

'The Operation of Individual Judgement': in Praise of Critical Editing





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Sonia Massai 'The Operation of Individual Judgement': in Praise of Critical Editing



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Sonia Massai

'The Operation of Individual Judgement': in Praise of Critical Editing

Prologue

The topic of the inaugural 'Alessandro Serpieri Lecture' from which this essay developed - what 'critical editing' means and how it affects current editorial practice – reflects areas of research interest that defined this scholar's lifework and that intersect with my own, both as a Shakespeare textual editor and as a literary critic. I was therefore delighted to be asked to open this lecture series and to have the opportunity to pay homage to the legacy of Serpieri's scholarship. Although I was not taught by Serpieri, his influence on my appreciation of what pertains to the study of early modern (dramatic) literature has been important and pervasive: Part 3 of this essay gives a representative example of how my work towards a new Arden edition of Richard III, briefly discussed in Parts 1 and 2, aligns in significant and serendipitous ways with how Serpieri understood the evocative quality and semantic instability of Shakespeare's language.

PART 1 The Place of 'Individual Judgement' in Contemporary Editorial Theory

The title quotation comes from Walter Greg's seminal essay "The Rationale of Copy-Text" (1951). Since its publication, Greg's "Rationale" has become firmly associated with 'copytext editing', a 'methodology' that has been used "for dealing with textual problems" in the early editions of Shakespeare's works and in early modern printed texts more generally. The aim of this methodology has been to reach "uniform", or at the very least accountable "results", or, to use another phrase from Greg's essay, "results [that are] independent of the operator" (1950-1951, 28).

Greg's "Rationale" remained dominant even while the tenets of the New Bibliography, including Greg's categories of 'foul papers' and 'promptbooks', came under intense scrutiny and were ultimately refuted towards the end of the last century. This sustained critique of the New Bibliography, also known as New Textualism, grew out of an increasing willingness to admit that, *pace* Greg, we cannot 'lift the veil of print' to recover either what the author wrote (the 'foul papers') or his company of players performed (the 'promptbook'). New Textualism (led, among others, by Randall McLeod, Leah Marcus, Margreta de Grazia, and Peter Stallybrass), along with the rise of the History of the Book within Shakespeare Studies (as championed by David Scott Kastan, Lukas Erne, and Marta Straznicky), encouraged instead editorial loyalty to one early

witness. This paradigmatic shift in editorial methods – a move away from aiming to 'lift the veil of print' to wanting to 'leave it alone' – led first to the rise of 'un-editing' and renewed interest in facsimiles and diplomatic, or semi-diplomatic, old-spelling editions, and then to the longer-lived appeal of 'single-text' editing as the dominant approach to establishing the text of modernised editions.

There has been since then a push back against 'un-editing' and 'single-text editing'; an early witness is now increasingly seen as a partial, and at times defective, snapshot of a plethora of textual artifacts which, though they may not have survived, were routinely generated by the material conditions of theatrical and textual production in early modern period. The making of these textual artifacts – from plot-scenarios to authorial, scribal and playhouse manuscripts, from backstage-plots to actors' parts, from presentation and printer's copies to printed playbooks – is now understood as an ongoing process of creative production and reproduction or adaptation triggered by revivals for different performance spaces or different audiences over time, even in Shakespeare's own lifetime.

As Jim Marino has recently put it, "a King's Men play changed by the King's Men should not be imagined to be a derivate [but an original] work" (2011, 12). Or, in the words of one of his reviewers,

[Marino's] view of the dramatic text as fluid and unstable, lacking in a clear origin or conclusively final state, and subject to an almost endless series of incremental revisions and adjustments, is . . . closer to the conditions of early modern dramatic production than any notion of stasis or fixity. (Munro 2011, 1005)

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Accordingly, editors of Shakespeare and early modern printed texts now prefer to refer to the early edition they choose to edit as their 'base text' or 'control text' to suggest the extent to which they wish to explore, signpost, cross-reference, and bring into focus other texts, while still editing a single witness.

Of course, the editorial history of the Shakespearean text, like history more generally, is never linear. History is only linear when simplified to support teleological reasoning rather than the twists and turns that characterise historical change. The editorial history of the Shakespearean text is not only non-linear but also deeply ironic: Greg has become associated with the "Rationale of Copy-Text", but he did not invent it, nor was he univocally promoting it when his influential essay was first published in 1951. Back then, he was in fact already reacting against what he called the "tyranny of the copy-text" (1950-1951, 26). When he described the rationale of copy-text as "some sort of mechanical apparatus for dealing with textual problems that should lead to uniform results independent of the operator", he did welcome it as "a salutary reaction against . . . eclectic freedom and reliance on personal taste", but he also warned his readers against its "mesmeric influence":

The reliance on one particular authority results from the desire for an objective theory of text-construction and a distrust, often no doubt justified, of the operation of individual judgement. [...But] there is a limit to the field over which formal rules are applicable. Between readings of equal extrinsic authority no rules ... can decide, since by their very nature it is only to extrinsic relations that they are relevant. The choice is necessarily a matter of editorial judgement, and an editor who declines or is unable

to exercise his judgement and falls back on some arbitrary canon, such as the authority of copy-text, is in fact abdicating his editorial function. (28)

The same warning has regularly been echoed by other editors since Greg. Among them, Richard Proudfoot sounds a similar note of caution in the mid-1980s:

The current state of editing is one in which there is some risk of loss of editorial responsibility and alertness, such as is almost bound to arise in the frequent situation where the job does indeed involve mainly the reproduction, literatim et punctuatim, of the text of one early witness. Although this is in itself a more demanding assignment than might be supposed by those who have not attempted it, it can never be assumed that an unthinking conservatism is the right editorial position, nor even a particularly safe one. (qtd in Wells 1984, 32)

While non-linear, the history of the editing of Shakespeare since the publication of Greg's "Rationale" does reveal important differences in the logic that encourages editors to exercise their critical judgement. In a nutshell, Greg and Proudfoot believed that critical judgement should be exercised to recover authorial intentions:

'Editorial' choice . . . will be determined partly by the opinion the editor may form respecting the nature of the copy from which each substantive edition was printed, which is a matter of external authority; and partly by the editor's judgement of the intrinsic claims of individual readings to originality – in other words their intrinsic merit, so long as by 'merit' we mean the likelihood of their being what the author wrote rather than their appeal to the individual taste of the editor. (Greg 1950-1951, 29; my emphasis)

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The reproduction, literatim and punctuatim, of the text of one early witness . . . falls short of paying the authors of the plays the compliment of assuming that they knew their own language and their chosen profession and of taking their plays seriously enough to verify that these are cleansed of whatever reason can identify as most likely not to represent what they wrote. (Proudfoot qtd in Wells 1984, 32-3)

Recovering what 'the author wrote' lies at the heart of the editorial task in Greg as much as it does in Proudfoot.

Since the early 1980s, though, changing views about early modern dramatic authorship led editors to value Shakespeare as a 'man of the theatre' who worked in close collaboration with other early modern playwrights and was deeply embedded in the theatrical cultures within which his plays were originally written and performed. Editors have accordingly begun to view early modern playbooks as socialised texts and to value the marks left on these texts by their use in the theatre. The same value is however not as commonly accorded to the marks left on these texts by agents associated with the printing house.

As late as 2017, John Jowett, for example, argued that the chief purpose of editing is to emancipate Shakespeare from what he calls 'the kingdom of error', and by citing this phrase originally coined by Anthony Grafton, he means 'errors' accrued during the transmission of the text from stage to page: "Shakespeare is not complicit in a human or mechanical error at any stage", he explains; then he adds, neither is he "complicit in alterations or incorrect corrections introduced by the print industry" (2017, lvii). Though the majority of contemporary editors of Shakespeare would subscribe to Jowett's assessment of the impact of the printing house on the transmission of his texts, Jowett's 'language of error' has begun to jar with

a different understanding of the agents associated with the printing house as Shakespeare's collaborators.

Returning to Jowett for a moment, I should stress that, while belonging to a group of scholars who have embraced the notion that early modern print culture formed rather than deformed Shakespeare as we know it, I fully endorse the need to correct errors most obviously caused by the malfunctioning of hand-press technology. Among these, most common are turned type, missing type or typographical errors caused by aural or memorial transmission most likely to arise when the master printer read through the proofs, while an assistant read out the copy from which the proofs had been set, or when, having read several words at a time from copy, the typesetter proceeded to place individual types on the composing stick. Other errors associated with early modern hand-press technology include incorrect casting off, a process whereby manuscript copy was subdivided into sections corresponding to the size of the printed page, which in turn allowed printed to calculate how many formes and leaves, and ultimately how much paper, would be necessary to complete the print run. Miscalculation often led to verse being printed as prose (to save space) and vice versa (to fill superfluous space on the page), most commonly in the last pages of the forme that was printed last.

However, even errors most obviously caused by the misfunctioning of hand-press technology occasionally generate suggestive cognate readings: in the opening scene of *King Lear*, Kent in the Folio says: "be Kent vnmannerly, / When Lear is mad" (F TLN 149-50); in the first Quarto, Kent says: "Be Kent vnmannerly when Lear is man" (B2v). I have always thought of this typo at worst as a slip of the type-setter's hand, as he reached for the letter 'n' instead of the

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letter 'd' from his lower-type case, at best as an impertinent reminder on Kent's part that, though Lear is infallible, immortal, a demi-god as 'king', he is nevertheless both 'king' and 'man'.

I am equally intrigued when lines spoken by low-status characters suddenly scan and are printed as verse. The sudden switch to verse ripples the aural texture of their prose, as in the exchange between Executioners 1 and 2 in 1.4 *Richard III*:

- 2 The vrging of that word Iudgement, hath bred a kinde of remorse in me.
 - 1 What? art thou affraid?
 - 2 Not to kill him, having a Warrant,

But to be damn'd for killing him, from the which No Warrant can defend me.

- 1 I thought thou had'st bin resolute.
- 2 So I am, to let him liue.
- 1 Ile backe to the Duke of Glouster, and tell him so.
- 2 Nay, I prythee stay a little:

I hope this passionate humor of mine, will change,

It was wont to hold me but while one tels twenty.

- 1 How do'st thou feele thy selfe now?
- 2 Some certaine dregges of conscience are yet within mee.
 - 1 Remember our Reward, when the deed's done.
 - 2 Come, he dies: I had forgot the Reward.
 - 1 Where's thy conscience now.
 - 2 O, in the Duke of Glousters purse.
- 1 When hee opens his purse to giue vs our Reward, thy Conscience flyes out.
- 2 'Tis no matter, let it goe: There's few or none will entertaine it.

(F TLN 912-34)

This exchange is printed on sheet 's2 ν ', the middle of three sheets of paper that were laid on top of one another and folded in half to make six leaves, or a 'quire', in so-called 'folios in sixes' like Shakespeare's Folio. The inner forme of the central leaf was printed first, so if space became a problem, it tended to produce crowded or stretched out layout towards the bottom of the outer forme, which is not the case here. The sudden switch to verse, signalled by the use of capitals at the beginning of new lines spoken by Executioner 2 in his second and fourth speeches, ripples the flatter delivery of his prose as it ripples his conscience. In performance or when read aloud, his lines, though not entirely regular pentameters, scan. In fact, both Executioner 1's and Executioner 2's short lines after the "vrging of that word Iudgement" scan, though the layout of short, singleline speeches provides no visual signal, as Executioner 2's longer speeches do. Also worth noting is how both their lines revert to the smoother pace of prose when conscience gives way to the lure of profit: their final speeches sprawl over the first line into long lines that have no aural nor visual poetic shape. Most editors set his lines uniformly as prose because they value consistency (of character and layout) more than variation that might originate as human error in the printing house. However, a failure to reline or to at least to discuss these ripples in Executioner 2's conscience, as they affect the aural and visual texture of his words as spoken and printed, reduces the ability of the printed text to register momentary doubt and fleeting insight, along with attendant nuancing of idiolect and characterisation.

These two examples might help us question what is generally taken to be a typographical error (as opposed to an 'unmannerly' challenge to kingly authority), or what is Part 1 23

the consequence of an error in casting off (as opposed to an unexpected variation in characterisation). What is at stake in this question – what is a typographical error? – is nothing less crucial than the difference between understanding editorial judgment as our ability to identify and emend error, that is our ability to see *through* print, and understanding editorial judgment as our willingness to look *at* print in order to unpack the variant and variantly signifying textual spaces generated by the continuous creative process that extended from the playhouse to the printing house.

