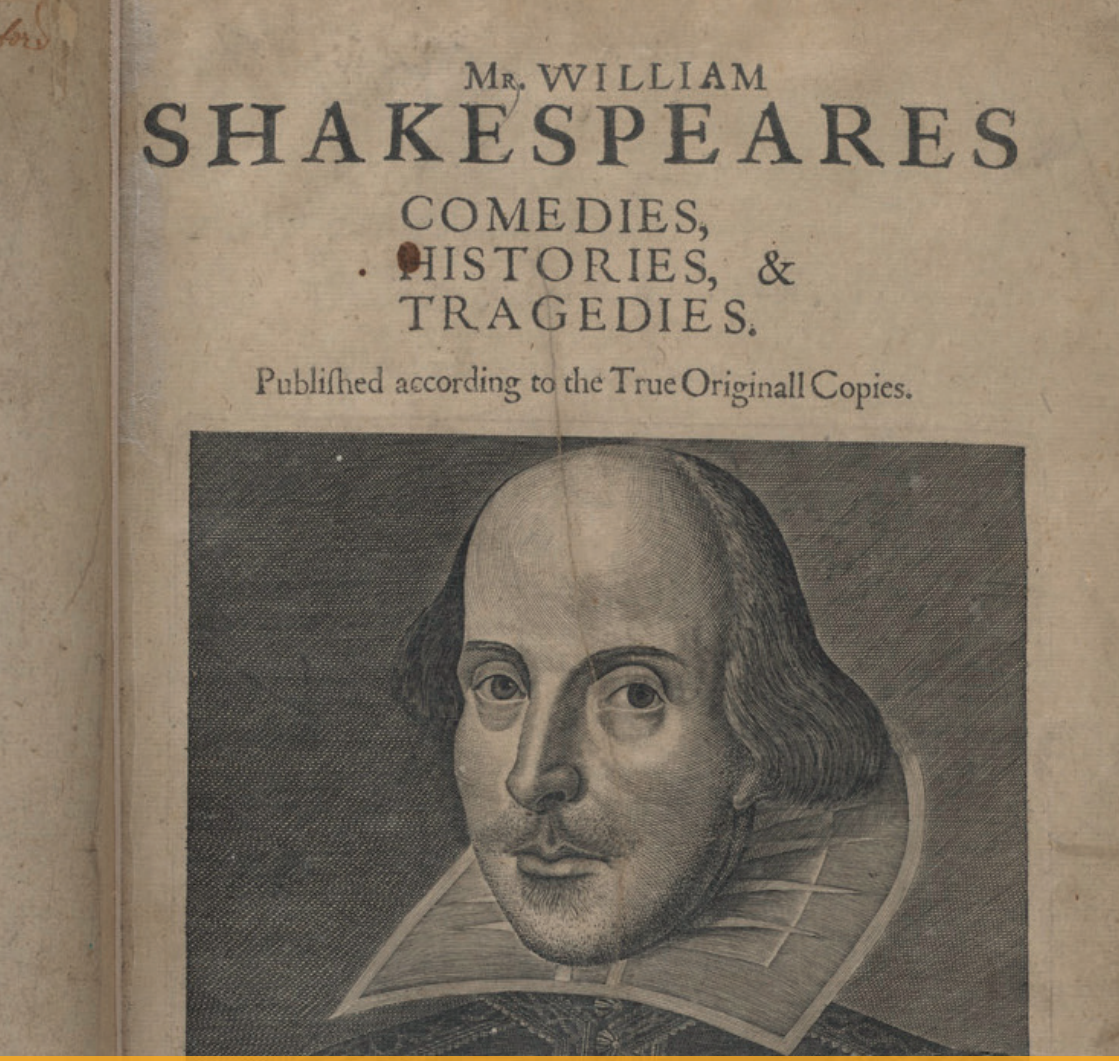
Publication details:
Shakespeare and Revision
Author: Stanley Wells
http://humanities-digital-library.org/index.php/hdl/catalog/book/wells_stanley
DOI: 10.14296/718.9780992725723

*****

This edition published 2018 by
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
SCHOOL OF ADVANCED STUDY
INSTITUTE OF ENGLISH STUDIES
Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU, United Kingdom

ISBN 978-0-9927257-2-3 (PDF edition)



IES INSTITUTE OF ENGLISH STUDIES
SCHOOL OF ADVANCED STUDY UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Shakespeare and Revision

Stanley Wells

Hilda Hulme Memorial Lecture 1987

Hilda M Hulme

Published in PDF format 2018

ISBN 978-0-9927257-2-3

DOI 10.14296/718.9780992725723

Institute of English Studies
School of Advanced Study
University of London
Senate House
Malet Street
London WC1E 7HU

www.ies.sas.ac.uk

Cover image: Shakespeare's First Folio title page (Boston Public Library, Rare Books Department)

University of London

The Hilda Hulme Memorial Lecture 1987

Shakespeare and Revision

Dr Stanley Wells

Chairman: Professor Richard Proudfoot

Chairman's Introduction

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. It's my privilege and my pleasure this evening to introduce Dr Stanley Wells, who is to deliver the second of the annual lectures in memory of Dr Hilda Hulme which have so generously been established and endowed by her husband, Dr Aslam. Last year, introducing the lecturer, Professor Harold Jenkins paid tribute to the long career of Dr Hulme in the English Department of University College London from the point of view of a friend and colleague. Alas, I met Dr Hulme only once and only momentarily at one of the biennial international Shakespeare conferences at Stratford-upon-Avon, which were for many years organized by Dr Wells on behalf of the Shakespeare Institute of the University of Birmingham. But though I didn't know Dr Hulme, I, like anyone seriously concerned with the editing of Shakespeare, can echo Professor Jenkins' enthusiasm for her book *Explorations in Shakespeare's Language*. In my early years at King's, faced with the job of teaching set plays for the BA Paper on Shakespeare, I soon learned to value it as an unfailing source of fresh insights and an inexhaustible fund of erudite and stimulating comment on those aspects of Shakespeare's idiom and usage that other commentators could not reach.

Today, like last year, the subject of the lecture recalls Dr Hulme's work on Shakespeare, rather than her wide-ranging interest in other periods of the English language and English literature. Our lecturer is himself a graduate of the department in which she taught. Like her, he is a Shakespeare scholar whose authority derives from many years of close contact with his author, as editor, as teacher, as literary critic, as theatrical reviewer, and as a tireless supervisor of the work of other students and scholars in the field, most recently in his role as editor of *Shakespeare Survey*. Last year, the publication of the New Complete Oxford Shakespeare, both in modernized and in old spelling form, brought to fruition his work as the third editor-in-chief of a project launched in the early years of this century by R.B. McKerrow and continued by Alice Walker after the Second World War. Neither of his predecessors lived to see any of their

editions in print and neither succeeded in bringing the task to completion. Characteristically, Dr Wells reconsidered the undertaking from the ground up, learning from his predecessors then beginning work again from scratch. As characteristically, he and his team of associate editors completed in a mere eight years what is probably the most radical attempt to re-edit Shakespeare since the eighteenth century.

