within the bounds of a printed text, however, is to not see, and thus not be affected by, her bodily presence. That merely states the obvious, but the fundamental differences between printed and performed modes of realization are, I think, why Bate references Warner’s production as often as he does. After the rape, Lavinia communicates and signifies in a haunting, unspoken language that printed texts cannot reproduce. Titus, striving to “interpret all her martyred signs,” claims that

In thy dumb action will I be as perfect
As begging hermits in their holy prayers.
Thou shalt not sigh, nor hold thy stumps to heaven,
Nor wink, nor nod, nor kneel, nor make a sign,
But I of these will wrest an alphabet
And by still practice learn to know thy meaning. (3.2.36, 40-5)

Titus’s desperate, impossible boast is, for readers, also a litany of sounds and gesticulations that cannot be replicated in print. Editors cannot reproduce Lavinia’s body and her attempts
at signification—they can only describe them, transform them (as Kidnie reminds us) into narrative. About one-third of Bate’s references to the Warner production involve Lavinia; in particular, Bate’s commentary focuses on the violence inflicted upon her, and the often unspoken or unseen, otherwise non-textual ways her body communicates throughout the play. As Lavinia is dragged away by Chiron and Demetrius in 2.2, for example, Bate adds this note: “In the Deborah Warner production, Chiron (Richard McCabe) picked her up bodily, obscenely stuffing one hand between her legs; the sounds of rape were heard from offstage” (2.2.186.2n). The next scene begins with the direction, “Enter the Empress’ Sons with LAVINIA, her hands cut off and her tongue cut out, and ravished,” to which Bate supplies a note indicating that “In the Warner production, Chiron and Demetrius crawled on first, parodying the movement of their mutilated victim” (2.3n). Later in the play, when Marcus presents her mutilated form to Titus, Bate indicates that “in the Warner production, she remained behind Marcus’ back” (3.1.58.1n) for as long as the text will possibly allow (until, that is, Titus and Lucius explicitly respond to her presence). Lavinia’s powerful silence following her rape is emphasized by Bate: after being discovered by Marcus, eventually “Lavinia turns” (2.3.12.1) to face him (an added stage direction unique to Bate’s edition), and readers learn that this turn “elicit[ed] a long pause in the Warner production” (2.3.12.1n). Memories of Warner’s production even appear to directly influence some of Bate’s emendations to his copy-text: he emends Titus’s “Hark how her sighs doth flow” (Q1 reading) to “Hark how her sighs doth blow” (F2 reading), noting that “Lavinia’s sighs represent the wind (an effect caught strongly by . . . Warner . . .)” (3.1.226n). When it comes to Lavinia’s death at the hands of Titus in the final scene, editors must contend with the Q1 text that provides no stage direction, and the F text, which provides the direction “He kils her” (TLN 2550). At this juncture Bate again references Warner in his notes, this time using
the production to explicitly contrast a range of potential interpretations: “In the Warner production, he crisply snapped her neck; at Santa Cruz [a 1998 production directed by Mark Ruckner], she stepped towards him as he held out the knife, actively embracing both her father and death” (5.3.46.1n). Cordner singles out this particular note from Bate for approval: “The implications of that contrast [between productions] is massive, though Bate’s non-emphatic way of reporting it calls no special attention to the fact. [...] Both versions meet the script’s demands comfortably,” he writes, “but, in the process, they tell totally divergent stories” (“Are We Being Theatrical” 413). The “contrast” that Cordner champions constitute an effective strategy, though it is one that Bate rarely employs, usually choosing instead to only reference decisions made in the Warner production. Yet, counter to what Cordner would suggest, the commentary’s overriding adherence to a single production, while conspicuous, is its most remarkable and effective attribute—the edition is not poorer for its overall lack of “divergent stories.”

Cumulatively, the fragmented narratives in Bate’s edition do not reconstitute or recapture Warner’s production (what narrative could?), nor do they even come close to describing in full the nuances of Sonia Ritter’s performance as Lavinia (though an illustration of a near catatonic Ritter being examined by Titus (Brian Cox) in the introduction is a useful aid). Bate’s recurrent references to Warner’s production undoubtedly splinter and distort it, and Bate’s selectivity in drawing out certain details dictate the terms of his readers’ interactions with it; Ritter and Cox loom large in the notes, for example, while Peter Polycarpou’s Aaron is absent from them—might readers infer that his performance was conspicuously unmemorable? As Hodgdon argues, “forms of annotation giving details,  

131 “Editorial annotation . . . looks forward and back simultaneously, bringing into being the body of memories it seeks to preserve” (Kidnie, “Citing” 123).
line readings as well as stage business, of past performances across the centuries select moments from the constructed flow of performance of which they are a part, effectively ‘doing’ to performance what the atomizing dictionary-based gloss does to text, as though, like Juliet, cutting Romeo out in little stars” (“Collaborations” 215). Moreover, the inescapable interpretive work of recording and sharing narratives of performance is also at issue, and here we can turn to another example of a potent memory of Warner’s production that appears to justify or even motivate an emendation on Bate’s part: during Marcus’s extraordinary speech in response to first witnessing Lavinia’s damaged body, Bate inserts a stage direction—“Lavinia opens her mouth” (2.3.21.1)—and a note—“spitting blood in the Warner production” (2.3.21.1n)—which together provide a specific visual stimulus for Marcus’s “Alas, a crimson river of warm blood, / Like to a bubbling fountain stirred with wind, / Doth rise and fall between thy rosed lips” (2.3.22-4). In a critical study of Warner’s production, Dessen writes that the blood escaping from Ritter’s mouth at this particular point—in actuality “the only blood of the scene”—“elicited shocked gasps from the audience” (60). Unlike Bate, however, Dessen describes not a “spitting” of blood, but something different: “not a river (or a ribbon) but a trickle” (60). The alternative narrative provided by Dessen thus confirms the moment’s memorableness, but it also speaks to the variability of memory, as well as the way in which “the work of memory [serves] not simply to recover an absent event, but to transform it” (Kidnie, “Citing” 129). How does one square Dessen’s “trickle” of blood with Bate’s “spitting” of it? Is the memory that Bate makes available to his readers inaccurate? Incomplete? There is no recourse to the production itself; it has vanished and is forever inaccessible, existing only in various forms of memorialisation—reviews, photographs, director’s notes, playbills, Dessen’s study, Bate’s
edition. Even a video recording of a particular night of the production would not necessarily set the record straight: perhaps Ritter spat blood some nights and let it trickle others.

Whatever the case, Bate’s addition of the “Lavinia opens her mouth” direction, while born of fidelity to Warner’s production, certainly circumscribes the performance potentialities that a reader might envision. In Brook’s 1955 production, Lavinia’s wounds were represented symbolically, with Vivien Leigh’s “arms swathed in gauze, [and] scarlet streamers attached to her mouth and wrists” (Waith 55). Bate’s graphic performancescape involving an open, spitting mouth would seem to preclude a more stylized imagining of Lavinia’s violated body. If Bate’s use of Warner’s production does confirm anything, it is that, as Hodgdon observes, “Writing commentary by the light of admired productions invites visualizing or hearing material particulars that write themselves over text” (“Collaborations” 216). It is important to emphasize, however, that there are positive consequences stemming from the numerous imprints of Warner’s production in Bate’s edition. Citing performance unrealistically stabilizes and textualizes the inherent impermanence of performance, as well as carves up and decontextualizes performance histories, but these citations of performance can strengthen links between page and stage, and aid in readers’ comprehension of the interpretive labours of actors and directors that forge those links.

What the narratives of Warner’s production accomplish is threefold. First, the connections in the commentary notes establish the production as a memorable conduit of the play’s power on stage. The repeated flashes of detail—that Cox “laughed maniacally for a full 10 seconds” (3.1.265n) during the nadir of 3.1, the use of “cheese-wire and an old bucket” (3.1.192.1n) to cut off Titus’s hand—serve as constant reminders to readers that the play is more than just an inert text of ink on paper, that what they are reading, while it is a coherent, literary document, will be transformed by its realization by actors in a theatre.
Titus becomes apprehensible as a printed text and a performed event; more importantly, these two modes of production are demonstrated to constantly intersect one another—not just by way of the exchange system of Bate’s edited text and performance commentary, but by the performance choices that Bate chooses to highlight. Cox’s sustained, maniacal laughter is an extreme amplification of an actual line in the text (“Ha, ha, ha!” (3.1.265)), and the horrifyingly creative use of cheese-wire has its origins (however distant) in the earliest quarto: “He cuts off Titus hand” (TLN 1312). Second, Bate’s commentary notes, even as they limit multivalence and sidestep “rival versions of equal plausibility” (Cordner, “Actors” 185), add value to the edited playtext. The notes, in other words, which frequently work in conjunction with Bate’s foreclosure of textual ambiguity, both reveal and obscure the complexities of performance. In giving textual shape and stability to performance potentialities that are dynamic and multifarious, Bate provides readers with a firm foundation for their own imagined realizations of the action. It must also be said that Bate’s deliberate shaping of this foundation is not put forth as absolute and binding; his note to Tamora’s line, “Remember, boys, I poured forth tears in vain / To save your brother from the sacrifice” (2.2.163-4), that “In the Warner production, Estelle Kohler’s normally powerful voice quivered here [at ‘Remember, boys’], as Tamora recollected her dead son” (2.2.163n) makes explicit just one of a host of ways that this line could be delivered, but the note nevertheless opens up both the line and Tamora’s delivery of it as sites of interpretation. Lastly, the notes afford Bate the space to allow Lavinia’s body-language to signify from the margins; reading Bate’s edited playtext and his notes, one encounters a Lavinia who screams, bleeds, sighs, and whose silences reverberate throughout much of the play. This attention to Lavinia helps to ensure that readers contend with her typographically-mute, bodily presence and the challenges it raises in terms of memory, violence, and suffering.
Bate’s handling of Lavinia thus befits her position within the play as a whole, a position that, from a broader perspective, serves as a useful analogy for considering the meaningful deployment of performance commentary. While in absolutely no way would I want to suggest that Lavinia’s treatment at the hands of Chiron and Demetrius is a “performance” in and of itself, it is true that their vile treatment of her exists in the world of the play as an unseen, past event that no one can begin to understand without some sort of guidance. Her family largely seeks in vain for a narrative: “Lavinia, what accursed hand / Hath made thee handless in thy father’s sight?” (3.1.67-8), asks Titus; “What means my niece Lavinia by these signs?” (4.1.8) echoes Marcus. As Bate recognizes in his introduction, the problem for Titus, despite his “confident” claims of prowess as a “semiotician,” is that “he finds that gesture is more ambiguous than spoken language. Only when a text is inscribed upon the ground can interpretation be confirmed” (34). Bate here is hearkening to 4.1, where Lavinia is finally able to communicate her memories in a manner that makes use of a printed text and an autonomous, subjective act of writing. The mutilated and mute Lavinia first wrestles a copy of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* away from her nephew and manages to fumble to the page(s) recounting the rape of Philomel, the “tragic tale” (4.1.47) that mirrors her own. In recalling the story, Titus learns of the circumstances of the attack on Lavinia, and the extent of the violations inflicted upon her.\(^{132}\) Philomel’s story is at the core of what Lavinia is trying to share, and while it determines the range of potential interpretations of what happened to her, it is not definitive. Questions still remain: “Lavinia, wert thou thus surprised, sweet girl, / Ravished and wronged as Philomela was, / Forced in the ruthless, vast and gloomy woods?” (4.1.51-3); “Give signs, sweet girl . . . / What Roman lord it was durst

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\(^{132}\) Titus later references the story near the end of the play as he prepares to cut the throats of Chiron and Demetrius: “For worse than Philomel you used my daughter, / And worse than Progne I will be revenged” (5.2.194-5).
do the deed” (4.1.61-2). Philomel’s story requires a gloss. It is only after Lavinia has followed her uncle’s example of writing in the “sandy plot” (4.1.69) by guiding a staff with his feet and mouth that the crucial details of her ordeal—the names of her attackers—are revealed to her family. Marcus encourages his niece to “print thy sorrows plain, / That we may know the traitors and the truth” (4.1.75-6), and the brevity of Lavinia’s narrative is inversely related to its effectiveness: “Stuprum—Chiron—Demetrius” (4.1.78). Rape—Chiron—Demetrius.

