THE ORIGIN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOLARLY EDITING: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BALLAD EDITING AND SHAKESPEARE EDITING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

by

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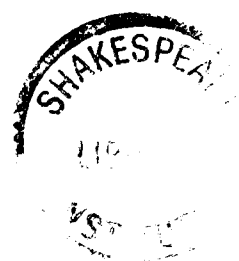School of Humanities
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Abstract

Thomas Percy created the unprecedented ballad collection, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, all the five editions of which were published in 1765, 1767, 1775, 1794 and 1812 respectively. Edmond Malone's edition of Shakespeare (1790) constructed the model of the succeeding scholarly editions. Malone's editorial impact was also reflected in Percy's *Reliques*, crossing a line of literary genre between balladry and Shakespeareana. What this thesis centres on is how Malone's editorial principle influenced the fourth edition of the *Reliques*, more faithful to a source book of the *Reliques*, his Folio MS than the earlier editions. This respect for an original document resulted from the new trend in eighteenth-century editing that Malone reinforced. From the viewpoint of the study of Percy's *Reliques*, this thesis considers how significant the fresh tendency is in the history of scholarly editing. In order to have sound grasp of the editorial development supported by Malone, it discusses the eighteenth-century historical criticism, involving comparison of the *Reliques* with its contemporary Shakespeare editions, published by Edward Capell, George Steevens and others.

Contents

INTRODUCTION

Thomas Percy created the unprecedented ballad collection, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, all the five editions of which were published in 1765, 1767, 1775, 1794 and 1812 respectively. Edmond Malone's edition of Shakespeare (1790) constructed the model of the succeeding scholarly editions. Malone's editorial impact was also reflected in Percy's *Reliques*, crossing a line of literary genre between balladry and Shakespeareana. What this thesis centres on is how Malone's editorial principle influenced the fourth edition of the *Reliques*, more faithful to a source book of the *Reliques*, his Folio MS[1] than the earlier editions. This respect for an original document was the new trend in eighteenth-century editing that Malone promoted. From the viewpoint of the study of Percy's *Reliques*, this thesis considers how significant the fresh tendency is in the history of scholarly editing. This introduction provides the eighteenth-century history of editorial theory, which facilitates understanding Malone's editorial shift.

Shakespeare editions in the eighteenth century, initiated by Nicholas Rowe's (1709), made gradual progress in light of scholarly editing. Lewis Theobald criticized what he considered to be unscholarly faults in Alexander Pope's edition (1725). This provoked Pope's negative reaction: Pope levelled severe criticism at Theobald in *The Dunciad, Variorum* (1729).[2] Theobald's edition (1733) as a retort to *The Dunciad* attested to full consciousness of scholarly editing by comparison

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[1] This MS, according to Frederick J. Furnivall, was produced about 1650. See Frederick J. Furnivall, foreword, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript: Ballads and Romances*, ed. John W. Hales and Frederick J. Furnivall, vol. 1 (London: Trübner, 1867) xiii.

[2] Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad, Variorum: With the Prolegomena of Scriblerus* (London: Dod, 1729).

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with Pope's edition. From this disparity, it is obvious that there was a gap between Pope's editorial method and Theobald's. The difference between the two editors has been highlighted: Simon Jarvis claims that in contrast to Pope, Theobald refused to reject anomalies of Shakespeare's language as ungrammatical[3]and to "judge early seventeenth-century grammar by early eighteenth-century rules" (Jarvis 104); Jonathan Brody Kramnick argues that Theobald resisted Pope's aesthetic of imposing modern words or syntax on Shakespearean texts and estimating his plays "according to present standards of taste and decorum."[4] Marcus Walsh explains this divergence as a shift in editorial orientation: as the eighteenth century progressed, an authorially-orientated attempt to resurrect an original author's intention was thrusting itself into editorial tradition of the century.[5] Alexander Pope and William Warburton's "aesthetic orientation" (Walsh, *Shakespeare* 114) was gradually replaced by the authorial orientation supported by Theobald and Edward Capell (Walsh, *Shakespeare* 9, 114, 198). Walsh discusses that, as opposed to aesthetic editors who altered Shakespeare's text "by standards of taste of their own time," authorial editors, by recourse to conjectural emendation, attempted "to restore Shakespeare's original intention, now lost because of the absence of any evidently authorial original copy" (Walsh, *Shakespeare* 119). Authorial editors in general have been interested in this restoration of the invisible text. Thus, in the eighteenth century, there was a dramatic change in editorial trend in the literary world: new editors, who aimed to revive what the author intended, broke from the editorial

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[3] Simon Jarvis, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Shakespearian Textual Criticism and Representations of Scholarly Labour, 1725-1765* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995) 102.

[4] Jonathan Brody Kramnick, *Making the English Canon: Print-Capitalism and the Cultural Past, 1700-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998) 92.

[5] Marcus Walsh, *Shakespeare, Milton and Eighteenth-Century Literary Editing: The Beginnings of Interpretative Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997) 198.

tendency to arbitrary emendations based upon the editor's own taste and judgment.

In spite of the seemingly evident watershed between the aesthetic and the authorial tendency in eighteenth-century literary editing, contemporary Shakespeare scholars disagree as to who was the first to carry out extensive research into earliest printed copies leading up to resurrection of the original author's intention.

By making a division between Capell and Samuel Johnson, the latter of whom was "the last of the old school of editing," Alice Walker regards Capell as "the first of the new" school "based on a thorough examination of variant readings in early texts and on reasoned deductions about their transmission."[6] She points out that his revolution was conducted "by laying down the principle that the 'best' text (i.e. the one closest to manuscript or to the best manuscript) should be made the basis of an edition" (Walker 136). In consideration of "this return to the substantive editions" resulting in "the restoration of hundreds of authoritative readings," she suggests the possibility that "we may allow him the title of 'the Restorer of Shakespeare'" (Walker 136).

Gary Taylor estimates Capell's Shakespeare edition (1768) to be "a revolutionary achievement" despite the fact that "it was pilloried as a pedantic eccentricity."[7] Capell showed the departure from the editorial policy of simply reprinting "an earlier eighteenth-century text" to the painstaking method of transcribing "by hand the early substantive quartos," which established his edition as

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[6] Alice Walker, "Edward Capell and His Edition of *Shakespeare*," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 46 (1960): 131. See also R. G. Moyles, "Edward Capell (1713-1781) as Editor of *Paradise Lost*," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 6 (1975): 252. Moyles states that Walker's paper was "delivered before the British Academy in 1962." But in fact her paper was read on 27 April in 1960, according to the first page of Walker's "Edward Capell."

[7] Stanley Wells, and Gary Taylor, *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1987) 55.

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"the first collected edition ever published based upon the earliest authoritative documents" (Wells and Taylor 55). Although Taylor accepts that "Malone's range as an historian was greater than Capell's" (Wells and Taylor 55), he believes that Capell's edition formed the watershed in the editorial tendency.

Simon Jarvis makes an agreement with Walker and Taylor in terms of Capell as an innovator in editorial trend:

The first editor to print a text of Shakespeare abandoning the *textus receptus* as the source of copy-text was Edward Capell. If we are to locate the sudden break between pre-enlightened and enlightened practices of textual criticism implied by both Seary and de Grazia anywhere, it should surely be with Capell's work, rather than with Theobald's or Malone's.   (184)

Margreta de Grazia claims that Malone made a clean break with the "pre-enlightened" editorial tendency: "Malone's overwhelming preoccupation with objectivity marks a significant shift [. . .] to information whose accuracy was tested by documents and records."[8] According to her, Malone respected the necessity of restoring earliest versions, which consist of the First Folio and the early Quartos, in order to "remove the 'innovations' that had accumulated from the Second Folio through the modern editions" (*Shakespeare Verbatim* 60). In consideration of the fact that "Capell not only abandoned the use of the received text for copy years before Malone, but published a volume of edited early texts with the explicit intention of demonstrating his new editorial method," Jarvis judges de Grazia's

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[8] Margreta de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991) 5.

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declaration of Malone as a pioneer to be insupportable (9). Peter Seary, whose viewpoint of the turning point in editorial tendency is inconsistent with Jarvis's in that Seary advocates Theobald as a revolutionist, treats de Grazia's theory as faulty in accord with Jarvis. Seary levels a harsh censure against de Grazia. He insists that "de Grazia (like Malone himself) minimizes the continuities of Shakespearian scholarship in the eighteenth century and supposes (as Malone would have wished) that Malone was the sole originator of his scholarly and editorial concerns."[9] Seary's argument against de Grazia is that Malone's predecessors including "Heminge and Condell, Pope and Johnson seem to anticipate Malone's concerns with authenticity and stability and later twentieth-century views of textuality" (113-14). De Grazia's emphasis on Malone's breakthrough, as Seary argues, results from "a bias against the earlier editors of Shakespeare, especially Theobald, and an unwarrantable decision to disregard their contributions to Malone's purposes and understanding" (117).

Andrew Murphy inherits this negative standpoint towards de Grazia, introducing Jarvis's attack on de Grazia's theory: "Jarvis breaks with the Foucauldian view of Malone presented by de Grazia, who proposes, in *Shakespeare Verbatim*, that Malone's work needs to be seen not as an evolution of eighteenth-century practice but as a radical break with a prior tradition."[10] Murphy defines Capell as "the first Shakespearean scholar radically to interrogate the notion that editors should use the received text as the basis for their own edition," and as

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[9] Peter Seary, "Lewis Theobald, Edmond Malone, and Others," *Reading Readings: Essays on Shakespeare Editing in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Joanna Gondris (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1998) 112.

[10] Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003) 97.

"the first Shakespearean editor to produce a text from the ground up, relying on the earliest printed editions" (86). Murphy attributes de Grazia's defect to her rejection of "Capell's innovations as lacking meaning outside of the later context of Malone's methodologies" and to her neglect of "Malone's more general unacknowledged debts to Capell" (97).

In contrast to these critical comments on de Grazia's viewpoint, Nick Groom maintains that the 1778 Johnson-Steevens-Malone Shakespeare edition and Malone's two-volume supplement to it (1780) "changed the direction of Shakespeare scholarship" and generated "modern Shakespeare scholarship."[11] In spite of his emphasis on the pioneering position taken up by these editions, Groom accepts Capell's influence upon Malone, unlike de Grazia: he discusses the fact that "[t]he meticulous standards of Capell were advanced into a new theory of textual criticism, developed by Malone" (*The Plays of William Shakespeare* xlix-l).

Marcus Walsh also resists de Grazia in an attempt to demonstrate that Capell's editorial method "amounted to a revolution" in the eighteenth-century Shakespeare editing (*Shakespeare* 182). Walsh objects to de Grazia's denial to Capell of "the sort of concern for authenticity which she identifies and describes in Malone" (*Shakespeare* 183). As is written above, Walsh, despite his acceptance of Capell as an innovator, does not draw a clear line between Capell's antecedents and his successors, but fixes the boundary line between Pope and Theobald: he divides eighteenth-century editors of Shakespeare into aesthetic editors and authorial editors. "[A]s a heuristic tool in assessing the positions and directions of eighteenth-century

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[11] Nick Groom, introduction, *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, ed. Samuel Johnson, George Steevens, and Edmond Malone, vol. 1 (1778; London: Routledge, 1995) vi, l. Malone offered his essay to the 1778 edition, and in 1780 he supplied to the edition a report of the Elizabethan theatre in two volumes. See Murphy 95.

editing" (*Shakespeare* 5), Walsh adopts Peter Shillingsburg's taxonomy made up of four orientations: historical, aesthetic, authorial and sociological orientations.[12] Walsh emphasizes "a developing consensus, at least after the aesthetically orientated editions of Pope and Warburton, about the need to determine and explain, with the aid of appropriate knowledge and interpretative discrimination, what Shakespeare intended to write and what Shakespeare intended to mean" (*Shakespeare* 198). Walsh organizes post-Pope-Warburton editors in a group "involved in a substantially common if not a communal pursuit, in which the least important motive was the aesthetic" (*Shakespeare* 198).

This thesis, supporting both Walsh's binary theory and the idea about Capell's innovative character, regards the entire school from Theobald to Malone as an authorially-orientated group: Capell reinforced this approach, with the result of Malone's promoted development: the authorial group was beginning to show an insight into a documentary trend as the eighteenth century approached its end. I shall wish to argue, by way of revising de Grazia's argument, that Malone did not reverse the achievements of his predecessors, but enhanced what Capell initiated.

This thesis is based upon the revised taxonomy presented by Shillingsburg in the third edition of his *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age* (1996). In the third edition, Shillingsburg has updated the taxonomy by dividing scholarly editing into five categories: "documentary, aesthetic, authorial, sociological, and bibliographic" orientations (16). Shillingsburg rephrases the word "historical" into "documentary," and adds the bibliographic orientation into the established classification. Basically

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[12] Peter L. Shillingsburg, *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age: Theory and Practice* (Athens: U of Georgia P, 1986) 19. Walsh uses Shillingsburg's outdated taxonomy presented in 1986. In the third edition of the *Scholarly Editing* (1996), Shillingsburg has updated the taxonomy.

speaking, there is no fundamental difference between the earlier and the advanced taxonomy. He argues that "[t]he formal orientation either reveals where the editor has located 'authority' or governs where he will locate it" (16). As for the documentary orientation, Shillingsburg situates authority in "the historical document, warts and all" (18). The aesthetic orientation gives authority to "a concept of *artistic* forms—either the author's, the editor's, or those fashionable at some time" (19). The authorial orientation places authority on "the author, though editors do not agree on what that means" (21). The sociological orientation holds a position of authority in "the institutional unit of author *and* publisher" (22). After defining the bibliographical orientation as "an extension of either the documentary or the sociological" (23), Shillingsburg relates authority for this method to "[t]he texture of paper, the type font, the style and expense of binding, the color, the indications on the book of the type of marketing undertaken, the price, the width of margins" (23-24).[13]

According to the updated taxonomy, Malone can be classified as a documentary editor, whereas Capell's orientation cannot be rigidly judged to be documentary on the grounds that his "approach to editing does not privilege the document itself" and that "for [Capell] authority lies not in the document, but in the author's intention" (Walsh, *Shakespeare* 180).[14] Shillingsburg considers the documentary editors to be "interested in documents, in relics from the past" (*Scholarly Editing*, 3rd ed. 20). In contrast to the flexibility of authorial editors who

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[13] Despite Shillingsburg's clear taxonomy, it is worth while noticing that the categories are not self-evident, that editors in real life often don't consciously adhere to one or another, and that actual editorial practice might involve compromises between different orientations.

[14] It is safe to quote Walsh's argument based upon the old taxonomy, which is not incompatible with the new taxonomy.

"produce an eclectic text when there is more than one authoritative source text" because of their priority of an author over a document (*Scholarly Editing*, 3rd ed. 25), as Shillingsburg argues, documentary editors depend upon "a sense of the textual integrity of historical moments and physical forms" (*Scholarly Editing*, 3rd ed. 17). Jeffrey Kahan argues:

[W]hile the eighteenth century was an age in which the regard for the aesthetic merits of past ages and their personages had reached maturity, it was, paradoxically, an age in which bibliography and paleography were in their infancy. The techniques for dating deeds, papers, inks, and seals were relatively prim[i]tive, as was the study of Elizabethan secretary-hand. These were new sciences, impatient to make connections with the past.[15]

However, the new science of using of documents as technique of authentication in respect of their historical faithfulness began to stand out as the eighteenth century drew to a close.

At the end of the century appeared another documentary editor: Joseph Ritson. Ritson, who delivered proposals to publish an innovative edition of Shakespeare in 1783 (Murphy 93), displayed an uncompromising documentary orientation. In his *Ancient Engleish Metrical Romanceës*, Ritson underlines a meticulous way of printing every article "with an accuracy, and adherence to the original, of which the

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[15] Jeffrey Kahan, *Reforging Shakespeare: The Story of a Theatrical Scandal* (Bethlehem: Lehigh UP, 1998) 39.

publick has had very few examples."[16] This attachment prompted Ritson to reject indulgence in conjecture. As Joseph Walker, an acquaintance of Ritson's, who was the Irish antiquary, reports, "such was the native integrity of his mind, that [Ritson] seemed afraid to form an hypothesis, lest he should be seduced into the perversion of truth for its support."[17] Walter Scott links Ritson's "extreme fidelity" in editorial method to his inclination to retain "all the numerous and gross errors" imported into the text and to regard "it as a sacred duty to prefer the worst to the better readings."[18] This indicates Ritson's enthusiasm to make an intact presentation of original documents.

Malone, as well as Ritson, relied upon extant archives and tangible documents. In this thesis Malone, who was less rigorous and radical than Ritson, is counted as an authorial-documentary editor. Capell's scholarly contribution occasioned his successors to show indefatigable industry by exploring historical documents, and to depend upon their accuracy and physical forms as a way of authentication, with the result that editors were beginning to display documentary tendency as the eighteenth century went on.

In order to prepare for having a sound grasp of the editorial change in the eighteenth century, this thesis deals with historical criticism common to literary activity in the century in Chapters 1 and 2. Chapter 4, followed by the chapter in contrast to it, demonstrates that the documentary shift in the authorial school

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[16] Joseph Ritson, ed., *Ancient Engleish Metrical Romanceës*, vol. 1 (London: Nicol, 1802) iii. See also Arthur Johnston, *Enchanted Ground: The Study of Medieval Romance in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Athlone, 1964) 128.