Having mapped out this important shift in theoretical perspectives, Part 2 is going to focus on how it practically impacts on the editorial task. I am going to use examples drawn from the early texts of *Richard III* to illustrate the practical implications of looking at as opposed to looking through print. I am also going to model what I mean by 'critical editing' by showing how seemingly minor moments in the texts of *Richard III* in fact resonate and affect how we read the play as a whole.

Part 2 'Critical Editing' as Practice

Richard III was printed in quarto format six times before was published in the First Folio in 1623. Variants in the texts of the play as preserved in quarto (henceforth Q) and folio (henceforth F) range from lines that are unique to either text (F is about 200 lines longer than Q) to hundreds of differences in the dialogue and stage directions. We can therefore assume that Q and F Richard III were set from two independent MS sources (henceforth QMS and FMS). Q and F are however not completely independent of one another, because FMS was used to annotate a copy of Q3 and a copy of Q6, which were then used as printer's copies in Jaggard's printing shop to set F. FMS is generally believed to predate QMS because Q is a long play, but F is even longer, and F passages not present in Q are dramatically dispensable. Q also dispenses with secondary and silent characters and other changes in Q bear the marks of smart tweaking for the stage: the order in which the ghosts enter in Act 5, for example, reflects the order of their deaths in F, but in Q Hastings enters after the Princes and before Anne, "probably because one of the boy actors played both a young prince and Anne" (Shakespeare 2000, 339).

Editors generally choose to edit F, the rationale for their choice amounting to, in short, 'the more Shakespeare the better'. What most editors still also want is to reconstruct the earliest MS version of the play, or at the very least to edit the early printed text that is closest to it. Most editors generally resent not being able to get away from O because of the likelihood that QMS is a reconstructed text. For a while Q was regarded as one of the bad quartos. Even though editors have come round to admitting that Q is "awfully good to be called bad",1 O is still widely regarded as a 'suspect' text because it is likely to have been reconstructed by the company of actors who first performed it in late 1592 or early 1593. The actors had probably handed FMS over to the Master of the Revels before leaving London, where a prolonged bout of the plague had forced the city authorities to close the theatres. But they must have carried their parts with them because O seems partly reconstructed from reading partly from remembering them. Besides, many QF variants suggest tweaking of the reconstructed book, perhaps by the bookkeeper, perhaps by Shakespeare, perhaps by both - we are not sure, but smart, performance-oriented tweaking is obviously present in the text of the play as preserved in Q.

I have chosen to edit Q1 because of all the fascinating ways in which it seems to represent a snapshot of the play as performed in the mid-1590s as a late Elizabethan theatrical and print artifact. F is instead a highly hybrid text that was prepared for inclusion in a very large, very expensive book and it was clearly prepared for the Jaggards' press with a reading, not a theatre, audience in mind. But I am not 'single-text editing' Q1, because, as explained in Part 1, I regard all early printed editions of *Richard III* as local manifestations of a continuum of texts that are not 'right' or 'wrong', or strictly 'authorial', 'theatrical', or 'typographical', but 'interwoven'

 $^{^{\}scriptscriptstyle 1}$ David Lyall Patrick qtd in Shakespeare 2009, 420.

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and actively signifying as part of a field of creative forces that made up *Richard III*. While I do not edit Q1 'eclectically' either, I edit it 'critically' by attending to the interplay between Q1 as my base text and the text of F as pieced together from copies of Q3 and Q6 annotated with reference to a different MS from the one use to set up Q1. The interplay between Q and F provides an exciting point of entry into the early texts of *Richard III* as a creative process (rather than as product, or merely defective realisation of the play as originally intended by its author).

In this section of my essay, I am going to discuss two examples taken from the early texts of *Richard III* in order to illustrate the practical implications of 'critical editing' in the context of the contemporary theories about the production of early modern printed playbooks discussed in Part 1. My first example comes from a short moment in the play, when Rivers, Grey and Vaughan are led to execution at Pomfret Castle, a stronghold in Yorkshire, which, like the Tower of London, was used as a prison for high-profile detainees. Interestingly variant and complex in the early editions. One especially resonant verbal variant occurs in Rivers' apostrophe to Pomfret Castle.

RIUERS O Pomfret, Pomfret! O thou bloody Prison!
Fatall and ominous to Noble Peeres:
Within the guiltie Closure of thy Walls,
Richard the Second here was hackt to death:
And for more slander to thy dismall Seat,
Wee giue to thee our guiltlesse blood to drinke.
(F1 TLN 1849-55)

In the rest of the play, seat means 'throne' (see OED 2 8.a: "Contextually applied to the chair set apart for the holder

of some position of authority or dignity"), as in Margaret's line "Thy honour, state, and seat is due to me" (F1 TLN 556). Here, however, it means 'abode', from 'situation' after the Latin *sedes* (see OED 3 12: "The place where a building, or buildings, especially a capital city, is seated, placed"), as in *Macbeth*, when Duncan remarks that Inverness Castle "hath a pleasant seat, / The ayre nimbly and sweetly recommends it selfe / Vnto our gentle sences" (F1 TLN 411-13). Q1 instead reads:

Ryu O Pomfret Pomfret. Oh thou bloudy prison,
Fatall and ominous to noble peeres.
Within the guilty closure of thy wals
Ricard the second here was hackt to death:
And for more sluander to thy dismall soule,
We giue thee vp our guiltlesse blouds to drinke.
(Q1 G1r)

Even when editors start to rely more on Q1, but conflate Q1 and F, they historically follow F or silently emend Q1 to read like F. When editors start collating more systematically and add collation notes to their editions, they simply note that Q1 reads "soule". When editors discuss this variant, and they do so very occasionally, they resort to the 'language of error' generally to defend F and only exceptionally Q1. According to James R. Siemon, for example, "Q's 'soule' is obviously wrong; . . . the error could equally well have originated with actor or compositor" (Shakespeare 2009, 229). According to Jowett, who uses Q1 as his base text, "soule" is the correct reading, because "[t]he castle is personified: it is addressed, it is 'guilty', and it drinks", whereas "F's 'Seat' is potentially absurd in relation the following line [We giue thee vp our guiltlesse blouds to drinke]" (Shakespeare 2000, 251).

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My edition is going to read "soul", because I have chosen to use Q1 as my base text. But, besides a standard collation line, I am also going to include a note to show how entwined these two verbal variants actually are. Instead of defending "soul" as correct and rejecting "seat" as incorrect, I am going to allow them space to be in play with each other simultaneously in order to foreground the continuous process of textual and theatrical production which I believe generated these readings in the first place. My note will unpack these associations for my reader by pointing out that both "seat" and "soul" identify defining qualities of Pomfret Castle as addressed by Rivers, and that their interplay generates additional ones. My note will start by explaining how "soul" is not only appropriate when used in relation to the anthropomorphic castle, but how it resonates even more powerfully when connected with "seat", since "seat" also means "the thing, esp. the organ or part of the body, in which a particular power, faculty, function or quality resides" (see OED 3 14.a) and the same meaning applies to "the soul or its parts" (OED 3 14.b). "Seat" and "soul" are not quite synonymous but "seat", among its various meanings, signifies "the seat of identifying qualities", and therefore the 'soul' or 'essence of Pomfret Castle'. This reading is produced by a combination of F and Q1, and it indicates a direction of creative travel from an earlier reading "seat" to a later reading "soul" that connects the semantic fields of "seat" and "soul". Whether these two readings stemmed from 1. an actor as he remembered or read these lines from his part, or 2. the book-keeper who tidied up and annotated the new book for performance, or 3. Shakespeare himself, who tweaked the new book before or after the bookkeeper annotated it for performance, if Shakespeare did join the actors on tour, or 4. the type-setter who saw "seat" and set "soul" is less important than the fact that they map out a 'train of thought', a semantic association, that enriches Rivers's apostrophe to Pomfret Castle.

The 'resonance' of these two readings as interlinked, and not juxtaposed as either right or wrong, is interestingly confirmed by the fact that they re-emerge as a distinctive cluster when Richard II's death is dramatised in the later eponymous history play. The following lines are spoken by the dying Richard II in 5.5 and by Henry IV as the latter recoils from the horror of Richard's murder.

RICH... Exton, thy fierce hand
Hath with the kings bloud staind the kings owne land.
Mount mount my soule, thy seate is vp on high,
Whilst my grosse flesh sinckes downeward here to die.
(Q1, K1*r*)

King Exton, I thanke thee not, for thou hast wrought A deede of slaunder with thy fatall hand, Vpon my head and all this famous Land. $(Q1,K1\nu)$

Rivers's murder in *Richard III* haunts proleptically Richard II's murder in the later play, even as Rivers harks back to the earlier historical event conjured by his lines "Within the guiltie Closure of thy Walls, / Richard the Second here was hackt to death" (F TLN 1852-3). Besides the proximity of "soul" and "seat", both murders are described as "slander" and their agents as "fatal".

Rivers's and Richard II's murders also share an interesting ambiguity in terms of the means whereby they were perpetrated. According to Jowett, that last line in Rivers's speech can only make sense if the castle is personified as Part 2 33

having a "soul"; in fact, the trope of blood-thirsty land, the "seat" on which castle sits, as drinking its victims' blood is also not only feasible but routinely associated with the bloodthirsty land of a country that is at war with itself. Later in the play, the Duchess of York invokes "Englands lawfull earth, / Unlawfully made drunke with innocent blood" (TLN 2650-1). The Duchess's reference to blood-thirsty earth interestingly prompts the only other occurrence of "seat" in the play, where "seat" means 'abode', 'situation', as it does in 3.3, in Queen Elizabeth's reply: "Ah that thou would'st assoone affoord a Graue, / As thou canst yeeld a melancholly seate" (F TLN 2652-3). In short, Q1's "soule" certainly enhances the anthropomorphic qualities of the castle, including its ability to drink its victims' blood, but F's "Seat", far from being 'absurd', is suggestive of the trope of a country that drinks the blood of its own children at times of civil war.

Another quality of the castle as described by Rivers enhances its agency even further. In the same speech, Rivers refers to the "guiltie Closure of thy Walls" (F1 TLN 1851). Closure is generally glossed as 'enclosure'; but "closure" also conjures "the act of shutting up or confining" (OED n. 4), and, I am arguing, memories of a spectacular 'smothering' in another castle, Berkeley Castle, the historical and theatrical setting of the murder of another deposed king. In Marlowe's *Edward II*, Lightborne calls for "a table" to be brought in to "stamp" (that is 'to press') the king to death (M1*r*). ² Marlowe's

² In the historical sources, Edward II is notoriously crushed and tortured to death: Raphael Holinshed, for example, reports that "with heauie featherbeds or a table (as some write) being cast vpon him, they kept him down and withall put into his fundament an horne, and through the same they thrust vp into his bodie an hot spit, . . . the which passing vp into his intrailes, and being rolled to and fro, burnt

Edward II was performed by the Pembroke's Men up until the closure of the theatres on 23 June 1592. The Pembroke's Men are also one of the two companies (along with the Lord Strange's Men), who are most likely to have first performed Richard III. It is therefore safe to assume that the arresting ending of Marlowe's play was still vividly impressed in the minds of Shakespeare and his fellow actors, as *Richard III* was composed, transcribed, re-membered, tweaked and prepared for performance only a few months later, in late 1592 or early 1593.

The resonance of the interwoven images of Pomfret Castle as blood-sucking "Seat" and "soule" of Rivers' and Richard's place of execution is additionally confirmed by the fact that, when the murder of Richard II is evoked in *2 Henry IV*, it is once again linked to violent bloodshed and smothering. At the beginning of this later instalment of Shakespeare's English histories, the Archbishop of York, who is leading a second rebellion against Bullingbrook, "scrap[es] . . . the blood / Of faire King Richard . . . from Pomfret stones" to foment the insurrection with it. He also incites the rebels by telling them that England is a "bleeding Land, / Gasping for life, under great Bullingbrooke" (F TLN 254-8).

To sum up, the physical *and* the personified castle in Rivers' lines, who has a 'seat' and a 'soul', drinks the blood of its victims, as Rivers imagines his demise via the execution of the historical Richard II, *and* smothers them, as Rivers imagines his and Richard II's demise via Marlowe's *Edward II*. In my edition readers will be alerted to the interplay of "seat" and "soul" not just from a collation line, but from a discursive

the same" (1587, 341). Marlowe, some have argued, consciously spared his Edward the torture that marked him as a sodomite.

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note that will also map out how the interplay of these variant readings resonates across the play and across other history plays, both within and beyond the Shakespeare canon.

'Critical editing' should mobilise individual judgement not only when it comes to choosing the base text, when multiple early substantive editions survive, or determining how to edit variant readings in the early texts; it should also play a role when editors decide what to gloss and how to gloss. The qualifier "childish" would, for example, hardly seem to require glossing; however, by allowing "childish" to signify beyond the confines of the extant early editions of *Richard III*, an editor can activate a range of meanings, which may (or may not) reflect authorial intention, but nevertheless reconnect the play with important and often overlooked textual and oral traditions that directly or indirectly generated it.