It would be perverse to call Lavinia’s writing “performance commentary,” but what I would suggest is that the play dramatizes the impulses behind editorial citations of performance: the desire to return to the forever-absent past event, and the textual forms that do, and do not, make such a return possible. The imprints of Lavinia’s writing in the sand—the physical manifestations of remembering—account for her violation in an utterly incomplete way. The story she shares hides much more than it reveals, but, set against the tale of Philomel, what little she does reveal is enough for her readers to make sufficient meaning out of. Performance commentary, in linking text and past event, in shaping potentialities by way of narrativized memories or imaginings, carries with it a similar potential for revelation, giving voice to those moments and figures that, like Lavinia, cannot speak for themselves.
Chapter Six: The Critical Edition as Archive

In his influential New Bibliographical study, _On Editing Shakespeare_ (1966), Fredson Bowers makes what now seems like an astonishing claim. His eyes firmly set on the future of editorial practice as he contemplates the feasibility of “a definitive text of Shakespeare,” he writes, “Some day the accumulation [of facts] will reach the limits of human endeavour and the fact-finding be exhausted. Then, and only then, can the final capstone be placed on Shakespearian scholarship and a text achieved that in the most minute detail is as close as mortal man can come to the original truth” (101). The project that Bowers foresees involves establishing absolutely the bibliographical and typographical “facts” of early modern printing practice; the more nuanced one’s understanding of printing-house practice, the theory goes, the more accurately one can reconstruct the manuscripts that were, at various stages of removal, behind the printed objects themselves. Though fully aware that the transmission of Shakespeare’s plays into print involved the shaping influence of various intermediaries and agencies (particularly scribes and compositors), Bowers’s vision of the future is one in which meanings and authorities are delimited by editors, the critical edition becoming a means to establish Shakespeare’s intentions (the “original truth” to which he refers).

Bowers’s optimistic forecast is fuelled by a scientific positivism that has been recognized for some time as ill-suited to the production of critical editions; the hackles of textual theorists, as well as many editors, now instinctively bristle at the mention of the very terms, such as “definitive” and “original truth,” that Bowers’s prophecy is built upon. As I outlined in Chapter Two, current theorists of editorial practice, quite unlike Bowers and the New Bibliographers, stress the proliferation of meaning, the inaccessibility of intentions, the
impossibility of approximating originary moments, and the instability of texts. Graham Holderness provides a summary of the current theoretical climate:

Shakespeare now exists in an environment of textual multiplicity. Virtually all the new approaches, whether critical, theoretical or bibliographical, agree on this. The text is multiple, iterable, subject to an inevitable law of change. It is never original, always copied. The grounds on which a priori assumptions could be made about the automatic superiority of one text over another have disappeared: so texts remain to us as plural, relative to one another, not severed into separation by some absolute judgement, but embedded in network [sic] of differences. The text gives us no direct access to any pure space of authorial intention, for someone has always got there before us. (249)

When advocates of this “New Textualism” set their sights on the future of editorial practice as it relates to drama in general, and Shakespeare in particular, the outlook and goals are, understandably, radically different than those articulated by Bowers, but the rhetoric and the claims that are made are ironically often infused with a similar spirit of promise and revelation. “Some might fear that... a theory of the radical instability of the material and conceptual text would lead to intellectual anarchy and the collapse of the possibility of a reliable knowledge of texts,” writes Jerome McGann, “[b]ut in truth, only from such a theoretical position can one begin to imagine the possibility of reliable knowledge” (Textual Condition 185).

The fundamental philosophical differences between New Bibliographers and New Textualists are only exacerbated by the rise of completely new media for textual production and reception in the years separating the two movements. We have arrived at a future that Bowers could not have foreseen: digital facsimiles, digital editions, the internet, and the

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133 See 8-10.

134 This is a somewhat arbitrary term, as I am referring to a set of widely-held theoretical tenets rather than an affiliated group of individuals. Leah Marcus refers to “new philology” (Unediting 22); Edward Pechter prefers “Newer Bibliography” (“Crisis in Editing?” 21).
potential of computerized hypertexts have radically altered the ways that editing is both conceived and carried out. Indeed, the rise of poststructuralist theories informing New Textualism has gone hand in hand with the digitization of texts. The destabilizing potential inhering in the elements of the digital edition—manipulable screens, hyperlinks, seemingly countless texts intersecting one another—offer a promise of liberation, of freedom from the restrictive confines of the codex and its constituent parts: pages, print, and limited representational capabilities. The theoretically infinite referentiality of the digital edition is implicitly and explicitly positioned against printed texts that are figured as stifling in their boundedness. McGann, for example, argues that “problems inhere in the codex form itself, which constrains the user of the critical edition to manipulate different systems of abbreviation, and to read texts that have (typically) transformed the original documents in radical ways”; any transformations of original documents by digitization do not, according to McGann, limit interpretation but enrich it: “In an electronic edition . . . both of these hindrances can be removed. Precisely because an electronic edition is not itself a book, it is able to establish itself in a theoretical position that supervenes the (textual and bookish) materials it wishes to study” (“Rationale of Hypertext” 37). David Scott Kastan expands on this premise:

The familiar dichotomy of the play on the page and the play on the stage gives way to another: the play on the printed page and the play on the computer

135 “As both computer technologies and poststructuralist theory have made inroads into the field of literary studies, most of us have come to think of texts as more malleable, less fixed, than we did before. If texts are generated by computer, the idea of the ‘original’ loses much of its charisma: how can we reliably differentiate ‘originals’ from copies?” (Marcus, Unediting 26).

136 I am using “digital” in a broad sense throughout this chapter. I mean for it to include editions encoded on discs (such as CD-ROM), as well as online editions that make use of web-browsers and hypertext. I find “digital” the most applicable term, since, as Worthen points out, “Digital technology is a technology of transformation: rather than copying text, image or sound to distinct stable media, it transforms them into a common electronic code. Because this code, regardless of what it encodes, is stored the same way, these different dataforms are susceptible to being combined, exchanged, realized in ways that depart significantly from the form of their initial recording” (“Fond Records” 296).
The codex is always about choices and boundaries; that is both its advantage and its limitation. On the screen, the play is always potentially multiple and unstable. There is no necessity to choose between textual understandings: all available versions of the play can theoretically be included, and we can move easily between them. That is both the advantage and the limitation of the electronic text. The book disciplines; it makes us take responsibility for our decisions and live with their consequences. The electronic text offers a fantasy of freedom: there is no need to make choices; there are no consequences to accept. (Book 130)

John Jowett makes the distinction in more pointed terms, suggesting that in the medium of the electronic text, “the discipline and constraint of the printed page immediately disappear [because] the hierarchy of material is not rigidly set; it is generated according to need.”

Given that the digital edition embraces “the malleability of the on-screen view,” writes Jowett, “The possibilities are endless” (Shakespeare 164).

The vision of the future that permeates most theorizations of editorial practice has thus absorbed the possibilities offered by new technologies, resulting in rhetoric of a different kind of definitiveness: the definitively indefinite digital text that affords users the ability not to locate meaning, but to make meaning, and remake it, again and again. In this final chapter, I will reflect on Shakespeare’s printed incarnations through a consideration of the hypertextual promise of digital editions. The representational and storage capabilities of digital editions have, no doubt, led to a widespread reassessment of the strengths and limitations of Shakespeare in print. Editors have been forced to rethink concepts like “authorship,” “work,” and “version,” and to confront the challenges of attempting to approximate intentions and originary moments of textual production. But while the refinement of editorial thinking brought about by digitization and hypertext has ultimately been beneficial, the claims that are made for digital editions are (as the above sampling of quotations suggest) too often made by way of unhelpful and oversimplified pronouncements that polarize printed and digitized texts. Some have even gone so far as to posit that “the
electronic medium” has rendered “notions of Text, Author, and Canon . . . obsolete” (Massai, “Scholarly Editing” 105); such a claim, while provocative, seems to me to gloss over the significant ways that digital texts, though relatively fluid and unstable things, remain tied to a logic of print culture—notions of linearity and mediation continue to inform digital texts, even as their seemingly limitless referential capabilities mean that electronic editions are often not reading editions at all, but rather archives of data that require the shaping influence of a user.

Kastan’s “fantasy of freedom” and Jowett’s “endless possibilities” signal a tendency to wrap discussions of digital texts in terms of promise and potential. To examine the most substantial and methodologically-rigorous digital editions of Shakespeare produced to date—such as those found in Internet Shakespeare Editions and The Shakespeare Collection—allows for a clearer picture of the possibilities of digital texts, but also reasserts some of their oft-elided limitations. One claim often made on behalf of the digital edition is that, in its openness, fluidity, and mutability, it is more representative of performance potentialities than a printed text could ever be; this point also needs to be reconsidered and reframed since it tends to misrepresent the ability of readers of printed editions to navigate textual spaces and bring various forms of information to bear on their engagements with primary materials. *Performancescape*, we will recall, is a concept tied to a reader’s freedom to move around the printed page (and between pages), and while the imaginings of performance facilitated by digital editions can be much more detailed than those offered by printed editions (especially through video or sound clips that exceed the capabilities of print), the representational potency of digital media should not obscure an awareness of the different, meaningful ways that the reader of a critical edition can engage with performance histories and possibilities. The way that printed editions necessarily shape performance through acts of memory,
imagination, and various forms of textual code poses, relative to a digital edition, formal and interpretive restrictions; however, printed editions’ fractured, mediated representations of performance, are, paradoxically, a source of interpretive strength in that they can offer readers of Shakespeare’s plays glimpses of performance that mirror the incomplete, partial ways that performance survives in any form. The dream of comprehensiveness and neutrality that lingers behind digital editions is in some ways fundamentally untrue to the means by which performance can be remembered and represented, since, as Stanley Wells reminds us, “Performance is not an objective phenomenon” (“Foreword” xx). It is the subjective influence of editorial practice and its concomitant delimitations that ensure the relevance of printed editions in a digital age that thrives on access to ever-expanding horizons of information.