[17] Harris Nicolas, ed., *The Letters of Joseph Ritson*, vol. 1 (London: Pickering, 1833) lxxvi-lxxvii. See also Johnston 124.

[18] Walter Scott, ed., *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. 1 (1802; Edinburgh: Cadell, 1850) 77.

influenced Thomas Percy's editing of the fourth edition of the *Reliques*. I shall wish to outline the structure of this thesis in more detail.

From a broader viewpoint, Chapter 1 reveals that historical criticism, or contextualization, which aimed at understanding an author from the context of his or her age, was reinforced by outstanding men of letters in the eighteenth century, such as Theobald, John Upton, Dr Johnson, Capell, Thomas Warton, George Steevens and Malone. Sketching this tendency towards historical criticism, the chapter illustrates Percy's historical analysis upon Thomas Chatterton's fraudulent Rowley manuscripts.

Chapter 2, inheriting from the issue of historical criticism in Chapter 1, concentrates upon Shakespearean ballads that Percy edited in his *Reliques*. By comparison of the ballads with counterparts from Shakespeare editions, this chapter demonstrates the influence upon Percy's way of editing the ballads by the eighteenth-century historical criticism. This signifies that he made use of ballad literature as historical documents in the expectation that knowledge of it would function as a decisive factor for explanation of mysterious allusions and obsolete customs in Shakespeare plays. Although Percy sometimes developed this contextualization into eclectically-orientated conjectural reconstruction of archetypical ballads, he can be said to have shared an eighteenth-century enthusiasm for contextualization in terms of ballad-editing. After revealing Percy's contribution to contextual understanding of Shakespeare, this chapter discusses the progressive escalation of Shakespeare's cultural status in the eighteenth century. This elevation, as well as the historicist enthusiasm, prompted Percy to edit Shakespeare ballads.

The concern of Chapter 3 is Percy's conjectural reconstruction of archetypical ballads. Chapter 3 examines how Percy ignored a source book of the *Reliques*, his

Folio MS, through comparison of the both. Percy made conjectural alterations to fragmentary Folio ballads quite freely. This is different from the case of authorial Shakespeare editors, such as Theobald, Johnson, Steevens, and Capell. Their conjecture relied upon regulated process. Despite the fact that Percy keeps step with the authorial editors in terms of historical criticism, his conjectural alterations are reminiscent of Popean licentious editing of Shakespeare.

In contrast to the earlier editions, however, the fourth edition of the *Reliques* attempts to fill this gap in editorial method between the *Reliques* and its contemporary Shakespeare editions. The fourth edition pointed its editorial objective to Malone's authorial-documentary orientation by presenting a more faithful reading of its source document. This respect of the Folio MS is verified in Chapter 4. During those nineteen years which it took Percy to revise the third edition into the fourth, Percy was likely to have been influenced by a new editorial shift from Capell to Malone in the authorial-orientated school. It was this shift which triggered Percy's reconsideration of his Folio MS neglected in the earlier editions of the *Reliques*. Through comparison of respective editions of the *Reliques* with the Folio MS, this chapter attempts to reveal how and why Percy changed his earlier editorial policy.

In brief, Chapters 1 and 2 based on historical criticism lay the foundation of Chapter 3 related to the authorial orientation and Chapter 4 dealing with the documentary orientation, since both the orientations are subordinated to historical criticism respectively. Chapter 3 contrasts Percy with authorial Shakespeare editors in terms of conjectural emendation, although the former and the latter were involved in a common enterprise to make a historical understanding of Shakespeare. Chapter 4 demonstrates that the progress toward the documentary trend in the authorially-orientated school can be corroborated through scrutiny of the change in

Percy's editorial policy.

At the end of the introduction, we must discuss in detail Nick Groom's *The Making of Percy's Reliques* as a study antecedent to mine.[19] I would like to reveal what is distinguishable between Groom's monograph and this thesis.

Groom tackles the editorial problems of Percy's *Reliques*. After presenting Philip Gaskell's suggestion that editorial tendency towards smoothness or correctness rather than towards documentary evidence "may not simply have encouraged but actually enabled the utopian work of Shakespeare's early editors, who perfected eclectic texts out of quartos and variant states of the first Folio" (11), Groom insists that this eclectic endeavour to construct "a literary monument out of a shabby ruin" had a significant impact upon Percy's *Reliques* (11). He goes on to argue that the process in which eighteenth-century Shakespeare as "a national genius" was "built from conjectural emendation [. . .], minute editorial collation, and historical explication" was conducive to "Percy's conception of the *Reliques*" (11). This thesis is in agreement with Groom's opinion. However, Groom's study focuses upon the process of the first edition of the *Reliques* coming into existence, particularizing Percy's relationship with James Macpherson and William Shenstone immediately before and in 1760s, while this thesis approaches the meaning of editorial change in the fourth edition of the *Reliques*, with the aim of elucidating the relation between Percy and Malone in 1780s and 90s.

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[19] Nick Groom, *The Making of Percy's Reliques* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL CRITICISM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Historical criticism, or contextualization, began to be prevalent in eighteenth-century literary editions. The threshold was set by post-Popean editors, such as Theobald and Capell. This criticism formed two subcategories: an authorial orientation and a documentary orientation. In an attempt to shed light on the context where original authors created their works, proponents of the former launched into explanation in terms of authorial intention; the latter respected documents in pursuit of their historical accuracy. Before pinpointing these orientations, Chapters 1 and 2 highlight historical criticism integrating both the orientations.

1. Introduction to Historical Criticism

Historical criticism was practised by significant literary men in the century. Marcus Walsh makes a general comment:

> [E]ighteenth-century editing needs to be seen not (or not only) as an accommodation of writings of the past to the values of a later culture, or their solipsistic appropriation to personal and subjective tastes, but as an informed, coherent, and self-conscious attempt at genuine understanding of the communications of the great authors of an English literary history. (Walsh, *Shakespeare* 201)

This "attempt at genuine understanding" of the past authors is contextualization. Walsh indicates that eighteenth-century editors began to believe that "earlier

literature must be understood within relevant contexts of its own moment of production."[1] According to David Fairer, historical criticism was linked to fresh attention to Shakespeare and Spenser in the mid-eighteenth century: "[s]cholar-critics such as Lewis Theobald, John Upton, and Thomas Warton began to immerse themselves in the linguistic and cultural context that was to become *de rigueur* when interpreting a native 'classic' for an expanding modern readership"[2] Corresponding to this opinion is Richard Terry's argument that "[the rise of the historical outlook] precipitates a new wave of regard for works of the medieval or gothic era, or works of the early Renaissance which show gothic traces."[3] I would like to illustrate the prevalence of historical criticism in eighteenth-century literary editions, which prompted Percy to focus attention on Shakespearean ballads in the *Reliques*.

2. Historical Critics

As is written above, Fairer regards Theobald, Upton, and Warton as historical critics engaged in contextual understanding of Spenser or Shakespeare ("Historical Criticism" 43). Joseph M. Levine maintains that "how far eighteenth-century historicism extended" would be revealed at the thought of "the Wartons and their

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[1] Walsh, "Eighteenth-Century Editing, 'Appropriation,' and Interpretation," *Shakespeare Survey* 51 (1998): 135.

[2] David Fairer, "Historical Criticism and the English Canon: A Spenserian Dispute in the 1750s," *Eighteenth Century Life* 24.2 (2000): 43.

[3] Richard Terry, *Poetry and the Making of the English Literary Past 1660-1781* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001) 7. At the same page Terry makes a definition of the term, historicism: "scrutinizing the literary period from which it emerges in order to see how an author's task has been eased, or possibly made harder, by local circumstances." This thesis means "historicism" by this definition unless it arrests readers' attention to the way of using the word. About eighteenth-century historicism by Warton and Richard Hurd, see Richard Terry 302-03, 309-10.

friends (Gray, Hurd, Lowth, Percy, and the rest)."[4] Walsh counts as the upholders of this contextualization Theobald, Johnson, Upton and Capell ("Eighteenth-Century Editing" 135-36). I shall wish to discuss Theobald, Johnson, Capell, George Steevens and Malone respectively, in adding Warton, Upton and Thomas Tyrwhitt to the list of these historicists. First, this chapter deals with literary men who had a historical grasp of Shakespeare, and later, contextualization of Spenser and Chaucer will be the centre of discussion. Theobald developed historical criticism of Shakespeare as a negative response to Pope's editorial principle. Historicist editors succeeding to them can be divided into two groups: Steevens and Malone, who were not completely consistent with each other, backed Theobald's enterprise; Johnson and Capell deprecated both the two predecessors. Historical criticism also exercised its influence upon study of Spenser or Chaucer. Warton and Upton advocated contextualization of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. Tyrwhitt, with the aim of historicizing Chaucer, incorporated contextualizing items to elucidate the fourteenth-century anomalies in his edition of *The Canterbury Tales*.

3. Historicists of Shakespeare

3.1. Pope vs. Theobald

In his 1733 edition of Shakespeare, Lewis Theobald urges that an editor "should be well vers'd in the History and Manners of his Author's Age, if he aims at doing him a Service in this Respect."[5] On the basis of this historical criticism,

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[4] Joseph M. Levine, *Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1987) 193.

[5] Lewis Theobald, ed., *The Works of Shakespeare*, vol. 1 (London: Tonson, 1733) xlv-xlvi. D. Nichol Smith, ed., *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare* (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1903) 84. See also Walsh, "Eighteenth-Century Editing" 135.

Theobald made it his duty "to discover some *Anachronisms* in [Shakespeare]; which might have slept in Obscurity but for *this Restorer*, as Mr. *Pope* is pleas'd affectionately to style me [. . .]" (Theobald 1: xlix; Smith 87). This sarcasm derives from Theobald's effort expended in "detecting the Anachronisms of [Shakespeare], and in defending him for the Use of them" (Theobald 1: li; Smith 88). Theobald understood these anachronisms without recourse to the standard of his own age. Against this stance is set Pope's refusal to "restore an Anachronism really made by [Shakespeare]" (Theobald 1: l; Smith 87): he thought that it "should rather have slept in Obscurity" (Theobald 1: li; Smith 88). Simon Jarvis focuses on Theobald's historical understanding of Shakespeare's words in contrast to Pope's refinement of them (102-04). Jonathan Brody Kramnick's argument bears a parallel to Jarvis's in contrasting Pope's aesthetics with Theobald's historicism. On one hand, Pope viewed the contextualization of Shakespeare as ruinous to "the splendor of Shakespeare's achievement, his proximity to modern politeness," which can be accomplished only after complete eradication of "the antique vulgarity" (*Making the English Canon* 94). On the other hand, Theobald was attentive to "the historical and textual specificity" of Shakespeare in an attempt to resist thrusting "contemporary words or syntax into the text and the evaluation of plays" *(Making the English Canon* 92), although we sometimes observe his "claim to be a 'reader of taste'" (*Making the English Canon* 94). As for this conflict between Pope and Theobald, Steevens and Malone were in favour of Theobald's strategy.

3.2. Steevens and Malone

From the prefatory advertisement to his edition of Shakespeare, it is obvious that George Steevens's illustration of historical background does not restrict itself to

the famous authors but expands to what is shadowed by their outstanding status:[6]

Authorities, whether in respect of words, or things, are not always producible from the most celebrated writers; yet such circumstances as fall below the notice of history, can only be sought in the jest-book, the satire, or the play; and the novel, whose fashion did not outlive a week, is sometimes necessary to throw light on those annals which take in the compass of an age.[7]

In the note to this quotation, this advertisement attaches major significance to "a mind intimately acquainted with those books, which, though now forgotten, were yet in common use and high repute about the time in which [elder poets] respectively wrote, and which they consequently must have read" (1778 ed. 1: 72).[8] The same note demonstrates historical contextualization after discussing Pope's disdain for Theobald's method of presenting to readers a sample of peripheral readings:

[The] strange and ridiculous books which Theobald quoted, were unluckily the very books which SHAKESPEARE himself had studied; the knowledge of which enabled that useful editor to explain so many difficult allusions and obsolete customs in his poet, which otherwise could never have been understood. (1778 ed. 1: 72)

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[6] This advertisement was firstly printed in the 1773 Johnson-Steevens edition.

[7] Samuel Johnson, and George Steevens, eds., *The Plays of William Shakspeare*, vol. 1 (London: Bathurst, 1778) 71-72.

[8] The 1773 edition does not include what corresponds to this note. See Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, eds., *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, vol. 1 (London: Bathurst, 1773) E4r-E4v.

This contextual understanding can be also explained by Steevens's addition to the advertisement of "a chapter extracted from the *Guls Hornbook*, (a satirical pamphlet written by Decker in the year 1609) as it affords the reader a more complete idea of the customs peculiar to our ancient theatres, than any other publication which has hitherto fallen in my way" (1778 ed. 1: 79-80).

In the preface to his Shakespeare edition, Malone proclaims his editorial objects: "to support and establish what the poet wrote, to illustrate his phraseology by comparing it with that of his contemporaries, and to explain his fugitive allusions to customs long since disused and forgotten."[9] This editorial policy is contradictory to Pope's. Malone complains about Pope's editorial method of judging seemingly irregular words and expressions in Shakespeare by modern standards:

When Mr. Pope first undertook the task of revising these plays, every anomaly of language, and every expression that was not understood at that time, were considered as errours or corrruptions [sic], and the text was altered, or amended, as it was called, at pleasure. The principal writers of the early part of this century seem never to have looked behind them, and to have considered their own era and their own phraseology as the standard of perfection [. . .]. (1.1: xi)

After characterizing the editorial tendency of the time of Pope's edition, Malone points out that "for above twenty years" after the edition, "to alter Shakspeare's text and to restore it, were considered as synonymous terms" (1.1: xi). However, this ahistorical editorial trend made a dramatic change:

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[9] Edmond Malone, ed., *The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (London: Rivington, 1790) lvi.

During the last thirty years our principal employment has been to *restore*, in the true sense of the word; to eject the arbitrary and capricious innovations made by our predecessors from ignorance of the phraseology and customs of the age in which Shakspeare lived.   (1.1: xi)

Malone goes on to argue that the editorial task "to investigate fugitive allusions, to explain and justify obsolete phraseology by parallel passages from contemporary authours, and to form a genuine text by a faithful collation of the original copies" can qualify an editor of Shakespeare to win "the favour of the publick" (1.1: xi). Malone esteems Theobald, who was contemporary with Pope, in that Theobald was a precursor of historical understanding of Shakespeare: his edition attempted to "adhere to the ancient copies more strictly than his competitor, and illustrated a few passages by extracts from the writers of [Shakespeare's] age" (1.1: lxvii), although in his edition, "innumerable sophistications were silently adopted" (1.1: lxvii). In her *Shakespeare Verbatim*, Margreta de Grazia demonstrates Malone's attempt to situate Shakespeare historically and Malone's objective stance towards Shakespeare's text: "[h]is historicism made Shakespeare's past an object of study separate from the subject studying it [. . .]" (122).

Thus the support of Theobald's editorial policy seems to have been shared by Steevens and Malone. But there appeared a huge gap between both the historicists. Steevens's 1793 edition aroused the resistance of Malone. The advertisement to the edition proposes that editors should renounce "a blind fidelity to the eldest printed copies," which leads to "a confirmed treason against the sense, spirit, and versification of Shakespeare" and that instead of this "adherence to ancient copies"

succeeding editors, "well acquainted with the phraseology of [Shakespeare's] age, should be at liberty to restore some apparent meaning to his corrupted lines, and a decent flow to his obstructed versification."[10] In his letter to Percy, written in June 1802, Malone censures this editorial attitude:

> [Steevens] [. . .] maintained, that collation was of no value; that it only served to restore the *blunders* of the ignorant printers and editors of the quartos and folio; that it was impossible Shakspeare should ever have written a line not perfectly smooth and metrical, according to *our* ideas of smoothness and metre; and that therefore, wherever we find a line defective in this particular, we may *add* or *expunge* at pleasure.— Proceeding on this new principle, he has made his last edition the most unfaithful perhaps that has ever appeared [. . .].[11]

Malone, afraid that liberty to "*add* or *expunge* at pleasure," recommended in the 1793 advertisement is contradictory to historical scholarship of Shakespeare, regarded Steevens's editing as a retrogression to "the licentiousness of Pope," complaining that "our great poet's editors seem to move in a circle" (Tillotson 95).

3.3. Johnson and Capell

Unlike Steevens and Malone's defence of Theobald, Johnson and Capell made a positive response neither to Pope's editorial method nor to Theobald's.

In order to set his editorial protocol against that of "[a]ll the former criticks"

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[10] Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, eds., *The Plays of William Shakspeare*, vol. 1 (London: Longman, 1793) xvi.