Before his move to Oxford in 1978, Stanley Wells was for many years a member of the Shakespeare Institute of the University of Birmingham, first as a graduate student, then as Fellow, Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, and Reader in English. As resident representative of the Shakespeare Institute at Stratford-upon-Avon in the 1960s and 1970s, he was active in organizing many international conferences and many summer schools on Shakespeare. He was also a tireless spectator of the productions presented by the Royal Shakespeare Company, experience which everywhere informs his work as an editor, and which led to his fascinating study of four of these productions published in 1978 as *Royal Shakespeare*. With the completion of his work at Oxford, where he has held a Senior Research Fellowship at Balliol College, he is to return next spring to the University of Birmingham as Director of the Shakespeare Institute and Professor of Shakespeare Studies. As an unusually experienced editor of Shakespeare and a fine critic of the plays in performance, Dr Wells has done much to reassess the nature of the texts preserved in the earliest editions of these plays. He's also done as much, probably indeed more, to re-examine the assumptions underlying modern scholarly editing of Shakespeare. The textual companion to the Oxford edition is eagerly awaited, but students of Shakespeare's text have already been given much food for thought by his contributions to other published studies ancillary to the edition, among them *Modernizing Shakespeare's Spelling, Re-editing Shakespeare for the Modem Reader,* and *The Division of the Kingdoms*. The last of these, a collection of essays on the two early texts of *King Lear*, for which Dr Wells wrote the introductory chapter, urged an increasingly canvassed hypothesis about *King Lear* which is regarded by many traditional Shakespearians as heresy, while representing for others a blow for freedom from the restrictive orthodoxy of half a century or more of editorial theory. That hypothesis is again Dr Wells' subject this evening. It is that Shakespeare, for all his colleagues' claim that he never blotted line, can be seen on the evidence of the surviving texts of his plays as a writer much given to second thoughts. I shall stand no longer between you and Dr Wells, but now call on him to deliver the second annual Hilda Hulme Memorial Lecture on 'Shakespeare and Revision'.

Shakespeare and Revision

I AM, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, highly conscious of the honour of being invited to give the second Hilda Hulme Memorial Lecture. Although Hilda Hulme was not my personal tutor – in those years of postwar austerity when universities could nevertheless still afford to give their students personal tutors – I benefitted greatly from her class teaching as an undergraduate, and, like many others, I have made frequent use of her book *Explorations in Shakespeare's Language* ever since its publication in 1962. Her influence lives on; only a few weeks ago I was touched to read the tribute paid to her in a newly published book, *Shakespeare against Apartheid* (1987), by a South African scholar, Martin Orkin, who writes: '1 owe whatever care I may have in the study of the Shakespeare text to the late Hilda M. Hulme, whose example as scholar and teacher I can never hope to emulate but will always take as a source of inspiration.' Orkin goes on to offer thanks also to Winifred Nowottny, who died earlier this year; she was of course a longstanding friend and colleague of Hilda Hulme, and one to whom I have deep cause to be grateful. I hope I may, on this occasion, be permitted to offer joint tribute to these two brilliant and inspiring ladies.

The theme of my lecture today derives from my experience in working on the recently published Oxford edition of Shakespeare's complete works.[1] The most original, and also the most controversial, feature of this edition is its acceptance of the hypothesis that Shakespeare revised some of his plays, that revision sometimes calls for both omission and addition, and that a revised, theatrical version, even if it is shortened, has more authority than a longer, unrevised version that is closer to Shakespeare's original conception. This is, in other words, an edition that sees Shakespeare above all as a man of the theatre, and that, where choice exists, presents 'socialized' theatre texts rather than more literary ones that had not yet been exposed in the theatrical arena.

[1] *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works,* General Editors Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford, 1986). Quotations and references are to this edition.

I want to say something about the thinking behind this decision, and about its scholarly, critical, and theatrical consequences.

The hypothesis that Shakespeare revised his plays is neither new nor, I think, surprising, even apart from the fact that Ben Jonson, praising the 'art' with which Shakespeare shaped 'nature', had said that 'he | Who casts to write a living line must sweat . . . and strike the second heat | Upon the muses' anvil'.[2] Let us look briefly at some of the facts that gave rise to it. It is necessary first to recall that our evidence as to what Shakespeare wrote derives from printed texts, that about half of his plays were first printed, mostly during his lifetime, in the flimsy format of the quarto, and that his complete plays were gathered together by his colleagues in the magnificent First Folio published in 1623, seven years after he died. Some of these quartos have long been regarded as reported texts or memorial reconstructions, and (except in the much disputed case of *King Lear*) I share this view of them. The remainder give us the only surviving substantive texts of about half of Shakespeare's plays. Even a single text can provide evidence of revision. For example, the quarto of *Love's Labour's Lost* accidentally includes, as everyone agrees, both Shakespeare's first shot at an important passage – Biron's lines beginning 'From women's eyes this doctrine I derive' – and his second, more polished stab at it.[3] Similarly, the first quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* to be printed from Shakespeare's manuscript includes two variant versions of the four lines beginning 'The grey-eyed morn smiles on the frowning night', one version ascribed to Romeo, the other to the Friar (2.2.1–4). These passages alone, even if we had only a single text of each play, would be enough to show that Shakespeare – like the rest of us – sometimes made a false start and went back to improve on it.

More interesting, of course, are differences between the text of a single play as printed first in quarto and then in Folio. In some cases these are slight. For example, the Folio texts of *Romeo and Juliet, Much Ado about Nothing,* and *The Merchant of Venice* seem clearly to have been printed from a copy of a quarto with very few conscious changes. Even in these plays there is reason to believe that the compilers of the Folio arranged for the quarto to be compared with the theatre's prompt-book, and that changes, mostly in stage directions, were made as a result. For certain other plays, the differences between quarto and Folio are more substantial while still not enough to suggest extensive revision. The Folio's reprint of the (third) quarto of *Titus Andronicus* includes an entire scene – the 'fly' scene (3.2) – that is absent from the quarto. Of course, it could have been

[2] Ben Jonson, 'To the memory of my beloved . . .' (lines prefaced to the First Folio), in Shakespeare, *The Complete Works,* pp. xliii–xliv, ll. 57–61.