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As discussed in Chapter Three, the rise of printing technology and the standardization of certain typographical codes helped to establish particular understandings of the relation between reading and performance, as well as enable certain claims to be made about reading experiences relative to theatrical ones. Print is a medium of conservation and endurance (Kastan, Book 7), and these characteristics become especially resonant in the case of printed plays because performed modes of realization are distinguished by their impermanence and ephemerality. “[T]he printed text fixes in time and space the words that performance releases as the very condition of its being” (Kastan, Book 7), and in previous chapters we have seen various examples of playwrights and publishers seizing on print’s ability to “fix” (in the fullest sense of the word) a play: from claims that printed playtexts represent the play “As it was acted,” to playwrights like Webster and Jonson embracing print as a more stable means of communicating work that had failed on stage. The fixedness of print has obvious
implications for readers as well: save for annotation that a reader may insert, reading a printed play does not physically transform the text itself; as I have argued, this textual stability is a key factor in facilitating *performancescapes*: a reader’s progress through a playtext can essentially be “paused,” tangential moves can be made away from the playtext and information about performance gathered from numerous places within the critical edition, all while the playtext itself remains inert and fixed.

With the ongoing, exponential growth of digital technologies, the relationship between reading and performance is in the midst of a fundamental restructuring. From the perspective of textual production, digitization has become conventional and normative: I am writing this chapter “on” a computer screen that changes with every keystroke; the text of this chapter is anything but stable—I am constantly cutting and pasting, deleting, saving newer versions that replace older ones. Moreover, I do not have enough familiarity with digital technology to know at all times “where” this chapter is located: until it is printed, my text lacks a physical form. To have composed this chapter by hand or on a typewriter seems unfathomable. Creating texts digitally (even for books and articles that are intended for print markets) brings with it an understanding that digital texts are fluid and impermanent, an understanding that can be extended to include textual production in general: “What is perhaps most unnerving about electronic texts,” writes Kastan, “is not merely that they are virtual but that they are no more virtual than any other text we read” (*Book* 116).

*Reading* digital texts (by the projected light of the screen rather than the light reflected off the page), though not yet as normative as *writing* digital texts, similarly

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137 Jay David Bolter observes that “the most unusual feature” of electronic writing is that “electronic hard structures are not directly accessible either to the writer or to the reader. The bits of the text are simply not on a human scale. Electronic technology removes or abstracts the writer and reader from the text” (*Writing Space* 42).
complicates our understanding of one's relationship to that text. Scrolling through a computer screen rather than flipping pages constitutes a much different form of textual engagement. I don’t mean this in a somatic sense that fetishizes the physicality of print; for some, surely part of the appeal of digital texts is that they offer “an escape from the felt tyranny of the book” (Kastan, Book 112), but the sense of a digital text’s unboundedness and fluidity also stimulates larger ontological considerations—where does one locate a text’s meanings if one can’t locate the text itself?¹³⁸ The hypertextual environments of digital texts accentuate a reader’s role in making meaning, in ordering and connecting texts (even different media), and this navigational and interpretive freedom has significant implications for both editorial practice in general, and the relationship between reading and performance in particular. Worthen explains:

...hotlinking has the effect of making the text seem more dynamic: there is something you can do here (click), some place you can go, a trip through the text that might lead you away for good. In this sense the hotlinked word or phrase not only points to an explanatory discourse to be found elsewhere (the footnote or marginal gloss of printed textbooks), it also marks an intersection between the discourse of the text and that other discourse, a discourse potentially (though it is in most cases only potentially) without end. Hotlinked annotation is not a footnote, a piece of information subordinate to and dependent on its originating text; it marks the text’s participation in an interactive economy of hyperlinked relations. (Force 209-10)

Thus the digital edition possesses the multi-pronged potential to render editorial annotation less prescriptive and binding (or at least make it appear or feel less so), to present a text’s

¹³⁸ The challenges and opportunities posed to readers of digital texts have been interrogated for decades now, and it greatly exceeds the scope of this chapter to attempt a summary of critical writing on this topic. This eloquent passage from Roger Chartier clarifies the oppositions that I am sketching in rough strokes:

The electronic representation of texts completely changes the text’s status; for the materiality of the book, it substitutes the immateriality of texts without a unique location; against the relations of contiguity established by print objects, it opposes the free composition of infinitely manipulable fragments; in place of the immediate apprehension of the whole work, made visible by the object that embodies it, it introduces a lengthy navigation in textual archipelagos that have neither shores nor borders. (Forms and Meanings 18)
various “intersections” in a non-hierarchical way, and, perhaps most importantly, to empower the reader to move within and between texts with great freedom.

Certain words and phrases in Worthen’s formulation—“dynamic,” “something you can do,” “interactive”—are indicative of a discernible tendency in discussions of the digital editing of dramatic texts to emphasize digitization’s affinities with performance—a move that further ossifies the opposition of digital and printed texts. The parallel between digitization and performance can be drawn subtly, as in Peter Donaldson’s claim that “[new] technology has the potential to extend greatly participation in the creative dialogue Shakespeare’s plays have provoked since their first performance” (183). Kastan’s assessment is more explicit: “hypertext models a different conception of the play altogether, arguably one truer to its nature in that the hypertextual edition acknowledges in its very structure that the play is fundamentally something less stable and coherent than the printed edition necessarily represents it as being” (Book 131). Worthen himself goes beyond the conceptions of text and performance that digital texts encourage, suggesting that the participatory element renders reading digitized texts itself a kind of performative act: “[the] sense of reading through the text, of moving from the text as container (to be reproduced by performance) to the text as a site of movement, of passage, of production, suggests that hyperreading may have the potential to legitimate other kinds of reading, reading practices that locate the text in a context of production, not interpretation—theatrical reading” (Force 212). He adds, “hypertext . . . perhaps approaches the performative by more openly situating the text on the permeable horizon of performance, where meanings arise from what we do to texts in order to make something from them” (Force 213).

As these quotations make clear, what we as readers can “do” to digital texts—the ways in which we can “move” through (and between) them, manipulate them, change
them—far surpasses the possible orders of engagement with printed texts. While I would agree that hypertextual environments perform the valuable service of encouraging readers to make connections between texts, annotation, and other supplementary materials, and to recognize the "multiple and variable" (Kastan, *Book* 131) forms in which a play exists, the claim that the act of reading digital editions of playtexts somehow approximates performance is one that I would resist. As mentioned in Chapter Five, recognizing reading and performing as distinct means of dramatic production ensures that the significations and interpretive procedures unique to each act remain sharply defined, and I believe such a distinction remains important, even in the case of the dynamic, participatory reading that digital texts foster. Moreover, the conflation of hypertextual reading and performance seems to me to overstate a reader's freedom: in reality, one cannot navigate a hypertextual environment in any direction, since only those words or phrases that have been tagged by an editor are offered as links. While the number of passageways a reader may follow are exponentially greater than those that can be offered in print, these passageways remain limited in number and direction. What John Dan Johnson-Eilola remarks of online reading experiences is applicable here:

> Although we commonly insist that the hypertextual organization of the Web suggests reading a network rather than a linear text, the experience of reading the Web for most users remains that of following a line. The temporal experience of page to page to page anchors the reading experiences in history, even a fragmented and abbreviated one. As such, most Web use remains tied to the consumption of time. (102)

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130 See pages 185-6. Worthen, on the other hand, identifies a major shift in reading's relationship to performance. Reading printed plays, he argues, is an act of neither transformation nor embodiment ("Texts" 211), but when it comes to digital texts, he remarks, "The space of dramatic production is not a different space from the space of electronic media: it is the same space" (Worthen, *Force* 175).
Thus, despite the fact that digitization offers an escape from the material limitations of the codex, an escape that encourages readerly production and exploration of meaning, reading a digital text is still constrained by time, space, and editorial influence.

Michael Best, coordinating editor of Internet Shakespeare Editions (ISE, founded in 1996), acknowledges the staggering referential capabilities of digital editions, but offers a pragmatic assessment of the deployment of hypertext: “Editors are . . . presented with a potentially far larger canvas for their work: annotations have in effect no theoretical limit, since storage on disk has become so inexpensive in modern computers. Practical limitations, however, are important; readers still expect editors to make choices and to limit annotation to what can be seen as genuinely useful” (“Shakespeare” 159). Put more succinctly, “a click must link to something worth reaching” (“Shakespeare” 159). Accordingly, the editorial guidelines on the ISE website prove to be alert and responsive to the ways in which digital editors, despite the open design of their texts, nevertheless shape the potential directions of reading. Under a heading entitled, “‘Good’ hypertext,” editors are reminded that the links they provide should add value, and are strongly encouraged to remain cognizant of readers’ time and (im)patience: “Remember that your readers will have to wait for the text to be loaded, and may be paying for the privilege in connect time. At all times avoid large files”; “No one wants to wait for a document to arrive if it is a simple line reference or a two-line comment. For this reason, you should include in-text references as much as possible, branching to other documents only when they will be worth the wait”; “Your Internet reader is not sitting in a comfortable armchair before the fire. She or he will want to locate information quickly, speed-read it, then download or move on” (Best, “Guidelines”). Paradoxically, then, digital editions, whatever their referential capacity, might very well hone
an editor's awareness of the importance of selectivity. Hypertext is theoretically boundless, but one's physical ability and willingness to read are not.

The other argument put forth to link digital texts to performance revolves around digital texts' resemblance to oral communication. In the early 1980s, Walter Ong referred to a “secondary orality” (136) brought about by electronic technologies, and this claim continues to find traction. Jay David Bolter connects digital discourse to orality by way of an extended analogy with oral poetry: “The Homeric poet wrote by putting together formulaic blocks, and the audience ‘read’ his performance in terms of those blocks. The electronic writer and reader, programmer and user, do the same today. Like oral poetry and storytelling, electronic writing is a highly associative writing, in which the pattern of associations among verbal elements is as much a part of the text as the elements themselves” (Writing Space 59). Bolter finds other characteristics of orality that share common ground with electronic writing and reading: “immediacy and flexibility,” “an interplay between the structures that the author has created and [a reader’s] own associative structures,” author and reader/listener “sharing” the same space (59).