[11] Arthur Tillotson, ed., *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and Edmond Malone*, The Percy Letters 1 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1944) 94.

who "have been so much employed on the correction of the text, that they have not sufficiently attended to the elucidation of passages obscured by accident or time," Samuel Johnson declares his editorial attempt "to read the books which the author read, to trace his knowledge to its source, and compare his copies with their originals" in his *Proposals for Printing, by Subscription, the Dramatick Works of William Shakespeare* (1756).[12] After this declaration, Johnson "hopes to attain any degree of superiority to his predecessors" by taking into account their editorial faults: Pope failed to practise historicist criticism[13] because he was "very ignorant of the ancient English literature"; Theobald "considered learning only as an instrument of gain, and made no further enquiry after his authour's meaning" (*Johnson on Shakespeare* 7: 56). Johnson implies that Theobald's method was not sufficient to contextualize Shakespeare with the aim of elucidating the true meaning of his irregularities. This comment is followed by his argument that a comparison of "the works of Shakespeare with those of writers who lived at the same time, immediately preceded, or immediately followed him" enables editors to "ascertain his ambiguities, disentangle his intricacies, and recover the meaning of words now lost in the darkness of antiquity" (*Johnson on Shakespeare* 7: 56). Johnson's edition also expresses this sort of historical criticism in the note to *Macbeth*:

In order to make a true estimate of the abilities and merit of a writer, it is always necessary to examine the genius of his age, and the opinions of his contemporaries. [. . .] [A] survey of the notions that prevailed at the time when this play was written, will prove that *Shakespeare* was in no danger of such

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[12] Arthur Sherbo, ed., *Johnson on Shakespeare*, vol. 7 (New Haven: Yale UP, 1968) 56.

[13] Kramnick uses the term, "historicist criticism" rather than "historical criticism." See *Making the English Canon* 54-104.

censures, since he only turned the system that was then universally admitted to his advantage, and was far from overburthening the credulity of his audience.[14]

Johnson insists that Shakespeare's introduction of supernatural witches abnormal in the eighteenth century should be justified on the basis of contextualization of Shakespeare's age.

The introduction to Capell's Shakespeare edition (1768) makes a denial of Pope and Theobald: "both their judgments may be equally call'd in question [. . .]."[15] Capell deals with their shortcomings in terms less of historical criticism than of collation, without adequate practice of which ahistorical licentiousness is likely to intrude itself in Pope's editing. Capell points out that Pope's careless collation of limited materials "brought his labours in disrepute, and has finally sunk them in neglect" (1: 16). Capell makes little distinction between both the incomplete collators: "[Theobald's edition] is made only a little better, by his having a few more materials; of which he was not a better collator than the other, nor did he excel him in use of them [. . .]" (1: 17). On "what [Theobald] has done that is conjectural," Capell sarcastically judges Theobald to be "rather more happy" than Pope (1: 17). Capell tried to avoid groundless conjecture as best he could. In order to make a solid conjecture of what Shakespeare really meant, it was necessary for him to resort to historicist criticism. In the introduction, Capell proclaims his *School of Shakespeare,* which is one of the "contextualizing components of Capell's edition" (Walsh,

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[14] Samuel Johnson, ed., *The Plays of William Shakespeare,* vol. 6 (London: Tonson, 1765) 369-70. See also Noriyuki Harada, "Individuality in Johnson's Shakespeare Criticism," *Japanese Studies in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries,* ed. Yoshiko Kawachi (Newark: U of Delaware P, 1998) 202-03.

[15] Edward Capell, ed., *Mr William Shakespeare His Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies,* vol. 1 (London: Tonson, 1768) 17.

Shakespeare 184), to be rooted in historical criticism: "every book, in short, has been consulted that it was possible to procure, with which it could be thought [Shakespeare] was acquainted, or that seem'd likely to contribute any thing towards his illustration" (Capell 1: 31). The *School*, a corpus that Capell created by gathering various excerpts, elucidates "some specific Shakespearean allusion or usage" with the result of expanding to offer "general illustrations of language and custom, not always confined to the Shakespearean" (Walsh, *Shakespeare* 186): Capell inquired into not only "the various passages that [Shakespeare] has either made use of or alluded to," but also "the almost innumerable examples, drawn from these ancient writers, of words and modes of expression which many have thought peculiar to SHAKESPEARE, and have been too apt to impute to him as a blemish" in the hope of "shewing the true force and meaning of the aforesaid unusual words and expressions" (Capell 1: 32). Walsh upholds Capell's Shakespeare edition as "the most impressive eighteenth-century project of contextualization of Shakespeare's writings, at least before Malone" (*Shakespeare* 184).

4. Contextualization of Spenser and Chaucer

Contextualization, in other words, anti-Popism practised by historicist editors of Shakespeare, was also applied to understanding of Spenser and Chaucer. In the middle of the eighteenth century historicist criticism replaced Popean-style editing in understanding native authors other than Shakespeare. Warton's *Observations on the Faerie Queene of Spenser*, the first and the second editions of which were published in 1754 and 1762 respectively, can be regarded as a negative reaction to

his antecedent work:[16] John Hughes's *The Works of Mr. Edmund Spenser* (1715), which neglects contextualization of Spenser.[17] So was Tyrwhitt's edition of *The Canterbury Tales*: John Urry's lukewarm tendency toward historical criticism in *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (1721) motivated Tyrwhitt to edit a new edition in 1775-78.[18] The mid-century sent a wave of historical criticism across literary editions of native authors.

4.1. Thomas Warton and John Upton's Historical Understanding of Spenser

Warton's *Observations* puts emphasis on application of a contextual aspect to comprehension of what an author in the past intended:

In reading the works of a poet who lived in a remote age, it is necessary that we should look back upon the customs and manners which prevailed in that age. We should endeavour to place ourselves in the writer's situation and circumstances. Hence we shall become better enabled to discover, how his turn of thinking, and manner of composing, were influenced by familiar appearances and established objects, which are utterly different from those with which we are at present surrounded.[19]

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[16] Thomas Warton, *Observations on the Faerie Queene of Spenser* (London: Dodsley, 1754). As for the second edition, see the footnote on the next quotation.

[17] John Hughes, ed., *The Works of Mr. Edmund Spenser*, 6 vols. (London: Tonson, 1715).

[18] John Urry, ed., *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer: Compared with the Former Editions, and Many Valuable MSS, out of Which, Three Tales Are Added Which Were Never Before Printed* (London: Lintot, 1721).

[19] Thomas Warton, *Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser*, 2nd ed. vol. 2 (1762; Farnborough: Gregg International, 1969) 87. See also Levine 195.

In the postscript of the *Observations*, Warton describes the way in which he achieved the aim of this orientation for contextualization: "I have considered the customs and genius of his age; I have searched his contemporary writers, and examined the books on which the peculiarities of his style, taste, and composition, are confessedly founded" (2nd ed. 2: 264). Immediately afterwards, Warton maintains:

[T]he commentator whose critical enquiries are employed on Spenser, Jonson, and the rest of our elder poets, will in vain give specimens of his classical erudition, unless, at the same time, he brings to his work a mind intimately acquainted with those books, which though now forgotten, were yet in common use and high repute about the time in which his authors respectively wrote, and which they consequently must have read.   (2nd ed. 2: 264)[20]

In *The History of English Poetry*, Warton, inheriting this historical criticism, indicates his warning against understanding "the modes and notions of other ages" according to those of a reader's own.[21]

Warton's respect of contextualization is mentioned in Samuel Johnson's letter to Warton, written in 1754, when the first edition of the *Observations* was published. In the letter Johnson is impressed by Warton's effort to historicize ancient authors like Spenser: "[y]ou have shown to all who shall hereafter attempt the study of our

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[20] See also Terry 303. The latter part of this quotation was plagiarized by Steevens, as is evident at the fifth page of this chapter. His plagiarism expands to Capell's edition of Shakespeare. See Murphy 91.

[21] David Fairer, ed., *Thomas Warton's History of English Poetry*, vol. 1 (London: Routledge, 1998) 252, rpt. of Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry, from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 1, 1774. See also Levine 200.

ancient authours the way to success, by directing them to the perusal of the books which those authours had read."[22] After pointing out that Warton's predecessors, such as John Hughes, never dreamt "of this method" (*The Correspondence of Thomas Warton* 27), Johnson attributes the reason of a failure to understand sixteenth-century authors to neglect of contextualization: "they are read alone, and no help is borrowed from those who lived with them or before them" (*The Correspondence of Thomas Warton* 28). He goes on to write that "[s]ome part of this ignorance I hope to remove by my book [Johnson's *Dictionary*] which now draws towards its end [. . .]" (*The Correspondence of Thomas Warton* 28).

However, Levine points out how Warton was torn "between the fixed vantage point of his own time, with its universal neoclassical values, and a bold but distinctly subordinate historicism that proposes the need to know and appreciate the past on its own terms" (204). Despite his historicism, as Levine argues, "Warton did not intend thereby to give up his classical allegiance" (201).

In the preface to his two-volume edition of *The Faerie Queene* (1758), John Upton reconsiders his antecedents' conformism to their readers:

> We have several traditionary tales of very uncertain authority recorded of ancient authors; because commentators and critics, knowing the inquisitive dispositions of the readers, and oftentimes not furnished with true materials, set their inventions to work to impose with mere conjectures. But while they are thus inventing, they often forget to attemper their tales with proper time and circumstances [. . .].[23]

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[22] David Fairer, ed., *The Correspondence of Thomas Warton* (Athens: U of Georgia P, 1995) 27. See also Terry 303.

[23] John Upton, *Spenser's Faerie Queene*, vol. 1 (London: Tonson, 1758) v. See also John G.

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Upton's goal was to read Spenser's poem with a clear understanding of its "proper time and circumstances": Upton's edition "is intended to illustrate the Fairy Queen [. . .] in the concealed histories of the times and persons of the poet's age" (Upton ix: Radcliffe 7). Therefore, he expects in the preface that "the reader, with proper knowledge of the history of Queen Elizabeth's reign," will be able to read Spenser's historical allusions (Upton xxxii: Radcliffe 36). His expectation rises to readers' understanding of Spenser's old spelling, mentioning that "[t]he reader will be pleased to remember that the spelling is not the editor's, but the poet's" (Upton xli: Radcliffe 46), and that the reader, who is "acquainted with our old English writers," will not "be surprized to see it so different from his own times" (Upton xli: Radcliffe 46).[24]

This preservation of Spenser's archaic spelling is in marked contrast to the custom of modernizing Shakespeare's spelling. As has been already revealed, Pope modernized Shakespeare. Surprisingly enough, only in terms of spelling, editors of Shakespeare after him excluded preservation of Shakespeare's archaic spelling from their historical criticism. This tendency applies even to the case of Malone, who wrote to Percy in January 1803 to the effect of declining Percy's proposal that Malone should aim at "following the old orthography in [his] new edition [of Shakespeare]" (Tillotson 138). This turndown is due to Malone's belief that "[his] readers [. . .] must be satisfied with the modern regulation [. . .]" (Tillotson 139).

David Fairer points out that Warton and Upton were motivated "to historicize Spenser" in "an attempt to approach *The Faerie Queene* on its own terms and

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Radcliffe, ed., *John Upton: Notes on the Fairy Queen*, vol. 1 (New York: Garland, 1987) 2.

[24] See also Kramnick 166.

recover both its verbal meanings and its individual character" ("Historical Criticism" 45). But he highlights the striking contrast between Upton and Warton in terms of their way of historicizing *The Faerie Queene*: Upton, far from categorizing *The Faerie Queene* as a native romance, presented "a sustained parallel between [it] and *The Iliad*" ("Historical Criticism" 51). Although both critics "overlap in revealing Spenser's debt to Chaucer and Ariosto," Fairer argues, Warton revitalized the "genuine character" of *The Faerie Queene* "by placing it within a native romance/allegorical tradition," and "Upton by revealing its kinship with Homer" ("Historical Criticism" 57).

4.2. Thomas Tyrwhitt's Contextualization of Chaucer

Thomas Tyrwhitt, in the preface to the fresh edition of *The Canterbury Tales*, reveals an academic undertaking to contextualize Chaucer:

[I]t was necessary to enquire into the state of our language and versification at the time when Chaucer wrote, and also, as much as was possible, into the peculiarities of his style and manner of composition. Nor was it less necessary [. . .] to trace his allusions to a variety of forgotten books and obsolete customs.[25]

Tyrwhitt helps his readers to make a contextual understanding of Chaucer by adding to his edition "AN ESSAY ON THE LANGUAGE AND VERSIFICATION OF CHAUCER" (*The Canterbury Tales* 1: ii) and, moreover, "illustrations of particular passages; and explanations of the most uncommon words and phrases, especially

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[25] Thomas Tyrwhitt, ed., *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, vol. 1 (London: Payne, 1775) i-ii. See also Tyrwhitt, *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (London: Moxon, 1855) i.

such as are omitted, or ill explained, in the Glossary to Urry's Edition" (*The Canterbury Tales* 1: iii). Tyrwhitt does not restrict Urry's fault to this unsatisfactory explanations of Chaucer's words unfamiliar to eighteenth-century readers:

> The strange licence, in which Mr. Urry appears to have indulged himself, of lengthening and shortening Chaucer's words according to his own fancy, and of even adding words of his own, without giving his readers the least notice, has made the text of Chaucer in his Edition by far the worst that was ever published. (*The Canterbury Tales* 1: xx)

It is quite natural that this complaint should be brought against Popean ignorance of contextualization, judging from Tyrwhitt's attempt "[t]o make some observations upon the real state of our language in [Chaucer's] time" in the essay on his language and versification (*The Canterbury Tales* 4: v). The essay focuses "upon the most material peculiarities of the Norman-Saxon, or English language," which "appears to have been in general use in the age of Chaucer" (*The Canterbury Tales* 4: 3).

It is worth considering Tyrwhitt's sticking to consultation of manuscripts. The very first part of the preface declares that "[the] first object of this publication was to give the text of THE CANTERBURY TALES as correct as the Mss. within the reach of the Editor would enable him to make it" (*The Canterbury Tales* 1: i). Tyrwhitt "has formed the text throughout from the Mss." with "little regard to the readings of any edition, except the two by Caxton" (*The Canterbury Tales* 1: i). In the appendix to the preface, he lists all the manuscripts that he referred to or collated (*The Canterbury Tales* 1: xxii-xxiii). This adherence to manuscripts was impracticable in the case of contemporary Shakespeare editing. The eighteenth-century Shakespeare

editors depended upon printed editions. Walsh discusses this matter:

> Rowe mainly followed F4; Pope followed Rowe, though he understood
> something of the Quartos; Theobald sent to the printers his annotated copy of
> Pope's 1728 second edition, though he made extensive use of the early texts;
> Warburton followed Pope and Theobald and his own fancy; Johnson followed
> Warburton and Theobald. (*Shakespeare* 178)

Even Capell, although he "went back to the originals and bypassed traditionary textual corruption" (Walsh, *Shakespeare* 178), pivoted not upon manuscripts but upon printed texts: he rummaged for "all the editions, not only those of the 'moderns,' the eighteenth-century editors, but virtually all the Folios and Quartos" (Walsh, *Shakespeare* 179).

5. Thomas Percy's Historical Criticism

Eighteenth-century contextualization did take as an object of criticism not only native classic writers, such as Shakespeare, Spenser, and Chaucer, but it was also concerned with other sorts of literary works. It stimulated Warton, Tyrwhitt, Malone and Percy to make a close examination of Thomas Chatterton's forgery. First, the rest of this chapter illustrates Percy's historical scrutiny of Chatterton's Rowley manuscripts, and later, indicates that Percy's editing of Shakespearean ballads in the *Reliques* was the outcome of eighteenth-century historical criticism.

5.1. Percy's Historical Analysis of Chatterton's Rowley Manuscripts

Percy's letter to Lord Dacre, written in September 1773, shows the

contextualization that we can see in Theobald, Johnson, Capell and Malone.[26] After

Lord Dacre was permitted to check out the Rowley manuscripts, which Thomas

Chatterton declared to have been written by a priest named Thomas Rowley in the

fifteenth century, he asked Percy to analyze authenticity of the manuscripts. This

letter reports the result of Percy's analysis. Percy proclaimed the manuscripts to be a

spurious forgery for the following reasons.[27] First, in terms of alphabet, one of the

manuscripts was contradictory to what was expected in a fifteenth-century writing:

> As for instance, in the larger MS. *Tho.* in the first line and *The* in the second,
>
> could only have been written since our current hand was adapted and altered to
>
> the Roman & Italian Alphabets in books: before that time when the handwriting
>
> was formed after the Gothic Alphabet, the writing would have been written *þo*
>
> and more currently, *þe*. This continued generally to prevail so late as the middle
>
> of the last century.   (Watkin-Jones 773-74)

Percy reiterates his negative judgment on the way that the alphabets are used in this

manuscript: "the Writer [. . .] had a very imperfect random guess at the old

Alphabets & was incapable of imitating any of them truly" (Watkin-Jones 774).

Second, the parchment of the manuscripts had been deliberately contaminated to

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[26] The full text of this letter was shown for the first time in A. Watkin-Jones, "Bishop Percy, Thomas Warton, and Chatterton's Rowley Poems (1773-1790)," *PMLA* 50 (1935): 769-84.