[3] See *Love's Labour's Lost,* Additional Passage A.

written at the same time as the rest of the play and omitted, for some unknown reason, in the printing, but a more likely explanation is that it was added after the initial act of composition. Addition is a form of revision. The Folio version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* does not differ greatly in dialogue from the quarto, but there are some changes that look like theatrical revision. An entire speech of 17 lines spoken by Theseus in the quarto is divided up between him and Lysander in the Folio (5.1.44–60); and in the last act, in which this speech occurs, the role of Philostrate in the quarto is transferred to Egeus in the Folio. These are certainly revisions; but they could have been made as a result of theatrical exigencies, and they could have been made by someone other than Shakespeare, even against his wishes. Most editors follow the quarto, because that is closest to Shakespeare's original manuscript; the Oxford edition follows the Folio, because it seems closest to the play as performed, and thus, we would argue, to its final form.

But of course the most interesting, and the most difficult, cases are those where there are really substantial differences throughout the play between the quarto and the Folio. There are, for example, about 500 verbal differences between the quarto and Folio texts of *Troilus and Cressida*; the Prologue is present only in the Folio. The Folio text of *Hamlet* includes about 80 lines that are not in the quarto but omits about 230 lines (including Hamlet's last soliloquy) that are; and there are hundreds of verbal variants. The Folio text of *Othello* adds about 160 lines (including Desdemona's 'willow' song) that are not in the quarto, and there are over 1,000 other verbal variants. The most radical differences occur in *King Lear.* The 1608 quarto lacks over 100 lines that are in the Folio, the Folio lacks close on 300 lines (including a complete scene) that are in the quarto, there are over 850 other verbal variants, several speeches are assigned to different speakers, and the conduct of the action differs in the two texts. These facts have been known for a long time. As early as 1630 the printer of a reprint of a quarto of *Othello* added the passages found only in the Folio, and made other changes to bring it closer to the Folio. But unfortunately he did not offer any explanation of why the differences existed in the first place.

Basically, two explanations have prevailed. The less popular has been the hypothesis that the first edition of each play represents it, more or less accurately, at one stage in its evolution from conception to performance, and that the Folio represents it, also more or less accurately, at a different stage. This is the revisionist position. Thus, for example, it is generally agreed that the 1604 quarto of *Hamlet* derives from Shakespeare's own manuscript written before the play had been performed. The revisionist explanation of the many differences to be found in the Folio is that that text had been amended to bring

it into conformity with the prompt-book of the play as performed, and that the performance text incorporated changes made by Shakespeare and his fellows after the initial act of composition.

The second, and more prevalent, basic explanation for the many discrepancies between certain quarto and Folio texts is that each of the variant texts derives from a lost archetype variously misrepresented by the surviving printed versions, and that this lost archetype can be hypothetically reconstructed by conflating the variant versions and adding to one passages that are only in the other, and making a choice between the local variants in passages that are common to both texts.

In the history of Shakespearian editing, the second explanation – what we might call the conflationist position – has been dominant. Its influence dates from the early eighteenth century. Before then, the only collected editions of Shakespeare's plays were the first Folio and its three reprints, the last dating from 1685, although of course a number of plays existed in quarto. The first of Shakespeare's named editors, Nicholas Rowe, based his edition of 1709 on the fourth Folio, making little use of the quartos; the process of conflation, begun in 1725 by Alexander Pope, was continued and extended by Lewis Theobald in his edition of 1733, providing essentially the standard texts of plays such as *Hamlet* and *King Lear* that were to endure until 1986, and that will no doubt continue to be reprinted and to exert their influence for many years to come. But it is worth insisting that the standard, conflated texts of some of Shakespeare's greatest plays, the texts that we have all grown up on, did not come into existence until 1733, and that when they did, they were the product of a process of haphazard accretion with no agreement on a textual theory which would satisfactorily explain the difference between the quarto and the Folio texts in which up to then the plays had been current.

The conflationist position has, I said, been dominant. The assumptions on which it is based are stated by, for example, Harold Jenkins in his 1982 Arden edition of *Hamlet:* 'There has been too much irresponsible conjecture about Shakespeare's supposed revisions of supposed earlier attempts. My conception of Shakespeare is of a supremely inventive poet who had no call to rework his previous plays when he could always move on to a new one' (p. 5).

There has, nevertheless, been an undercurrent of opposition tending to support the alternative, revisionist hypothesis. Dr Johnson took it for granted that revision can be discerned in Shakespeare's texts. *Richard II* is, he says, 'one of those [plays] which Shakespeare has apparently revised'; writing of lines found in the Folio but not in the quarto, he delivers himself of the resounding axiom 'Nothing is more frequent among dramatick writers, than to shorten

their dialogues for the stage'. He believed that the Folio text of *King Lear* was 'printed from Shakespeare's last revision, carelessly and hastily performed, with more thought of shortening the scenes, than of continuing the action'. And in *Hamlet,* he ascribes a verbal variant regarded by the Arden editor as a compositorial corruption to authorial revision, declaring categorically '1 believe both the words were Shakespeare's'.[4] Similar views have continued to be expressed from time to time. In the nineteenth century, for instance, Charles Knight believed in the independent integrity of the quarto and the Folio texts of *King Lear*[5] and this view resurfaced interestingly in the Preface that Harley Granville Barker, a man of the theatre who was also a scholar, wrote to *King Lear* in 1927. Like other critics before and after him, Barker was not entirely happy about *King Lear,* at least in the traditionally conflated text. He was highly critical of Act Four Scene Three (in which an anonymous Gentleman tells Kent of Cordelia's reaction to news of her father's sad plight), regarding it as 'a carpentered scene if ever there was one', and he declared that it was one that he 'could better believe that Shakespeare cut . . . than wrote'.[6] (This scene, incidentally, found only in the quarto, is also criticized by Maynard Mack in his book *King Lear in Our Time*; Mack says that in it 'Kent and a Gentleman . . . wrap Cordelia in a mantle of emblematic speech that is usually lost on a modern audience's ear and difficult for a modern actor to speak with conviction'.)[7] Granville Barker, in his characteristically thoughtful way, confronts the practice of conflation with a healthy scepticism, commenting that:

> the producer is confronted by the problem of the three hundred lines, or nearly, that the Quartos give and that the Folio omits, and of the hundred given by the Folio and omitted from the Quartos. Editors, considering only, it would seem, that the more Shakespeare we get the better, bring practically the whole lot into the play we read. But a producer must ask himself whether these two versions do not come from different prompt books, and whether the Folio does not, in both cuts and additions, sometimes

[4] *Johnson on Shakespeare,* ed. Arthur Sherbo, vols, vii and viii (1968) of The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson, pp. 452, 432, 668, 1002.

[5] *The Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakespeare,* ed. Charles Knight, 8 vols. (11839–11843), vi. 392.

[6] *Prefaces to Shakespeare* (1927; two-volume edition, 1958), i. 332.

[7] *'King Lear' in Our Time* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965), p. 9.