"Child", "children", and their paronym "childish", occur more frequently in *Richard III* than in any other play in the Shakespearean canon. One might think that their frequency (32 occurrences in total) is hardly surprising, given the prominent presence of children in the play and its focus on the functioning (or rather mis-functioning) of hereditary monarchy which, in *Richard III*, leads to the slaughter of the innocent young Princes in the Tower. ³ However, "child", "children" and "childish" occur on average twice as frequently than in plays similarly preoccupied with the senseless

³ Among recent scholars who have commented on the prominence of "child" and its paronyms in *Richard III*, see, for example, Alice Dailey, who writes about the key role that "reproductive futurism" plays within the fictive world of the play; as Dailey puts it, "heteropatriarchy is organized on the assumption that the present good resides in the preservation of the future, represented by the Child" (2022, 147).

sacrifice of children as a result of dynastic conflict and / or civil war (13 occurrences in 3 Henry VI; 14 occurrences in Macbeth; 21 occurrences in King John) or even in plays that focus on intergenerational tensions or the breakdown of parent-child relationships (12 occurrences in A Midsummer Night's Dream and Much Ado About Nothing; 17 occurrences in Romeo and Juliet and King Lear). Even plays that foreground the importance of lineage and legitimate offspring and the hope associated with reproductive futurity do not match the frequency of "child" and its paronyms in Richard III (13 occurrences in Measure for Measure; 17 occurrences in Coriolanus and Pericles; 18 occurrences in Titus Andronicus; 24 occurrences in The Winter's Tale).

Even more noteworthy is the early association of "child" and its paronyms with Richard. Only later in the play do they predictably occur within dialogue involving Clarence's children and the young Princes. Unlike Macbeth or Leontes, who share with Richard a notoriety for evildoing which places them at the opposite spectrum of the life experience and moral compass associated with childhood, Richard deploys 'child' and its paronyms to explain how he relates to others and to the world around him. More specifically, "childish" is used exclusively by Richard to re-represent himself to others. See, for example, his exchange with Lady Anne in 1.2:

Those eies of thine from mine haue drawen salt teares, Shamd their aspect with store of childish drops: I neuer sued to friend nor enemy, My tongue could neuer learne sweete soothing words: But now thy beauty is proposde my fee: My proud heart sues and prompts my tongue to speake (O1 B2*r*)

In F, Richard's speech includes lines that are not present in Q:

These eyes, which neuer shed remorsefull teare, No, when my Father Yorke, and *Edward* wept, To heare the pittious moane that Rutland made When blackfac'd *Clifford* shooke his sword at him. Nor when thy warlike Father like a Childe, Told the sad storie of my Fathers death, Aod twenty times, made pause to sob and weepe: That all the standers by had wet their cheeks Like Trees bedash'd with raine. In that sad time, My manly eyes did scorne an humble teare: And what these sorrowes could not thence exhale, Thy Beauty hath, and made them blinde with weeping. (F TLN 335-46)

These lines, which revisit events the original audience may have remembered from watching *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of York*, fulfil another important purpose: they also offer examples of the kind of tears Richard has never shed, namely tears that even the hardiest of warriors shed for their brothers-in-arms on the battlefield, thus reinforcing the association between the tears he sheds for Lady Anne and childhood.

Richard invokes his childhood again in the very next scene, when he taunts Queen Elizabeth by claiming a softness of heart that contradicts the popular caricature of the archvillain carefully constructed by Tudor historiographers and reworked into earlier fictive accounts of his reign:

I would to God my heart were flint like Edwards, Or Edwards soft and pittifull like mine, I am too childish, foolish for this world. (Q1 $C1\nu$)

These lines are substantially invariant in F, though the unpunctuated "childish foolish" is often hyphenated by modern editors, who thus create a compound qualifier utterly unique to Richard. Last, but not least, Richard describes himself as "child" at the end of 2.2, where he flatters Buckingham by casting the latter in the role of leader, adviser, friend and, interestingly, of parent to his child-like innocence about the ways of the world:

My other selfe, my counsels consistory: *My* Oracle, my Prophet, my deare Cosen: I like a childe will go by thy direction. (Q1 E3*v*)

In 1.3 and 2.2, Richard claims to be innocent or naïve like a child. He also claims to possess qualities that pertain to childhood and that are positive in their own right but that do not befit maturity or the corrupt world of Edward's court.

Returning to 1.2, one should certainly take stock of the fact that "childish" similarly *connotes* immaturity, unmanliness in this earlier scene. Richard describes his "salt tears" as "childish drops" that "sham[e]" his eyes. But, as I am going to point out in the critical apparatus of my edition of the play, if one takes what Richard is saying at face value, then "childish" in this context also *denotes* childhood. In other words, I am going to ask my readers to contemplate the implications of both meanings of the opening lines of the 1.2 passage quoted above: namely, Richard is not only crying *now* as a child; these lines in fact also suggest that Richard has been crying since childhood because of his unrequited or thwarted love for Anne. In my edition, I am also going to explain that this second meaning was available to early audiences in ways that are no longer available to us, unless an editor takes care

to record it. Last, but not least, I am going to argue that the recording of both meanings should be warranted not by the likelihood that they both reflect authorial intentions but by the suggestive power of the interplay between the early texts of *Richard III* and a wealth of earlier textual and aural traditions that collectively made up all the ways in which Shakespeare and his contemporaries knew and re-membered Richard III.

The textual traces and aurally transmitted memories of the historical figure of Richard III, reconstructed and re-imagined by historians and writers of popular and literary fiction alike, traverse Richard III and resonate within it because the building blocks of the play, including character traits and the key linguistic qualifiers (like "childish") that conjure them, were not unique to Shakespeare's imagination or to the verbal texture of the play. They were in fact well-travelled and accrued 'credit' (to use a category more capacious of 'authorial intentions') as they journeyed through 'official' written accounts and the personal memories who those who lived at the time when the events fictionalsed in *Richard III* took place. We tend to know more and grant more 'credit' to just a fraction of the 'official' written accounts that were directly used by Shakespeare as sources. However, equally (though *indirectly*) available to Shakespeare and his contemporaries were other written records (for example the accounts of Richard's reign compiled by late fifteenth-century Continental European chroniclers). These early accounts are closer to the personal memories of Richard's contemporaries, some of whom then transmitted them both aurally as anecdotes and through private correspondence or diaries. These memories were still being circulated aurally by the mid-sixteenth century and some of them re-emerged as later written records in Shakespeare's time, through the intervention of Elizabethan and early Jacobean historians. London historian John Stowe (1524/5-1605), for example, is reported to have spoken by the midpoint of the fifteenth century with "old and grave men who had often seen King Richard" by Master of the Revels and historian, Sir George Buck (1560-1622). It is through these 'alternative' written and aural traditions of stories about Richard III that were still widely circulated in Shakespeare's time that key memories about Richard's childhood were available to Shakespeare's contemporaries and possibly, just possibly, to Shakespeare himself.

What, then, did Shakespeare and his contemporaries remember about Richard's childhood? In the play, the Duchess of York gives a bleak account of the first 'four ages' of Richard's life in 4.4:

A greuous burthen was thy berth to me, Techie and treache was thy infancie, Thy schoele-daies frightful, desperate, wild, and furious. Thy prime of manhood, daring, bold and venturous, Thy age confirmed, proud, subtile, bloudie, trecherous (Q1 K1v)

F includes an additional line that further develops the Duchess's concession that Richard proved "daring, bold and venturous" on the battle field: the Duchess first points out that, in his maturity, Richard grew "More milde", but then adds, "but yet more harmfull", the final oxymoron "Kinde in hatred" confirming that Richard's calmer demeanour was only a smoke screen to better conceal his "wilde, and furious . . . hatred (F TLN 2796, 2794). The only other direct allusion to Richard's infancy comes earlier in the same scene, courtesy of Margaret:

From forth the kennell of thy wombe hath crept, A hel-hound that doeth hunt vs all to death, That dogge, that had his teeth before his eyes, To worrie lambes, and lap their gentle blouds, $(Q1 \ I3 \ v)^4$

Margaret's and the Duchess's memories generally account for all that we think we know and all that we think Shakespeare's contemporaries knew about Richard's infancy and childhood.

A version of this account of Richard's infancy and childhood originated in a Latin chronicle, the *Historia Regum Angliae* by early Tudor antiquarian, John Rous of Warwick: "Richard was . . . retained within his mother's womb for two years and emerging with teeth and hair to his shoulders" (qtd in Hanham 1975, 120). Incidentally, Rous also offers the earliest account of Richard's physical appearance: "He was small of stature, with a short face and unequal shoulders, the right higher and the left lower" (ibid.). As well-known among late medieval historians and Shakespearean scholars, Richard's deformity became more and more grotesque in later Tudor historiography, and it was invariably linked to his unnatural beginnings. In Thomas More's influential *The History King Richard III*, for example, Richard is reported to have been

little of stature, ill-featured of limbs, crook-backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard favored of visage, and such as is in states called warly, in other men otherwise. He was malicious, wrathful, envious, and from afore his birth, ever froward. It is for truth reported that the duchess his mother had so much ado in her travail, that she could not

 $^{^{\}scriptscriptstyle 4}$ These lines are substantially invariant in F.

be delivered of him uncut, and that he came into the world with the feet forward, as men be borne outward, and (as the fame runneth) also not untoothed. (1976, 8)

Worth noting is how More, the humanist scholars, reports "for trut" the fact that the Duchess suffered unnaturally giving birth to Richard, but then distances himself, by adding "(as the fame runneth)", from the rather more fanciful allegation that Richard was born "not untoothed". Even with this small proviso, though, More's version of Richard's difficult and unnatural birth and subsequent unnatural development into maturity influenced most of later historical and fictive accounts, including Shakespeare's play.

There is, however, another version of Richard's childhood that Shakespeare and his contemporaries were more likely to remember than we are, given how widely popular accounts of his life and reign circulated in the late sixteenth-century. Paying attention to moments like Richard's speech in 1.2 quoted above, and a willingness to allow the text to signify diversely and ambiguously in relation to wider range of earlier texts and intertexts, brings to light significant aporias in the Tudor master narrative, which, as I argue elsewhere at greater length, becomes de-familiarised and parodic as a result (Massai 2024, forthcoming). More specifically, "childish" in this speech gestures towards a version of Richard's childhood that is preserved in historical records, mostly of Continental European origin, which are by and large untapped by Shakespearean scholars and by editors of the play. Jean de Waurin, Phillipe de Commynes and Domenico Mancini hardly ever feature in critical editions of *Richard III*. Their chronicles are not direct sources of Shakespeare's play, but the version of Richard's childhood they preserve in writing was also still

available, as Philip Schwyzer has recently pointed out, as orally transmitted within "the horizon of what is variously termed 'active' or 'communicative memory', the period of 90-120 years in which memories may be transmitted over three or four generations" (2013, 71). Schwyzer writes eloquently about "the play's extraordinary hold on collective memory": "much of the play's power", he argues, "stems from the historical timing which allowed Shakespeare to seize hold of the image of Richard III just a moment before its passage beyond active memory" (88-9). As mentioned above, these memories were then recaptured by historians, such as Stowe and Buck, who did not toe the Tudor party-line.

It is therefore important to consider what Shakespeare's contemporaries were likely to remember beyond what is reported in late Tudor historiography. A few highlights from these 'alternative' chronicle sources will suffice here. Aged eight, Richard was briefly in London to welcome his father, the Duke of York, when, on his return from Ireland, he claimed the throne but then settled with being recognised as Henry VI's heir. After his father and his brother Edmund were killed at the Battle of Wakefield on 30 December 1460, he was sent to Burgundy for safety with his brother George. After the Yorkist victory at Towton on 29 March 1461 and Edward IV's accession to the throne, George and Richard returned to England. On 26 June, his brother George was made Duke of Clarence and on 1 November, aged nine, Richard was made Duke of Gloucester. Crucial in the context of Richard's speech in 1.2 is the period between 1465 and 1468, when Richard was in the care of his cousin, Richard Neville, earl of Warwick. For three years, between the age of thirteen and sixteen, Richard was a member of the household of the Earl of Warwick, none other than Anne's father. Even more surprising, if one

only knows about Richard's childhood and his wooing of Lady Anne from Shakespeare's play, is the realisation that Richard and Anne had got engaged the year before Richard became Warwick's ward. Richard was then twelve and Anne was eight years old.⁵ One should therefore at the very least entertain the possibility that "childish drops" in 1.2 may be signalling multiple meanings, ranging from 'unmanly' to 'pertaining to childhood', or even, as I am suggesting here, not just pertaining, but dating back, to childhood.