[27] Malone was also aware of Chatterton's forgery. In *Cursory Observations on the Poems Attributed to Thomas Rowley* (1782), Malone alleged that Chatterton's Rowley poems were nothing but an eighteenth-century forgery. As for Malone's criticism of Chatterton, see Murphy 95. According to Murphy, "[Malone's] methods of meticulously historicised enquiry in this study were typical of his approach and would be brought into play again in 1796 when he exposed William Henry Ireland's Shakespeare forgeries."

make it appear old:

> With regard to the Parchment itself, it is evidently stained yellow on the back
> with Oker, to look like old parchment; but the fraud is so unskilfully performed,
> that you may see stains & besmearings on the other side; and if you rub the back
> with a wet white handkerchief it will be stained with the oker.   (Watkin-Jones
> 774)

In addition to fabricating the old parchment, as Percy maintains, "[a producer of these manuscripts] hath also contrived an Ink [. . .] that should be very faint and yellow [. . .]" (Watkin-Jones 774). Third, descriptions in the manuscripts are incompatible with historical facts:

> [T]he contents contain no less Proofs of the Forgery, for they assert gross and
> ridiculous falshoods, such as there having been ancient Moneys current in
> England coined with the Arms of Bristoll on the reverse, etc. etc. etc.
> (Watkin-Jones 774)

Finally, the use of punctuation in the larger manuscript cannot be observed in any authentic writing of the fifteenth century:

> I cannot conclude without pointing out one further proof that the writing is not
> ancient, which strikes one towards the beginning of [the larger manuscript], that
> is the writer's having been so imprudent as to distinguish one or two of his
> Quotations by an inverted comma at the beginning & the end of the

sentence—"thus"—which is not to be found in any genuine Writing whatever of any age; much less in the time when these Writings are pretended to have been written; when instead of the Comma (,) our writers used an oblique stroke thus / to divide the sentence.   (Watkin-Jones 774)

In the end of this letter Percy concludes that "so far as depends on the evidence of these Specimens, the writings attributed to Mr. [Thomas] Rowlie may finally be pronounced to be forged and spurious" (Watkin-Jones 774). This letter implies that Percy complained about the fabrication of seemingly old manuscripts without any actual proof derived from contextualization. This means that, in contrast to Chatterton, Percy felt it necessary to act upon correct information about earlier literature on the basis of historical criticism. In this letter there is a hint of Percy's antagonistic stance towards Chatterton's capricious imagination. This mirrors his scholarly effort to make a contextual understanding of earlier literature. This effort anticipates Malone's way of detecting William Henry Ireland's forgery.[28] These statements on the fabricated manuscripts are made under the guidance of his friend, Thomas Butler, "who is one of the best Judges in England of old Writings, having [. . .] been all his life conversant with English Manuscripts, &c of every age; who is critically exact in distinguishing the peculiar modes of writing & the several Alphabets which prevailed in every Æra [. . .]" (Watkin-Jones 773). Judging from this paleographer's influence upon Percy, we can say that he was already interested in palaeography or diplomatic editing, which hinges upon surviving witness rather than conjecture, so that his documentary orientation was to be found in the fourth

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[28] See Chapter 4.

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edition of the *Reliques* (1794).[29] As early as 1773, we can see the germ of Percy's consciousness of the orientation.

5.2. Percy's Use of Ancient Ballads as Historical Documents

This criticism was applied to Percy's editing of ballads in the *Reliques*. The second book of the first volume in the *Reliques* spotlights ballads that illustrate Shakespeare. In the introduction to the second book, Percy pronounces that Shakespeare "*quoted many ancient ballads*" throughout his plays.[30] It is no great leap of logic to say that this attention to Shakespearean ballads in the *Reliques* was for the purpose of scrutinizing ballads with which Shakespeare might have been familiar and unveiling his allusions to them. Percy's endeavour to examine ballads Shakespeare mentioned in a direct or indirect way signifies his study of ballad literature as historical documents, which led to the contextual understanding of Shakespeare's writings. Percy took part in the common eighteenth-century enterprise of contextualization. The next chapter centres on the Shakespearean ballads in the *Reliques*, so that we will clarify Percy's participation in the enterprise.

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[29] See Chapter 4.

[30] Thomas Percy, ed., *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry: Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs, and Other Pieces of Our Earlier Poets, (Chiefly of the Lyric Kind.) Together with Some Few of Later Date*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (London: Dodsley, 1765) 117.

CHAPTER 2

PERCY'S EDITING OF SHAKESPEAREAN BALLADS

As is suggested in the previous chapter, Percy's attempt to focus Shakespearean ballads resulted from his keen awareness of the historical context which surrounded Shakespeare. For Percy, ballads were a tool for illustration of ancient literature. In fact, the eighteenth century saw ancient ballads as keeping historical record, according to Keith Stewart.[1] It was not only old ballads but also ancient romances that Percy used to contextualize Shakespeare. This is revealed in a passage from the essay on the ancient metrical romances in the *Reliques*:

[A publication of old romances] *would also serve to illustrate innumerable passages in our ancient classic poets, which without their help must be for ever obscure. For not to mention Chaucer and Spencer, who abound with perpetual allusions to them; I shall give an instance or two from Shakespeare, by way of specimen of their use.* (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 3: ix)

After this passage, Percy takes for instance the relation between ancient romances and two Shakespearean plays, *King John* and *King Lear*. Percy failed to publish a collection of old romances. But he, by a publication of old ballads, clarified their inspiration to Shakespeare. The former part of this chapter, through comparison of four Shakespearean ballads in the *Reliques* with Shakespeare editions, elucidates that Percy's editing of them was linked to the historical criticism. First, it tackles

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[1] Keith Stewart, "Ancient Poetry as History in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 19 (1958): 335-47, especially 340.

Percy's impact on George Steevens and Edmond Malone's historical criticism, and later it shows how Percy's *Reliques* influenced a revolutionist in editing Shakespeare, Edward Capell. The latter half of this chapter discusses another meaning of Percy's editing of Shakespearean ballads.

1. Percy's Impact on Steevens and Malone's Historical Criticism

1.1. "King Cophetua and the Beggar-Maid" and *Romeo and Juliet*

Percy explains in the headnote to "King Cophetua and the Beggar-Maid" that Shakespeare alluded to this ballad in his *Romeo and Juliet* (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 166). Percy presents the possibility that the thirteenth line of this ballad offers original Shakespearean writing, "trim," which the players or printers ignorant of the allusion changed into a corrupted reading, "true" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 166). The list of quotations from editions of Shakespeare reveals how editors prior to Percy were unaware of the allusion, excluding the editor of the First Quarto (1597). The *Reliques* gives a stanza including the expression in the issue:

> The blinded boy, that shootes so trim,
>
> From heaven downe did hie;
>
> He drew a dart and shot at him,
>
> In place where he did lye [. . .].
>
> ("King Cophetua and the Beggar-Maid" 13-16)[2]

Shakespeare editions from the First Quarto to Malone's describe a young archer named Abraham Cupid or Adam Cupid:

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[2] *Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 167.

Speake to

my gossip *Venus* one faire word, one nickname for her

purblinde sonne and heire young *Abraham*: *Cupid* hee

that shot so trim when young King *Cophetua* loued the

begger wench.   (*Q1*, *Rom*. C4v)[3]

Speake to my goship *Venus* one faire word,

One nickname for her purblind sonne and her,

Young *Abraham*: *Cupid* he that shot so true,

When King *Cophetua* lou'd the begger mayd.

(*Q2*, *Rom*. D1r-D1v)[4]

Speake to my goship *Venus* one faire word,

One Nickname for her purblind Sonne and her,

Young *Abraham Cupid* he that shot so true,

When King *Cophetua* lou'd the begger Maid[.]

(*F1*, *Rom*. 1.1. TLN 761-64)[5]

Speak to my Gossip *Venus* one fair Word,

One Nick-name for her pur-blind Son and her,

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[3] *An Excellent Conceited Tragedie of Romeo and Iuliet* (London: Danter, 1597), 3 Mar. 2005 <http://prodigi.bl.uk/treasures/shakespeare/record.asp#DispTop>.

[4] *The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedie, of Romeo and Iuliet* (London: Burby, 1599), 3 Mar. 2005 <http://prodigi.bl.uk/treasures/shakespeare/record.asp#DispTop>.

[5] Charlton Hinman, ed., *The Norton Facsimile: The First Folio of Shakespeare* (New York: Norton, 1968) 675.

Young *Abraham Cupid*, he that shot so true,

When King *Cophetua* lov'd the Beggar-maid.

(Rowe, *Rom.* 2.2)[6]

Speak to my gossip *Venus* one fair word,

One nick-name to her pur-blind son and heir,

(Young *Abraham Cupid*, he that shot so true,

When king *Cophetua* lov'd the beggar-maid------)

(Pope, *Rom.* 2.2)[7]

Speak to my gossip *Venus* one fair word,

One nick-name to her pur-blind son and heir,

(Young *Abraham Cupid*, he that shot so true,

When King *Cophetua* lov'd the beggar-maid--)

(Theobald, *Rom.* 2.1. 7: 151-52)

Speak to my gossip *Venus* one fair word,

One nick-name to her pur-blind son and heir:

(Young *Abraham Cupid*, he that shot so true,

When King *Cophetua* lov'd the beggar-maid—)

(Warburton, *Rom.* 2.1)[8]

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[6] Nicholas Rowe, ed., *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear*, vol. 5 (London: Tonson, 1709) 2094.

[7] Alexander Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, vol. 6 (London: Tonson, 1725) 268.

[8] William Warburton, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, vol. 8 (London: Tonson, 1747) 33.

Speak to my gossip *Venus* one fair word,

One nick-name to her pur-blind son and heir:

(Young *Abraham Cupid*, he that shot so true,

When King *Cophetua* lov'd the beggar-maid—)

<div align="right">(Johnson, 1765 ed., Rom. 2.1. 8: 36-37)</div>

Speak to my gossip *Venus* one fair word,

One nick-name for her purblind son and heir,

Young *Abraham Cupid*, he that shot so true

When king *Cophetua* lov'd the beggar-maid.___

<div align="right">(Capell, Rom. 2.3. 10: C1r)</div>

Speak to my gossip Venus one fair word,

One nick-name to her purblind son and heir,

(Young Adam Cupid, he that shot so trim,

When king Cophetua lov'd the beggar-maid —

<div align="right">(Steevens, 1773 ed., Rom. 2.1. 10: 43)[9]</div>

Speak to my gossip Venus one fair word,

One nick-name for her purblind son and heir,

Young Adam Cupid, he that shot so trim,

When king Cophetua lov'd the beggar-maid.—

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[9] In his 1766 edition, Steevens follows his antecedents about the reading of the third line: "Young *Abraham: Cupid* he that shot so true [. . .]." See *Twenty of the Plays of Shakespeare, Being the Whole Number Printed in Quarto during His Life-Time, or before the Restoration, Collated Where There Were Different Copies, and Publish'd from the Originals*, vol. 4 (London: Tonson, 1766) G6r.

Judging from the agreement between the First Quarto and the *Reliques* in terms of the word, "trim," we can say that Percy restored the reading of the First Quarto: he refused to secure a submissive adoption of what earlier editors had accepted as the received reading, "true." In *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, Horace Howard Furness mentions that "Percy [. . .] conjectured that Sh[akespeare] had written 'trim,' not 'true,' apparently without knowing that the word was found in (Q1)."[10] Even if he did not know that, which is unlikely in light of the fact that he possessed Quartos together with Folios (Tillotson 8-9, 16, 28), he was bold enough to present the new reading by using the ancient ballad as a contextual material. This contextualization exerted influence upon Steevens and Malone, who escaped from neglect of the relation between this ballad and *Romeo and Juliet*. They consulted Percy's *Reliques* for their editions. The *Reliques* contributed to their historical criticism of Shakespeare.

In addition to his acceptance of Percy's revival of "trim," Steevens developed Percy's historical understanding. In the note to *Romeo and Juliet* of the 1773 edition, Steevens shows that the justification of Percy's improvement can be confirmed by "the reading of the oldest copy" (10: 44). Steevens's 1793 edition offers a longer note about "trim" than his earlier editions. By providing two citations from Churchyard's *Siege of Leeth* (1575) to his readers, he proves that the word "was an epithet formerly in common use": one is "Made sallies forth, as *tryme* men might do"; the other is "And showed themselves *trimme* souldiours as I ween" (14: 394).

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[10] Horace Howard Furness, ed., *Romeo and Juliet*, A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare 1 (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1874) 89.

On the grounds of this comment, the fourth edition of the *Reliques* published in 1794 reveals that "*it has been discovered that* SHOT SO TRIM *was the genuine reading.*"[11] In fact this remark had been already disclosed in the third edition of the *Reliques* (1775), which goes so far as to urge readers to "*see Steevens's Shakespeare.*"[12] But the 1773 Shakespeare edition is lacking in the citations from Churchyard's *Siege of Leeth* (10: 44).[13]

In an attempt to make a contextual understanding of Shakespeare, Malone's edition offers a stanza of the ballad that "Shakspeare had particularly in view" (1790 ed. 9: 55):

The *blinded* boy that *shoots* so *trim*,

From heaven down did hie,

He drew a dart and shot at him,

In place where he did lie[.]   (9: 55)

This is identical with the stanza from Percy's "King Cophetua and the Beggar-Maid." This means that Malone's historical criticism "supports [. . .] the reading *trim*, which is found in the first quarto 1597, and which in the subsequent copies was changed to *true*" (1790 ed. 9: 55), in agreement with Percy's

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[11] Percy, ed., *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry: Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs, and Other Pieces of Our Earlier Poets, Together with Some Few of Later Date*, 4th ed., vol. 1 (London: Rivington, 1794) 198.

[12] Percy, ed., *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry: Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs, and Other Pieces of Our Earlier Poets, Together with Some Few of Later Date*, 3rd ed., vol. 1 (London: Dodsley, 1775) 184.

[13] Steevens's 1778 edition also fails to take the quotation from *Siege of Leeth* (10: 52). So does his 1785 edition: Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, eds., *The Plays of William Shakspeare*, vol. 10 (London: Bathurst, 1785) 54-55.

renunciation of the traditionally-received word.

Steevens and Malone changed "Abraham Cupid" into "Adam Cupid." The reason why they did so is obvious from their notes: Steevens's alteration was based upon Thomas Gray's assertion that this youngster alludes to the renowned archer, Adam Bell (Steevens, 1773 ed. 10: 43); Malone's modification follows in the wake of the alteration "suggested by Mr. Upton" (1790 ed. 9: 54). In consideration of their notes, both of which refer to Percy's *Reliques*, his indirect influence is supposed to have resulted in their association of "Adam," not "Abraham," with the youngster who "shot so trim" in *Romeo and Juliet*. This is because in the headnote to the first Shakespearean ballad in the *Reliques*, "Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, and William of Cloudesly," Percy recommends that "'*Abraham Cupid*' in *Romeo and Juliet* [. . .] *should be* 'ADAM *Cupid*,' *in allusion to our archer*" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 130), who plays a role as a protagonist in this ballad.[14] This signifies that Percy presented a fresh viewpoint to understanding of Shakespeare by using an ancient ballad as a historical document.

This sort of attempt at historical criticism is also put forward in "King Cophetua and the Beggar-Maid" in question. In a footnote to this ballad, Percy makes a bold proposal that "Zenelophon," mentioned in *Love's Labour's Lost*, in which Shakespeare alludes to this ballad, should be changed into "Penelophon," a name called in this ballad.[15] All the editions from Rowe to Capell offer "Zenelophon." Steevens's and Malone's editions, although they support their

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[14] This recommendation is based on Theobald's conjectural alteration of the archer's name, although Theobald sticks to the old reading of "Abraham" in *Romeo and Juliet* of his edition.

[15] *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry: Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs, and Other Pieces of Our Earlier Poets, (Chiefly of the Lyric Kind) Together with Some Few of Later Date*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (London: Dodsley, 1767) 186-87. This proposal is lacking in the first edition.

predecessors' reading, "Zenelophon," introduce Percy's claim in their notes to Act 4, Scene 1 of *Love's Labour's Lost* (1773 ed. 2: 388; 1790 ed. 2: 360).

1.2. "Take Thy Old Cloak about Thee" and *Othello*

According to its headnote, one stanza of "Take Thy Old Cloak about Thee" overlaps with what Shakespeare quoted in his *Othello*. If we compare the first line of the seventh stanza of this ballad with counterparts of Shakespeare editions, we see interaction between the former and the latter. Before this, the *Reliques* is juxtaposed with its editorial source, Percy's Folio MS.

King Stephen was a worthy peere [. . .].

(*Reliques*, "Take Thy Old Cloak about Thee" 49)[16]

King Harry was a verry good K[ing;] [. . .].

(Folio MS, "Bell My Wiffe" 49)[17]

Next, the eighteenth-century Shakespeare editions are collated with the 1622 Quarto and the First Folio:

O sweete *England*, ---King *Stephen* was a worthy peere [. . .].

(*Q1, Oth.* E4r)[18]

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[16] *Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 174.

[17] Hales and Furnivall 2: 324.

[18] *The Tragœdy of Othello, the Moore of Venice* (London: Walkley, 1622), 3 Mar. 2005 <http://prodigi.bl.uk/treasures/shakespeare/record.asp#DispTop>.

King Stephen was and-a worthy Peere [. . .].

(*F1*, *Oth.* 2.2. TLN 1201)[19]

King Stephen *was and-a worthy Peer* [. . .].

<div style="text-align: right">(Rowe, *Oth.* 2.1. 5: 2584)</div>

King Stephen *was and-a worthy peer* [. . .].

<div style="text-align: right">(Pope, *Oth*, 2.10. 6: 513)</div>

King Stephen *was an a worthy peer* [. . .].

<div style="text-align: right">(Theobald, *Oth.* 2.3. 7: 416)</div>

King Stephen *was an a worthy peer* [. . .].