> represent Shakespeare's own second thoughts … Where Quarto and Folio offer alternatives, to adopt both versions may make for redundancy or confusion.[8]

Here is a man who, like Shakespeare, was both a man of the theatre and a playwright, declaring his belief that we may do Shakespeare a disservice by reading and performing *King Lear* in a conflated text. But he was a prophet before his time; nor, of course, was his a voice that textual scholars were particularly likely to heed. In fact, at around the time Granville Barker was writing, the best textual scholars were putting their efforts into quelling the worst extremes of the revisionist position, committed by men such as F.G. Fleay, J.M. Robertson, and J.D. Wilson, who believed that they could discern within single texts ascribed to Shakespeare layer upon layer of revision, some of it by Shakespeare, some by other writers. Here, for instance, is Dover Wilson on *All's Well that Ends Well,* a single-text play printed only in the Folio: the play is, he says, 'the product of a Jacobean revision (*c.* 1605) of an Elizabethan play perhaps by Shakespeare but if so probably containing pre-Shakespearian elements, and . . . this revision was undertaken by Shakespeare and a collaborator, the bulk of the work devolving upon the latter who was indeed left to carry out the final shaping of the play and to finish off many scenes begun by his great fellow-worker'.[9] Only clairvoyance, we may reasonably feel, could account for so complex an analysis of layers of composition. That is the kind of thing that E.K. Chambers had attacked in his British Academy lecture, 'The Disintegration of Shakespeare', in 1924, and that led him in 1930 to declare his belief 'that the great majority of plays are Shakespeare's from beginning to end, and that, broadly speaking, when he had once written them, he left them alone'[10]

Chambers's reaction against the worst excesses of revisionism is understandable, even if it went too far. In its essential conservatism it aligned him with the chief proponents of the New Bibliography – scholars such as McKerrow, Pollard, and Greg, all of whom supported the conflationist cause – or who at least did not speak out against it. The most influential of these as an editorial theorist was Greg, and he was willing at least to contemplate the possibility that variants between the texts that have come down to us, such as the quarto and the Folio versions of *Othello* and *Troilus and Cressida,* may have been the consequence of authorial second thoughts. But as we can see

[8] Prefaces to Shakespeare, *i. 328–9.*

[9] *All's Well that Ends Well,* ed. J. Dover Wilson (Cambridge, 1929, repr. 1955), p. 113.

[10] E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1930), i. 235.

now with hindsight, the most significant, indeed seminal, opposition to the conflationist position came in two works published during the 1960s. One is E.A.J. Honigmann's book *The Stability of Shakespeare's Text,* of 1965, in which he is concerned primarily with verbal rather than with structural variation. One of the most interesting facets of this book lies in its demonstration from manuscripts of various periods that writers transcribing their own work frequently make minor changes – substitutions, transpositions, and the like – of an indifferent rather than a substantive nature. Two aspects of this are of particular importance to the revisionist theory. One is the demonstration that authorial variants may be of exactly the same kind as scribal or compositorial variants: in other words, variants which conflationist editors have ascribed to corruption may represent the author in two states of mind about his own work. Take for example a sentence of Hamlet's in the 'closet' scene (3.4); the 1604 Quarto reads:

> heauens face dooes glowe
> Ore this solidity and compound masse
> With heated visage, as against the doome
> Is thought sick at the act

but the Folio has:

> Heauens face doth glow,
> Yea this solidity and compound masse,
> With tristfull visage as against the doome,
> Is thought-sicke at the act.

Both versions make adequate sense; the Oxford editor notes that the Folio 'has all the appearance of an authorial revision made to clear up what is something of a tangle in Q2';[11] but the Arden editor, faced with what he regards as a superior variant in the Folio, explains away the Quarto reading as a 'compositorial stopgap'. 'Hence', he declares, 'it is unnecessary to indulge in the fancy of Shakespearian revision in order to accept *tristful* as Shakespeare's word, or to suppose that F's preferred variants give us his second instead of his first thoughts' (p. 60). This editor clearly has set his face against the revisionist position with implacable hostility; yet Honigmann's work had shown that it is not necessarily fanciful to suppose that such a pair of variants may derive from the author.

[11] G.R. Hibbard, ed., *Hamlet* (Oxford, 1987), note to 3.4.49–52. Compare Johnson: 'The word "heated", though it agrees well enough with "glow", is, I think, not so striking as "tristful", which was, I suppose, chosen at the revisal' (ed. cit., viii. 990).

The second important aspect of Honigmann's work on authorial variants is in a sense a function of the first: it is that revision is not necessarily heavily considered, the result of a thoroughgoing desire to refashion a work in order to create fundamental differences from that on which it is based, but that it may, at least in some of its manifestations, be as it were rather the result of a different play of fancy over the surface, even of a kind of grand indifference on the author's part to what he had originally written, the sort of cavalier attitude to transcription that, deplorable in a scribe, is permissible only in an author. If we recognize this as an aspect of revision, and one that was very prevalent in Shakespeare, we shall, I suggest, find it much easier to accept that the hypothesis of 'revision' may be not merely a 'fancy', while also acknowledging that it is not entirely surprising that editors have been so slow to recognize revision in Shakespeare. If the differences had been greater, they would have been more conspicuous, less easy to explain away on other hypotheses. So it is not reasonable to complain that if revision were truly present, it would have been recognized long ago.

The other seminal work of the 1960s was contained in Nevill Coghill's book *Shakespeare's Professional Skills,* published in 1964 but first given (in unrevised form) as the Clark Lectures for 1959. Honigmann (writing before Coghill's work appeared) was concerned with 'the possibilities of authorial "second thoughts" *before* [a play's] delivery to the actors'.[12] Coghill, in a chapter called 'Revision after Performance', argues that the quarto text of *Othello* represents the text as first performed and that the Folio gives us a post-performance revision. Coghill creates an interesting scenario to account for the Folio variations:

> During rehearsal, or [in] performance, or possibly in retrospect, Shakespeare noted certain confusions and weaknesses in the play and began to think of ways in which they could be eliminated – by giving a new speech to Roderigo here and another to Emilia there, a kneel and a song to Desdemona, and so on. But he did nothing about it, having no compelling occasion to undertake a revision. After all, he had *King Lear* and *Macbeth* coming over his horizon. ... Then came the Act against profanity of 1606 and, perhaps, not long after it, a revival of *Othello*. ... If the play was to be revived, it had to be purged of its fifty-two profanities, some of which would leave gaps in the dialogue that an underling could not be trusted to fill in. So Shakespeare sat down to

[12] E.A.J. Honigmann, *The Stability of Shakespeare's Text* (1965), p. 2.

> purge and improve the play in ways he had for some time occasionally meditated ... With characteristic rapidity he set to work, relying partly on a fluent memory and making many light and cursive alterations as he went along, as well as the more radical ones we have noted ...[13]

This is, of course, a speculative scenario; but it is not, it seems to me, wholly implausible.