The emphasis on the communal and interactive elements of digital texts definitely has merit, though digital texts and electronic writing most closely approximate orality (and by extension, performance) in that these discourses are “bound to the present” (Worthen, Force 191) in a number of senses. Certainly, digital textual production is entrenched in the notion of replacement (one saved version of a document replaces the earlier one), and digital editions (especially online ones) can, in theory, be subject to constant editorial modification and refinement—in theory, an editor of an online edition can be continually adding
annotation or changing decisions as the passage of time brings new information to light.\textsuperscript{140} It must also be said, however, that digital or online resources are confined to the present in the sense that they are vulnerable to sudden, and often unpredictable, inaccessibility. Hyperlinks get broken, websites become unavailable, funding for projects is exhausted, technology necessary to encode or “read” digital resources becomes obsolete. Recent essays by Christie Carson and Best have mapped the rather sizeable graveyard of digital editions of Shakespeare: among the most notable sites on this map are \textit{The Arden Shakespeare CD-ROM} (1997), the Voyager \textit{Macbeth} (based on A. R. Braunmuller’s Cambridge text), \textit{The Cambridge King Lear CD-ROM: Text and Performance Archive}, and \textit{ArdenOnline}, the now defunct online version of the Arden texts.\textsuperscript{141} Projects such as these represent significant steps in the ongoing evolution of digitized Shakespeares, but all of them failed to make much of a sustained impact as teaching or research tools. The perpetual presentness of both creating and engaging with digital texts helps to explain the persistent futurity that imbues the critical commentary surrounding digital Shakespeares. Part of the challenge of composing this chapter is that an easily accessible, digital collection of Shakespeare’s works that is supported by an editorial rationale, and includes links to systematic and thorough collations, annotations, and commentaries simply does not (yet) exist. \textit{ISE} comes the closest to meeting these criteria, but at this writing, it too remains a largely theoretical enterprise in terms of its production of modernized, critical editions of the plays. In its description of its modern editions, \textit{ISE} invites users to “Read and explore . . . the plays and poems with full annotation and explanations, as well as an introduction and illustrations from performance,” adding in a

\textsuperscript{140} The guidelines for \textit{ISE} state that “Electronic texts are capable of continuing refinement and improvement; thus the text on the site will never be in a “fixed” or final state” (Best, “Guidelines”).

note that “the first plays to be fully published in this will appear towards the end of 2005” (Best, “Illuminated Text”); to date, modernized versions of Cymbeline, Julius Caesar, Romeo and Juliet, The Tempest, Troilus and Cressida, and The Winter’s Tale have been posted on the site, but, to my knowledge, these remain devoid of introductions, illustrations, or annotation that is linked to their respective texts. Writing in 2007, Best himself admits that “the potential of a Shakespearean text wholly designed for the electronic medium is not yet fully realized” (“Shakespeare” 145).

It is thus crucial to distinguish between the theoretical possibility of digital editions, and what these editions can actually offer readers. As Kastan observes, “The book’s reassuring offer of closure and authority gives way to the electronic text’s exhilarating promise of possibility and an immunity from all restraint. It is, however, worth pausing to disrupt this neat binary by noting that its claim is only conceptually true” (Book 130). That an absolutely transparent and neutral collected edition of Shakespeare can only ever be a perpetually deferred, theoretical concept means that it is necessary to assess a reader’s relationship to such digital texts in more realistic, measured terms. On this matter Best makes an important concession: “it is likely that for the foreseeable future an electronic Shakespeare edition will be treated more as an archive for searching than as a way of reading the plays from beginning to end” (“Shakespeare” 154-5). This definition—the digital edition as archive—is a pervasive one, and though it is true to digital editions’ vast storage and organizational capabilities, as Best makes clear, it also speaks to their limitations as reading texts. To recognize digital editions as archives further distances and distinguishes digital texts from “the formal limits of all hard copy’s informational and critical powers” (McGann,

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142 The texts of Cymbeline and Caesar include, under a side-heading entitled “Commentary,” the following instructions: “Click underlined text to read an annotation. Click the text again, or the [x] to close the note.” I can find no underlined text in either of these editions.
“Rationale of Hypertext” 22). Rather than use the notion of the archive to negate comparisons between digitized and printed modes of textual reception, however, I would like to incorporate some of the current thinking on archives into a consideration of readers in both media. That is, it is useful to understand digital and printed editions as possessing archival characteristics. To do so reasserts the readerly ability that has been at the heart of my study: the capacity to navigate textual spaces—digital or printed—and bring various forms of information to bear on engagements with primary materials. As the preceding discussion has made clear, digital texts remind us that all texts are in some sense virtual, unstable, and fluid things, but this point can be rotated slightly: if digital texts and hypertexts enhance and accentuate readers’ navigational freedom, one must remember that this freedom is something that all texts—even printed ones—necessarily provide.

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At first glance, editorial impulses—the removal of ambiguity, the presentation of interpreted texts in new form(s)—and archival impulses—the retention and perpetual accumulation of “raw” information, the preservation of original form(s)—seem to be at odds. These ostensibly contradictory impulses implicitly inform Sonia Massai’s comparison of digital and critical editions:

[A] change brought about by the electronic medium is that the end result of an editor’s labours is not a critical edition but a critical archive. A critical edition is structured hierarchically and privileges the modern text over other textual alternatives, which are cryptically and partially summarized in the textual apparatus. The critical archive provides accurate and searchable digital versions of the editions from which those textual alternatives derive. Besides, a critical edition gives an account of the theatrical/cinematic and critical reception of a play-text whereas a critical archive provides the very materials—scripts, reviews, press releases, photographs, interviews, extracts from published sources—which the critical edition interprets on behalf of the reader. (“Scholarly Editing” 103)
The force of Massai's argument rests on "archive" being understood in a specific way. Although she concedes that the electronic archive "provides predetermined searches," Massai aims to create a stark contrast with a critical edition's "clear hierarchy of meanings and interpretations." Unlike the hierarchized printed edition, "The structure of the archive is open-ended and the virtually endless combinations of pathways which the user can follow utterly arbitrary. The user is thus encouraged to abandon linear reading in favour of dynamic interaction with texts and intertextual analysis." Massai's distinction hinges on the fact that "the critical edition interprets on behalf of the reader" ("Scholarly Editing" 103), while the electronic archive does not. Peter Donaldson describes the Shakespeare Electronic Archive in a similar vein (this project is only accessible at MIT and the Folger Library, though an abbreviated sample of the undertaking, *Hamlet on the Ramparts*, is freely available online). Donaldson contrasts "an electronic archive, eventually networked and available throughout the world, in which documents of all kinds—films, sound recordings, texts, digital facsimiles—would be linked in electronic form to one another and to the lines of text to which they refer or which they enact" (173)—against the ostensibly rigid interpretations and structure of standard critical editions:

> there is a disparity between the way [editors] present the complexity of the evidence in their notes, and the impression of finality conveyed by the appearance of a new edition of the collected works between the covers of an imposing and scholarly volume or as an 'authoritative' and comprehensive series lining the shelves of a library. Introductions, apparatus criticus, marginal, median and final notes, textual appendices—all these simultaneously acknowledge and minimize, by their 'specialist' format, the untidiness and uncertainty of the textual record. The impression left on readers and students is that the text has been established firmly, and that such variant readings as there may be can be safely ignored. (178-9)

143 <http://shea.mit.edu/ramparts/>. 
Both Massai and Donaldson assign archival characteristics to the electronic edition in order to distinguish it—absolutely—from the heavily mediated, limited referential capabilities of printed editions. In their effort to establish a strict opposition between printed and electronic media, they argue that the electronic archive offers an unmediated, unfiltered trove of pure data that the capable user can peruse at will, engaging any number of textual or performative instantiations of the work; readers of printed editions, on the other hand, are restricted to editorially-imposed interpretations, with alternative viewpoints available in hierarchized, “cryptically and partially summarized” (Massai, “Scholarly Editing” 103) forms. However, as Helen Freshwater suggests, a large part of the “allure of the archive” (731) is its “essential doubleness as physical collection or space and as a concept or idea” (751). Massai and Donaldson, in embracing the hypothetical lack of spatial restrictions facing electronic archives—their theoretical capability to include or link to every piece of information that might matter—suggest that users will eventually confront whatever “thing” they might be searching for: Massai refers to the critical archive supplying “the very materials” that standard editions can only “give an account of,” while Donaldson claims “the documentary hypertext presents images of the evidence itself” rather than the “distillation of the evidence” found in printed editions (186). What they claim, in other words, is that the indeterminacy supplied by the capaciousness of electronic editions liberates the reader from standard editorial procedures that foreclose ambiguity and shape information in potentially misleading or misrepresentative ways.

What Massai and Donaldson are relying upon, however, is an outmoded, unrealistic assumption about how archives come to be, and how users engage with them. The neutrality and comprehensiveness that so distinguish their descriptions of electronic archives from printed editions inevitably distort current, widely-held understandings of the archive (as both
a theoretical and physical construct). After Derrida’s influential work (1995), the inherent paradoxes of the archive have become well-rehearsed: far from being an objective repository, the archive is now primarily understood as a mediated construct that “preserves and reserves, protects and patrols, regulates and represses” (Voss and Werner i); in other words, “Every archive has undergone a process of selection, during which recorded information may have been excluded and discarded as well as preserved” (Freshwater 739). On this matter, Paul Voss and Marta Werner employ a cogent metaphor: “the archive’s dream of perfect order is disturbed by the nightmare of its random, heterogeneous, and often unruly contents” (ii). It is the (often messy, unwieldy) constructedness of the archive that Massai and Donaldson elide in their respective formulations, and a closer look at the kinds of archived materials available at Donaldson’s *Hamlet on the Ramparts* website helps to clarify my point.

*Hamlet on the Ramparts*, as its title suggests, focuses exclusively on 1.4 and 1.5 of the play. Its “Reading Room” allows users to read parallel texts of various editions, including critically-edited “base” texts (the Folger edition, by Barbara Mowat and Paul Werstine; the Arden2 edition, by Harold Jenkins), and digital facsimiles of the early textual witnesses (Q1, Q2, and F). Users can toggle between texts with great ease and juxtapose each and every possible combination of editions; the rapidity with which users can realign portions of text facilitates stark and revealing reminders of the play’s disparate printed forms. What the “Reading Room” makes possible, then, is not so much a *reading* of two scenes from *Hamlet* (Kastan remarks that the “exhausting copiousness” of electronic resources like

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144 George Myerson categorizes the various metaphors by which the electronic archive is conceived; Massai and Donaldson would fall under his category of the “Rigorous” defense, where “The archive is a new chemistry of thought, the intellectual equivalent of cold fusion. Now we can make things react with each other and produce infinitely more new compounds. The electronic archive is one sign of a new age of ‘artificial intelligence’, which will surpass the old eras of natural intelligence, as new substances differ from wood or iron” (95).

145 The site provides much more material than what is found in the “Reading Room,” including links to critical essays, tutorials and teaching guides, and facsimiles of various adaptations and promptbooks.
Donaldson's "make the play . . . virtually unreadable" (*Book* 129), but the opportunity for users to compare and contrast textual forms that are likely otherwise unavailable to them—users of the "Reading Room" engage with an archive, not an edition. Donaldson's claim that "electronic forms" make it possible to "read in new ways that combine the coherence, context, and sequence of what we now know as reading with an immediate awareness of alternative possibilities" (183) finesse key issues. In order to enable the consideration of alternative readings and textual forms, *Hamlet on the Ramparts* willingly sacrifices context and sequence (only decontextualized fragments of the various editions are available), and even coherence as well (parallel texts, for all that they can reveal, do not make for easy reading). My intention here is not to quibble with where one might draw the line between a reading edition and an archive; rather, what I mean to point out is that the resources provided by sites like *Hamlet on the Ramparts* have inevitably travelled through numerous interpretive and editorial filters, and these forms of mediation are occluded by critical narratives that stress a user's access to ostensibly limitless amounts of information. Donaldson may suggest that, unlike printed editions, electronic texts do not convey an "impression of finality" that "minimize[s] . . . the untidiness and uncertainty of the textual record" (178), but once again, such a claim is only true in purely theoretical terms. After all, *Hamlet on the Ramparts* reproduces only a single facsimile version for each of Q1 and F (from the Huntington and Folger libraries, respectively), and two versions of Q2 (one from the Huntington, one from the Folger); one could argue this selectivity minimizes disparities produced by early modern printing practice—no two copies of F are exactly alike, but users of the website might very well come away with the impression that F exists in a final, fixed state. In actuality though, it is the site's selectivity that makes it valuable and useful: few users are likely to be interested in poring over the minutiae that might distinguish one version of F from another; in providing
a facsimile of a portion of a single version, the website refines the amount of information involved in a user’s interpretive procedures.