<div style="text-align: right">(Warburton, *Oth.* 2.10. 8: 319)</div>

King Stephen *was an a worthy peer* [. . .].

<div style="text-align: right">(Johnson, *Oth.* 2.11. 8: 373)</div>

King Stephen *was a worthy peer* [. . .].

<div style="text-align: right">(Capell, *Oth.* 2.3. 10: T1r)</div>

King Stephen was a worthy peer [. . .].

<div style="text-align: right">(Steevens, 1773 ed., *Oth.* 2.3. 10: 416)</div>

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[19] Hinman 827.

King Stephen *was a worthy peer* [. . .].

(Malone, 1790 ed., *Oth.* 2.3. 9: 514)

Percy's headnote to this ballad reads: "[t]*his curiosity is preserved in the Editor's folio MS but not without corruptions, which are here removed by the assistance of the Scottish Edit.*" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 172). Henry B. Wheatley attributes "*the Scottish Edit.*" to Allan Ramsay's *Tea Table Miscellany*, where the king is named "Robert."[20] Percy adopted neither "King Harry" nor "King Robert" but assumed the reading that Shakespeare editors had made. Percy tries to reverse the process in which "a worthy peere" in the Quarto was later changed into "and-a worthy peer" or "an a worthy peer." This reverse is corroborated by the fact that Percy had Quartos as well as Folios. Percy's reading, "a worthy peere," was accepted by Steevens and Malone.[21]

As far as "King Stephen" is concerned, Percy's historical understanding of Shakespeare might seem to be suspicious since it involves altering a contextual material to bring into line with the Shakespeare text. However, we must notice that his objective was more than an attempt to "*contribute* [. . .] *to illustrate* [Shakespeare's] *writings*" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 118). His ambition was also to present, or rather, reconstruct a text older than what was written by Shakespeare. This is implied in Percy's introduction to the second book of the first volume of the *Reliques* and his letters to Warton and Richard Farmer. His letter to Warton, written

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[20] Henry B. Wheatley, ed., *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs, and Other Pieces of Our Earlier Poets, Together with Some Few of Later Date*, vol. 1 (London: Sonnenschein, 1891) 195.

[21] Capell adopted Percy's reading as well. It may that Capell depended only upon the Quarto, not upon the *Reliques*. But I would like to suggest that he consulted both the two for his edition of Shakespeare, in consideration of Capell's relationship with Percy. See the next section.

in June 1761, underlines the possibility that Shakespeare took plots of his plays from ancient ballads.[22] The introduction repeats this matter (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 117). This means that Percy assumed that ballads to be listed in the second book preceded Shakespeare's plays. Percy's letter to Farmer, written in December 1763, deals with "a subject for a small engraving by way of headpiece to" the second book.[23] In the letter Percy is considering arranging for the engraving to describe Shakespeare "listning [sic] to an ancient Minstrel who is playing on his harp, whilst a boy standing by him is singing to it some old ditty" (Brooks 62). For Percy it was a task to present ancient minstrel ballads as Shakespeare paid attention to them. This task, in other words, was reconstruction of what Shakespeare must have referred to. This reconstruction required Percy to conjecture ideal and original texts that motivated Shakespeare to create his plays, with the result that Percy selected the Shakespearean reading, "Stephen," and renounced the readings in his Folio MS and Ramsay's *Tea Table Miscellany*, "Harry" and "Robert." This eclecticism is mirrored in his trial to revive the Quarto reading, "a worthy peere." As a text that he judged to be closest to an ideal and original text, Percy adopted the Quarto reading, relinquishing other ones. In his edition of *Othello*, Ernst A. J. Honigmann, immediately after reprinting the reading from Hales and Furnivall's *Percy's Folio Manuscript*, doubts that "Percy printed the ballad exactly as Shakespeare knew it [. . .]."[24] It may be impossible to reproduce the original ballad as it was. However, the *Reliques* version reflects Percy's effort to reconstruct with conjecture what he

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[22] M. G. Robinson and Leah Dennis, eds., *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and Thomas Warton*, The Percy Letters 3 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1951) 16.

[23] Cleanth Brooks, ed., *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and Richard Farmer*, The Percy Letters 2 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1946) 62.

[24] E. A. J. Honigmann, ed., *Othello*, The Arden Shakespeare 3rd Ser. 5 (Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1997) 337.

thought to have been "the ballad exactly as Shakespeare knew it." In that way, Percy's contextualization of Shakespeare developed from mere presentation of historical materials into conjectural and eclectic reconstruction of the best text. As Chapter 4 reveals, this tendency, which is related to the authorial orientation by recourse to conjecture,[25] was later to be reconsidered and weakened in the fourth edition of the *Reliques*.

2. Contribution to Capell's Shakespeare Edition by the *Reliques*

Through collation of the *Reliques* and Shakespeare editions, this section shows the possibility that Percy made a contribution to Capell's edition in terms of historical criticism, despite the fact that the whole text of the edition excludes any reference to Percy's *Reliques*. I found out the fact by means of Chadwyck-Healey's *Editions and Adaptations of Shakespeare*, to which you have access on the Internet through *Literature Online* (LION).[26] The collation is made about two ballads, "Willow, Willow, Willow" and "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love."

2.1. "Willow, Willow, Willow" and *Othello*

In the *Reliques* Percy focuses attention on "Willow, Willow, Willow," from which "*Shakespeare has taken his song of the* WILLOW, *in his* OTHELLO, *A. 4. s. 3. though somewhat varied and applied by him to a female character*" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 175).[27] From the Shakespeare editions are cited the first lines of this song:

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[25] According to Peter Shillingsburg, we can categorize authorial editors as those who "produce an eclectic text when there is more than one authoritative source text." Shillingsburg, *Scholarly Editing*, 3rd ed. 25.

[26] As for the detailed information, see the following URL: http://www.shu.ac.uk/emls/iemls/reviews/eas/cookeas.htm.

[27] E. A. J. Honigmann argues that despite the fact that the willow song derives from "an old

The poor Soul sat Singing, by a Sycamore Tree.

(Rowe, *Oth.* 4.2. 5: 2630)

The poor soul sat singing by a sycamore tree [. . .].

(Pope, *Oth.* 4.13. 6: 570)

The poor soul sat singing by a sycamore-tree [. . .].

(Theobald, *Oth.* 4.2. 7: 473)

The poor soul sat singing by a sycamore-tree [. . .].

(Warburton, *Oth.* 4.13. 8: 383)

'The poor soul sat singing by a sycamore-tree [. . .].

(Johnson, *Oth.* 4.13. 8: 446)

The poor soul sat sighing by a sycamore tree [. . .].

(Capell, *Oth.* 4.3. 10: Y5v)

The poor soul sat singing by a sycamore-tree [. . .].

(Steevens, 1773 ed., *Oth.* 4.3. 10: 491)

The poor soul sat sighing by a sycamore tree [. . .].

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ballad in Percy's *Reliques*," it is not wise to consider that "Percy's version gives the ballad verbatim as Shakespeare found it." See Honigmann 339.

The *Reliques* presents a text equivalent to the beginning of this song sung by Desdemona in *Othello*:

A Poore soule sat sighing under a sicamore tree [. . .].

("Willow, Willow, Willow" 1)[28]

We notice that Capell and Malone use the word "sighing" instead of "singing," which the other editors adopt in their editions. The *Reliques* is corresponding to Capell's edition. This indicates the possibility that Capell's was under the influence of the *Reliques*. Before considering the possibility, however, we must remember that Capell was an innovator in depending upon early printed editions, the Folios and Quartos, for his edition. What the First Folio gives as a counterpart to the line of the song is:

The poore Soule sat singing, by a Sicamour tree.

(*F1, Othello.* 4.3. TLN 3011)[29]

The First Folio is consistent with the editions prior to Capell's. The difference between the First Folio and his edition is mentioned in his note to this song. Honigmann categorizes "singing" as a reading in a corrected state of Folio, and "sining" as what is presented by an uncorrected state of Folio (291). Although the

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[28] *Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 176.

[29] Hinman 841.

1622 Quarto does not have an equivalent to the line, it provides us with an opportunity to catch a glimpse of the song:

> My mother had a maid cald *Barbary*,
>
> She was in loue, and he she lou'd, prou'd mad,
>
> And did forsake her, she has a song of willow,
>
> An old thing 'twas, but it exprest her fortune,
>
> And she died singing it, that Song to night,
>
> Will not goe from my mind--harke, who's that knocks?
>
> (*Q1*, *Oth.* L2v)

From this it is impossible to draw the word, "sighing." We cannot say that the 1622 Quarto triggered Capell's alteration of "singing." Malone's note explains that "sighing" derives "from a quarto of no authority printed in 1630"[30] and that the word "is also the reading in the black-letter copy of this ballad in the Pepys Collection, which Dr. Percy followed" (1790 ed. 9: 609).[31] As Malone points out, the Second Quarto offers as the first line of Desdemona's song the following reading, "*The poore soule sate sighing by a sicamour tree* [. . .]" (*Q2*, *Oth.* 77).[32] What the beginning of this Pepys ballad presents is: "A Poore soule sat sighing vnder a Sicamore tree, / O willow, willow, willow [. . .]."[33] Capell may have consulted the

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[30] Honigmann also points out that the reading of "sighing" originates in the Second Quarto (1630). See Honigmann 291.

[31] I would like to take into account the possibility that Percy consulted the Quartos and Folios as well as the Pepys Collection.

[32] *The Tragœdy of Othello, the Moore of Venice* (London: Hawkins, 1630), 27 Oct. 2005 <http://prodigi.bl.uk/treasures/shakespeare/record.asp#DispTop>.

[33] Helen Weinstein, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge,*
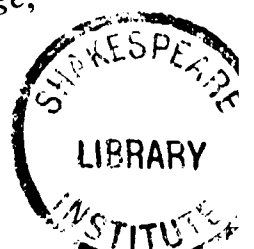
1630 Quarto and/or the Pepys ballad without any recourse to the *Reliques*. However, there is no ignoring the possibility that Capell consulted for the word Percy's *Reliques* as well, which is the only preceding source in the eighteenth century to present the reading, "sighing." Only one example is not persuasive enough to acknowledge Percy's influence on Capell. Another is about a ballad, or rather, a sonnet, "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love."

2.2. "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love" and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*

This sonnet, which Percy believed Christopher Marlowe had written (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 199), has a portion parallel to Sir Hugh Evans's song in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. The *Reliques* offers:

> By shallow rivers, to whose falls
>
> Melodious birds sing madrigals.
>
> There will I make thee beds of roses
>
> With a thousand fragrant posies [. . .].
>
> ("The Passionate Shepherd to His Love" 7-10)[34]

Here we should take notice of Percy's use of the words, "beds of roses," which was not chosen by virtually every editor of Shakespeare:

> *To shallow Ruiers to whose*

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vol. 2, pt. 1 (Cambridge: Brewer, 1992) 55.

[34] *Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 201.

falls: melodious Birds sings Madrigalls: There will we make

our Peds of Roses: and a thousand fragrant posies.

(*F1, Wiv.* 3.1. TLN 1174-76)[35]

To shallow Rivers, to whose Falls melo-

dious Birds sings Madrigalls; There will we make our Peds of

Roses, and a thousand fragrant Posies. To shallow [. . .].

(Rowe, *Wiv.* 3.1. 1: 154)

To shallow rivers, to whose falls

Melodious birds sing madrigalls;

There will we make our peds of roses,

And a thousand fragrant posies.

To shallow [. . .].   (Pope, *Wiv.* 3.1. 1: 269-70)

By shallow rivers, to whose falls

Melodious birds sing madrigalls;

There will we make our peds of roses;

And a thousand fragrant posies.

By shallow [. . .].   (Theobald, *Wiv.* 3.1. 1: 261)

By shallow rivers, to whose falls

Melodious birds sing madrigalls;

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[35] Hinman 66.

There will we make our peds of roses;

And a thousand vragrant posies.

By shallow [. . .].   (Warburton, *Wiv*.3.1. 1: 294)

By shallow rivers, to whose falls

Melodious birds sing madrigalls;

There will we make our peds of roses;

And a thousand vagrant posies.

By shallow [. . .].   (Johnson, *Wiv*. 3.1. 2: 497-98)

To shallow rivers, to whose falls   [*singing.*

melodious birds sing madrigals;

there will we make our beds of roses,

and a thousand fragrant posies.

  To shallow [. . .].   (Capell, *Wiv*. 3.1. 1: N4v)

By shallow rivers, to whose falls

Melodious birds sing madrigals;

There will we make our peds of roses;

And a thousand vragrant posies.

           (Steevens, 1773 ed., *Wiv*. 3.1. 1: 249)

To shallow rivers, to whose falls   [*sings.*

Melodious birds sing madrigals;

There will we make our peds of roses,

And a thousand fragrant posies.

<div align="right">(Malone, 1790 ed., Wiv. 3.1. 1, pt. 2: 246)</div>

All the editions but Capell's give *"peds of roses"* instead of *"beds of roses."* In order to trace the source of Capell's *"beds of roses,"* the 1602 Quarto are shown:

> And then she made him bedes of Roses,
>
> And a thousand fragrant poses,
>
> To shallow riueres. Now so kad vdge me, my hart
>
> Swelles more and more. Mee thinkes *I* can cry
>
> Verie well. There dwelt a man in *Babylon*,
>
> To shallow riuers and to falles,
>
> Melodious birds sing Madrigalles.

<div align="right">(Q1, Wiv. D2v)[36]</div>

The Quarto reads, "bedes of Roses," in agreement with Capell's. It is true that we can say that Capell revived the Quarto reading, which justifies Capell as an editorial innovator to renounce traditionally received readings. However, it is difficult to deny that Capell referred to Percy's *Reliques*, as well as the Quarto, in deciding to use the words, *"beds of roses."*

Percy's influence on Capell in these examples can be corroborated by the fact that they communicated Shakespearean information to each other. This communication is obvious from Percy's letter to Thomas Warton, written in June

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[36] *A Most Pleasaunt and Excellent Conceited Comedie, of Syr Iohn Falstaffe, and the Merrie Wiues of Windsor* (London: Iohnson, 1602), 3 Mar. 2005 < http://prodigi.bl.uk/treasures/shakespeare/record.asp#DispTop>.

1761. After insisting the possibility that ancient ballads were original sources of *King Lear* and *Titus Andronicus*, Percy implies that he discussed the original source of *Romeo and Juliet* with "[a] very curious friend of mine [Edward Capell], the Editor of *the Prolusions* published last winter, with so much accuracy" (Robinson and Dennis 16). As is revealed in Percy's letter to Richard Farmer, written in March 1765, the communication between Percy and Capell expanded to friction: "*we exchange a few words, but he never invites me to call on him: for he charges me with the inexpiable Crime of 'forestalling him in the Ballad of Titus Andronicus'*" (Brooks 87).

As far as these instances are concerned, Percy's *Reliques* makes a contribution to Capell's historical understanding of Shakespeare by giving grounds for Capell's return to Shakespearean early copies without taking the eighteenth-century Shakespeare editions on trust.

It is a hurried conclusion to argue that Percy's contextualization of Shakespeare through ancient ballads was nothing but a result of influence of eighteenth-century historical criticism. It is better to uncover another meaning as well: the elevation of Shakespeare's cultural status in the century.

3. Shakespeare as an Arouser of Interest in Ballad Literature

3.1. Close Relation between Plays and Oral Culture in Shakespeare's Age

In the mid-sixteenth century, when Shakespeare was born, ballad literature was not established as a special category. In his *History of English Poetry*, Thomas Warton illustrates how indistinctive a romance, a history, a prose work, or a religious subject was under the title of a ballad (Fairer, *Thomas Warton's History* 3: 423). His explanation also accounts for the mid-century situation where "[a] play or interlude

was sometimes called a ballet" (*Thomas Warton's History* 3: 423). According to the *OED*, "ballet" was the sixteenth-to-seventeenth century spelling of the word "ballad."

Thus Shakespeare's age saw this borderless relationship between a play and a ballad. Gerald Porter brackets Shakespearean plays with his contemporary ballads: both can be classified as oral literature. He claims that the "belittling of oral practices and beliefs conceals the fact that the plays themselves were a part of the same popular tradition, and that contemporary ballads seem to function as a parallel narrative to the plays in another medium."[37] Reconsideration of this neglect motivated Porter to point out examples of the possibility that Shakespeare depended upon oral rather than literary sources: Porter introduces Victor E. Neuberg's indication that the metaphors of love relationships derived from the sayings of the Elizabethan times can be seen both in the drama and in street broadsides (Porter 169).[38] Porter's argument is based upon his belief that "[t]here was also a dense relation between working life, popular song and the theatre" in Shakespeare's age (Porter 168).[39] Porter concludes that despite the survival of Shakespeare's work "as a body of texts," it is "embedded in the oral culture of performance and intertext,"

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[37] Gerald Porter, "Telling the Tale Twice Over: Shakespeare and the Ballad," *Ballads into Books: The Legacies of F. J. Child*, ed. Tom Cheesman and Sigrid Rieuwerts (Bern: Lang, 1997) 173-74.

[38] See also F. W. Sternfeld, "Music and Ballads," *Shakespeare Survey* 17 (1964): 219. Sternfeld, in an attempt to highlight prevalence of ballads in "the everyday parlance of the Elizabethans," traces Armado's exclamation in *Love's Labour's Lost* back to "two widely distributed ballads," not "the obvious biblical *exempla*."