Coghill stated his awareness that his conclusion was 'directly contrary to the most recent findings of textual criticism' (p. 164). Honigmann says that, although 'All the experts of the last few decades ... have agreed that there are "second thoughts" in Shakespeare', 'the serious editorial implications of "second thoughts" ... remain to be thrashed out' (p. 151). The revisionist groundswell was growing in force, but it was only as a result of work undertaken on the text of *King Lear* during the 1970s that it finally broke surface into editorial practice. The bibliographical breakthrough came in Peter Blayney's monumental study of the first quarto of *Lear*,[14] a superb piece of scholarship which demonstrates the likelihood, some would say the certainty, that the quarto represents a badly printed text prepared from Shakespeare's own papers, not a text that is itself corrupt in its origins. Critics of the two-text theory of *King Lear* have too often failed to take note of its bibliographical basis, no doubt because it is highly complex. But the fact is that if you accept the demonstration that the quarto is based on foul papers, it becomes virtually impossible to argue that the quarto and the Folio texts both imperfectly represent a single, lost archetype; the differences are too great. And if you take up the revisionist position on *King Lear,* you are likely to take it up on the other multiple-text plays, too. The shift of opinion that has occurred is neatly illustrated by three different editions of *Hamlet* that have appeared within the last five years. I have cited the Arden editor's views about the fancy of authorial revision: that was in 1982. Three years later appeared the New Cambridge edition; its editor ascribes verbal variants to 'a scribe with a cavalier indifference to the ethic of fidelity to one's copy' who 'did untold damage by casualness and rash improvement', but accepts that Shakespeare intended passages to be cut.[15] As if unwilling to believe that Shakespeare might have been influenced by what happened in the theatrical arena, he posits that the cuts were already marked in the foul papers that formed the basis of the 1604 quarto, but that the compositors

[13] Nevill Coghill, *Shakespeare's Professional Skills* (Cambridge, 1964), p. 201.

[14] Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Texts of 'King Lear' and their Origins,* vol. i (Cambridge, 1982).

[15] Philip Edwards, ed., *Hamlet* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 30.

culpably ignored or absentmindedly overlooked them, 'so that the second quarto – and consequently the received text of *Hamlet* – preserves much that Shakespeare had himself discarded'. He admits that changes made in the Folio 'can be considered as a multiple change of fundamental importance for the meaning of the play', and that 'it is possible that the responsibility for these late changes was Shakespeare's'. He states his belief that 'there was a point when Shakespeare had made many alterations to his play, mostly reflected in cutting rather than adding material', and that 'it is at this point that we should arrest and freeze the play ...' The logical editorial consequence of this would be to omit the hypothetically cut passages from the edited text. Yet the editor does not do so because, he admits, 'it is not always possible ... to have the courage of one's convictions. To present readers with a lean and spare *Hamlet* lacking the "dram of eale" speech and the soliloquy "How all occasions do inform against me" might seem arrogance and eccentricity'. So he presents a conflated text, while marking 'all the second quarto passages which are cut in the Folio within square brackets' (pp. 30–32). The shift of opinion was completed in the texts of *Hamlet* (not identical in every respect) printed in 1986 in the Complete Oxford Shakespeare and in 1987 in the annotated Oxford Shakespeare edition prepared by G.R. Hibbard, in both of which the editors act on their convictions, a course of action for which they have indeed been accused of arrogance and eccentricity.

I have of necessity given only a simplified sketch of a complex matter, but I am sure I have said enough to show that it *is* complex, that the truth is hard to discern, that textual critics have laboured hard and in good faith, influenced inevitably by presuppositions which will have affected them subconsciously as well as consciously. The two points of view that I have identified reflect differing concepts of the author in relation to his work. Those who adhere to the theory of conflation are, on the whole, those who conceive of a dramatic author writing primarily as a literary artist, and writing scripts that inevitably undergo corruption by being performed. Consider, for example, the New Cambridge editor's conception of the evolution of *Hamlet*–.

> I believe there was a point when Shakespeare had made many alterations to his play, mostly reflected in cutting rather than adding material, some of which he may have made after preliminary discussions with his colleagues among the Chamberlain's men. The play then became the property of these colleagues who began to prepare it for the stage. At this point what one can only call degeneration began, and it is at this point that we should arrest and freeze the play, for it is

> sadly true that the nearer we get to the stage, the further we are getting from Shakespeare (pp. 31–32).

The revisionist position, on the other hand, sees Shakespeare as a playwright who was so closely involved with the production process that he would not have regarded a play as complete until it had reached performance. A revisionist would see several questionable assumptions in the statement about *Hamlet* that I have just quoted. One is the idea that there was a point at which the play ceased to be Shakespeare's property because it had been handed over to be prepared for the stage. In the first place, Shakespeare was not just a playwright – or theatre poet – whose function was restricted simply to the provision of scripts. He was one of the leading shareholders in his company, and an actor; he was probably the director of his own plays, in so far as plays were 'directed' in his time. He was, if you like, the W.S. Gilbert, the Noël Coward, the Benjamin Britten, the Alan Ayckbourn of his day, an artist who was deeply concerned in the process of putting his works on the stage; when they got there they remained his property as much as that of his colleagues. Secondly, the idea that it was Shakespeare's colleagues who would 'begin to prepare [his play] for the stage' seems to imply that it was somehow not intended for the stage all along. The stage was Shakespeare's means of expression, the place where his plays reached fulfilment; all his writing was directed towards performance, was, in other words, from the moment he set pen to paper, a way of creating something for the stage. Of course, the script would undergo changes during rehearsal, but it seems to me quite deplorable to regard these changes as of necessity a process of 'degeneration'. If it is true, as the editor says, that 'the nearer we get to the stage, the further we are getting from Shakespeare', then Shakespeare has failed – failed as a writer and as a member of a theatre company. Of course, a pre-performance script will bring us closer to Shakespeare's original concept of the play than a performance script, and of course such a pre-performance script would have its own unique interest and value; certainly we should be interested in both scripts (and any intervening ones) if we could retrieve them; but, given Shakespeare's known involvement with the company that put on his plays, it seems to me a betrayal to describe the process by which the script reached its theatrical fulfilment, by which the dramatist's intentions were translated into actions, as one of 'degeneration'.

In saying this I have made clear what I regard as the assumptions lying behind the revisionist stance. Basically, they are simply that a playwright's prime allegiance is to the theatre, that he is consequently one of a team, because he cannot achieve performance, or even finally shape his script into a

performable document, without the collaboration of his performers, and that therefore a script on which the dramatist has worked along with performers with whom he is closely involved provides better evidence of his intentions as a dramatist, as well as of the dramatic event itself, than a script before it has been put into rehearsal.