The digital facsimiles that electronic archives like Hamlet on the Ramparts can provide must nevertheless be assessed in pragmatic terms. In his writings, Donaldson repeatedly suggests that digital facsimiles are a means of representing “a world beyond the computer screen, or beyond the ‘text’” (191). He implies that these facsimiles provide “real” access to the very things they are meant to represent: “[the] electronic text can seem to evoke a real world, bringing a part of that world to the screen, or, to use an equally common metaphor, permit travel to a distant location—in this case the Folger Library, [or] the British Library” (191); “the external boundaries of the documentary hypertext” are described by Donaldson as “permeable,” and “at their outer limit [they] lead back to real objects, and to the specific locations, in the ‘real world’ in which Shakespeare materials are preserved, interpreted, and used” (195). Donaldson’s assessment of the “reality” of facsimiles, their genuine approximation of the “real thing,” seems to me to be both helpful and misleading. As a scholarly resource, facsimiles are extremely valuable, allowing large numbers of users to work closely with primary materials otherwise located in select spaces and available to very few. Certainly, much of my own analysis of pre-twentieth-century editions of Shakespeare and other early modern playwrights would not have been possible without digital facsimiles. What is imperative to remember, however, is that even a high-quality digital facsimile performs “its own act of idealization” (Kastan, After Theory 68). The camera—digital or photographic—is anything but a neutral observer, and the production of a facsimile is an interpretive act. The facsimiles available to users of Hamlet on the

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146 Taylor notes that one must “choose which copies of which editions of which works to photograph; whether to reproduce a single extant copy, or to compose an ‘ideal’ copy using either formes or pages from several
Ramparts do, in some sense, “lead back to real objects,” though only in a tangential way; that is, one is provided with reproductions of “real objects” that are both remarkably detailed and inevitably partial. The fidelity and partiality of facsimiles become especially apparent when one considers the site’s reproduction of the F text; like the reproductions of the Q1 and Q2 texts, the F facsimile is altered in size and shape so that it better aligns with any edition that a user might choose to juxtapose against it. Significantly, the F text is also digitally trimmed: what the site reproduces is not the relevant page of F, but the excised portion of the appropriate column of text (see Figure 8). The “real object” in question, while relatively more present to visitors of the site than it might be to readers of a critical edition,

![Image](Figure 8. A portion of F Hamlet from Hamlet on the Ramparts (accessed March, 2008).)

*copies; whether to photograph corrected or uncorrected states of press-variant formes; which photographic process to use; what apparatus to provide* (Textual Companion 4).
nevertheless looks nothing like this. Users of the site do not encounter the F text, but a reconstructed, *mediated* version of it.

When it comes to representations of performance, Donaldson suggests that users of digital archives are provided with unique opportunities for interpretation: “a single performance can be regarded as a text, and its textual or text-like properties are greatly enhanced when performance is recorded or recast in a durable medium such as film or tape, so that it can be replayed, re-experienced, and closely read in ways that are analogous to the close reading of a poetic or literary text” (182). The repeatability and stability of film are, in other words, features that facilitate the “reading” of performance. Donaldson’s suggestion that a performance can be read like a text (a claim that we have observed to be central to much contemporary performance criticism147), is visually and structurally reinforced by the design of *Hamlet on the Ramparts*’s “Reading Room.” Users are able to view clips of three different productions of the play that roughly correspond to the segment of playtext that has been selected. The clips align performance alongside the text, with users encouraged to experience the transformative powers that performance practices exert. One body of clips is taken from the recording of Richard Burton’s 1964 performance at the Lunt Fontanne Theater in New York City (directed by John Gielgud); the other two samplings are from silent versions from the early twentieth century: Svend Gade’s *Hamlet: The Drama of Vengeance* (1920), and Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson’s abbreviated film (1913). The juxtaposition of film and text is a striking example of the archival and representational powers of the digital edition: though the clips are slow in loading and small in size, they realize a portion of the digital edition’s theoretical promise, what McGann describes as “[moving] beyond the semantic content of the primary textual materials” (“Rationale of

147 See Chapter Two, pages 14-22.
Hypertext” 21). One must concede, however, that the mixture of available film clips is curious, even strange. The Gade film is best thought of as an adaptation rather than a production of *Hamlet*: with Asta Nielsen in the lead role, it suggests that Hamlet is actually a young woman raised as a man; perhaps most strikingly, given the website’s strict focus on 1.4 and 1.5 of the play, *Hamlet: The Drama of Vengeance* involves no scenes on the ramparts of Elsinore. While taking fewer liberties in his version, Forbes-Robertson’s adaptation relies heavily on an audience’s pre-existing familiarity with the play, since it clocks in at around twenty-two minutes. The clips of Burton involve the most sustained, “traditional” engagements with the playtext, but given that the Burton film was filmed over two nights with fifteen cameras, users are viewing a single performance that, in a very real way, never actually took place. Surely the largest determining factor in what *Hamlet on the Ramparts* can make available is copyright restrictions that preclude the inclusion of both a wider range of material and the use of recordings of more recent productions or feature-length films. The website, then, epitomizes the multi-media possibilities and limitations of digital editions: three rare and unique interpretations of the play (two of which are nearly a century old) are archived and freely accessible, but cumulatively, they are a de-contextualized, disjointed assemblage that connect to the central playtext in complicated ways that go largely unexplained. Ultimately, *Hamlet on the Ramparts* reminds us that the gap between the hypothetical boundlessness of digital editions and what they can realistically (and legally) execute is not insignificant.

The ostensible advantage of viewing digitized performances is that one need not engage with the absent event via the rememberings of others (in the form of play reviews, performance histories, diaries, etc.), nor does one have to grapple with the failings of memory. Recorded performances are relatively stable points of reference. Given Dennis
Kennedy’s observation that “The book is memory materialized, solidified, made historical and referable, while performance always escapes it, leaving behind its remembered shadow” (330), then digitally-archived clips of performance exist as something in between these two poles: less tangible than either the book of the play or the performed event (which inevitably “decays before our eyes, and thus in the moment of its accomplishment escapes into memory” (Kennedy 329)), but more substantial than the mutable shades of recollection. Similar to digital facsimiles, digital recordings do not allow access to the “real object”—in this case, the performance itself—but they can be deployed within digital editions as vivid and evocative markers of performance potentialities. I have positioned performancescape as a term that links the scape of the page to the virtual scape of the imagined scene; in the case of digital editions, “virtual” takes on the added meaning of computer-generated, and in terms of enabling readers to conceptualize performance, the capabilities of computers to display recordings of actual performances certainly surpasses anything that a printed text can do. On this matter, Best draws a fitting analogy to print culture: “One of the strengths of the new electronic criticism is that it can integrate a discussion of film performance in a way that is as much an improvement on anything a print description can offer as a quotation from the text is more informative than a paraphrase of it.” The end result is that the reader gains “the full experience of a graphic or video sequence [and] becomes more fully a participator in the critical process” (Best, “Text of Performance” 276, 279).

A user’s participation is central to the design and execution of Best’s Internet Shakespeare Editions and the site’s engagements with performance. Describing the ISE project as an “attempt to provide a comprehensive archive and edition of the plays” (“Shakespeare” 157), Best intends to harness the potential of the electronic medium to illuminate matters both textual and performative. To this end, Best foresees fully edited ISE
texts making use of three distinct “levels” of annotation: the first level would provide simple glosses or explanatory phrases; the second level is described as a “full annotation” similar to that found in major critical editions, and “would link to illustrative, and often contrasting, performances of specific moments in the play” (“Shakespeare” 159, 160); the third level “is reserved for full discussions of an important point, of the kind that might become an appendix in a print edition” (“Shakespeare” 159-60). A reader of a modernized ISE text would thus have the ability to choose a level of annotation that suits his or her particular needs; moreover, any tangential move into the annotation could be linked to further layers of information. The traditional performance commentary found in a printed edition is analogous to a second level annotation, but the ISE annotation might be supplemented with hyperlinks to photographs, director’s notes, playbills, video clips, or sound recordings. The extensive range of material that a reader might encounter is one thing, but the main difference in the organization of ISE annotation is how annotation itself is conceived and deployed: rather than the vertical or horizontal glosses found in a printed text that ask the reader to negotiate either a single page or perhaps look elsewhere within the edition, annotation in an ISE text is meant to be an extensible network that a reader is to explore freely. With a click, editorial commentary could appear beside the text, and this commentary could theoretically offer pathways for readers to consider not just more comprehensive and complicated annotation, but also relevant archival material, as well as parallel passages elsewhere in the text or in other plays. Unfortunately, as mentioned earlier, fully edited texts that make use of the three-tiered system of annotation have yet to be published on the site, meaning that the effectiveness of this strategy cannot be assessed.
What is quantifiable is the ISE’s performance database, the archive portion of Best’s vision of the ISE as “a comprehensive archive and edition of the plays” (“Shakespeare” 157). The “Shakespeare in Performance” area of the website is described as

a searchable database of performance materials from over 1000 film and stage productions related to Shakespeare’s works. Whether you are an actor, director, student, scholar or Shakespeare enthusiast, this database provides an exciting and innovative resource of items and artifacts related to stage production from start to finish. View online such items as director's notes, images of stage and costume design, performance stills, posters, information about a particular company or festival and the actors involved in Shakespeare performance, cast and crew listings. (Best, “Shakespeare in Performance: Home”)

As the static nature of the items in the archive suggest, “The usual problems of copyright limit the kinds of artifacts that can be stored in the database” (Best, “Shakespeare” 160); in other words, filmed versions of performance remain difficult to obtain legally. That being said, the database is remarkably diverse, and promises to continue growing (there is an open-ended invitation on the website for theatre companies to contribute archival material for digitization). Best writes that “A particularly productive use of the larger space an electronic edition provides would be to link passages of the play to moments of performance, on stage or film” (Best, “Shakespeare” 160), and one can envision an ISE editor making great use of the “Shakespeare in Performance” database, inviting readers to consider the various stages of theatrical production, from promptbook preparation, to set design and costuming, to rehearsal, to advertising campaigns, to performance. The difficulty is that Best’s “would be” signals yet again a significant gap between promise and practice. In terms of its current structure, text and performance are strongly differentiated—even distinct—on the ISE website: the “Library” (which houses facsimiles, transcriptions, and modernized versions) does not (yet) have any sort of systematic connection to the “Theatre” portion of the site (which houses the performance database); the texts published on the site are, in other words,
in no way integrated with the performance database. Over 1000 production stills are currently available for searching, organized by date, play title and theatre company; since these stills are usually not keyed to specific moments of play action or lines in the text, their significance or connection to the playtext might be unclear to certain users of the database. Thus, while it is certainly true that the *ISE* engages with the plays using "a form native to the medium of the Internet" (Best, "About the Internet Shakespeare Editions"), the hypertextual networks created by the website render explorations of textual and performance histories largely discontinuous activities.