[39] This belief may be supported by Sternfeld's standpoint: he judges the connection between music and human affairs to have been "a commonplace of Elizabethan rhetoric, readily referred to by preacher or playwright" ("Music and Ballads" 214-15). Unlike Porter and Sternfeld, Lukas Erne affirms that Shakespeare wrote his plays in a literary way as well: "the English Renaissance plays [. . .] had a double existence, one on stage and one on the printed page." See Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003) 23.

and shows a "constant interaction" with audience, not readers of texts (Porter 176).

This opinion can be fortified by Walter J. Ong, who argues that "[t]hough

Renaissance humanism invented modern textual scholarship and presided over the

development of letterpress printing, it also harkened back to antiquity and thereby

gave new life to orality."[40] He goes on to maintains that "English style in the Tudor

period and even much later carried heavy oral residue in its use of epithets, balance,

antithesis, formulary structures, and commonplace materials" (Ong, *Orality and

Literacy* 115). In another book Ong also claims that "oral residue is of special

importance on the Tudor scene, for [. . .] the world of the Tudor writer shows a more

massive concentration of oral residue than that of earlier ages."[41] Familiarity of oral

ballad literature to the audience in the Elizabethan times stimulated them to be

interested in Shakespeare plays. In the eighteenth century, however, the plays were

doomed to impair this closely-knitted solidarity with oral culture.

3.2. Disregard for Ballad Literature in the Eighteenth Century

As David Scott Kastan argues, "[t]he Shakespeare that the editors [in the

eighteenth century] served was explicitly an author not a playwright, and his plays,

for their purposes, were, therefore, not scripts to be performed [. . .] but plays to be

read [. . .]."[42] That is to say, the editors stabilized performance texts exposed to

constant modifications in order to fix Shakespearean texts on the printed page. This

stabilization means "the growth of a literary and scholarly tradition of

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[40] Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982) 115.

[41] Ong, *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology: Studies in the Interaction of Expression and Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1971) 47.

[42] David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001) 96.

Shakespearean editing independent of a dramatic tradition, embodying a concern for the values of the printed book as against oral tradition and the spoken word" (Walsh, *Shakespeare* 124). This led to "the interests and activities that took Shakespeare's plays out of the theater and brought them into the study, preserving and presenting them to be read" (Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* 11). Gary Taylor also points out that "[t]he center of English culture was shifting from performance to print—and Shakespeare went with it."[43]

Oral tradition, which eighteenth-century Shakespeare editors were gradually purging from their texts, was on the verge of ruin. Balladry symptomatic of orality was seen as unpolished and contemptible. There is no doubt that to some extent ballad literature attracted the interest of readers by the approval of the ballad "Chevy Chase" in Joseph Addison's *Spectator*.[44] But ballads were still regarded as vulgar and crude. Samuel Johnson defined a ballad as "nothing but trifling verse."[45] Scholars in our age discuss this disregard for balladry. Bradford P. Millar explains, using Robert Dighton's drawing, that "ballads were even tacked up in privies."[46] Zinnia Knapman points out that Percy's *Reliques* was a bold experiment designed to "offer the ballad as serious literature."[47] Gwendolyn A. Morgan asserts that the

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[43] Gary Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History, from the Restoration to the Present* (New York: Weidenfeld, 1989) 62.

[44] The *Spectator* treats the ballad in papers Nos. 70 and 74. See Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator,* ed. Donald F. Bond, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) 297-303, 315-22.

[45] Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language: In Which the Words Are Deduced from Their Originals, and Illustrated in Their Different Significations by Examples from the Best Writers* (London: Strahan, 1755). Johnson's definition borrows this phrase from a passage of Isaac Watts.

[46] Branford P. Millar, "Eighteenth-Century Views of the Ballad," *Western Folklore* 9 (1950): 131.

[47] Zinnia Knapman, "A Reappraisal of Percy's Editing," *Folk Music Journal* 5.2 (1986):

disregard demonstrated in the eighteenth century has been inherited up to our day: "[t]he ballad remains for the majority of scholars a debased form, not to be taken terribly seriously and certainly of no great import."[48] That is why ballad-philes were forced to justify themselves by connecting degraded balladry to Homeric authority.

3.3. Shakespeare and Ballads Regained

In eighteenth-century ballad literature, before Percy's *Reliques* was published in 1765, Homer was "a useful bit of propaganda for those who were venturing to offer the ballads to the serious attention of men of taste."[49] This Homeric defence of ballad literature expands from Addison's *Spectator* to *A Collection of Old Ballads* (1723-25).

Stephen Vartin finds this defence in Addison's essays on "Chevy Chase" and the introduction to *A Collection of Old Ballads*.[50] Since he fails to elaborate on "parallels between the classics and the ballad genre" (Vartin 35) provided in the *Spectator*, however, I shall reveal how Addison developed an analogy between Homer and an anonymous ballad-maker of "Chevy Chase." Addison reveals the similarity in their motive of composition:

As *Greece* was a Collection of many Governments, who suffered very much

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213.

[48] Gwendolyn A. Morgan, "Percy, the Antiquarians, the Ballad, and the Middle Ages," *Medievalism in England II*, ed. Leslie J. Workman and Kathleen Verduin, Studies in Medievalism 7 (Cambridge: Brewer, 1996) 30.

[49] Albert B. Friedman, *The Ballad Revival: Studies in the Influence of Popular on Sophisticated Poetry* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1961) 171.

[50] Stephen Vartin, "Thomas Percy's *Reliques*: Its Structure and Organization," diss., New York U, 1972, 35.

among themselves, and gave the *Persian* Emperour, who was their common Enemy, many Advantages over them by their mutual Jealousies and Animosities, *Homer*, in order to establish among them an Union, which was so necessary for their Safety, grounds his Poem upon the Discords of the several *Grecian* Princes [. . .]. At the Time the Poem [Chevy Chase] we are now treating of was written, the Dissentions of the Barons, who were then so many petty Princes, ran very high [. . .] and produced unspeakable Calamities to the Country: The Poet, to deter Men from such unnatural Contentions, describes a bloody Battle and dreadful Scene of Death, occasioned by the mutual Feuds which reigned in the Families of an *English* and *Scotch* Nobleman. (*Spectator* 1: 299)

This analogy also applies to celebration of "Persons and Actions which do Honour to their Country": Homer praised a Greek prince for his heroism, while the poet of "Chevy Chase" extols "an Hero in his own Country" for "the Reputation of it" (*Spectator* 1: 300).

This Homeric influence extended to *A Collection of Old Ballads*, which functioned as "something of a landmark in the ballad revival because it sets us directly on the road to the *Reliques*" (Friedman, *The Ballad Revival* 146). As Vartin points out, the influence is mirrored in a sentence in the introduction to the collection:

And here the very Prince of Poets, old Homer, *if we may trust ancient Records, was nothing more than a blind* Ballad-singer, *who writ Songs of the Siege of* Troy, *and the Adventures of* Ulysses; *and playing the Tunes upon his Harp, sung from Door to Door, till at his Death somebody thought fit to collect all his*

Ballads, and by a little connecting 'em, gave us the Iliad *and* Odysses, *which since that Time have been so much admired.*[51]

An anonymous editor of this collection can be said to have taken advantage of Homer's authority by recollection of him as a ballad-singer and of his masterpieces "so much admired."

In contrast, as has been revealed, Percy featured in his *Reliques* the strong relation between ballads and Shakespeare, and formed a new departure from Homeric authority.[52] This can be interpreted as Percy's attempt to remind his readers that Shakespearean plays used to be tied with oral ballad literature. This attempt excludes the recollection of Homer's legendary exploits. The reason why Percy turned from Homer to Shakespeare must be examined in more detail. First, we discuss the relation between Shakespeare editions and his canonization, and later progressive escalation of Shakespeare's cultural status.

The canonization of Shakespeare as a native classical writer was achieved through the editing of Shakespeare's works, which Marcus Walsh locates in "the history of a more general process by which English culture required and developed a sense of its own identity and its own history" (*Shakespeare* 1). Editors in the century began to search for vernacular literary classics. Writings by Milton and Shakespeare were "identified as canonic, as scriptures, and hence as worthy of editorial attention, and explanatory commentary" (Walsh, *Shakespeare* 11). Simon Jarvis associates the Shakespeare editing with "eighteenth-century aspirations to refine and settle the

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[51] *A Collection of Old Ballads: Corrected from the Best and Most Ancient Copies Extant*, vol. 1 (London: Roberts, 1723) iii-iv.

[52] In contrast to this thesis, Vartin's dissertation highlights the relation between Homer and the *Reliques*. See Vartin 35-36.

English language" (11): stabilized texts of the canonical authors made "the English language as pure and stable as the classical languages were considered to be" (11). Jarvis links the improvement of the English language to the canonization of English native classics. It was likely that Percy's ballad editing was strongly related to the cultural operation through which the native poets came to be in the limelight. This means that by the time the *Reliques* was published, the centre of the canonization had shifted from foreign classics to native classics: from Homer to Shakespeare.

Gary Taylor describes the gradual acceptance of Shakespeare as a native classic writer in the former part of the eighteenth century: it ranges from the reception of a copy of Shakespeare's plays by the Cambridge University library in 1715 to George Sewell's complaint in the preface to his edition of Shakespeare's poems (1725) about partiality for ancient Greek and Latin authors rather than native English writers (Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare* 88). "During the 1720s," according to John Brewer, "English authors and works in English were first referred to as 'classics.'" [53] In his *Shakespeare Restored* (1726), Theobald defines Shakespeare as a classic writer (Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare* 88). Shakespeare, regarded as a classic writer in the 1720s, had aroused unprecedented enthusiasm by the middle of the century (Brewer 479). In 1753, a playwright, Arthur Murphy (1727-1805) went so far as to declare that Shakespeare is a divine figure (Brewer 479; Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* 97). Jonathan Bate explores Shakespeare's pantheonization. [54] "[I]n his own time" Shakespeare was regarded as nothing "but one of a constellation of theatrical stars" (Bate 9). However, apotheosis of

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[53] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1997) 473.

[54] Jonathan Bate, "The Shakespeare Phenomenon," *Shakespeare in Art*, ed. Jane Martineau and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Merrell, 2003) 9-19.

Shakespeare developed through the 1730s "in which the 'cult of Shakespeare' took root—in which his celebrity and influence came to outstrip that of his contemporaries once and for all" (Bate 11) into the Shakespeare Jubilee in Stratford-upon-Avon organized by David Garrick in 1769: that is, "the point at which Shakespeare was finally transformed from *primus inter pares* (first among equals) to 'god of our idolatry'" (Bate 13). Nick Groom corroborates this idolization of Shakespeare by pointing out that by 1760, Shakespeare, "free from the constraints of French neo-classicism," had played a role as "a cultural icon for the educated but middle class with small Latin and less Greek" (*The Plays of William Shakespeare* 1: xx). Robert Witbeck Babcock emphasizes that in the latter half of the eighteenth century Shakespeare transcended the classic ancients.[55] His genius which enabled him to be emancipated from their rules and to imitate nature resulted in "a paean of praise in terms of the intrinsic superiority of original genius itself" (Babcock 123): the way of evaluating Shakespeare became absolute rather than relative by the end of the century. Jeffrey Kahan illustrates the tendency towards bardolatry among eighteenth-century playwrights, who "simply strengthened their reputations by linking their names to [Shakespeare's]" (*Reforging Shakespeare* 30). Kastan claims that as Shakespeare elevated his cultural status as a native English author, "the desire to recover the lost perfection of his text becomes ever more intense" (*Shakespeare and the Book* 97-98). It is justifiable to hypothesize that this desire motivated Percy to spotlight Shakespearean ballads in his *Reliques*.

Reunion of balladry with Shakespearean plays in the *Reliques* clearly pivoted on this elevation of his cultural status, with the result of upgrading the low rank of

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[55] Robert Witbeck Babcock, *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry 1766-1799: A Study in English Criticism of the Late Eighteenth Century* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1964) 67.

balladry. Shakespeare's enhanced reputation enabled Percy to present seemingly low-graded balladry as important historical documents, which Shakespeare himself consulted for his plays. The process in which the Elizabethan audience launched their involvement in Shakespeare upon the basis of their familiarity with balladry was reversed in the case of eighteenth-century readers: the bardolatry inspired them to be interested in ballad literature.

CHAPTER 3

CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS: INVENTION OF ANONYMOUS

BALLAD-PROGENITORS

The source of Percy's *Reliques*, his Folio MS, was discovered by accident in his friend's house. Percy found the MS on the verge of destruction. His memorandum written in November 1769 inside the cover of the MS reads, "[t]his very curious Old Manuscript in its present mutilated state, but unbound and sadly torn &c., I rescued from destruction [. . .]" (Hales and Furnivall 1: lxxiv). The memo also explains a state where the MS was located: "I saw it lying dirty on the floor under a Bureau in [the] Parlour: being used by the Maids to light the fire" (Hales and Furnivall 1: lxxiv). The advertisement to the fourth edition of the *Reliques* gives a more detail explanation of the state:

> [M]any of them [ballads, songs and romances in the MS] are extremely mutilated and imperfect. The first and last leaves are wanting; and of fifty-four pages near the beginning half of every leaf hath been torn away, and several others are injured towards the end; besides that through a great part of the volume the top or bottom line, and sometimes both have been cut off in the binding. (*Reliques*, 4th ed. 1: xi)

After Percy saved what was left of the MS from destruction, he sent it "to an ignorant Bookbinder, who pared the margin" (Hales and Furnivall 1: lxxiv). What is worse, in another note inside the cover Percy confesses that he himself caused damage on the MS:

When I first got possession of this MS. I was very young, and being in no

Degree an Antiquary, I had not then learnt to reverence it; which must be my

excuse for the scribble which I then spread over some parts of its Margin[,] and

in one or two instances for even taking out the Leaves to save the trouble of

transcribing. I have since been more careful.   (Hales and Furnivall 1: lxxiv)

This defective condition led Percy to use only 45 out of nearly 200 MS songs (Hales

and Furnivall 1: xxii)[1] and to make a number of revisions of them instead of

copying them into his *Reliques* in a faithful manner.[2] The MS functioned only as a

springboard to Percy's editing of the *Reliques*: Percy's sophistication transformed

the crude MS into the *Reliques*. During the hundred years, from the first publication

of the *Reliques* (1765) till the printing of the MS by John W. Hales and Frederick J.

Furnivall (1867-68), "no one was allowed to know how the owner who made his

fame by it had dealt with it, whether his treatment was foul or fair" (Hales and

Furnivall 1: ix). Hales and Furnivall's editorial objective, in contrast to that of Percy,

was "to give the texts just as they stood in the MS.," so that they "have left their

mistakes and defects alone" (Hales and Furnivall 1: xxiii). The Folio MS produced

about 1650 was transfigured into the *Reliques* one hundred years later. It took one

hundred more years to resurrect the MS as a printed version. This chapter focuses

upon this transfiguration from the MS into the *Reliques*: Percy made considerable

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[1] It is highly probable that what limited Percy's use of the Folio MS was not only its defective state but also his failure to monopolize the MS: "[i]t seems likely that he was not the sole reader to peruse the manuscript [. . .]" (Groom, *The Making of Percy's Reliques* 122).

[2] About the disagreement among scholars on the number of ballads selected from the Folio MS, see Vartin 76.

changes to some Folio-related ballads, such as "Sir Cauline," "The Child of Elle," "Sir Aldingar" and "The Marriage of Sir Gawaine."

In making these changes, according to Jean Marie O'Meara, Percy "approached the problem of finding" the original version he regarded as best founded on the belief that "the oldest variant was likely to be closest to the correct version."[3] Irving L. Churchill points out how Percy gathered as many materials as possible and made an elaborate collation of different texts:

[I]n the preparation of the *Reliques* Percy devoted an enormous amount of his own time and energy to collating texts, and what he could not do for himself he often asked his friends to do for him. He borrowed numerous volumes of songs and ballads from their private libraries and, when they were university men, from the libraries of the universities with which they were connected; he borrowed or bought other volumes from the London booksellers. Very often he dispatched transcripts of ballads to his friends to be collated with manuscripts in the libraries to which they had access.[4]

However, such a scholarly endeavour was not fruitful in the case of these ancient fragmentary ballads. Percy assumed that he failed to find the original versions of these incomplete ballads. From the beginning he renounced the duty to examine transmission of fragmentary ballads. This is implied in the advertisement of the fourth edition of the *Reliques*. After describing the mutilated state of the MS, it

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[3] Jean Marie O'Meara, "Thomas Percy and the Making of the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*," diss., U of California, 1990, 178.