There is, of course, an interesting corollary to this. If, in preparing his plays for performance, Shakespeare had had different collaborators – if, for example, the Admiral's Men had invited him to direct them, too, in *Hamlet* – then the performance script would probably have been different from the one that evolved from his work with the Chamberlain's Men, just as Edward Alleyn's performance of Hamlet would have differed from Burbage's. It is possible that the Shakespeare who conceived *Hamlet,* who wrote the text preserved in the 1604 quarto, would have regretted some of the changes that he accepted when the play was put into performance. Some of the changes he might have regarded as improvements; but others might have been made simply because of the inadequacy of his actors, or because of technical problems. We cannot say for certain that Hamlet's last soliloquy was cut simply because the play seemed, in an abstract sense, better without it, or that Shakespeare came to regard 4.3 of *King Lear* with as much distaste as Granville Barker and Maynard Mack have expressed for it. The revisionist, then, would be foolish if he considered that a text revised as a result of the rehearsal process should totally supplant the unrevised text. Both represent the play at different stages of its evolution. Each has its unique interest and value, as have all the other evolutionary stages through which the text is metamorphosed in revival after revival, adaptation after adaptation, and performance after performance. For some critics, each of these texts has equal value; for most of us, those for which the author was to any degree responsible are more interesting than the others.

These views are reflected in the Oxford edition of Shakespeare, and I believe that they will increasingly come to be reflected in other editions, too. Readers are going to be faced with a choice, and it is desirable that they should be made aware what are the implications of their choice. The revisionist regards standard texts of certain plays as the result of a corrupting process, the process of conflation that was haphazardly embarked upon by Alexander Pope and more or less completed by Pope's despised Theobald, and that has been acted upon, in spite of an increasingly troubled opposition, by generations of succeeding editors. The revisionist believes that conflation should be undone, the texts should be disentangled; and this has been done in the Oxford edition. We believe that the texts of, for instance, *Hamlet, Othello,* and *King Lear* acted in Shakespeare's theatre are best represented by the Folio, and that a modern reader

will come closest to the theatrical experience of Shakespeare's contemporaries if he reads an edited version of the Folio text. Each play has interestingly diverse features. The revised *Othello,* for example, makes no substantial cuts; revision was effected mainly by verbal changes and added passages. So what we offer here is simply a more purely Folio-based text than readers are accustomed to. The revised *Hamlet* cuts over 200 lines; these we print as Additional Passages. We could, of course, have incorporated them into the body of the text, while marking them as optional cuts, like the New Cambridge editor; but to my mind this is cheating. (And, to his credit, the New Cambridge editor thinks so too.) But we do not eliminate them altogether because the reader, it seems to me, should have the cut passages present before him. No one suggests that they are not by Shakespeare, or that they are inferior in themselves: only that in performance the play was preferred without them. A possible alternative, and one that we have adopted for *King Lear,* is to print two versions of the play, one based on the quarto, the other on the Folio. We did this for *King Lear* because the variants in this play are both more numerous and more substantial than those in the other plays, and seemed to us to amount to such a shift in the overall presentation of the action as to create, in effect, two separate plays. The Folio's cuts, amounting to some 300 lines, include the dialogue in which the Fool implicitly calls his master a fool (4,136–51) – possibly the result of censorship on behalf of 'the greatest fool in Christendom'; Kent's account of the French invasion of England (8,27–33); Lear's mock trial, in his madness, of his daughters (13,13–52); Edgar's generalizing couplets at the end of that scene beginning:

> When we our betters see bearing our woes,
> We scarcely think our miseries our foes;

the brief, compassionate dialogue of two of Gloucester's servants after his blinding (14,97–106); parts of Albany's protest to Goneril about the sisters' treatment of Lear (Sc. 16); the entire scene (as I have mentioned) in which a Gentleman tells Kent of Cordelia's grief on hearing of her father's condition (Sc. 17); the presence of the doctor and the musical accompaniment to the reunion of Lear and Cordelia (Sc. 21); and Edgar's account of his meeting with Kent in which Kent's 'strings of life Began to crack' (24,210–18). Obviously if you take away these and other passages you are altering the balance of the play, and this is still further affected by the addition in the Folio of about 100 lines that are not in the quarto, mostly in short passages, including Kent's statement that Albany and Cornwall have servants who are in the pay of France (3.1,13–20), Merlin's prophecy spoken by the Fool at the end of 3.2,

and the last lines of both the Fool and Lear. Moreover, several speeches are differently assigned.

I should like to offer a specific example of a passage in which alterations are numerous and significant enough to be interesting, and I have chosen the last lines of the play, as edited first from the quarto, then from the Folio.[16] Here is the quarto:

LEAR And my poor fool is hanged. No, no life.
Why should a dog, a horse, a rat have life,
And thou no breath at all? O, thou wilt come no more.
Never, never, never. – Pray you, undo
This button. Thank you, sir. O, O, O, O!

EDGAR He faints. (*To Lear)* My lord, my lord!

LEAR Break, heart, I prithee break.

EDGAR Look up, my lord.

KENT Vex not his ghost. O, let him pass. He hates him
That would upon the rack of this tough world
Stretch him out longer.

Lear dies

EDGAR O, he is gone indeed.

KENT The wonder is he hath endured so long.
He but usurped his life.

ALBANY (*to attendants*)

Bear them from hence. Our present business
Is to general woe. (*To Kent and Edgar*) Friends of my soul, you twain
Rule in this kingdom, and the gored state sustain.

KENT I have a journey, sir, shortly to go:
My master calls, and I must not say no.

[16] In the lecture as delivered, these passages were performed in a recording specially, and generously, made by Tony Church with students of the Guildhall School of Drama.

ALBANY The weight of this sad time we must obey,
Speak what we feel, not what we ought to say.
The oldest hath borne most. We that are young
Shall never see so much, nor live so long.

Exeunt carrying the bodies

Now, here is the Folio:

LEAR And my poor fool is hanged. No, no, no life?
Why should a dog, a horse, a rat have life,
And thou no breath at all? Thou'lt come no more.
Never, never, never, never, never.
[*To Kent*] Pray you, undo this button.
Thank you, sir.
Do you see this? Look on her. Look, her lips.
Look there, look there. *He dies*

EDGAR He faints. (*To Lear*) My lord, my lord!

KENT [to Lear]
Break, heart, I prithee break.

EDGAR [*to Lear*] Look up, my lord.

KENT Vex not his ghost O, let him pass. He hates him
That would upon the rack of this tough world
Stretch him out longer.

EDGAR He is gone indeed.

KENT The wonder is he hath endured so long.
He but usurped his life.

ALBANY Bear them from hence. Our present business
Is general woe. (*To Edgar and Kent*) Friends of my soul, you twain
Rule in this realm, and the gored state sustain.

KENT I have a journey, sir, shortly to go:
My master calls me; I must not say no.

EDGAR The weight of this sad time we must obey,
Speak what we feel, not what we ought to say.
The oldest hath borne most. We that are young
Shall never see so much, nor live so long.