Richard and Anne's shared childhood is the subject-matter of a historical novel, Lesley J. Nickell's The White Queen of Middleham (2014), which might suggest that reading this alternative version of Richard's childhood into the qualifier "childish" may be far-fetched. But even historian Michael Hicks, reflecting on their shared childhood, posits that Richard may, as a result, have been a "good husband" and that Anne "may have been happy with her lot". "Perhaps", he writes, "theirs was a love match, their marriage companionate" (Hicks 2007, 26). My edition of Richard III is going to alert readers that at least some members of Shakespeare's original audience may have remembered that Richard and Anne were childhood sweethearts or that they were first engaged as children. They may also have remembered that they were married long enough to have a child, Edward of Middleham (born 1473 or 1477), who died in 1484, aged eleven or just seven. Even Rous, who originated the official version of Richard's difficult infancy and childhood by including it in his Historia Regum Angliae shortly after Richmond's accession to the throne, gives us an unfamiliar version of

⁵ Jean de Waurin's *Recueil des Croniques et Anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne* is quoted in Hicks (2006).

Richard and Anne's personal life in the illustrated Rolls that he presented to the newly crowned king and queen, when they visited Warwick Castle after their coronation in 1483. Rous's illustrations show a rather dashing young Richard facing Anne (Fig. 1) and their son, Prince Edward, standing next to them (Fig. 2).

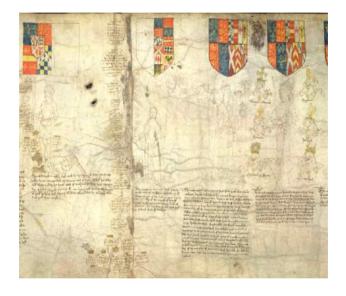


Fig. 1: © The British Library Board (Add. 48976 ff.62-65. Figures 60 to 62)

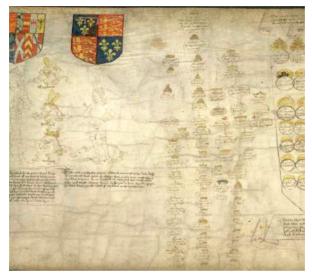


Fig. 2: © The British Library Board (Add. 48976 f.66 fig.64)

The illustrations are glossed by glowing accounts of the "moost nobyll lady" Anne, "anoyntyd and crownyd Quene of ynglond wife unto the mooost victoryus prince kynge Rychard the thryd [sic]". Rous goes on to report how Richard ruled his subjects "ful commendabylly, poneschynge offenders of hys lawes . . . and oppressors of hys comyns [commons] and chereschynge tho [those] that were vertues [virtuous] by the whyche . . . he gat gret thank of god and love of all hys subjectives Ryche and pore and gret lavd of the people of all othyr landys a bowt hym" (1845, n.p.).

Other clues pepper Shakespeare's play that would have alerted the original audience to the circulation of alternative accounts of Richard's life and his life-long romance or

companionship with Anne. The radical reworking of the official timeline of events dramatised in 1.1 and 1.2 would, for example, have helped Shakespeare's original audience realise that historical time is significantly compressed. This exchange between Richard and Anne in 1.2 takes place in 1471, but Clarence was arrested and then executed in 1477 and Edward IV fell ill and then died in 1483. The transition between 1.1 and 1.2 is the result of the backward compression of roughly twelve years. This realization would in turn affect how Shakespeare's original audience responded to 1.2: most obviously some would have known that Richard and Anne were not crossing paths for the first time; others might even have known that Richard and Anne had by 1477 been married several years and that they had had a child by 1483.

Also significant is the fact that the Folio-only lines quoted above, which are believed to represent a version of Richard's speech (and of the play more generally) closer to composition, suggest an investment in helping the original audience remember the events that marked a traumatic upheaval in Anne's own childhood. Warwick, her father, who had supported Edward IV so loyally to earn the nickname of 'the Kingmaker', changed sides in 1470: he joined Queen Margaret in France, arranged Anne's marriage to her son, Prince Edward, and invaded England, forcing Edward IV to flee. Henry VI was reinstated on the throne in October 1470 and Anne was married to Prince Edward in France on 13 December. By the time Anne returned to England in April 1471, though, his father had just been killed at Barnet, and Prince Edward was shortly to be killed at Tewkesbury. The events that unfolded so quickly and so unpredictably between Warwick's rebellion and his downfall explain Anne's fury, as she is met by Richard in 1.2. But Richard's "childhood tears",

if glossed and contextualised accordingly, can also explain Anne's reaction to Richard's marriage proposal not as a capitulation to Richard's irresistible, demonic seduction, but as a reconciliation. Nothing in the dialogue, if the clue planted in Richard's "childish tears" is followed up, in fact suggests a seduction. She is not seduced, nor is she taken in by Richard. In the context of the alternative historical accounts discussed above, Anne is rather reminded of an older, perhaps stronger allegiance. Anne has often been accused by modern historians and by the play's editors of being weak and blind, a passive victim of Richard's powers of persuasion. In fact, ironically, it is us, her readers, her editors, who are being blind and are being seduced by the only Richard we are familiar with, namely the deceptive arch-villain who comes straight out of the notoriously biased accounts produced by early and late Tudor historiography.

These two examples focus on seemingly minor, local details, fleeting moments that run counter to the mighty progress of editorial and historical master narratives that have shaped the history of the textual and critical reception of Richard III. However, both examples have wider implications: the first one highlights a cluster of images that resonate across the canon and the second one can make a significant difference to how 1.2 and Lady Anne are re-represented in performance. The way I approach the editing of these two moments in the play as is also representative of my sustained attempt to forsake the 'language of error'. I instead entertain the possibility that variant readings or multiple meanings of invariant readings fit together as interlocking parts of a larger text, made up of the early editions of Richard III and of other 'inter-texts' which stretch from direct sources to accounts of the past preserved in the active memory of those originally involved

in producing and consuming the play in the last years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. Did Shakespeare write "seat" or "soul"? Are Richard's "childish" tears 'immature', 'pertaining to childhood' or 'dating back to his and Anne's childhood'? I am arguing that if we look at print, as opposed to through print, and if we regard the texts of Richard III as embedded in longer textual and aural traditions through which the history of Richard III reached Shakespeare and his contemporaries, we can unlock meanings that may not be strictly 'what the author wrote' or 'what the author meant' but open up the text to a productive type of poetical and ideological ambiguity.

Part 3 Seven Types of (Textual) Ambiguity

This brief account of my current attempts to theorise what 'critical editing' is and why it represents an exciting development of 'single-text editing' seemed a fitting homage to the scholar whose life work this essay commemorates even before I discovered an additional, serendipitous connection between his work as a literary critic and the work of another scholar who has similarly inspired my practice as an editor of Richard III. It was only a few months before I was invited to give the 'Alessandro Serpieri inaugural lecture' that I first started to use William Empson's categories of poetic ambiguity as a framework to organise my own thinking about the veritable range of interlocking meanings generated by the texts and intertexts that make up Q1 Richard III. More specifically, I realised that the two examples discussed in Part 2 resemble the first and the second type of poetic ambiguity as defined by Empson.⁶ Type one occurs "Where a word or a grammatical structure is effective in several ways at once" (as in my first example, where F's "Seat" is a cognate meaning of Q1's "soule" and vice versa); type two "Where there is a single

⁶ As I explain elsewhere, Empson's taxonomy more generally is helping me map the complex relationship of the intertexts that make up the text of Q1 *Richard III*. See my forthcoming edition of Shakespeare's *Richard III* (The Arden Shakespeare, fourth series).

main meaning" but multiple interpretations that produce "a fluid unity" (as in my second example where the invariant "childish" activates multiple meanings at once) (Empson 1930, 20, 49-50). I also realised then that, while Empson, like Greg and Proudfoot, ascribes the generation of meaning primarily to the author as "wordsmith", he was also mindful of how the material conditions of textual and theatrical production in the early modern period contributed to the proliferation of ambiguity in the Shakespearean text:

Possibly the richness of the deposit of cross-reference and incidental detail upon these plays may be due in some degree to the circumstances under which they were written; to the fact that Shakespeare wrote up plays already owned by his company, and in use, so that he and the actors already knew a great deal about them; to the way his version might always receive additions and alterations for a revival or a special occasion at Court; to the probability that a particular member of the company would keep to a particular part; and to the shortness of individual runs. The last reason would keep actors from being bored with the text; the other reasons would give them a casual but detailed knowledge (of the sort that leads to flippant quotation in the greenroom), a desire for continual additions, a capacity to see distant verbal connections, and a well-informed interest in the minor characters of the story. (46)

Empson's positive assessment of the impact of "continuous textual production" in the economy of an early modern playhouse departs radically from the frustration routinely expressed by editors operating under the influence of Greg's rationale of copy-text. Empson goes on to use a memorable analogy to crystallise this notion of a productive interplay between authorial and non-authorial agents collectively

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responsible for the composition and transmission of the Shakespearean text:

[O]ne may know what has been put into the pot, and recognise the objects in the stew, but the juice in which they are sustained must be regarded with peculiar respect because they are all in there too, somehow, and one does not know how they are combined or held in suspension. (1930, 46)

This image of the Shakespearean text as a stew, simmering in a pot where all the ingredients melt and mingle to produce a juice that in its richness exceeds their individual qualities and flavours, reminded me of a similar analogy used over half a century later by E.A.J. Honigmann, the editor of the Arden Shakespeare Othello, first published in 1996. In a companion study, Honigmann referred to the variants between the 1622 quarto edition of this play and the version preserved in the First Folio of 1623 as an "editorial witches' brew" (1996, 144) The qualities of the Shakespearean text which the earlier literary critic praised and admired had become an impossible task for the textual editor, whose mandate was to choose out of all the 'objects in the stew' those which he deemed to be closer to what the author may have originally intended (or ultimately preferred, where authorial revision, as posited in relation to Q and F Othello, adds another layer of complexity to the Shakespearean text). It is telling that the early editions of Othello are similar to the early editions of Richard III in at least one important respect, namely in offering dozens of readings that have what Greg would describe as "equal external authority" (1950-1951, 29). This category of variant readings requires editors operating under the influence of Greg's "rationale of copy-text" to choose between a 'right' and a 'wrong' reading, or an 'earlier' and therefore more

'original' reading and a 'later' and therefore 'derivative' alternative (or an authorially 'revised', and therefore a 'more authoritative' reading that should be preferred to its earlier counterpart).

I felt genuinely thrilled when, while re-reading some of Serpieri's work as I was planning my inaugural lecture, I realised the extent to which his approach to a close reading of early modern English texts had been shaped by Empson. In his essay "Shakespeare's Poetry in Action", Serpieri first turns to Coleridge to identify some of the defining features of Shakespeare's poetic language:

In Shakespeare . . . the meaning is all interwoven. He goes on kindling *like a meteor* through the dark atmosphere . . . It goes on creating, and evolving . . . just *as a serpent moves*, which makes a fulcrum of its own body, and seems for ever twisting and untwisting its own strength. (2007, n.p.)

Serpieri then comments on Coleridge's reading of Shakespeare as follows:

[Shakespeare displays] an *imagination in action* in that it does not follow a linear progression of meaning, but rather develops according to a serpentine, dynamic movement that produces sense both expanding the previous one and contracting it in order to release new unexpected sense . . . Such a mobile, restless, and inventive, imagination often forces language to new modes of expression, in terms both of neologisms and of original syntactical constructs, and thus provides an endless hermeneutic challenge for critics and translators. (Ibid.)

Finally, Serpieri resorts to Empson to analyse Macbeth's first soliloguy at the end of Act 1:

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The reader's or spectator's response to the entire soliloquy — which opens on very obscure lines due to the interweaving of different layers of meaning, and closes with an explosion of overlapping images — may be best summarized by William Empson's statement: 'The meaning cannot all be remembered at once, however often you read it; it remains the incantation of a murderer, dishevelled and fumbling among the power of darkness'. (Ibid.)

The most important insight that I have found in Serpieri's work on Shakespeare – of a text that "develops according to a serpentine, dynamic movement that produces sense" by "expanding . . . and contracting . . . to release new unexpected sense" – chimes with the way in which Empson has helped me conceptualise the complexity of the textual make-up of Q1 *Richard III*. Coming across the Empson quotation in the Serpieri extract quoted above therefore validated my sense of how the two scholars share interests and methodologies that can and should be mobilised to assist the work of the textual editor.