Text and performance remain similarly differentiated in *The Shakespeare Collection*, another major online archive that is centred on digital editions of the plays. With full access to the Arden Complete Works, as well as the publishing resources of Cengage Learning (formerly Thomson-Gale), *The Shakespeare Collection* offers "Comprehensive, cross-searchable coverage of Shakespeare's work, critical reception, textual history, performance history and cultural and historical context."\(^ {148} \) A powerful search engine filters any stream of sought after data into seven major pools: "Texts—Arden Editions," "Texts—Historical," "Primary Sources," "Magazines and Journals," "Book Articles," "References," and "Multimedia"; additionally, certain resources, such as the Arden texts, transcriptions of primary source material, and journal articles, are themselves fully searchable. Clearly, the site is meant to range more widely than something like the *ISE*, which devotes the bulk of its energies to publishing critically-edited texts and rigorously-scrutinized transcriptions of original textual witnesses. *The Shakespeare Collection* is a research tool, with the Arden editions (a mixture of Arden2 and Arden3 versions is currently available) forming just one of the site's arteries of information. These digitized versions of the Arden texts, it must be said,

\(^ {148} \)<http://gale.cengage.co.uk/shakespeare/>. 
offer the clearest picture to date of what the electronic text can offer: users can jump to any
scene, toggle between text and commentary, peruse illustrations, and even exclusively search
an edition’s introduction, notes, and/or appendices for keywords.

Much like the ISE, *The Shakespeare Collection* is designed with the participatory
possibilities of digitization in mind. At any time, users are given the opportunity “to compare
on screen two different texts, or two different versions of the same work. The user locates
and marks the texts he or she wishes to compare, opens the first text and clicks ‘compare
texts’ to bring up the list of selected titles for comparison” (“Fact Sheet”). “Texts” here are
broadly construed: the term includes the collection’s “Multimedia” archive, which consists
primarily of non-textual material like production stills, photographs, paintings, illustrations,
and scans of promptbooks; according to the site’s description, “These images facilitate the
study of changes in production, costume and style as well as recording particular
performances or providing historical context. A matching can be made of prompt books and
photographs or illustrations for a particular production” (“Brochure” 7). Users are thus
encouraged to set their own unique search parameters and create convergences of disparate
materials, with juxtapositions of different forms and orders of information, even of non-
textual material connected to performance practice, posited as a revealing method of analysis
and interpretation. This trend toward juxtaposition means that a user’s navigation of the
collection is often linked to the codex—making use of *The Shakespeare Collection’s*
comparison feature, in other words, is frequently like reading a book (or examining two
books side by side). The collection’s bookishness becomes apparent when one explores its
digital facsimiles of early quartos and folios, which are often scans that approximate the book
in question, rather than just a single leaf (see Figure 9). Putting historical and modernized
playtexts side by side results in navigation screens that resemble facing pages (see Figure
That the site is organized around transforming amorphous searches into rather stable one-to-one juxtapositions is likely why Best, thinking specifically of the archive's reliance on the Arden texts, laments that, “as an electronic edition of the plays themselves,” The *Shakespeare Collection* “remain[s] stubbornly wedded to print” (“Shakespeare” 158).

Best’s point is that the digitized versions of the Arden editions are essentially translated from print into an electronic medium, rather than specifically designed for an electronic medium (as ISE editions are). Given their doubled existence in both printed and digitized realms, the Arden texts archived in The *Shakespeare Collection* provide an opportunity to consider two very different reading experiences of the same edited text. One
Act 1. Scene 1

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING

[1.1]
Enter LEONATO, Governor of Messina, Hero his daughter and BEATRICE his niece, with a messenger.

LEONATO I learn in this letter that Don Pedro of Aragon comes this night to Messina.

MESSENGER He is very near by this. He was not three leagues off when I let him know.

LEONATO How many gentlemen have you lost in this action?

MESSENGER But few of any sort, and none of name.

LEONATO A victory is twice itself when the achiever comes home full of honor on a young Florentine called Claudio.

MESSENGER Much deserved on his part, and equally remembered by Don Pedro. He hath borne himself beyond the praise of his age, doing in the figure of a lamb the feats of a lion; the more it is lauded, the more it is esteemed. I find here that Don Pedro hath performed now a victory on a young Florentine called Claudio.

LEONATO He hath an uncle here in Messina very glad of it.

MESSENGER I have already delivered him letters, and there appears much joy in him, as much as that joy could not show itself modest enough without a tinge of bitterness.

LEONATO Did he break out into tears?

MESSENGER In great measure.

Figure 10. Juxtaposition of Arden3 and Q texts of Much Ado About Nothing. The Shakespeare Collection, Thomson Gale Academic Trial Site (accessed March, 2008).

of the most recently published editions in the online collection is Claire McEachern’s Arden3 version of Much Ado About Nothing (2006). The digital version does its best to mimic the major organizational features of the printed edition: an “eTable of Contents” closely mirrors that of the printed version, and illustrations in the introduction appear in roughly the same size and position as they do in the Arden3 book (though one of course scrolls down through different sections of the introduction as they appear on the screen). All of McEachern’s collations and commentaries are reproduced in full, as is her appendix containing a casting chart. In short, save for the printed edition’s index, every major piece of information in the

According to the site’s online brochure, “The Shakespeare Collection will be updated with new Arden editions twelve months after their publication” (3).
original Arden3 publication can be found somewhere in the digitized version. *Locating* information in the digital edition, however, takes some getting used to. The edited playtext and commentary notes must exist in separate windows, and while a user can manually adjust the size of these windows to place them side-by-side, it is the user's responsibility to continually keep the notes aligned with the lineation of the playtext. Proceeding through the play means scrolling through both playtext and notes; furthermore, unlike in the printed version, the notes are not keyed to specific line numbers, which can make it difficult to not only locate a gloss, but to know which words, phrases, or passages in the playtext are annotated.

There is something decidedly awkward about navigating this digital edition. For one thing, the introduction's footnotes are rendered invisible in their digitized state: not only must a user scroll to the bottom of the screen for each and every note that appears (the superscript numerals are not hyperlinked to their corresponding commentary), but the notes themselves at the bottom of the page are not supplied with a matching numeral—tracking down a footnote is an exercise in patience. Additionally, there is something inefficient about the number of clicks it takes to move from the commentary notes back to a relevant section of McEachern's introduction, an introduction that is unpaginated in the scrolling digital text, making cross-references within the edition extremely difficult to trace. Even cross-references in the notes to other points in the playtext are hard to follow: since the play is broken into individual scenes that can only be accessed from a drop-down menu at the top of each "page," following a reference in the notes to a specific line in a different scene entails exiting or closing the window of notes, (re-)opening the window of playtext, scrolling back up to the top of the currently open scene, selecting the referenced scene from the menu, and scrolling to the appropriate line in that scene; to return to one's previous position in the play,
the same steps must be followed. One becomes accustomed to maneuvering within this system, but tangential moves away from the edited text can occur much more quickly and efficiently within a book.

If my criticisms of the digitized Arden texts sound pedantic or technophobic, they are not intended as such. Neil Gershenfeld, observing that since a book “boots instantly,” “permits fast random access to any page,” “is viewable from any angle, in bright or dim light,” “can easily be annotated,” and “requires no batteries or maintenance,” argues that “if a book had been invented after the laptop it would be hailed as a great breakthrough.” “It’s not technophobic to prefer to read a book,” writes Gershenfeld, “it’s entirely sensible. The future of computing lies back in a book” (13-4). In terms of critically-edited playtexts, the decision-making processes of editors, as well as the ordering and structuring of information necessitated by the physical restrictions of the book, all have value, and this value added by editorial labour is somewhat eroded when the Arden texts are digitized. McEachern herself recognizes that her decisions help to shape a reader’s potential range of interpretations of the text, and that this editorial influence is most conspicuous when it comes to imagining performance practice. After explaining that she has “sought to modify and modernize the original text so as to make the play legible to the mind’s eye” (132-3), McEachern writes,

What is presented here is not the text of the original performance. It is not the text of any performance, and indeed it is intended to be open ended rather than restrictive (not to be confused with indecisive) in suggesting possibilities for stage action, despite the editorial temptation to block the play—a temptation made inevitable by the fact that this reader, like any other, builds in the course of her experience of the play expectations about how its characters might or might not behave. An edition truly scrupulous about these matters would perhaps provide multiple-choice SDs; however, there are enough notes on these pages as it is, the number of choices is unwieldy if not infinite, and my assumption is that other readers will have their own opinions about how characters might or might not behave, and will undoubtedly exercise them.
McEachern nicely distills many of the contentious issues that swirl around any attempt to mediate page and stage: that the edited text can engage performance history without ever encapsulating it or accurately recounting it; that an editor’s biases will affect the decision-making process; that editorial decisiveness when it comes to open moments of stage action does not necessarily result in interpretive restrictions being placed on the reader; that emphasizing the seemingly infinite options that might be available at moments of ambiguity might not make for the best reading experience. Above all, McEachern’s methodology acknowledges the reader’s central position in the meaning-making process: as selective and distorted as her edition’s approximations of performance might be, “other readers will have their own opinions about how characters might or might not behave, and will undoubtedly exercise them.”

McEachern’s edition—in both its printed and digitized state—helps us to see that although it is digital editions that are often figured in archival terms (a definition that positions the printed edition on the other end of the spectrum, bound by the referential limitations of the book), it is useful to place digitized and printed editions on a kind of archival continuum. To understand both digital and print editions as archives reasserts the readerly freedom to engage with, and assess, mediated material. In Worthen’s words, “the reader always controls the process of reading” (Force 185)—this principle is greatly emphasized in discussions of the revelatory powers of digital texts, but it is equally true of their differently mediated printed counterparts. Two examples of performancescapes from McEachern’s edition serve as useful reminders of the way in which editors can stimulate a reader’s ability to access rapidly relevant information that is separate from the edited playtext proper. The first example is McEachern’s commentary note to the opening of 2.3, the first of
the two gulling scenes. As she does throughout her edition, McEachern gives her readers imaginative options as to how stage action might be realized; in this case, she writes,

The location is Leonato’s orchard. The staging needs to provide for Benedick’s concealment from the gullers (though he must be visible to the audience); its elaborateness will depend on the nature of the production (on the Elizabethan stage, presumably the actor playing Benedick concealed himself downstage behind the pillars). Modern production choices have included shrubbery, trees, lattice, garden furniture, etc., as well as arbours, both imaginary and actual. Property arbours did exist in Elizabethan staging practice (one is featured on the title page of Kyd’s Spanish Tragedy...). (2.3n)

The end of the note refers readers back to McEachern’s introduction, where the title page of The Spanish Tragedy is reproduced, along with a more detailed discussion of the gulling scenes in Much Ado’s stage history—a discussion that makes use of four photographs and engravings from various eras in the play’s theatrical life. With reference to these illustrations, McEachern remarks that “The chief criteria of the humour of these scenes, particularly that involving Benedick, depend on their listeners being visible to the audience, but thinking themselves invisible to their gullers. However, the scene can be often far funnier, and more dynamic, the less it is particularized by actual props” (113). The second example is from 4.1, the church scene in which Claudio repudiates Hero. McEachern’s notes in this scene repeatedly attend to the potential reactions of Leonato: Beatrice’s “Help, Uncle!” (4.1.113) after Hero swoons “can indicate Leonato’s stage distance from Hero” (113n); the “Strike” in Leonato’s “Thought I thy spirits were stronger than thy shames, / Myself would on the rearward of reproaches / Strike at thy life” (4.1.125-7) “can serve as a cue for Leonato’s action” (127n); appeals to mercy or reason later in the scene are “lost on Leonato” (149n), or directed to “Leonato alone” (180n); a longer note cites a study by John D. Cox that traces attempts from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries “‘to dignify and idealise Leonato in this scene’” (120-43n). As in the first example, McEachern’s
commentary recalls her introduction, where three illustrations demonstrate an increasing prominence given to Leonato’s responses. In the frontispiece to Rowe’s 1709 edition of the play, Leonato is indistinguishable in the crowd around the swooning Hero; in a 1790 engraving, Leonato is foregrounded and visibly affected; a 1791 engraving depicts a Leonato who “is central and virtually Lear-like in his distraught domination over the fallen form of his daughter” (88).