[4] Irving L. Churchill, "Thomas Percy, Scholar," *The Age of Johnson: Essays Presented to Chauncey Brewster Tinker*, ed., Frederick W. Hilles (New Haven: Yale UP, 1949) 93.

writes:

> [E]ven where the leaves [of the MS] have suffered no injury, the transcripts, which seem to have been all made by one person (they are at least all in the same kind of hand), are sometimes extremely incorrect and faulty, being in such instances probably made from defective copies, or the imperfect recitation of illiterate singers; so that a considerable portion of the song or narrative is sometimes omitted; and miserable trash or nonsense not unfrequently introduced into pieces of considerable merit. And often the copyist grew so weary of his labour as to write on without the least attention to the sense or meaning [. . .].
> (*Reliques*, 4th ed. 1: xi-xii)

Since Percy believed that some ballads was handed down to the MS with little care, he was doubtful that he could regard the MS as significant extant witness for establishment of their archetypical texts: Percy failed to find in the MS a secure foothold to investigate ballad transmission, with the result that the pursuit of an ideal text came to a standstill in its early stage. It may be suggested in a letter from Percy to Warton, written in 1761, that Percy attempted to transcend the standstill and trace ballad-lineage by assuming an antecedent to the Folio MS: "I must inform you that my *MS* appears to have been transcribed (about 100 years ago) from another Copy much older, and that the Writer has every where accomodated [sic] the Orthography, and even (where he could) the style to that of his own time" (Robinson and Dennis 5). However, Percy's task was no more than to emphasize his hypothesis about the transmission: ballads in the *Reliques* are older than works by native classics, such as

Chaucer, Spenser and Shakespeare.[5] The Percy-to-Warton letter has to do with Chaucer: Percy is "of opinion that [Chaucer] borrowed his *wife of Bath's Tale* from ['The Marriage of Sir Gawaine']" (Robinson and Dennis 4), concluding "this Old Song to have been Prior to Chaucer" (Robinson and Dennis 5). This jump to the conclusion about ballad-transmission signifies that Percy allowed himself to imagine an ideal text beyond the native classic writers. Percy's refusal to rely entirely upon the Folio MS resulted in freedom to imagine and dream of the archetype of ancient ballads.

This tendency to imagination may seem to be in principle at least common to Percy and Shakespeare editors. According to Marcus Walsh, Theobald's way of thinking was that "sacred authority is not located in the surviving printed texts, which were known or thought to be corrupted, but in the 'genuine text,' the 'true reading,' which was to be found in a now lost original and must be restored" (Walsh, *Shakespeare* 119-20). Even Capell, as well as Theobald, was interested in an author's intention rather than in what substantial documents presents (Walsh, *Shakespeare* 180). However close early printed texts are to manuscripts embodying Shakespeare's intentions, Capell aspired to conjure up exactly what Shakespeare wrote (Walsh, *Shakespeare* 180). Neither Percy nor the Shakespeare editors were satisfied with a physical witness itself: their ambition was to reconstruct a single and ideal text beyond the Folio MS and early printed copies of Shakespeare.

However, this chapter concentrates upon an editorial gap between Percy's *Reliques* and his contemporary Shakespeare editions. First, this chapter addresses the question of conjectures made by Percy as well as by authorially-orientated

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[5] This thesis has already discussed the case of Shakespeare. See Robinson and Dennis 16, and *Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 117.

Shakespeare editors to present ideal texts. By comparing what Theobald, Johnson, Steevens, Capell, and Malone thought of conjecture with Percy's viewpoint of conjecture, this chapter examines the difference between the Shakespeare editors and Percy. Later, collation of the *Reliques* with the Folio MS clarifies how Percy made conjectural alterations to ancient ballads. This will be illustrated in five examples from "Sir Cauline," "Sir Aldingar" and "The Marriage of Sir Gawaine," and from "The Rising in the North" and "Chevy Chase," in the last of which the ancient and the new versions are compared without a major focus upon the Folio MS. This chapter reveals that in spite of Percy's involvement in historical criticism undertaken by the authorial Shakespeare editors, his conjectural improvement suggests Popean aestheticism.

1. Differences in Conjecture between Authorial Shakespeare Editors and Percy

1.1. The Shakespeare Editors' Theory about Conjecture

In the preface to his edition of Shakespeare, Theobald enunciates his principles of conjectural correction: "whenever I have taken a greater Latitude and Liberty in amending, I have constantly endeavoured to support my Corrections and Conjectures by parallel Passages and Authorities from himself, the surest Means of expounding any Author whatsoever" (Theobald 1: xliii; Smith 83). He announces that an emendation given by him is always accompanied by a note "to justify and assert the Reason of it" (Theobald 1: xliii; Smith 83). He cannot accept to "offer a Conjecture" without stating his "Grounds for such Conjecture" in case he should "disturb the Text" (Theobald 1: xliii; Smith 83).

The preface to Johnson's Shakespeare (1765) objects to pure guesswork: "[c]onjecture, though it be sometimes unavoidable, I have not wantonly nor

licentiously indulged" (Johnson 1: lxiii; Sherbo, *Johnson on Shakespeare* 7: 106). Johnson expresses scepticism about his conjectural emendations in the preface: "[a]s I practised conjecture more, I learned to trust it less; and after I had printed a few plays, resolved to insert none of my own readings in the text" (Johnson 1: lxv; *Johnson on Shakespeare* 7: 108). Afterwards he suggests danger of damaging the text without honest declaration of practising conjecture (Johnson 1: lxv; *Johnson on Shakespeare* 7: 108).

Steevens presents an editor's conjectures as deriving from discipline or regulation by contrasting theatrical performance with printed texts. Incomprehensive passages "may be reformed, at hazard of whatever licence, for exhibitions on the stage" in consideration of "the pleasure of the audience" (Johnson and Steevens, 1773 ed. 1: E5r-E5v). But they "must remain untouched by the critical editor, whose conjectures are limited by narrow bounds, and who gives only what he at least supposes his author to have written" (1773 ed. 1: E5v).

The introduction to Capell's Shakespeare edition testifies to his indefatigable collation. He imposes on himself the primary duty to scrutinize the merit of Shakespearean printed copies "subject to numberless imperfections, but not all in like degree," and to "see on which side the scale of goodness preponderated; which we have generally found, to be on that of the most ancient" (1: 21). This statement is followed by emphasis on the necessity to investigate other old editions than a base text (1: 21). Supposedly painstaking and empirical collation could not necessarily exclude conjecture. Walsh, after suggesting that "the editor who seeks to reproduce 'what the author wrote' may very well need to propose readings which are instanced in no surviving witness," judges Capell to have been incapable of escaping from the practice (*Shakespeare* 180). Capell confesses in the introduction that "he sought the

remedy in himself, using judgment and conjecture" (1: 22). But Capell declares that "he will not be found to have exercis'd [conjecture] wantonly, but to follow the establish'd rules of critique with soberness and temperance" (1: 23). As Walsh argues, Capell's conjecture was a "principled and disciplined process": only when he abides by the rules, "[t]he authority of the early texts may be overridden" (*Shakespeare* 181).

Malone's edition of Shakespeare has the impression that it showed a decisive departure from conjecture: his assertion that "conjecture and emendation have given place to rational explanation" (1.1: lvi) can be distinguished from statements of the authorial editors above. This difference indicates an editorial advance in the authorial orientation. The edition pronounces the era of "capricious innovation" to be "now happily past away," during which "notes were indeed evils; while one page was covered with ingenious sophistry in support of some idle conjecture, and another was wasted in its overthrow, or in erecting a new fabrick equally unsubstantial as the former" (1.1: lv-lvi). Although Malone played a part as an editorial reformist, as well as Capell, yet Malone attached much less significance to conjecture than Capell.

1.2. Percy's Point of View on Conjecture

The Folio MS, when Percy saw it, was in an imperfect textual state, so that it was necessary for Percy to make a considerable change to defective Folio ballads, as has been discussed. Investigating the extent of Percy's ballad-alteration, we can see how unregulated by a "disciplined process" (Walsh, *Shakespeare* 181) Percy's conjecture was. I would like to demonstrate the extent by concentrating on defective ballads, "Sir Cauline," "The Child of Elle," "Sir Aldingar," "The Heir of Linne," and

"The Marriage of Sir Gawaine."

Percy's headnote to "Sir Cauline" in the first edition of the *Reliques* explains how this ballad was situated in the Folio MS: "[t]*his old Romantic tale was preserved in the Editor's folio MS, but in so defective and mutilated a condition that it was necessary to supply several stanzas in the first part, and still more in the second, to connect and compleat the story*" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 35). Percy swells 201 lines into 392 lines by adding some incidents into the original Folio version and changing a happy ending into tragic one. In the fourth edition of the *Reliques*, Percy regards the imperfect condition as deriving "*not from any chasm in the MS. but from great omission in the transcript, probably copied from the faulty recitation of some illiterate minstrell*," and acknowledges the reparation to have been made "*in the manner which appeared to him most interesting and affecting*" (*Reliques*, 4th ed. 1: 41). The Victorian editor, Henry B. Wheatley complains that this revision presents "one of the most flagrant instances of Percy's manipulation of his authorities" and that "[t]here was no necessity for this perversion of the original, because the story is there complete [. . .]" (Wheatley 1: 62). Hales and Furnivall appear to associate Percy's alteration with "an extensive acquaintance with old balladry, and a considerable talent of imitation" (Hales and Furnivall 3: 2). But this admiration is offset by their partiality towards the Folio version: "[f]or our part we prefer the Folio copy, with all its roughness and imperfections, to the Bishop's revision, with all its cleverness. (Hales and Furnivall 3: 2).

In the Folio MS, "The Child of Elle" consists of only thirty nine lines for the lack of the beginning and ending parts. However, Percy revised this fragment to complete his 200-line version. According to the first edition of the *Reliques*, this revision was made because this ballad, "*tho' extremely defective and mutilated,*

appeared to have so much merit, that it excited a strong desire to attempt a completion of the story" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 90). Percy implores his readers to pardon inferiority over the Folio version caused by his additional stanzas in consideration of "*how difficult it must be to imitate the affecting simplicity and artless beauties of the original*" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 90). Wheatley judges "[t]he original fragment from the MS" rather than Percy's refined version to be "worth reading for its own sake as a genuine antique, which must outweigh in interest all manufactured imitations" (Wheatley 1: 131). Hales and Furnivall make a fierce criticism of Percy' polished version: "[a] wax-doll-maker might as well try to restore Milo's Venus" (Hales and Furnivall 1: 132).

As for "Sir Aldingar," Percy leaves his note written in the Folio MS: "[w]ithout some corrections, this will not do for my Reliques, &c" (Hales and Furnivall 1: 165). Percy offers this ballad in the *Reliques* "*from the Editor's folio MS, with a few conjectural emendations, and the insertion of* 3 *or* 4 *stanzas to supply defects in the original copy*" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 2: 48). But it is better not to accept Percy's comment at face value: 79 out of 220 lines are not based upon the 206-line Folio version despite the fact that the Folio version is complete except for only one line cutting away (Hales and Furnivall 1: 171).

Percy expanded the Folio version of "The Heir of Linne" into about a double-size version in the *Reliques* on the grounds that "*some breaches and defects*" in the former "*rendered the insertion of a few supplemental stanzas necessary*" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 2: 309). This comment is contradictory to the actual Folio version, which, far from being defective or fragmentary, takes a near-perfect form consisting of 125 lines. Therefore it follows that Percy is not accurate in describing the reality of the Folio version. Percy's note on the Folio MS about this ballad also reveals his

revision: "[t]his old copy (tho' a very indifferent Fragment) I thought deserving of some attention. I have therefore bestowed an intire revisal of the subject for my Reliques, &c" (Hales and Furnivall 1: 174).

Percy writes in the headnote to "The Marriage of Sir Gawaine" that the Folio version "*was so extremely mutilated, half of every leaf being torn away, that without large supplements, &c. it would have been improper for this collection: these it has therefore received, such as they are*" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 3: 11). According to the announcement in the earlier editions of the *Reliques* that "*the FRAGMENT itself will some time or other be given to the public*" (1st ed. 3: 11; 2nd ed. 3: 11; 3rd ed. 3: 11), in the fourth edition Percy printed the Folio version at the end of the third volume. In the headnote to the fragmentary Folio version Percy writes that even "*austere Antiquaries,*" obviously indicative of Joseph Ritson, who "*complain that the ancient copies have not been always rigidly adhered to,*" might consider it to be "*unfit for publication*" that "*all the blunders, corruptions, and nonsense of illiterate Reciters and Transcribers had been superstitiously retained, without some attempt to correct and emend them*" (*Reliques*, 4th ed. 3: 350).

It is revealed in the preface to the *Reliques* that these extensive interpolations, which would be unacceptable from the viewpoint of present-day editorial practise, were made by medieval minstrels: "it is evident they made no scruple to alter each other's productions, and the reciter added or omitted whole stanzas, according to his own fancy or convenience" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: xvi). This remark creates a permissive editorial environment for Percy to make similar changes to those of minstrels.

In addition to these alterations made in the environment, Percy's justification of a ballad-revision expands to Folio versions of Scottish ballads, "Edom o' Gordon"

and "Gil Morrice." In his letter to David Dalrymple, written in January 1763, Percy defends Dalrymple's revision to these ballads, which he believes is "not only an allowable freedom [. . .] but absolutely necessary to render them worth attention."[6] The letter reports that Percy himself takes "the same liberty" in the *Reliques* (Falconer 20).

From the alterations made considerably and freely, it is obvious that Percy's conjecture is clearly different from that of the Shakespeare editors mentioned above. If we agree with Irving Churchill's argument, it is true, it follows that only after conducting an extensive investigation of material documents and making a thorough collation of various versions ("Thomas Percy, Scholar" 93), Percy attempted to conjecture what original ballads should be. However, it is more likely that when he edited his ballads in an attempt to restore original texts, his conjecture was totally exempt from "the establish'd rules of critique with soberness and temperance" (Capell 1: 23). His conjecture disregards the rules backed by evidence and discipline. According to Lukas Erne, "a Shakespeare play" has been available "to us not in the form of a manuscript but as a printed play which stationers considered enough of a finished product to believe in its commercial viability" (Erne 22). In addition, an authorial figure whom editors served could be identified in Shakespeare. In contrast to Shakespearean Folios and Quartos, Percy's Folio MS, a collection of anonymous and promiscuous ballads, was an unfinished and damaged product. In comparison with his contemporary Shakespeare editors, for whom finished printed texts were available so as to collate them, Percy had more difficulty in reconstructing with conjecture what an original author had intended. As a result, Percy's conjectural

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[6] A. F. Falconer, ed., *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes,* The Percy Letters 4 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1954) 20.

reconstruction of "The Child of Elle" and "The Marriage of Sir Gawaine," which are fragmentary in the literal sense of the word, was forced to renounce a "principled and disciplined process" (Walsh, *Shakespeare* 181). In view of the virtually complete state of the Folio versions of "Sir Cauline," "Sir Aldingar" and "The Heir of Linne," all of which Percy pronounces to be defective, he undertook unnecessary reconstructions by disregarding the "disciplined process" on purpose, and therefore it was far from a justifiable policy. However, contemporary scholars regard Percy's policy as necessary. Albert B. Friedman argues that "[i]t is surely no disparagement of modern editorial practice and ethics to judge Percy in historical perspective" (*The Ballad Revival* 209).[7] Friedman takes into consideration the fact that "the faithful transcription" of the ancient ballads "would simply not have been tolerated in Percy's day" (*The Ballad Revival* 209). The next agenda is to scrutinize Percy's conjectural reconstruction of "Sir Cauline," "Sir Aldingar" and "The Marriage of Sir Gawaine" in the *Reliques*.

2. Percy's Conjectural Revisions in the *Reliques*

Percy's conjectural revisions are strongly associated with anonymous ballad-singers, minstrels. The revisions mean that Percy acted in a similar manner to that of minstrels: he relived minstrel activities. As Joseph M. P. Donatelli argues, Percy interpolated the faulty ballads "according to his understanding of medieval minstrel activity."[8] Percy was not so much an editor as a poet singing like minstrels.

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[7] Eileen MacKenzie, Zinnia Knapman, and Gwendolyn A. Morgan also estimate Percy's editorial method in historical perspective. See Mackenzie, "Thomas Percy and Ballad 'Correctness,'" *Review of English Studies* 21 (1945): 60; Knapman 202; Morgan 26.

[8] Joseph M. P. Donatelli, "Old Barons in New Robes: Percy's Use of the Metrical Romances in the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*," *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture*, ed. Patrick J. Gallacher and Helen Damico (Albany: State U of New York P, 1989) 232.

Donatelli maintains that "Percy never saw himself as an 'editor' of these ballads in the modern sense of the word, but rather envisioned himself as a latter-day minstrel, trying to reshape the romance ballads of the Folio MS so that they might better please his eighteenth-century audience" (232). As concerns "The Marriage of Sir Gawaine" and "Sir Cauline," Donatelli points out that Percy was free to refurbish these ballads by recourse to medieval romances that "provided a ready, if not logical, source for his alterations" (228). Differently from Donatelli this chapter demonstrates how Percy undertook the minstrel activity by making conjectural alterations to "Sir Cauline," "Sir Aldingar" and "The Marriage of Sir Gawaine."

2.1. "Sir Cauline," "Sir Aldingar" and "The Marriage of Sir Gawaine"

As far as these ballads are concerned, the *Reliques* makes fantastic additions to the Folio MS:

> & a Gyant that was both stiffe [&] strong,
>
> he lope now them amonge,
>
> & vpon his squier 5 heads he bare,
>
> vnmackley made was hee.
>
> (Folio MS, "Sir Cawline" 130-33)[9]

> A hugye giaunt stiffe and starke,
>
> All foule of limbe and lere;
>
> *Two goggling eyen like fire farden,*
>
> *A mouthe from eare to eare.*

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[9] Hales and Furnivall 3: 11.

Before him came *a dwarffe* full lowe,

That waited on his knee,

And at his backe five heads he bare,

All wan and pale of blee.