Sadly, I was not taught by Serpieri; but I was taught by scholars who had been his students and who made a deep, lasting impression on my own approach to the addictive task of reading, interpreting and editing early modern English texts. My hope for this lecture and for this essay was to show how my work on *Richard III* intersects in serendipitous ways with the work of earlier scholars, first and foremost with the work of earlier editors but also, and to no lesser extent, with the work of earlier critics – including my own teachers and mentors, via Serpieri, via Empson and back.

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Afterword: the Editor as Translator

Alessandro Serpieri, an eminent editor and translator of Shakespeare into Italian, argued that the translator is, necessarily and significantly, also an editor. In the case of Shakespeare, "any translation is the result of a preliminary choice both of one text among others and of local variants of greater or lesser importance" (2012, 167). And if the work of the translator overlaps with that of the editor, the reverse could also be said to be true: the editor is engaged in an act of translation. Serpieri used Roman Jakobson's categorisation of "three kinds of translation": intralingual ("interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language"); interlingual ("interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language"); and intersemiotic ("an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems") (Jakobson 2013, 233). Serpieri explains that the second category, interlingual translation, concerns only the translator, while the translator of drama more specifically must also grapple with the third category of intersemiotic translation. For Serpieri, it is the first category, intralingual translation, in which the activities of translators and editors substantially overlap (2012, 168).

The inaugural Serpieri lecture at the University of Verona in 2023 was delivered by Sonia Massai, on "'The Operation of Individual Judgement': In Praise of Critical Editing". In 64 CARLA SUTHREN

this talk, published here, Massai draws on her extensive experience as an editor of Shakespeare and other early modern texts, including Titus Andronicus for Penguin (2001), John Ford's 'Tis Pity She's a Whore also for Arden (2011), Thomas Heywood's The Wise Woman of Hoxton for Globe Education (2002), and Edward III for the Internet Shakespeare Editions. Throughout her career, she has contributed extensively to the critical discourse on the theory of editing, as well as its practice, observing in an early piece that "any edition is a translation, a rewriting" (Bate and Massai 1997, 131). Here, she situates her theory of "critical editing" within the history of editing Shakespeare, illustrating its practice with reference to the edition of Richard III which she is currently working on for the Arden Fourth Series. Her conception of "critical editing", as she explains in this volume's Part 1, allows for the operation of editorial judgement, understood as "our willingness to look at print in order to unpack the variant and variantly signifying textual spaces generated by the continuous creative process that extended from the playhouse to the printing house" (23). This continuous creative process is ongoing, including each successive editor, whose choices inevitably engage in a range of translational activities which serve to construct, and re-construct, 'Shakespeare'.

Expanding (though not explicitly) Jakobson's conception of intralingual translation to encompass what might be called intracultural translation, André Lefevere and Susan Bassnett have observed that translation "takes place not just *between cultures*, but also *inside* a given culture". They explain:

At the beginning of the socialisation process, those about to be initiated into a culture are not given access to the 'originals' of the texts that are considered to make up the cultural capital of that culture. Rather, individuals are Afterword 65

exposed to translations of those texts, not, in most cases, from another language, although, in some cases, from older stages of the same language, but literally from another world into their own . . . (1998, 8)

Bassnett and Lefevere do not name Shakespeare, but he seems to be an obvious case in point. The translations to which they refer here may include abridged or simplified versions of Shakespeare's works in various media aimed at children or at popular audiences. But editions also fit into this category, performing a key role in mediating access to 'originals' for the vast majority of Shakespeare's readers, including academics, most of the time. The idea of the 'original', of course, is quite rightly placed in scare quotes, since it is a contested and yet ever-present concept in textual editing and beyond. What are Shakespeare's 'originals'? No authorial manuscript survives, with the probable exception of a scene from the collaboratively-authored play Sir Thomas More. The early texts from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are, of course, editions themselves, Shakespeare translated into the medium of print.

What is more, in the case of the plays, these print witnesses refer to (if they do not straightforwardly reflect) ephemeral performance events. In this context the language of translation comes naturally, almost automatically, to describe the activity of editing drama: T. H. Howard-Hill, for instance, argued that the professional scribe Ralph Crane's "involvement with the First Folio was so extensive" that "we should acknowledge [him] as the first person to confront the problems of translating Shakespeare's plays from stage

¹ 'Hand D', in the manuscript now held by the British Library, is thought to be Shakespeare's.

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to study: Shakespeare's first editor" (1991, 13). The editor of drama, like the translator, is fundamentally concerned with intersemiotic translation, perhaps most obviously in the presentation of paratextual materials such as stage directions – which explicitly encode "non-linguistic signs (the mimic, the gestic, the proxemic)" (Serpieri 2012, 168) – but also more generally in representing a (hypothetical, past, or imagined) performance event textually.

From the very beginning, Shakespeare's editors have been constantly involved in producing the kind of intracultural translation outlined by Bassnett and Lefevere. Margreta De Grazia's description of this process strikes similar notes to theirs: the "apparatus" - the product and performance of editorial activities - though "appearing only ancillary to a text, a handmaiden dutifully attending its reproduction . . . is precisely what makes that reproduction possible, retrieving or translating the alien past of a text's inception into the familiar present of its reception" (1991, 11). Each edition (whether the "apparatus" is visible or not) translates a text for a new (historical, cultural) moment; and this is neither a neutral process nor a unilateral one. If Bassnett and Lefevere's analysis implicitly points to the structural role of intracultural translation to an Althusserian process of interpellation, De Grazia explicitly suggests that the "apparatus" which enables and dictates this translation "might function ideologically like an Althusserian state apparatus that shapes and positions subjects" (ibid.; Althusser 1971, 127-86). Intracultural translation shapes Shakespeare as it shapes us.

Considering the editor as translator is not, it should be clear, an entirely neutral position to take. At the beginning of the introduction for the textual companion to the 1987 Oxford Shakespeare, Gary Taylor memorably used the language

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of translation to advocate his position with regard to the controversies over editorial theory and practice which had erupted with vigour over the course of the decade. "We can", he wrote,

only read Shakespeare's discourse through the filter of earlier readers, who have 'translated' – handed over, transmitted, transmuted – his texts to us. To translate is, notoriously, to betray; to communicate is to corrupt. Shakespeare's texts have thus inevitably been betrayed by the very process of their transmission even before they are betrayed – no less inevitably – by their critical and theatrical interpreters. (1987, 1)

Taylor's conceit – to translate is to betray – is self-confirming. 'Translate', in English, bears little apparent resemblance to 'betray'. In Italian, though, the pair form a paronymic pun: 'tradurre è tradire'. (The related Italian saying 'traduttore, traditore' – 'translator, traitor' – works slightly better in English). This apparently negative characterisation of the editor-as-translator is in fact an important strategy for rendering the process visible: Taylor's position is that the editor should "be self-conscious, coherent, and explicit about the ways in which they mediate between writer and reader" (1987, 4). The Oxford Shakespeare, indeed, proved to be editorially interventionist, ground-breaking, and highly controversial, as is its successor (The New Oxford Shakespeare, 2016).

If editing Shakespeare remains a particularly fraught business, this is due to his significance as a major repository of cultural capital, which in turn is due precisely to the sustained intracultural translation activities within which editorial projects have played a foundational and indispensable role. As Sonia Massai notes, Shakespeare's "elevation to the status

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of 'national poet' dates back to the eighteenth rather than the seventeenth century", but the process had already begun by 1623, when "he was canonized through the first collected edition of his dramatic works, the First Folio, aptly described by Gary Taylor as a monumental publishing venture, which did not reflect but rather constructed Shakespeare's reputation as a modern classic" (Massai 2012b, 144-5; referring to Taylor 2006). The first definition of 'canonisation' listed in the Oxford English Dictionary describes it as "[t] he act of canonising; esp. formal admission into the calendar of saints", from which the figurative meaning follows (s.v. 'canonisation', n). Given that the word 'translation', too, has a cluster of related religious meanings - to move the body or relics of a saint, to be received into heaven, to appoint a bishop (s.v. 'translation', n. 2. 9-11) – all of which were more current in the seventeenth century than they are now, the First Folio can be seen as a kind of translation in this sense too, initiating the process by which Shakespeare's textual remains posthumously became canonised, translating him into a patron saint of English literature.

The significance of the First Folio's translation of Shakespeare is clear in contrast to the relative critical and editorial neglect of Shakespeare's contemporary Thomas Middleton, due at least in part (as Massai explains) to "the fact that his works were not collected in a substantial folio edition during his lifetime or shortly after his death", so that he "never became a patronymic category within which a body of works could be gathered, edited, and published during the early modern period for future generations of readers" (2011a, 320). Massai's attention to the First Folio has illuminated aspects of its production as well its reception. In her chapter on "The Making of the First Folio", she examines correction processes,

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countering the (understandably appealing) idea that these were necessarily the result of consultation of authoritative theatrical manuscripts (2007, 136-79). Elsewhere, she has developed our understanding of the "syndicate" that produced the 1623 Folio by elucidating "the fundamental role played by the Sidney-Herbert-Montgomery patronage network in . . . the publication of Shakespeare's First Folio" (2012a, 239). It is fitting, then, that her delivery of the inaugural Serpieri lecture should have taken place in 2023, the 400th anniversary of the Folio's publication.

Massai's body of work has done much to counter "the assumption that the editorial tradition of vernacular drama in England started at the beginning of the eighteenth century. when the name of the editor started to feature next to the name of the author on the title-pages of dramatic collections", and when "the term 'editor' as it is understood today was first used" (2011b, 91; 2002, 263). In Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor (2007), she reassessed the seventeenth-century tradition, from the quartos published by Andrew Wise to the Fourth Folio of 1685. Her complementary work on the adaptation of Shakespeare's plays for the Restoration stage overlays the activities of adapting and editing. Specifically, she posits Nahum Tate's activities in adapting *King Lear* from the quarto and folio texts as "critical editing" (1995). Where Serpieri sees the translator as editor, Massai sees the adaptor as editor (translator and adaptor can be positioned within the framework of translation, which can helpfully encompass both the interlingual and the intracultural). Like Serpieri, Massai applies this insight to the testing of textual theories. Serpieri used the practice of translating *Hamlet* Q1 to test the two main theories of origin: it is either believed to derive from memorial reconstruction (which tend to stress "how pieces of 70 CARLA SUTHREN

the original and completed text either collapse through utter degeneration or sensibly weaken in Q1"), or from "an earlier draft which was later revised in the authoritative texts through systematic reshaping and rewording" (2012, 178). Through translating, Serpieri finds Q1 "to be far from senseless and inarticulate", concluding that "[i]t may very well be a reported text, but if it is, it looks like a reconstruction from another version of the play; and that version cannot but be an earlier one" (180). Massai likewise uses Tate's process of adaptation to weigh in on the theories concerning the nature of the quarto and folio texts of King Lear, providing "new indirect evidence in favor of the theory of internal revision" (2000, 436). Similarly to Serpieri's investigation of Hamlet, Massai concludes that "Quarto and Folio King Lear must have been conceived as two different tragedies, not only in terms of plot and characterization, but also in terms of their dramatic effect" (448). In both cases, these insights are arrived at through close attention to processes of intersemiotic translation which must engage both translator and adaptor, but to which the critic is not always attentive.

If editing Shakespeare goes back to the earliest texts, it is nevertheless since the eighteenth century that there has been a "sustained exegetical and editorial effort aimed at translating and transforming Shakespeare's language and its unfixed and unfamiliar early modern orthographic, lexical, and syntactical features into Standard English" (Massai 2017b, 475). It is not only Shakespeare's English which has been subject to this process; his plays are not exclusively monolingual, so that the editor may also be carrying out interlinguistic translation. Standard practice for both editors and translators is to leave words or phrases in Latin (for example), in the main text, and add a note translating

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them for readers. But there are, inevitably, further editorial implications. Should Shakespeare's Latin (or indeed other languages) be corrected, for instance, where it appears to be in error? In 1982, J.W. Binns considering the "editorial problem" posed by Shakespeare's Latin, observed a certain inconsistency in approach. Two misquotations in Titus *Andronicus* (at 2.1.135 and 4.1.82-3) indicate that Shakespeare was working from memory; since "these make sense, and could be regarded as conscious adaptations" they are not emended by modern editors (Binns 1982, 122). However, Binns noted that all the early texts of Titus Andronicus (O1-3 and F) have Lucius demanding a prisoner to sacrifice "Ad manus fratrum" (1.1.96-101), which is "invariably" emended to "Ad manes fratrum" (ibid.) (including by Serpieri, who glossed it "alle ombre dei Fratelli", "to the ghosts of our brothers"; 1999, n. ad loc.). However, Binns argued, the earlier reading is perfectly acceptable Latin, meaning "near these bands of brothers": "It could be argued that Lucius is calling for a prisoner of the Goths to be put to death either near the corpses of his dead brothers, or else in front of the Gothic prisoner's fellow-soldiers' eyes, depending on whether the fratres are those of Lucius or of the prisoner of the Goths" (125). Though admitting his own preference for the reading of manes, for which manus would be an easy misreading by a compositor, he draws attention to the critical judgement quietly being exercised in such moments of editorial translation.