Exeunt with a dead march, carrying the bodies

That comparatively short passage provides examples of a number of the different kinds of changes that may be found elsewhere in two-text plays. There are minor verbal variants, such as 'No, no life' and 'No, no, no life' and 'My master calls' 'My master calls me'. And one of these changes, minor in itself, nevertheless results in what has become one of the most famous lines in drama, Lear's five (instead of three) repetitions of the word 'never', resulting in a pentameter line in which every foot is reversed. There are no significant omissions here, except perhaps Lear's 'O, O, O, O', presumably representing an extended sigh, but there is a crucially important addition, Lear's:

Do you see this? Look on her. Look, her lips.
Look there, look there.

I don't need to say that these are lines to which critics have attached great weight, and which have been variously interpreted; many critical articles are based purely on these lines alone, and until recently few of them observed that the lines are present in only one of the play's two surviving texts. There are two important reassignments of speech. In the quarto, Lear calls on his own heart to break; in the Folio, Kent performs this office for him. And the play's closing lines are moved from Albany in the quarto to Edgar in the Folio. One of the commonest differences between pre- and post-performance tests is that the latter are more generous in their provision of music cues; so here, while the quarto as originally printed has no closing stage direction, the Folio provides for a final '*Exeunt with a dead march*'.

I hope that merely a comparison of these two different versions of between 20 and 25 lines will in itself be enough to suggest that the former is scarcely likely to be an accidental misrepresentation of the latter, or of some ghostly archetype that hovers behind both of them. And I hope too that it will suggest that there is real interest to be derived from a comparison of the two different versions. I can't, here, attempt a thorough overall description and analysis of the variations from quarto to Folio, and of their effect on the play, which of course

is to some extent a matter of speculation and of interpretation. Certainly they streamline the play's action, removing some reflective passages, particularly at the ends of scenes. They affect the characterization of, especially, Kent, Edgar, and Albany, partly through significant differences in the play's closing passages; as Michael Warren puts it:

> In Q, Edgar remains an immature young man and ends the play devastated by his experience, while Albany stands as the modest, diffident, but strong and morally upright man. In F Edgar grows into a potential ruler, a well-intentioned, resolute man in a harsh world, while Albany, a weaker man, abdicates his responsibilities. In neither text is the prospect for the country a matter of great optimism, but the vision seems bleaker and darker in F, where the young Edgar, inexperienced in rule, faces the future with little support.[17]

Structurally the principal differences lie in the presentation of the military actions in the later part of the play. In the Folio Cordelia is more clearly in charge of the forces that come to Lear's assistance, and they are less clearly a French invasion force.

If we believe in the revision theory, we must believe that the Folio represents the later, performed state of the play, and we might have chosen to print in the Complete Oxford Shakespeare simply a Folio-based text, as we did with, for instance, *Hamlet* and *Othello*, but it seemed to us that the cumulative differences between the two texts were so great, and so interesting, that it was proper to provide a quarto-based version as well as one based on the Folio. I feel sure that disentanglement of the two texts, abandonment of the traditional conflation, reveals plays that are clearer and simpler to read than the conflated version, and that give us more accurate impressions of Shakespeare's artistry.

I have said that in the Oxford Complete Works only *King Lear* is presented in two texts, but of course anyone seriously interested in Shakespeare's creative processes, and in the transmutation of the text of a play from a written, pre-performance version to a performed, socialized event will be interested in the double texts of other plays, too. I should very much like to see a volume of quarto-based texts of, at least, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello* that could be used alongside Folio-based editions of these plays. We have given precedence to – privileged, if you prefer the current jargon – the theatre-

[17] Michael Warren, 'Quarto and Folio King Lear and the Interpretation of Albany and Edgar', in *Shakespeare, Pattern of Excelling Nature*, ed. David Bevington and Jay L. Halio (Newark and London, 1978), pp. 95–107; p. 105.

based revisions, and we have ample theoretical justification for doing so in the editorial axiom that a work should be represented in the final form approved by its author. But the pre-performance texts have their own integrity, and, granted the collaborative nature of theatrical creativity, have more than simply the interest of, say, a pre-publication state of a poem in that the pre-performance state of a play may be the only one that gives us the author's own thoughts unaffected by his colleagues (though it should be emphasized that there is ample evidence that Shakespeare, as he wrote, left certain important decisions unresolved, as if conscious that what he wrote would actually benefit from the production process rather than be corrupted by it).

Abandonment of the conflationist position has, then, some important consequences for anyone with a serious interest in Shakespeare's plays. By disentangling texts that have traditionally been conflated, it reveals double-texts which demand to be considered in their own right, not just as sources from which an editor can create a conglomeration of his own preferences. We can now believe, for instance, that in *Othello* Shakespeare made Cassio hope at one time that Othello would 'swiftly come to Desdemona's arms'(Q) and at another time that Othello would 'Make love's quick pants in Desdemona's arms' (F: 2.1,81); and we can believe that when Shakespeare first wrote the play he made Othello say that Desdemona gave him for his pains 'a world of sighs'(Q) and later intensified this into 'a world of kisses' (F: 1.2,158), an alternative that the New Penguin editor, with uncharacteristic prudery, regards as 'obviously impossible'). In other words, we can discover in their context newly Shakespearian passages without having to resurrect them from textual notes in which they have lain rejected. If the thousands of variants in the two-text plays are regarded as equally authentic, then they demand a place in our concordances, and variant syntactical constructions demand equal consideration. As a consequence, our concepts of Shakespeare's vocabulary and his linguistic usages need to be expanded and revised. And of course the revisionist position offers ample, previously unexplored possibilities for the investigation of the re-instated texts and for the comparative study of Shakespeare's artistry. Such studies are already coming into being, especially in relation to *King Lear*. There are, for example, a number of interesting studies of aspects of that play in a volume called *The Division of the Kingdoms* (Oxford, 1983) edited by Gary Taylor and Michael Warren; and if you have been to the National Theatre to see David Hare's production of *King Lear* you will have found in the programme a sensitive short essay by Anne Barton referring to the two versions of the play – an essay which, unfortunately, has clearly not had the slightest effect on the production. The disentanglement of the two texts

of *Hamlet* is, I think, excitingly defended in George Hibbard's recent Oxford edition of the play.

Now, this, you may say, is all very well for scholars, perhaps for university students, but isn't it all too complicated and confusing for non-specialists? The answer, it seems to me, is that, on the contrary, it simplifies the position. There is, after all, no need for anyone to read more than one version of a play. It is perfectly possible to read, for example, the Folio-based text of *Hamlet* printed in the Complete Oxford Shakespeare and to ignore the Additional Passages. You can read one *King Lear* without reading the other; and I am firmly convinced that for this play, particularly, the disentangling process is also one of simplification. Conflation produces two superimposed, somewhat different, images, with a consequent blurring of focus; disentangling produces two plays, each more coherent than the usual editorial distortion. You can choose to read Shakespeare's first or his second thoughts; no one can be expected to read them simultaneously. And I resisted the suggestion that we should print the two texts in parallel, as for example in de Selincourt's edition of the 1805 and 1850 texts of Wordsworth's *Prelude*, precisely because I felt that it should be possible to read *King Lear* for itself alone, undistracted by scholarly alternatives. Of course, a parallel-text edition would also be useful, and I hope one will be provided, but it should not be forced on first-time readers of the play.