There can be no argument that McEachern’s introductory remarks and commentary notes are a product of her own interests and biases, and that her attention to things like the use of props in the gulling scenes and Leonato’s mannerisms in 4.1 frames considerations of the play in performance in unique ways (a glance at Sheldon Zitner’s Oxford edition of *Much Ado*, for instance, reveals no such interest in describing how the humour of the gulling scenes might relate to their staging, nor does Zitner emphasize the varying levels of attention that can be paid to Leonato’s displays in the church). What McEachern is doing is what all editors attempting to mediate performance do for their readers: delve into performance histories and extract fragments of information that they believe to be useful and/or compelling in the context of a textual encounter with the play. Margaret Jane Kidnie describes this process as a “creation of a textualized archive of archives, a self-perpetuating meta-archive” (“Citing Shakespeare” 122). Such discriminate samplings of performance practice or imaginings of performance possibilities can only partially recuperate the relevant details, but this editorial shaping of performance practice is a valuable form of decision-making. As Wells explains, “all the verbal and visual records [of past] performances have passed through the transfiguring power of the imaginations and intellects” of various individuals, and the “very subjectivity” of these transfigurations “is in itself a strength as well as a weakness”: 
We should gain no impression of the impact of the performances that gave rise to them if they did not at the same time tell us, or convey to us through the eloquence of their prose, or the power of their composition, something of the emotional and intellectual impact that they had upon their creators and which is the fundamental source of the value we place upon theatre. ("Foreword" xix)

The "emotional and intellectual impact" of performance that Wells figures as central to the power of the theatrical event is somewhat muted in electronic editions that allow performance records to "float" separate from the edited playtext. The digital version of McEachern's edition in The Shakespeare Collection contains all of the same information about Much Ado's performance history, but the information is more readily accessible in the printed edition, where a reader's eyes flick between playtext and commentary on a single page, or pages are located quickly by way of cross-reference; in the digitized version, the introductory descriptions of the play in performance and the illustrations so crucial to McEachern's arguments are always a number of clicks or windows away. The book of the Arden3 Much Ado About Nothing, in other words, expresses and organizes everything that its electronic counterpart does, only it does so more efficiently.

The less rigidly-structured digitized text is, of course, part of the interpretive appeal of an electronic edition, but this openness is not without its consequences. John Lavagnino observes that what proponents of systems powered by hypertext often imagine is "that they would be transparent: they would not interpose an editor between the sources and the reader." Yet, such a position is flawed, argues Lavagnino, in that it implies that these sources themselves are always transparent, are never concealing something that scholarship can help us perceive. This idea, that we require no form of help with original documents, is not really very different from the idea that literary criticism is unnecessary because our untutored reactions to literary works are more authentic, and those reactions are likely to be repressed or distorted if we hear any discussion of what the texts mean. To refrain from editing is an easy way to alleviate our nagging professional worries about being wrong; but it also means that we lose the
Lavagnino is one of the General Editors of the Collected Works of Thomas Middleton (Oxford), a major editorial undertaking that has just recently seen print after a long and convoluted developmental history. A brief consideration of the Oxford Middleton is worthwhile, since, as the quotation from Lavagnino (one of its chief contributors) indicates, its methodology reaffirms the importance of the kinds of selective, subjective processes that are brought into question by the potential scope and referentiality of digitization.

Anticipating its appearance, David Greetham suggested that the Oxford Middleton reframes Shakespeare’s canonical status:

One of the main reasons Gary Taylor [the other General Editor] embarked on his multi-volume edition of Middleton (after having co-edited the one-volume Oxford Shakespeare) was to effect an act of cultural displacement: to turn what had been regarded as chaff, and thus disposable, into wheat. The prestige attached to an Oxford monumental edition presided over by a well-established editor of an already-preserved text may or may not result in Taylor’s aim of enfranchisement, but the cultural politics driving the Middleton edition is quite overt: put our documentary and scholarly resources in the service of a ‘garbage’ author rather than a ‘treasure’ author, in an act of cultural displacement. (9)

“Cultural displacement”—or at the very least, something like “enhanced cultural awareness”—is certainly a large part of the motivating force behind the Middleton project. Interestingly, though, The Oxford Middleton is fairly conventional in appearance (its design, fonts, as well as its companion volume, Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture, mirror the format of the Oxford Shakespeare); moreover, the edition places great emphasis on editorial expertise and mediation. In fact, Taylor argues that what makes the

150 Ironically, Taylor attributes the substantial delay in the publication of the Oxford Middleton to issues of digitization: “As I write this [1998], I and the other editors of The Collected Works are waiting for John Lavagnino to finish the computer work that only he knows how to do” (“e;:/” 48).
edition significant is that it is the product of heterogeneous editorial principles. He describes the “self-consciously ‘federal edition’” in the following terms:

different EDITORIAL PRACTICES are adopted for different works; and the critical introductions adopt different critical perspectives [...]. This diversity is deliberate. It derives from a belief that authors and their readers are better served by a ‘federal’ than a ‘unified’ edition. By calling attention to the variety of ways in which the works of an author may be interpreted and edited, a ‘federal’ edition celebrates the play of difference and acknowledges the foreclosure of possibilities entailed in every act of choice. (“How To Use This Book” 19)

Taylor’s primary argument is that Middleton’s generic and thematic diversity is best served by a correspondingly diverse range of editorial methodologies. For my purposes, the secondary claim being made is of equal importance: Taylor locates the collection’s currency in its “self-conscious” awareness of the inevitable shaping influence of editorial mediation. The collection employs a number of different editorial strategies that yield dissimilar combinations of texts and para-texts—the commentary to A Game at Chesse: An Early Form “is dedicated to the play’s historical and political referents”; the edition of Old Law “mixes textual apparatus with annotation and photography with type”; “the notes to Your Five Gallants pay particular attention to theatrical problems, options, and opportunities” (“How To Use This Book” 18). The precise strategies themselves are not the issue here: what is significant is that the Oxford Middleton’s attempt at cultural displacement has been initiated in print, in the belief that a reader’s meaningful engagement with Middleton’s work is enhanced by clear, accessible mediation. Readers will profit from encountering material that has been pulled from the archives and subsequently shaped—interpreted—by editorial means.151

151 “[A]ny archive . . . yields its treasures only to diligent and capable researchers. An edition, however, is designed to present not the archive but the results of one’s investigations there” (Kastan, Book 129).
The Oxford Middleton, as all editorial projects tend to do, looks both backward and forward: “This edition does not claim to be definitive; we do not expect, or even hope, that it will last for ever” (Taylor, “Lives and Afterlives” 58). I began this chapter with an analogous, if also diametrically opposed, rhetorical flourish from Bowers, who was looking to the future of editing Shakespeare, and saw a vision of a definitive text approximating “original truth.” Bowers’s future is the present editorial scene that I have surveyed, and it is one that he could not have imagined (as evidenced by the gap between his “original truth” and the Middleton editors’ professed disinterest in definitiveness). To risk speculating on the future of editorial practice myself, I think it safe to predict that digital editions will continue to proliferate and undergo further refinement, with film clips (and clips of staged performances) becoming more prevalent and well integrated. From their facilitation of access to primary materials (or even relevant secondary sources), to the rapid, broad searches they make possible, there can be no doubt that digital editions will continue to be integral to Shakespeare studies because they enrich our ability to study early modern drama. But when it comes to reading drama, and imagining it within a continuous performance landscape, the referential and archival powers of digitization do not make electronic editions innately superior or preferable to the more highly mediated structures of print. For the foreseeable future, printed editions will remain relevant—and with good reason. To edit entails making choices, and although decisions stabilized by print might foreclose other interpretive possibilities, they also confer value and authority. The ordered and sustained imprints of editorial activity in the book of the play are what ensure the printed text’s relevance in an increasingly digitized age, since choosing to trace these marked pathways is a continuous, participatory act that can lead to a fully engaged, affective, reading experience.
Chapter Seven: Epilogue

In thinking of endings, I am drawn to the final leaf of the Folio text of *The Tempest* (see Figure 11). The conclusion of *The Tempest*, particularly Prospero's epilogue, is perhaps the most over-analyzed and overrated moment in the canon; given the play's position in Shakespeare's career, its conclusion has taken on mythological proportions, with many reading it as the culminating statement of the playwright's life in, and farewell to, the theatre.\(^{152}\) Such a reading not only distorts the bibliographical record (Shakespeare continued to write for the theatre after he completed *The Tempest*, collaborating with John Fletcher on *Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*\(^{153}\)), it also places its emphasis exclusively on performed modes of dramatic realization. In terms of the printing history of Shakespeare's collected works, *The Tempest* represents not an ending, but a beginning, since it is the first play that appears in the Folio. The play occupies a singular position in that its placement at the beginning of the Folio initiates the experience of reading a collection of Shakespearean drama that is constructed according to a larger, specific editorial program: if the "Presenters" of the Folio thought that their primary task was to "gather his workes, and giue them [to] you," it is intriguing that the first play given to purchasers of their collection is *The Tempest*. With these factors in mind, and thinking of the earliest text of the play as a kind of threshold between performed and printed conceptualizations of drama, I return to some of the central concerns of my study: what is it like to read this last page of *The Tempest*, rather than seeing...

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\(^{152}\) In *Shakespeare and the Idea of Late Writing*, Gordon McMullan argues that the idea of a "late style" is itself a critical construct. McMullen's introduction quotes Anthony Dawson on *The Tempest's* position in critical narratives: that the play "comes at the end of Shakespeare's career means that it will be read retrospectively, as climactic" (1).

\(^{153}\) The lost *Cardenio*, another collaboration with Fletcher, might also post-date *The Tempest*. Based on records of court payments to the King's Men, the *Textual Companion* dates the lost play to 1612-13. *The Tempest* was performed at court in November, 1611.
The Tempest

And seek for grace what a choice double Ache
Was I in such this strait and for a god?
And worship shew full heed?

Pros. Get you, away.
Sir, here is your ship's head, and your trade
To my poor Cell: where you shall take you rest.
For this unwilling, which pass on, I write With such description, as I not can do, shall it make One quick day: if it be joy of my life,
And the particular accidents, may by Since I came to the life: And in the meanie
Flee being to your ship, and to Naples.

Where I have hope to see the masts full
Of the sea, where I am, for the sake of God.
And hence retire me to my Misery, where
Every third thought shall be my peace.