The issue becomes more complicated in performance, as Matthew Dimmock has noted; if they do not simply cut such moments, productions may "replace the Latin with English or introduce parallel translation with the understandable aim of ensuring comprehension", since to us Latin is mostly "simply strange" (2015, 346). But using Latin onstage in early modern

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England was neither completely strange, nor did it ensure comprehension, instead "establish[ing] a clear and exclusive linguistic community" of those who understood and those who did not. Furthermore, its association with Catholicism gave it an additional "frisson", a charge of "oddness", Dimmock argues, "that is hard to reproduce on the page or on the stage" (ibid.). Perhaps something of this effect might be recaptured when Shakespeare is translated into Italian, however: in twenty-first century Italy, Latin might similarly be "a tongue becoming strange", to use Dimmock's phrase (ibid.), rather than fully alien. If, in performance, Erasmian pronunciation were to be used instead of the familiar Church diction, something rather like the familiar oddness of Latin for early modern English audiences might be achieved.

Dimmock's conception of the use of Latin on stage as creating "clear and exclusive" linguistic communities is something that was also observed during the Globe to Globe Festival in 2012, during which each of Shakespeare's works was performed by a different theatre company in a different language. The companies had been instructed to avoid using English altogether, so that Anglophone audience members were entirely dependent on the surtitles provided. Massai notes:

As a result, speakers of the foreign language being used on stage stood out quite clearly as a different type of audience from those who may have been familiar with the play but did not understand the language. The ban on English, in other words, split the audience into two palpably different groups, one who identified more immediately with the performers, laughed at their jokes, and responded more directly and emotionally to the action being performed on stage, and another who watched both the performers on stage and the

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foreign language speakers in the audience, as if the latter were part and parcel of the spectacle of 'foreignness' that was unfolding before them in the Globe. (2017, 487)

Massai herself was able to experience the festival from both positions, writing interestingly about her experience of the Italian Giulio Cesare (dir. Andrea Baracco) as well (2013). Another potential consequence of translating Shakespeare in this way might also be noted, which pulls in another direction: I attended the Georgian production of As You Like It (dir. Levan Tsuladze) for the same festival with an English companion who was not familiar with Shakespeare, and generally felt excluded from enjoying productions due to the unfamiliar language of early modern English. Productions of Shakespeare in English, in other words, can also have the effect of dividing the audience into groups based on comprehension. However, my companion enjoyed the (fantastic) Georgian production immensely, because the language barrier was removed - or rather, the playing-field was levelled, since all members of the audience who did not understand Georgian were in more or less the same position.

In this case, Shakespeare in translation erased certain audience divisions and incidentally created an unexpected community. Massai analyses the deliberate methods of the "Two Gents' company – performing *Two Gentlemen of Verona* – to bring Shona speakers and non-speakers together as an audience unified by shared moments of understanding and laughter" through a subversive (because technically forbidden by the festival's guidelines) mixture of Shona and English, and mimed gestures (2017, 487). Interestingly, the production was originally developed predominantly in English for the Oval House Theatre in London, and had to

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be translated in multiple senses for the Globe (linguistically by Noel Marerwa). For Massai, this translation was highly successful: "Both Shakespeare and Africa were cited in their productions via recognizable signifiers, languages, and theatrical conventions that were then put in playful conversation with each other; but neither Shakespeare nor Africa was idealized as constituting essential and unitary points of origin" (489). In the same company's bilingual production of Hamlet/Kupenga kwa Hamlet (Oval House, 2010), they chose to use Q1, allowing them "to present both the dialogue sung and spoken in Shona and the dialogue drawn from Q1 as 'other' when compared to what English audiences are used to hearing" (482). As a result, it "offered its audiences both a fresh take on the critical and theatrical reception of Q1 and a lucid critique of the pressures that Shakespeare in performance places on theatre artists who inflect Shakespeare's English through the self-conscious use of languages, accents, and modes of delivery drawn from non-English theatrical cultures and traditions" (484).

In a very different kind of production, *Macbeth su Macbeth su Macbeth* ("Macbeth on Macbeth on Macbeth"), Chiara Guidi nonetheless approaches some similar themes, as Massai explores through a series of interviews. Guidi describes how at one point, for example, the three actors tie their right hands behind their backs, so that "we cannot move, let alone act, naturally", which "foregrounds the challenge we face when we play Shakespeare" (2017, 285). The play is in a way less an adaptation of *Macbeth* than a meditation on "the impossibility of staging the play in its entirety, and as it was originally printed in the Folio edition of 1623" (282). Like others by the company, SRS (Societas Raffaello Sanzio), Massai explains, the production "jettisoned familiar plot-lines, characters, and most

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of Shakespeare's dialogue in favour of striking stage images which, while inspired by the Shakespearean source texts, were specifically meant to counteract the formidable influence exerted by the long history of Shakespeare's reception in Western theatre" (277). The text itself features as a central stage property: as Guidi describes it,

I carry a book that falls apart when I open it . . . Several pages fall on to the stage, suggesting my obsessive exploration of Shakespeare's words but also my need to cannibalize the text and those textual, editorial, and critical traditions which, while ensuring its survival and its incremental cultural value over the last four centuries, can prevent a fresh and more experimental approach to the play. (282)

Kupenga kwa Hamlet and Macbeth su Macbeth su Macbeth, then, both engage productively not just with Shakespeare but with the editorial traditions which have constructed and deconstructed his works over the years.

Massai is acutely aware of the non-linear and non-teleological nature of the history of editing Shakespeare, without denying the advances in knowledge and methodology since the seventeenth century. Her use of the term "critical editing", particularly associated with the new bibliography, to describe both Tate's activity of adaptation and her own current editorial practice, registers points of contact and continuity as well as new inflections. Similarly, she situates the digitisation of early modern texts as being "the direct descendant of diplomatic editions" and the "most uncompromising version of single-text editing", linking it back to the impulses of the new textualism (2016, 70). While such 're-presentations' are extremely valuable, and "effective at foregrounding their collaborative quality as composite textual

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artifacts", Massai underlines that they are, still, editions, and therefore translations: even "[i]mages and facsimiles [are] far from offering unmediated access to the early editions they reproduce" (ibid.). Moving beyond facsimiles to editions like Massai's Edward III, it would seem that the digital edition bears a similar translational relationship to its 'original(s)' as a print edition, though the medium is significantly different. However, this particular medium necessitates a further level of (usually hidden) translation, between human and machine, as the information that constitutes the edition must now be translated into electronic data via machine-readable code and back again into a user-friendly format. Alan Galey has underlined the importance of attending to these translative processes and analysing the interpretative choices that are involved, "subvert[ing] the notion that all texts are simply content to be copied and pasted from one form into another" (2015, 207).

If editorial practices as we know them developed along with the material conditions of print technologies, it is the practice of editing itself which is undergoing a process of translation in the digital age. Peter Schillingsburg has highlighted the importance of "thinking deeply about ways in which texts translated into new mediums lose old functions as they acquire new functions and how interactions with texts in the electronic world differ from interactions with print editions" (2006, 145). Differentiating between the (online) "critical archive" and the (printed) "critical edition", Massai notes that the second "is structured hierarchically" and privileges one text over others, while the former can provide digital versions of multiple texts, paratexts, and supplementary materials which the reader can move between, via "open-ended and . . . virtually endless combinations of pathways" (2004, 103). Textual variants can be

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hidden, displayed via pop-ups, or sequentially in-line, which can help suggest some "types of textuality and instability which were native to the medium of print in the early modern period" (105). More than this, the critical archive "transforms the *reader* into a *user*, or what can be described as a 'Barthesian' reader" of the open and plural poststructuralist hypertext; this user is "encouraged to abandon linear reading in favour of dynamic interaction with texts and intertextual analysis" (103). Massai is not, however, prophesying the death of the editor, unlike some – and Schillingsburg reminds us again that "no editorial task, whether in print or electronic medium, is merely the reproduction of a text" (2006, 145); the editor is always translating.

As exciting as this sounds theoretically, however, in practice most online editions have effectively found various methods for translating the editorial apparatus which grew up in the print environment into the digital medium. Coming back to the subject in a more recent article, Massai calls for a more radical reconceptualization of how Shakespeare might be translated digitally. She draws on the interests of recent scholarship of "how literary, theatrical, and book production and consumption in the period were thoroughly informed by the circulation, assemblage, and recycling" of textual parts of various kinds (2017a, 67). Massai suggests that that new understanding of 'Shakespeare' might be translated in a digital editing project designed not around the traditional unit of 'the play', but around the concept of 'Shakespeare in Parts'. Such an edition would form part of a network (aligned with David Weinberger's idea of "Shakespeare as network", 2015), which would operate not just to link tagged passages or units within the works, but also to connect to external resources such as DEx: A Database of Dramatic Extracts 78 CARLA SUTHREN

(linking passages which were copied out by modern users), the Queen's Men Editions (QME), or the English Short-Title Catalogue (ESTC).² It is a heady proposition, and Massai argues persuasively for the benefits to be gained from it; I join in her hope that it is a question of "when, not if" (2017, 79). But recent events have demonstrated starkly the potential fragility of digital projects; the ESTC is at the time of writing still offline after the British Library was hacked in October 2023. Even on a less major scale, the life-span of digital editions is not guaranteed, and the Internet is already littered with obsolete links. As Suzanne Paul has put it, "digital resources are incredibly fragile and transient; online projects disappear as funding dries up, hardware and software becomes obsolete, storage media fail, digital objects decay" (2020, 279). As digital editions and archives proliferate, and as the possibilities for linking them in complex networks increase, consideration must be taken for their preservation after projects come to an end, as well as for the environmental impact of such preservation: translation into the digital medium is not without its risks.

There are questions about how much of the laborious task of editing itself might become automated, particularly in light of the next generation of Artificial Intelligence tools that have recently been launched and which are still being developed. The authors of a recent article on "AI and the Editor" point out that "[d]igital scholarly editing remains an industrial craft: the materials, medium and methods are technological, but the work itself remains largely manual"

² DEx: https://dex.digitalearlymodern.com/. Edited by Laura Estill and Beatrice Montedoro. QME: https://qme.uvic.ca/. General editors Helen Ostovich, Peter Cockett, Andrew Griffin.

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(Whittle et al. 2023, 106). They attribute this to "ideological opposition, lack of access to the necessary computational expertise, or simply ignorance of their value" – and certainly an instinctive Luddite tendency may often be at work (ibid.). Interestingly, the automation of certain aspects of editing might seem to resonate with W. W. Greg's proposal for "some sort of mechanical apparatus for dealing with textual problems that should lead to uniform results independent of the operator" (though Greg himself considered that there were limits to the extent to which this was possible or desirable; 1950-1951, 28). Somewhat ironically, using machine-learning in this case would have the opposite result: Whittle et al. warn that the (human) editor would need "to ascertain the sources and methods adopted by the [AI] model" (2023, 106). Indeed, the authors come to focus rather on the benefits of uniting the "curatorial" and "statistical" dimensions of the digital humanities, advocating for "publishing platforms [to be] integrated with statistical methods" which are already in use; in turn, though, such methods are "only as reliable as the data" they are based on: "in scholarly editions, we find ideal datasets which have been expertly, and more importantly, transparently (in that the profile of their curator is visible and human), compiled" (108). But what, in the case of Shakespeare, might constitute an "ideal dataset"? This, of course, returns us to the theory and practice of editing. Massai's concept of "critical editing" does not aim to produce an ideal dataset, but to open up spaces for texts to interact productively. It will be exciting to see how such interactions can be reimagined in digital spaces; at the same time, there seems to be no imminent question of the print edition becoming obsolete.

There are broader questions, too, about how desirable it might be to shift the burden of painstaking textual work away

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from the editor. Galey pertinently highlights the value of "thinking through making", which applies equally to the task of encoding digital texts and to textual editing in any format (2015, 198). If we re-cast this as "thinking through translating", the stakes are clear: an AI-generated translation may be helpful for facilitating quick comprehension, but reading it will not help you to learn a language. Acknowledging not just the necessity but the productivity of the substantial investment of time which editorial work requires is vital. Historically, editing, and editing Shakespeare in particular, has been dominated by white, male, established scholars. This is not, of course, coincidental: Shakespeare's editors are those entrusted with the 'original', the gatekeepers of cultural capital. To take the Arden Shakespeare, for which Massai is editing Richard III, as an example, in the first series the only woman who edited a text was Grace R. Trenery (Much Ado About Nothing, 1924). In the second series, likewise, there was just one female editor: Agnes Latham (As You Like It, 1975), though Una Ellis-Fermor was a general editor from 1946-1957. The third series made significant headway in this direction, with Ann Thompson as a general editor, and fourteen women producing editions for it; Ayanna Thompson became the first black female editor for the series with her updated edition of Honigmann's Othello in 2016 (see Young 2021).