A final question is whether, and if so, how, the revisionist position will be reflected in the theatre. Modern theatre directors tend to work in their own way, untrammelled by scholarly considerations. Many of them treat the text of the play as a quarry from which they can hew their own masterpieces, an amorphous mass of raw material which they can rearrange, cut, re-interpret, and even add to at their will. Such directors will, of course, want as much Shakespeare as they can get, so that they can use or ignore it at their will. (Some critics feel the same way.) But there are directors who seem genuinely concerned to translate Shakespeare's original intentions into terms of modern theatre; there is a notable example at the Swan Theatre in Stratford this season (1987) in Deborah Warner's full-text production of *Titus Andronicus*. The forthcoming reconstruction of Shakespeare's Globe on Bankside will be pointless unless those performing in it are concerned to see how the plays work as written. There have already been one or two Folio-based productions of *King Lear*, including one in which Tony Church appeared in Santa Cruz. I don't suggest that the theatre should pedantically attempt to reproduce every detail of staging implied by the original texts, except perhaps in consciously experimental productions. But it would surely be interesting to see a production of *Hamlet* in which the cuts were those that were made in the First Folio: the

unscholarly theatregoer would have nothing to complain about, since the play is usually cut anyway, and the rest of us would have the satisfaction of knowing that we were seeing the play as it was probably given in Shakespeare's own theatre. Even a director uninterested in minor details of the original texts might be attracted by the theory that the revised version of *Troilus and Cressida* ends with Troilus's hope of revenge, not with Pandarus's epilogue.

Although the revisionist position is at last being translated into editorial practice – not only in the Oxford edition, but elsewhere too – opposition to it continues to be felt and expressed. Some of it results – whether consciously or not – from simple lethargy, the feeling that 'Grandpa's Globe edition is the one I've always used, it was good enough for him and my mother, why should I bother to buy a new one. After all, Shakespeare is still Shakespeare, isn't he?' And, of course, this may be linked with a feeling that scholarly fashions, like critical ones, come and go, and it's scarcely worth bothering to revise one's lecture notes and teaching methods every time a new one turns up.

A subtler form of lethargy lies behind Frank Kermode's claim that the conflated *Hamlet* should continue as the standard version because it is '*our*' *Hamlet*, the one that we have grown accustomed to.[18] This is as irrational as it would have been to say to Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt that they should not press for the return of Shakespeare's *Lear* or *Richard III* in place of Nahum Tate's or Colley Cibber's adaptations of these plays in the theatres of their time because the adaptations were what had been acted for over a century. Or, to take a different analogy, it would be as if a musician were to say that we should always hear *Messiah* sung by a choir as large as the Huddersfield Choral Society. Indeed, I sometimes think that the Early Music Movement is considerably in advance of dramatic scholarship and practice in ways from which we could learn. Musicians have shown that they can remain calm and collected in face of the potentially confusing complications of revision and the implications of new discoveries about performance styles in Bach and Handel, Mozart, Verdi, and Stravinsky; and dramatic students might profitably follow their example.

But, as I have implied, opposition to the revisionist stance has a certain basis in reason in that we cannot say with absolute certainty that Shakespeare approved of all the changes in his plays. The verbal variants, if we don't ascribe them to corruption, must in most cases (the major exception is censorship) be ascribed to Shakespeare's own vacillation; to the fact that, like most of us, he was a different person from day to day, even from moment to moment; that in one mood he might say a thing one way and in another mood he might

[18] Frank Kermode, 'How do you spell Shakespeare?'. *London Review of Books*, vol. 9, no. 10 (21 May, 1987), 3–5, p. 5.

say it rather – or very – differently; and that at times he might actively try to improve on what he had previously written. The additions we are most likely to ascribe to a desire to add to what he had already said, or to say it more fully. The crunch comes with the omissions. It is quite possible that some, at least, of these were the result of practical considerations. Whether they were, and if so what exactly these considerations were, is anybody's guess. At one extreme, Burbage might have said that on no account was he going to speak all that complicated and obscure stuff about 'vicious moles of nature' and 'drams of eale' (whatever that might mean), and Shakespeare might have been in a towering rage about it and only given way because it was too late to rehearse anyone else in the part. On the other hand, he might himself have decided that the play was better without these lines. Recognition of the former possibility – that Shakespeare may have disapproved of the cuts – is not, however, solved by anarchic conflationism, in which the editor nervously crams as much as he can into the dramatic structure on the grounds that it is 'safer' to assume that Shakespeare would have wished all he wrote to be acted. This is only a little less absurd than saying that *The Marriage of Figaro* should be performed with both of the alternative last act arias that Mozart wrote for Susanna. If we accept that the verbal variants are Shakespearian, then, I submit, we can only properly represent them within the structure in which they have come down to us. In other words, a pluralist Shakespeare is inescapable. The pluralism need not be always visible: an *Othello* based more firmly than usual on the Folio – which most editors of the past have chosen as their control text – will not be conspicuously different from the standard editions because for this play Shakespeare's revising process did not include cutting. The 'ordinary reader' may continue to be presented with single texts, even of *King Lear*. But the disentangling process will mean that we have recovered alternative versions of certain plays, versions in which the variants can be seen to form part of a coherent pattern within their context. What we do with the alternatives is up to us. We can, if we like, revert to the indeterminate Shakespeare that has resulted from eclectic editing, with each editor making his choices from quarto and Folio. To some degree, indeterminacy is an inevitable consequence of the process by which Shakespeare's texts have been transmitted. But acceptance of the independent validity of alternative structures places this indeterminacy under a firmer control than has previously been possible; and if readers, critics, or directors wish to shift between one text and another, either by restoring cuts or by adopting alternatives, there is nothing to stop them.

Institute of English Studies
Senate House
Malet Street
London
WC1E 7HU

Email: iesevents@sas.ac.uk

The Hilda Hulme Memorial Lectures were established in 1985 following a donation from Mr Mohamed Aslam in memory of his wife, Dr Hilda Hulme. The lectures are on the subject of English literature and relate to one of 'the three fields in which Dr Hulme specialised, namely Shakespeare, language in Elizabethan drama, and the nineteenth-century novel'.

sas.ac.uk/ies

IES INSTITUTE OF ENGLISH STUDIES | SCHOOL OF ADVANCED STUDY UNIVERSITY OF LONDON