Sir, I will. To bear the story of your life: which must
Take the care flangingly.

Pros. 'Tis deliver'd now.
And pruits when I come, see, sufficient gies.
And haste, so expidieions, that shall catch
Tom Royall at present: My crew: I chace
That is why charge: Then to the Elements
Be free, and fare them well: I please you draw near.

EPILOGUE,
spoken by Prospero.

Now my Clessmates are all here together,
And what strength I have, is mine own.
Which is my friends now to use,
I must be your sole confidence:
Or fare to Naples, let me see,
Since I have my Dukes of Reges,
And pardon all the offenders.
In this bare Island, by your Spell,
But receive me from my home,
With the hope of your good tongues:
Gentle words of yours, my fault,
May be, or else my proud fancies,
Which I was to plante: Nor in my heart
Spirits to enforce: Art to teach:
And my ending is despair,
And I return'd is by my grace.
Which makes me so, that it afflicts
Much to my selfe, and fears all faults.
As you from crimes would pardon'd be,
Let your Tenderness fore me free.

The Scene, an un-inhabited Island

Names of the Actors.

Alonze, K. of Naples
Sebastian his brother.
Prospero, the right Duke of Millaine.
Antonius his brother, the enjoying Duke of Millaine.
Ferdinand, son to the King of Naples.
Gonzalo, an honest old Counciler.
Adrian, & Francis, Lords.
Colin, a savage and deformed stature.
Trinculo, a usher.
Stephan, a drunken Butler.
Maitre of a Ship.
Bassio Swane.
Merriman.
Mariana, daughter to Prospero.
Arriva, an eune (spirit.
iris
Corin
Isile
Nymphes
Reapers

FINIS.

THE
it performed? Or better, what is it like to read this moment and visualize it performed? How does the epilogue signify if it isn’t spoken by an actor, but is instead conjured into existence by the imaginative powers of a reader?

As Figure 11 makes clear, readers of the Folio version of the play would have confronted something much different than readers of a modernized critical edition. The Folio page is neatly divided into three distinct segments of text (four if one concludes the “FINIS” near the bottom). The upper segment is the conclusion of the action of the playtext proper, complete with an “Exeunt omnes.” The lower left-hand segment contains Prospero’s epilogue (in italics), and a final direction for his “Exit”. These two segments are perhaps linked by way of Prospero’s “please you draw neere,” the final line before the epilogue, which might be delivered to the other figures on stage, but might instead signal Prospero’s turn toward the audience as he begins his appeal to “be relieu’d by praier.” The final partitioned segment, “The Scene, an vn-inhabited Island” and the list of the “Names of the Actors,” constitutes a powerful textual rebuttal to Prospero’s prayer for freedom. The Folio text, that is, essentially resets itself—we end with a reminder of where the action took place, and of the characters motivating that action: almost as soon as Prospero finishes his petition to be free from “this bare Island” in the epilogue, the play’s setting is reinforced for readers; similarly, Prospero remarks that “I have my Dukedome got, / And pardon’d the deceiuer,” yet just to the right of these lines is the description of “Anthonio his brother, the vsurping Duke of Millaine.” Within the bounds of the Folio, Prospero’s escape to political power is over before it begins.

Beyond the interpenetrations of the tripartite textual layout, the page itself registers a range of information related to the material properties of the Folio text and early modern textual production that cannot be fully communicated in a critical edition. Different sized
type and fonts are used, and portions of both the title and initial lines of text of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* can be seen bleeding through from the verso side of the sheet (the compositor's anticipation of this play is recorded in the catchword “THE” at the foot of the page). The page also appears to record certain features of its underlying manuscript: Ralph Crane has been identified as having prepared the manuscript copy used in the printing house, and some of his scribal habits are on display. Prospero’s reference to “our deere-belou’d” reveals Crane’s fondness for both hyphenated words and elision. It is also likely that the list of the “Names of the Actors” and its brief descriptions of the major players—Gonzalo is “an honest old Counsellor,” Caliban is “a saluage and deformed slaue,” Ariel is “an ayrie spirit”—are the contribution of Crane, not of Shakespeare. Similar lists appear at the end of other Folio texts for which Crane is thought to have prepared copy (*The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Measure for Measure, Othello*, and *The Winter’s Tale*). Whether Crane’s list is the product of his interpretation of what he witnessed in a performance of the play or his response to descriptions in Shakespeare’s manuscript (Vaughan and Vaughan 127), the “Names of the Actors” represents a point at which textual production and imaginative participation in the performance of the play intermingle and energize one another.

Comparable points of intersection shared by page and stage are also evidenced in many of *The Tempest’s* stage directions; certain phrases in the directions—“*A tempestuous noise of Thunder and Lightning heard*” (TLN 2), “*with gentle actions of salutations*” (TLN 1537), “*to a strange hollow and confused noyse, they heauily vanish*” (TLN 1807-8), “*a franticke ge-/sture*” (TLN 2009-10)—lead John Jowett to argue that Crane, “apparently influenced by his experience of the play on stage...” emphasizes visual aspects of the play as seen in the theatre and record them in a descriptive, complimentary, literary manner, in terms which
aid the reader’s appreciation of the play but which are unlikely to have been used by the dramatist instructing the players” (Companion 612).

Much of the information coded on the final Folio sheet of the play will be lost or significantly altered by the editorial and publishing processes that produce a modern edition. Typefaces, spelling, punctuation, and paper quality will all be regularized; the unique structure of the page itself will disappear, as Prospero’s epilogue will likely be justified so that it appears in line with playtext above it, and the “Names of the Actors” is shifted to the beginning of the play to serve as a list of *dramatis personae*. The re-coding options that are available to a modern editor, however, give something back to readers, even as they take away. Discussions in introductions or appendices can describe early modern manuscript production and Crane’s scribal fingerprints, and these discussions can be linked to the playtext by way of cross-references in commentary notes; facsimile pages of the Folio text can be reproduced (the Arden3 editors supply a reproduction of the final sheet of the play in their examination of Crane’s contribution of “important information that appears to reflect his own judgment” (127)). Above all, editors can remain faithful to the program that Crane, an early reader and mediator of the playtext, appears to have instituted: produce a version of the text that facilitates a reader’s ability to imaginatively approximate the play in performance. A commentary note on the epilogue in the Arden3 edition recalls George D. Wolfe’s 1995 production for the New York Shakespeare Festival, where “Patrick Stewart gave up the microphone he had used throughout the outdoor performance and here addressed the audience without the aid of amplification. If Prospero has exited and returned, he may have doffed some of his ducal trappings and appear in a simple shirt or gown. Such

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154 Michael Neill has recently reiterated the importance of the play’s conspicuously literary directions, writing that “there is general agreement that the stage directions consistently attempt to recreate the experience of actual performance” (“‘Noises’” 37).
theatrical choices can indicate Prospero’s loss of power or the actor’s loss of his role” (Epilogue 1n). A full-page photograph of a plainly adorned and “pensive” Stewart as Prospero can be found in the Arden3’s introduction (122). Stephen Orgel, editor of the Oxford edition of the play, notes of the epilogue that “[it] is unique in the Shakespeare canon in that its speaker declares himself not an actor in a play but a character in a fiction. The release he craves of the audience is the freedom to continue his history beyond the limits of the stage and the text” (319n).

Whether the epilogue is spoken by the actor in a play or the character in a fiction is open to debate. It seems to me that the power of the epilogue rests largely on these two figures shading into one another; indeed, Orgel’s incisive emphasis on Prospero seeking release from both the stage and the text is indicative of the character’s dual existence in performance and print—in speaking the epilogue, Prospero straddles the boundary between the textuality of the world of the play and the performance of the play in the world. Elsewhere in the play, we have seen what happens to players and their craft: the masque of nymphs and reapers in 4.1 were a part of nothing more than what Prospero calls a “baseless fabric” (4.1.151): “These our actors,” he says to Ferdinand, “were all spirits, and / Are melted into air, into thin air” (148-50). That the actors (in the masque, and by extension, The Tempest) are involved in an “insubstantial pageant” (4.1.155) means that their performances only ever survive and resonate by way of memorial reconstructions. Prospero’s epilogue picks up on this theme, striking to the heart of the ephemerality of the magic of the theatre, and appealing to the audience’s memories of what has just passed:

155 Weimann describes epilogues as a “liminal space,” “the ultimate frontier between the representation of a textually inscribed dramatic story and the occasion of its theatrical production and reception” (218).

156 References are to Orgel’s Oxford edition.
Now my charms are all o’erthrown,
And what strength I have’s mine own,
Which is most faint. Now ’tis true
I must be confined by you,
Or sent to Naples. Let me not,
Since I have my dukedom got,
And pardoned the deceiver, dwell
In this bare island by your spell... (5.1.319-26)

As has often been noted, despite the religious language of the epilogue—its references to *“prayer,” “Mercy,”* pardoning, and *“Indulgence”—the speech centres on what might be thought of as “theatrical faith” (Bate and Rasmussen 4). Here, however, I want to resist thinking of “theatrical faith” as a belief system exclusive to audience members in a theatre. As I’ve demonstrated throughout this study, the book of the play harbours the potential to not only encourage, but reward, a reader’s faith in the printed text’s ability to engage with the histories and potentialities of the play in performance. In my reading, Prospero’s final speech—which looks backward to the play that has just finished, and forward in anticipation of the play’s afterlife—encapsulates the tensions between page and stage that the printed text of the play can, and cannot, alleviate. In subtly transitioning between past, present, and future tenses, Prospero marks the gaps that no text of the play will be able to close completely. Recalling, recapturing, or anticipating performance practice is something that all printed plays attempt to do through various textual and para-textual codes, meaning that readers not only encounter the play in fundamentally different terms than do theatre-goers, but also face the prospect of remembering the play in much different ways. Imagined performances will necessarily be impoverished things relative to the sensorial richness of an actual performance, but readers can always make use of the stability of the printed page to continually alter their vision of the play. One can, as the final Folio sheet seems to encourage, end, and then begin again; and, as in my triangulation of the Folio sheet,
readers can make tangential moves in non-linear directions; and, as evidenced by my
citations of recent editorial commentary, readers can venture away from the playtext to
gather information located elsewhere that has been introduced by mediating parties.
“Remembering” performance through the book is the reader’s interpretive burden as well as
the reader’s interpretive opportunity.

In the end, for readers of the play, Prospero’s appeal is to a purely conceptual
“Indulgence” to “release me from my bands.” Most editors of the play gloss “bands” as
“bonds,” which itself remains richly multivalent, suggesting a debt or obligation as well as
physical restraints (given my emphasis on the textuality of the epilogue, it is also tantalizing
that by the eighteenth century, “band” was associated with the cords or straps used for
binding the quires of a book (OED n. 2b)). On the page, readers confront a virtual character
asking for release into a realm that exists somewhere beyond the theatrical event and the
playtext upon which this event depends. To read the epilogue is to heed a call for an escape.
An escape from the text to a new world of imagined possibilities and performances. A
performance-escape. A performancescape. Prospero’s call invokes a participatory system
that bridges printed and performed modes of dramatic realization, and it is within this system
that readers, stimulated by the potent imaginative and memorial potential of textual
representation, come to Prospero’s final words: “set me free.”
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