The politics of editing, having been brought to the fore by the New Textualism which arose in the 1990s (for instance, Leah Marcus' identification of "The Shakespearean Editor as Shrew-Tamer": 1992, 197-200), is more of an urgent issue now than ever. There is increasing recognition that diversity of voices is crucial in an area of scholarship that can still seem particularly forbidding. The Arden 4 series is attempting to open the gates more widely, including through

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the appointment of Fellows who (according to the website) "provide thoughtful editorial insights and contributions throughout the process of finalising new editions . . . and gain the chance to learn more about the ins and outs of textual editing". Such efforts are both vital and laudable. But, as Jennifer Young pertinently observes, we must not overlook the significance of "that most valuable resource – time": "If we are to truly expand the image of the Shakespeare editor, researchers from a variety of backgrounds must be provided with equal access to the necessary time and resources required to produce an Arden Shakespeare edition" (371).

It is an exciting time for editing Shakespeare, with digital possibilities expanding, and the methodological implications of the theoretical revolutions since the 1980s still being worked out. Massai is encouraging to younger scholars who are interested in editing, and her thoughts on what critical editing might mean in relation to *Richard III* offer an inspiring vision of the editor's role in opening up texts to further conversations. To edit is to translate, in multiple and complex ways, and perhaps to translate is indeed to betray. But the Italian 'traditore' comes from the Latin 'traditor', which can mean both 'traitor' and 'teacher' (Lewis and Short, s.v. 'traditor'). Both editing and translating Shakespeare can teach us to challenge as well as to understand received traditions, a process that can never be complete.

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Silvia Bigliazzi, Fernando Cioni, and Rocco Coronato

Theatre, Drama, and Translations

Alessandro Serpieri's influence on the theory of drama has been internationally recognised, making him one of the most original and innovative theorists of drama of the last century. His 1978 essay on the segmentation of the dramatic text shed new light on the understanding of the language of drama through what he called deictic-performative orientations. This essay, together with "Rhetoric in drama" – a study of the application of rhetorical analysis to stage events focused on *Hamlet, Julius Caesar, Othello*, and *Richard III* – was translated into English and incorporated into the book-length study *The Language of Drama* published in 1989.

Serpieri's contributions to translation studies, mainly on the theory and practice of theatre translations, have been acknowledged as seminal studies. In "Translating Shakespeare" (2004c), he surveys some problematic philological, linguistic, semiotic areas that a translator of Shakespeare must face, concluding that "the translator's choice must first of all render a language which, however rich and complex on the literary level, was conceived for the body and voice of actors-characters performing their action-life on stage" (49). Along the same lines, in his last

book Avventure dell'interpretazione (2015) Serpieri further argues that dramatic language is not the same as literary narrative and poetical language, considering that drama is a performative genre involving bodies and voices in space, and therefore dramatic translation must take into account the non-linguistic codes embedded in dramatic language. This assumption goes along with the premise that translating also entails textual editing, as Serpieri for instance contends in "The Translator as Editor: the Quartos of Hamlet":

Translating any play by Shakespeare necessarily implies editing it, whether or not one is aware of the philological problems involved. Since none of his plays appear in its authorized version, textual differences and/or frequent cruces are always open to debate, particularly when two or more early printed texts are extant. Consequently, in most cases, any translation is the result of a preliminary choice both of one text among others and of local variants of greater or lesser importance. The translator may ignore the problem and take more or less casually one of the many editions available as the text to be translated; still, the very acceptance of the chosen edition is an act of editing. Editing also means interpreting, and interpretation is the first job of any reader, most of all of the translator who has to cope with the variant readings transmitted by the early texts, to distinguish misreadings, to consider emendations, and finally to choose or to establish the text to be translated. Ideally, at least, the translator should have an adequate grounding in textual criticism. (2004b, 167)

Serpieri has published seminal editions of Shakespeare's plays, together with their translations, from *Hamlet*, to *Julius Caesar*, to *Macbeth*, to mention but a few. Building on these theoretical principles, he translated into Italian fifteen Shakespearean

plays for both the page and the stage, providing what are still considered by many not only the most accurate, but also the most effective and actable versions. Gabriele Lavia staged his Amleto in Cortona in 1979; he then produced Tito Andronico at the Eliseo Theatre in Rome in 1983, Riccardo III and Macbeth at the Ancient Theatre in Taormina in 1983 and 1987, and Riccardo II at the Stabile Theatre in Turin in 1996. Gino Zampieri staged his Re Lear (1985) and Pericle (1986) at the Ancient Theatre in Taormina, and Paolo Valerio then directed the latter at the Roman Theatre in Verona during the Estate Teatrale season of 2008. In 1997, Serpieri undertook the pioneering translation of the first ('bad') Quarto version of Hamlet, Il primo Amleto, which won the prestigious Premio Monselice for translation. Other translations include The Merchant of Venice, directed by Pietro Carriglio at the Biondo Theatre in Palermo in 1983 and also used for the Italian version of the BBC Shakespeare; *Julius* Caesar (1993), produced by Franco Branciaroli for TeatroDue in Parma in 2022-2023; the four romances were published in 2001, and The Tempest was staged by Giancarlo Cauteruccio in Florence in the same year when Amleto was also staged by Antonio Latella in Milan, Sala Fontata; Antony and Cleopatra, staged by Ninni Bruschetta at the Teatro Valle in Messina in 2001; and Marco Sciaccalunga toured with his Misura per Misura in 2010-2012. In 2009 he won the Premio Grinzane for his entire activity as translator.

Serpieri's first Shakespearean monograph was an illuminating reading of the immortality sonnets (1975c) conducted through a structural and semiotic analysis of Shakespeare's rhetorical strategies. The book was published in English in 2015, together with an essay on Sonnets 33 and 29, and one on *Othello* (1994b). His 1976 book on *Othello* was a groundbreaking study on the tragedy, bringing together

psychoanalysis, semiotics, and anthropology, focusing on lago's destructive projections through Freudian binary oppositions: Eros vs Thanatos, reality vs appearance, and culture vs nature. Serpieri was among the contributors to John Drakakis' celebrated *Alternative Shakespeares* collection published in 1985. His much-cited essay ("Reading the Signs") draws a theoretical framework for a semiotic reading of Shakespeare. The relationship between rhetorical and ideological structures is illustrated through a close reading of *Othello* and *Julius Caesar*. The former is "a psychological and private drama, which secretly transcribes an anthropological opposition rooted within the tensions of the bourgeois-puritan episteme" (127); the latter is "a political and public drama that represents an exemplary clash of axiological and ideological models" (ibid.).

In the 1988 four-volume *Nel laboratorio di Shakespeare*, Serpieri, together with a research team at the University of Florence, studied the dramatisation of the narrative sources of Shakespeare's English and Roman history plays. The first volume sets out the criteria for the comparative analysis of narrative and dramatic discourse, the fourth volume contains Serpieri's close semiotic analysis of Shakespeare's use of source material in the construction of plot and discourse in *Julius Caesar*. As Serpieri further illustrated the project in his later "Shakespeare and Plutarch",

In order to carry out a thorough analysis of the construction of the plot in relation to the source, and to investigate the process of transformation and transcodification from one genre into another, we found it necessary to juxtapose, in the first place, the two series of texts and compare them in order to point out the correspondences and non-correspondences between them. This could be done only by segmenting

them both at the level of actions and/or topics. It was then possible to set up a tabulation in which the corresponding sequences, and sub-sequences, of the two texts (source and play) could be shown on the same page or were related one with another through cross-references. This makes at once evident, by the presence of full or empty spaces on one side or the other, the omissions, the additions, and even more complex procedures such as meshing, embedding, or dislocation of units. (2004, 46)

The project therefore dealt with extensive transcodification procedures including the dramatic exploitation of time and space parameters as well as point of view and discourse insofar as transcoding narrative into drama implies work on the narrative voice, which has a different status in drama:

The characters assume or perform both the *enoncés* and the *enunciations* transmitted by the narrative text. They express their propositional or emotional attitudes and directly perform the illocutionary or perlocutionary acts which in a narrative text are always governed by the narrator. In drama, the passions undergo no mediation, that is, the stage-world imitates life. (57)

In his 1986 book entitled *Retorica e immaginario*, Serpieri developed a Bakhtianian approach to the analysis of drama, with the chapters entitled "Shakespearean Poliphony" and "Macbeth: il tempo della paura" (Bulzoni published a revised and expanded version of the former in 2002b). In another essay on the same topic, he argued that many angles of perception

are deployed in Shakespeare's dramatic language on different levels: semantic, epistemological, ideological, and

strictly theatrical, the dimension which incorporates all the others. Many angles of perception, many perspectives, and many voices, and voices *within* voices, pass through his plays. (1998, 57)

Serpieri insightfully studied the character of Hamlet as well as the tragedy in its three variant texts throughout his career. He translated, annotated, and introduced Hamlet O2/F (1980) and O1 (1997) and dedicated many essays and book chapters to the "mystery of *Hamlet Q1*". He strongly supported the theory that Q1 is not a degenerate but a generative text. Translating Hamlet Q1 provided him with a "fresh view of it" (2004, 176) and allowed him to verify "(a) if O1 is, after all, capable of producing sense without seeking help in the 'authoritative' texts; and (b) if Q1 shows a structural autonomy both at the level of the action and characterization, and at the level of theatrical congruity" (2004, 176). He was convinced that "no reporter could be credited not only with the structural variants which immediately strike the eye . . . , but also with the many widespread semantic and theatrical variants which are disseminated throughout the texts" (1996, 463). He argued that "Q1 constitutes a different draft of the play, most probably an earlier draft, possibly superimposed onto the mysterious Ur-Hamlet" (2004, 177). His conclusion was that the First Hamlet "has very much to say, and to reveal, both as an autonomous text, and more, as a text which might have generated one of the masterpieces of modern theatre" (1996, 484)

Poetry

Alessandro Serpieri's first major endeavour in the translation of poetry was courageously carried out with the publication of

T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* (*La terra desolata*) in 1982 (Rizzoli). The book also contained the poem's early manuscripts as well as the letters exchanged by Eliot and Pound on the poem. This edition was reprinted several times and in 2006 was revised with the addition of Serpieri's extensive essay on "La prima stesura della *Terra desolata* e la poesia giovanile di T.S. Eliot" (The first draft of *The Waste Land* and T.S. Eliot's early poetry). Already in this edition, Serpieri shows the same inexhaustible curiosity for deep keys for interpretation that was to characterise all of his translations, which, not surprisingly, are always presented in parallel-text editions. This choice testifies to his unremitting engagement with the texts, respectful of their complexities and obscurities, never attempting domestication or trivialisation for the sake of pleasing turns of phrase. In T.S. Eliot's poem, Serpieri identified

an opposition, or if you will, a mismatch between the mythic, strongly intertextual method of the first half, which results in a symbolic stasis and a strongly estranged language, and a relatively different compositional method, which could be called allegorical, of the second half. The first is all played out along the basic lines of *myth*, *history*, and *paradoxical inversion*, in a kind of symbolic stasis or paralysis, resulting in a strong communicative entropy. Instead, the second introduces a movement, a journey, a *quest*, in which the I of the enunciation or, if you will, the many-faced, many-masked *speaker* in the poem is an actor, albeit in a non-narrative, nonlogically consequential way. (2006, 21; trans. ours)

Building on this interpretative premise, Serpieri elucidates Eliot's poem critically in the running commentary, offering what to date remains *the* edition of T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* in Italian.

But his engagement with poetry had begun earlier, with the publication in 1968 by De Donato of George Meredith's Modern Love, which would be republished by Rizzoli in 1999. The sonnet is a form Serpieri is especially drawn to when it goes beyond and subverts conventions and expectations, in a continuous oscillation between tradition and innovation. Meredith's sequence of fifty sonnets constitutes a unicum not only because of the unusually long forms comprising four quatrains as if to offer a narrative staple flexible enough to allow the narrative never to be stopped by the final couplet, but also because the sequence builds a verse narrative transgressing the received models of amorous sonneteering. Love is not longed for here for the lack or distance of the erotic object, but for the loss experienced in the failure of a marriage, presented through multiple perspectives and in different voices. It is the tension between "the old Romantic and Platonic drive towards the overcoming of temporal ephemerality" and "the emergence of a new sensibility that brings time back into play, destroying the dream of the absolute at its roots" (1999, 23; trans. ours) that leads Serpieri to explore the intricacies of desire in Meredith's narrative counterpoint of "romantic expansion" and "narrative castration", "lyrical atemporality" and "temporal extension" (ibid.).

A similar tension, but in an incomparably more complex and mysterious sonnet sequence, is also at the core of Serpieri's groundbreaking edition and translation of Shakespeare's sonnets, first published by Rizzoli in 1991 and regularly reprinted since. For Serpieri, in Shakespeare

the ideal tension that governs desire, from the Provençals to the Sicilians and Petrarch, is not lost, but it changes its register completely, in a new world that has already experienced the Copernican epistemological crisis and is experiencing

the first bourgeois transformation under the banner of relativism that erodes all medieval certainties. Idealism, instead of turning towards transcendence, as in Petrarch, where the love for Laura was still linked with the aspiration for the divine, becomes the dialectical pole of a turbulent and ephemeral reality. Consequently, Petrarch's lyrical time, the time of endless waiting, the time of descriptive and symbolic remembrance (where the nominal register thus dominates), now becomes dramatic time, the time of the unfolding of relations, and the time of the confrontation between their precariousness and imperfection and their dreamed and always lost fullness (and therefore it is the verbal register marking 'actions' and 'scenes' and exchanges of mental planes that becomes prominent). Ideality belongs to being, to which seeming, the category of precarious reality, is opposed. (1995, 47-8; trans. ours)

Translation here becomes one with the translator's own awareness of the sonnets' metapoetic engagement with the very "lie" inherent in and constitutive of poetic art. As Serpieri points out, Shakespeare's aesthetic problem was closer to the epistemological question of representation than to a merely stylistic one, and this is why, at all levels, his sonnets speak of the "betrayal of images: factually . . . epistemologically . . . aesthetically", implying the "impossibility of representation" (52; trans. ours). In translating these poems, Serpieri also shows an awareness of sharing in the same kind of betrayal, alert to the ethics of this aesthetic engagement, struggling with the translative possibilities of words intimately leading to ideas of truth and falsehood.

When in 2007 Serpieri published in collaboration with Silvia Bigliazzi the edition and Italian translation of John Donne's poems, including *Songs and Sonnets*, the *Holy*

Sonnets and Death's Duel (in 2012 enlarged with the addition of the Elegies, the Satires, and the Epigrams) the form of the sonnet was at the same time present and past in Serpieri's own experience of translating poetry. John Donne's amorous poems comprise no actual sonnet, which is instead his chosen form for his holy poetry. In 1921, T.S. Eliot first noted that John Donne was able to perceive thought like the odour of a rose, offering a splendid definition of his extraordinary ability to combine intellect and emotion in the cerebral sensuousness of his lyrical experience. A metaphysical writer of the early seventeenth century, John Donne was one of the greatest authors of his age, comparable to Shakespeare for his unprecedented forays into human passions in both his profane compositions and his religious ones, where the amorous tension towards the divine is invested with mystical accents imbued with an all-human, if not openly carnal ardour. Donne pyrotechnically elaborates on the topic of love, interweaving and reversing into each other physical desire and spiritual tension, ironically distancing himself from the Petrarchan tradition while alluding to it. The seesawing of registers and tones is constantly supported by a powerful rhythmical verse that contributes to the dramatic quality of discourse and its distinctly dialogic situatedness. Translating these complex layers of poetry into Italian required an effort to render their rhetorical, logical, and syntactic structure as primary meaning-making forms. It also implied transferring into Italian as much as possible the poems' semantic and referential opacity as well as their colloquial speakability and argumentative casuistry. To this end, Serpieri was especially sensitive to their allocutive, logical, rhetorical and dramatic qualities at the expense of easily recognisable sound patterns and poeticisms. Thus, in his last major translation of a

great Renaissance writer, he showed a life-long translative coherence in both his choice of texts – always swaying between convention and innovation – and relentless care for the primacy of interpretation: the necessary key to make texts continue to speak to us in English as in Italian.

Narratives

Serpieri's preference for the Shakespearean tragedies and history plays, which depict moments of crisis and dissolution within the cultural and state system, extends to authors who explore similar themes in other periods, from Gerard Manley Hopkins to Wystan Hugh Auden (1969), as well as the mature works of William Wordsworth (2006, 2008). Additionally, beyond T.S. Eliot, Serpieri's interest in writers seemingly distant from the Shakespearean corpus, and even from each other, such as Joseph Conrad and Lewis Carroll, is notable.

Serpieri's admiration for Conrad is evident in his editorial work on *Youth* (1963, with the article "Il valore di *Youth* nella prima produzione di Conrad"), *The Secret Agent* (1966), *Almayer's Folly* (2004), as well as in his several essays on Conrad's works (1997; 2009; 2010), and in their translation (2008). Serpieri's enduring passion for Conrad can especially be seen in his editorial, introductory, and translational work on *Falk* (1994; 2002), which particularly captivates Serpieri with its elusive and oblique nature, reflected in Conrad's self-avowed reluctance to clarify the tale's meaning. This reticence is mirrored by the story's development around the unspecified "misfortune" (cannibalism) experienced by the protagonist in the past. *Falk* shares with *The Shadow Line* and "The Secret Sharer" a typically Bildungsroman

topic, representing "a moment of transition, from deep insecurity associated with the responsibility of the first command to various modes of maturation", involving social misunderstandings and complicit agreements (secret or apparent) with seemingly antithetical characters (1994, 14). Governed by the deeper instinct of self-preservation, Falk gradually reveals the misfortune underlying his seemingly ruthless behaviour, exposing his own shadow of fragility. Serpieri astutely identifies in *Falk* a typical device of Conrad's narrative, the gradual revelation of true meaning beneath various physical details and clues scattered throughout the narration, prepared to pay "a great price of falsehood and deception":

Only in the scene of revelation that *Falk* finally offers to the narrator in all its details does he display, or rather translate into gestures, his overwhelming passion; yet even in this extreme moment, his face struggles to 'show emotion', as if displaying, representing one's own emotions already amounted to *betraying the representation*, both visual and verbal, which distances, misleads, deceives from the unrepresentable evidence of the original passion. (1994, 31; trans. ours)

Serpieri's translation masterfully captures Conrad's wavelike rhythms of clues, false leads, and delayed revelations.

The other author who reveals Serpieri's passion for modern underminers of certainties, although employing a register as far removed as possible from Conrad's powerful psychological and moral analysis, is Lewis Carroll, which he translated in 2002, and discussed critically in 2011 (b). Serpieri's introduction to the volume opens on a very delicate question, especially in these times: Carroll's passion for little girls, particularly for

Alice Liddell. He reconstructs the importance of photography. that language of exchanges and reciprocity between Carroll and Alice interrupted by the girl's mother, and then, without falling into the traps of biographism or gossip, masterfully shows how the literary text records Carroll's difficult relationship with sex, his distance from intimacy with women, that almost childish sense of attraction to femininity, and idealisation of the beauty and purity of little girls, not hiding that both letters and photos, as well as the literary text, record "acts of love" and are "testimonies of an ambiguous attraction" (2002, 14; trans. ours). From here, Serpieri moves on to the literary details, showing how in this complex communication between adult and child "the particular register of these fairy tales" is played out. The fairy tale thus becomes the stylistic model of a critique of adult reality, an expressive code that allows for the exploration of the unknown, rather than a simple almost psychoanalytic transposition of personal complexes or imponderable impulses:

The fairy tale is no longer . . . a coherent sequence of fantastic events, but unfolds like an – apparently – incoherent series of incursions into the unknown. And it is precisely between the known of reality, and the known of the fairy tale tradition itself, and the unknown that surprises the expectations of both, that the game – more than a game – of nonsense occurs, questioning every supposed grasp on both daytime logic and fairy-tale logic and effecting a disorientation, often cruel, in which the relationship between words and things is unravelled, the principle of non-contradiction contradicted, the coherent relationship between subject and predicate undermined, and the very sense of one's own identity as well as that of others is called into question. (2002, 15)

Taking up a famous phrase by Virginia Woolf¹, Serpieri therefore concludes that these are "books for children, for whom and with whose spontaneous complicity they were invented, as well as for adults capable of returning to childhood and appreciating, in the excursion through different levels of experience, the subtlest implications that writing inserted, after the oral phase, into the narrative plot" (16; trans. ours). And it is precisely in the light of this "subversion of logic" that the "subversion of conventional morality, or rather, of didactic moralism" (20; trans. ours) is also configured, showing that although Conrad and Carroll are very different kinds of subverters are strangely joined apostles of the long Victorian century, apostles of relativism: "the libidinal logic of dreams belies Victorian bourgeois respectability and the fairy tale knows disturbing implications in which narrative, and linguistic, play becomes an initiation into the relativism of knowledge and the relativity of recognized values" (21; trans. ours). Serpieri's translation faithfully testifies to the seriousness underlying this apparent child's play: it maintains the playful tone of the fairy tale, always capturing the lucid process of dismantling logic through the seemingly weak weapons of childish imagination and the counter-logic of nonsense

¹ Woolf, Virginia. 1948. "Lewis Carroll". In *The Moment, and Other Essays*, 81-3. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company: "[H]e could return to that world; he could re-create it, so that we too become children again" (83).

Alessandro Serpieri's Publications

Translations

Shakespeare

- 1980. *Amleto*. Milan: Feltrinelli. (Revised edition: Venezia: Marsilio, 1997).
- 1987. Il mercante di Venezia, Milano: Garzanti.
- 1989. Tito Andronico. Milano: Garzanti.
- 1991a. Pericle. Milano: Garzanti.
- 1991b. I Sonetti. Milano: Rizzoli.
- 1993. Giulio Cesare. Milan: Garzanti.
- 1996. Macbeth. Firenze: Giunti.
- 1997. Amleto Q1. Venezia: Marsilio.
- 2001. I drammi romanzeschi. Venezia: Marsilio.
- 2003. Misura per misura. Venezia: Marsilio.
- 2006. La tempesta. Venezia: Marsilio.
- 2009. Otello. Venezia: Marsilio.
- 2014. Riccardo II. Venezia: Marsilio.
- 2018. Re Lear. Venezia: Marsilio.

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- 1966. John Webster. Bari: Adriatica.
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- 1969. Hopkins Eliot Auden: saggi sul parallelismo poetico. Bologna: Patron.
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- 1973. T.S. Eliot. Le strutture profonde. Bologna: Il Mulino.
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- 1975b. "Sull'uso del modello comunicativo nella poesia di John Donne: 'The Funerall' e 'The Relique'". *Strumenti*

- Critici 9: 275-308 (reprinted in Retorica e immaginario, 1986).
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- 1977. "La retorica della politica in Shakespeare". *Il Piccolo Hans* 13: 111-36.
- 1978a. "Ipotesi teorica di segmentazione del testo teatrale". In Alessandro Serpieri et al. *Come comunica il teatro: dal testo alla scena*, 11-54. Milano: Edizioni il Formichiere.
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- 1978c. Otello, l'eros negato. Milano, Edizioni il Formichiere (New revised and enlarged edition, Napoli: Liguori, 2003)
- 1978d. "Il crollo della gerarchia medievale in *King Lear*". *Il Piccolo Hans* 19: 131-146 (translated as "The Breakdown of Medieval Hierarchy in *King Lear*". In Drakakis 1991).
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- 7. Sonia Massai, *'The Operation of Individual Judgement': in Praise of Critical Editing.* Shakespeare 1 Serpieri Lectures 1, 2024 (pp. 116)

The topic of the inaugural 'Alessandro Serpieri Lecture' from which this essay developed – what 'critical editing' means and how it affects current editorial practice – reflects areas of research interest that defined this scholar's lifework and that intersect with my own, both as a Shakespeare textual editor and as a literary critic. I was therefore delighted to be asked to open this lecture series and to have the opportunity to pay homage to the legacy of Serpieri's scholarship. Although I was not taught by Serpieri, his influence on my appreciation of what pertains to the study of early modern (dramatic) literature has been important and pervasive: Part 3 of this essay gives a representative example of how my work towards a new Arden edition of *Richard III*, briefly discussed in Parts 1 and 2, aligns in significant and serendipitous ways with how Serpieri understood the evocative quality and semantic instability of Shakespeare's language.

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Studiolo from the Ducal Palace in Gubbio, designed by Francesco di Giorgio Martini (MET, 39.153) (c. 1478-82)