(*Reliques,* "Sir Cauline" 2.74-81, italics mine)[10]

Percy changed a five-headed "gyant" into a one-headed "giaunt." Instead of this

nominalization, he decorates the "giaunt" with fantastic features: "two goggling

eyen like fire farden" and "a mouthe from eare to eare." More importantly, in the

Reliques Percy introduces a "dwarffe," which does not appear in the Folio MS. As a

result, Percy incorporated in his ballad more supernatural elements than the Folio

version contains.

as he [a messenger] rode then by one riuer side,

there he mett with a litle Child,

he seemed noe more in a mans likenesse

then a child of 4 yeeres old [. . .].

(Folio MS, "Sir Aldingar" 107-10)[11]

When lo! as she rode by a rivers side,

She met with a tinye boye.

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[10] *Reliques,* 1st ed. 1: 47-48.

[11] Hales and Furnivall 1: 170.

A tinye boye she mette, God wot,

All clad in mantle of golde;

He seemed noe more in mans likenèsse,

Then a child of four yeere olde.

(*Reliques*, "Sir Aldingar" 119-24, italics mine)[12]

The "litle child" of the Folio MS is equivalent to the "tinye boye" of the *Reliques*.
The Folio MS makes no mention of the "mantle of golde." This costume is very
extravagant. The "litle child" himself is a mystical figure, who, in spite of being a
four-year-old child, is powerful enough to fight with the gallant, Sir Aldingar and
win. Even without the golden mantle, he would be sufficiently miraculous.
Nonetheless, the "tinye boye" is made all the more mystical by Percy's addition of
the golden mantle.[13]

ffor when I came to tearne wadling,

a bold barron there I fand,

with a great club vpon his backe,

standing stiffe and strong [. . .].

(Folio MS, "The Marriage of Sir Gawaine" 32-35)[14]

But from that foule discurteous knighte,

Mishappe will them befalle.

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[12] *Reliques*, 1st ed. 2: 53.

[13] According to Groom, the "tinye boye" is regarded as "a stock character." See *The
Making of Percy's Reliques* 52.

[14] Hales and Furnivall 1: 108.

Hee's twyce the size of common men,

Wi' thewes, and sinewes stronge,

And on his backe he bears a clubbe,

That is both thicke and longe.

(*Reliques*, "The Marriage of Sir Gawaine" 1.27-32, italics mine)[15]

The "foule discurteous knighte" of the *Reliques* is derived from the "bold barron" of the Folio MS, but Percy embellishes his description so that the "foule discurteous knighte" becomes more supernatural than the "bold barron."

The alterations stem from Percy's aspiration to present ideal texts of these ballads. The introduction of romantic elements reflects Percy's aim to revive the original ballads. He writes in his *Reliques* essay on ancient metrical romances that ancient ballad progenitors "*believed the existence of Giants and Dwarfs*" and "*were fond of inventing combats with Dragons and Monsters*" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 3: iv). He explains his belief that the progenitors sang of "*monstrous extravagances*" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 3: iii). Percy's revisions result from his conjecture about the way in which the ancient singers sang. This practice is Percy's "re-creation of minstrel activity in the eighteenth century," as Donatelli puts it (232). In order to invent the original of ballads beyond the native classic writers, such as Chaucer, Spenser and Shakespeare, Percy had to create English minstrels in his imagination. For Percy, assuming medieval minstrels to be the starting point in ballad-transmission led to invention of English literary history. This was possible under the influence of Thomas Gray and Richard Hurd's attempt to redefine the Gothic age as the beginning of national

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[15] *Reliques*, 1st ed. 3: 12.

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tradition. Richard Terry points out that "the smug conviction that English literature enjoyed an immediate descent from the literatures of the classical world" dissociated from the barbarous Gothic age was replaced by "a more enlightened view of the Middle Ages" as the eighteenth century progressed, with the result that the medieval age was recognized to be "the seeds of a subsequent vernacular tradition" (Terry 57). This recognition "was to be a major achievement of eighteenth-century literary history" (Terry 57).

Understanding of the alterations accompanied by Percy's minstrel activity can be further enhanced by concentration on other ballads, "The Rising in the North" and "Chevy Chase." This activity in both ballads reflects Percy's effort to guess their original ballad-singers. These ballads present his conjectural revisions different from the embellishment of ballads with supernatural elements.

2.2. "The Rising in the North" and "Chevy Chase"

By adoption of "*the account collected from Stow, Speed, Camden, Carte and Rapin*" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 250), the headnote to "The Rising in the North" explains how Earl Percy in Northumberland and the Earl of Westmorland rose in revolt against Queen Elizabeth in 1569 (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 248-50). Despite their advance through Durham to "*Barnards castle*," for their lack of money, "*they were not able to march to London, as they had at first intended*" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 249). Such being the case, in the face of their enemy's counteroffensive and their followers' treachery, the two earls were forced to retreat northward (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 249). At the scene of the withdrawal, there is a striking difference between the Folio MS and the *Reliques*:

but the halfe moone [Earl Percy] is fled & gone,

& the Dun bull [the Earl of Westmorland] vanished awaye;

& ffrancis Nortton & his 8 sonnes

are ffled away most cowardlye.

(Folio MS, "Risinge in the Northe" 155-58)[16]

But the dun bulle is fled and gone,

And the halfe moone vanished away:

The Earles though they were brave and bold,

Against soe many could not stay.

(*Reliques*, "The Rising in the North" 141-44)[17]

Thomas Percy tried to strengthen the earls' reputation as best he could, using "though they were brave and bold." In contrast to this, the Folio MS offers no justification for their retreat; indeed it calls their companions cowards and emphasizes their wretchedness. It may be true that Thomas Percy reworked this ballad because the Earl of Northumberland, to whose wife the *Reliques* was dedicated, was a descendant of Earl Percy, the hero in this ballad. Before his contact in 1760s with the Earl and the Countess of Northumberland, Percy had been attached to the eminent family: according to Bertram H. Davis, "[t]he parish register notwithstanding, Thomas consistently spelled his name Piercy until 1756, when he changed the spelling to Percy" in order to ally "himself in name with the Percys of renown."[18] I would like to suggest that Percy's flattery of the family is related to his

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[16] Hales and Furnivall 2: 216.

[17] *Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 256.

[18] Bertram H. Davis, *Thomas Percy: A Scholar-Cleric in the Age of Johnson* (Philadelphia:

minstrel activity to imitate an original ballad singer. He explains the characteristic

behaviour of minstrels in the headnote to the ballad "Edom o' Gordon":

From the different titles of this ballad, it should seem that the old strolling bards

or minstrels (who gained a livelihood by reciting these poems) made no scruple

of changing the names of the personages they introduced, to humour their

hearers. For instance, if a Gordon's conduct was blameworthy in the opinion of

that age, the obsequious minstrel would, when among Gordons, change the name

to Car, whose clan or sept lay further west, and vice versâ.

(Reliques, 1st ed. 1: 100)

Percy believes that ballad-progenitors, ancient minstrels, judging each situation,

were flexible enough to alter the names of the heroes as they sang. He argues that

"Gil Morrice" in the *Reliques* provides "*a similar instance,*" in which the hero, Gil

Morrice, "*had different names given him, probably from the same cause*" (*Reliques,*

1st ed. 1: 100). This cross-reference within the *Reliques* expands to "The Rising in

the North," justifying Percy's protection of the reputation of the earls. On the basis

of the conjecture as to minstrels' readiness to adapt to the occasion, Percy made a

conjectural change to the ballad's account of the miserable earls in the Folio MS to

make them look brave.   In the same way as that of a minstrel, Percy was motivated

to change the behaviour "*of the personages* [he] *introduced, to humour* [his]

hearers" (*Reliques,* 1st ed. 1: 100), that is, the descendents of the hero in this ballad.

This minstrel activity to revise the Folio version in favour of Northumberland and

Westmorland rests upon Percy's surmise that this ballad "*was apparently the*

U of Pennsylvania P, 1989) 2-3, 142.

production of some northern minstrel [in England], *who was well affected to the two noblemen*" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 250). By visualizing himself as the northern minstrel, he conducted the revision in order to avoid tarnishing the earls' reputation.

The ballad "Chevy Chase" has two versions in the *Reliques*. Comparison of the versions also enables us to catch an aspect of Percy's minstrel activity. The older version appears as the very first ballad of the *Reliques*. Around the last book of the first volume of the *Reliques*, Percy attracts readers with the 'modern' version. The 'modern' version is based on a copy in *A Collection of Old Ballads* rather than one in the Folio MS (Wheatley 1: 253). In all the editions of the *Reliques* excluding the first, four additional stanzas in brackets, appropriated chiefly from the older version, were inserted into the 'modern' version. Despite this, the addition has a slightly different portion from the counterpart in the ancient version. Both are now collated:

[Yet bides Earl Douglas on the bent,

As Chieftain stout and good.

As valiant Captain, all unmov'd

The shock he firmly stood.

His host he parted had in three,

As Leader ware and try'd,

And soon his spearmen on their foes

Bare down on every side.

Throughout the English archery

They dealt full many a wound:

But still our valiant Englishmen

 All firmly kept their ground:

And throwing strait their bows away,

 They grasp'd their swords so bright:

And now sharp blows, a heavy shower,

 On shields and helmets light.]

("The More Modern Ballad of Chevy Chace" 109-24, italics mine)[19]

Yet bydys the yerle Doglas uppon the bent,

 A captayne good yenoughe,

And that was sene verament,

 For he wrought hom both woo and wouche.

The Dogglas pertyd his ost in thre,

 Lyk a cheffe cheften off pryde,

With suar speares off myghttè tre

 The cum in on every syde.

Thrughe our Yngglishe archery

 Gave many a wounde full wyde;

Many a doughete the garde to dy,

 Which ganyde them no pryde.

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[19] *Reliques*, 2nd ed. 1: 259-60.

The Yngglyshe men let thear bowys be,

And pulde owt brandes that wer bright;

It was a hevy syght to se

Bryght swordes on basnites lyght.

("The Ancient Ballad of Chevy-Chase" 2.5-20, italics mine)[20]

Comparison of italicized portions of both the versions leads us to discover the fact that Percy aimed at inserting Englishmen's valour in the 'modern' version. Neither the Folio MS nor *A Collection of Old Ballads* includes a parallel to such gallantry. This revision mirrors Percy's minstrel activity: he plays a role as the original ballad-singer of the 'modern' version. Percy argues in the headnote to the 'modern' version that *"the old original bard"* of the ancient version did display *"a generous impartiality"* by representing *"both nations as quitting the field without any reproachful reflection on either"* (*Reliques*, 2nd ed. 1: 251) and that the bard attributed "FLIGHT *to neither party"* (*Reliques*, 2nd ed. 1: 252). One stanza from the ancient version is shown as a sample of this impartiality in the headnote to the 'modern' version. This stanza is translated into modern words:

> *"Of fifteen hundred archers of England*
>
> *"Went away but fifty and three*;
>
> *"Of twenty hundred spearmen of Scotland,*
>
> *"But even five and fifty."*   *p.* 14.

          (*Reliques*, 2nd ed. 1: 252)

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[20] *Reliques*, 2nd ed. 1: 9-10.

The page 14 of the second edition of the *Reliques* offers:

> Of fifteen hondrith archars of Ynglonde
>
> Went away but fifti and thre;
>
> Of twenty hondrith spear-men of Skotlonde,
>
> But even five and fifti:
>
> ("The Ancient Ballad of Chevy-Chase" 2.103-06)

However, this sort of impartiality was not to be expected from more modern minstrels, whether they were from England or from Scotland: as to the latter Percy explains that *"to be even with* [a modern English minstrel], *who makes the Scots to* FLEE, *some reviser of North Britain has turned his own arms against him, and printed an Edition at Glasgow"* (*Reliques*, 2nd ed. 1: 252), some lines of which are changed into Scottish superiority over England. The edition makes the English 'flee,' neither 'go home' nor 'go away':

> *"Of fifteen hundred Scottish speirs*
>
> *"Went hame but fifty-three:*
>
> *"Of twenty hundred Englishmen*
>
> *"Scarce fifty-five did flee."*   (*Reliques*, 2nd ed. 1: 252)

After presenting this Scottish sample, Percy points out that he borrowed Scottish names from the Glasgow edition because they *"in the modern English ballad appeared to be corrupted"* (*Reliques*, 2nd ed. 1: 252). This indicates that in order to present an ideal English edition, Percy went through an eclectic process by collation

of both Scottish and English versions. Turning to the Scottish edition at Glasgow as a negative exemplar, Percy reconstructed an English edition of "Chevy Chace," in which Englishmen are made to appear courageous. This is associated with Percy's minstrel activity based upon the conjecture that the original composer of the 'modern' version must have sung in favour of English soldiers.

3. Chatterton vs. Percy: Manuscript Culture and Printing Culture

In each sample of these revisions, we can see that Percy was aware of an anonymous ballad-progenitor. This may be linked to a scholarly effort to obtain the consciousness of an original author. The New Bibliographers, W. W. Greg and Fredson Bowers, made a scholarly effort to "recover an ideal text, based on original authorial intention" (Groom, *The Making of Percy's Reliques* 10). As Nick Groom argues, however, the Greg-Bowers attempt cannot be applied to Percy's *Reliques* (*The Making of Percy's Reliques* 10). Groom maintains that "[t]he internal dynamics of [the *Reliques*] remain fabulously protean, and fundamentally resist comprehensive models like [Karl] Lachmann's *stemmata*" (*The Making of Percy's Reliques* 13), which was designed to establish an ideal archetypical text by means of using "*stemma codicum* (family trees of extant manuscripts) in which significant absences were filled by inferring lost texts" (*The Making of Percy's Reliques* 10). This Lachmannian method enables editors to "get from reading x in extant manuscript A to reading z in extant manuscript C" by means of positing "an inferred reading y in inferred manuscript β, lying in a median position (that is, in the gap) between A and C."[21] So obscure is the stemma of each anonymous ballad that neither vital absent texts nor an ideal archetypical text can be reconstructed: the

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[21] D. C. Greetham, *Theories of the Text* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999) 230.

intricate process in which oral anonymous ballads culminated in their decisive version printed in the *Reliques* prevented Percy from exploring ballad-transmission. This irrecoverability led to Percy's conjectures in breach of "the establish'd rules of critique with soberness and temperance" (Capell 1: 23) unlike Theobald, Johnson and Capell's. Therefore it can be asserted that in terms of conjectural reworking, Percy is similar to Pope rather than to the authorial Shakespeare editors.[22]

This conjecture without restraint results in a big gap between Percy's *Reliques* and his Folio MS, despite his comment in the preface to the *Reliques*: "[t]he greater part of [minstrel ballads] are extracted from an ancient folio manuscript, in the Editor's possession" (*Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: ix). In addition to his refusal to make a faithful use of the Folio MS as a source book, Percy regarded it not as a main base but as "merely a signifier of origins," according to Groom.[23] This might have been a positive reaction to William Shenstone's advice, which was provided in his letter to Percy, written in November 1757, to use the MS as "a *materia informis* for [Percy's] own poetic invention" (Donatelli 228): "[s]uppose then you consider your M.S. as an hoard of gold, somewhat defac'd by Time; from which however you may be able to draw supplies upon occasion, and with which you may enrich ye world hereafter under more *current* Impressions."[24] For Percy "manuscripts were little more than the raw material of the printing-press" (Groom, "Fragments" 191). Percy transformed oral songs into the printed texts concealing the Folio MS from his readers "because [the publication of the *Reliques*] superseded the manuscript and

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[22] According to Eileen MacKenzie, "Percy reverenced Alexander Pope as an 'authority' [. . .]" (58).

[23] Nick Groom, "Fragments, *Reliques*, and MSS: Chatterton and Percy," *Thomas Chatterton and Romantic Culture*, ed. Nick Groom (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999) 203.

[24] Marjorie Williams, ed., *The Letters of William Shenstone* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1939) 478.

therefore literally revised the status of the original" (Groom, "Fragments" 203). This transformation "produced a hybrid, an imagined world of authenticity and presence generated by the dream of origin" (Groom, *The Making of Percy's Reliques* 100). This means that in order to invent the mystical antiquity in his mind Percy allowed himself to have liberty in tampering with the Folio ballads. Through the shift in media, Percy aimed at making a final and complete edition of anonymous ballads in the *Reliques*.

As has already been explained in Chapter 1, the Rowley manuscripts were "laboriously fabricated by the teenage boy," Thomas Chatterton.[25] This fabrication means his protest against the assimilation in Percy's *Reliques* of "manuscript culture into print" (Groom, "Fragments" 190). Chatterton tried to reckon manuscripts as "the very matter of literature, the stuff of history itself" (Groom, "Fragments" 203) in contrast to Percy's case, where literature and history germinating in the Folio MS were made to mature in the *Reliques*. Chatterton resisted "Percy's imperious yet covert use of a single, authoritative written source," and "proposed a new version of manuscript culture," with the result that he "devised a new national myth" (Groom, "Fragments" 190). Chatterton's suggestion to evoke manuscript culture triggered reconstruction, or fabrication, of the Rowley manuscripts. This provoked a fierce controversy, which led Percy to judge whether they were genuine or not. Ironically, however, this controversy threatened to expose Percy's neglect of the Folio MS (Groom, "Fragments" 202-03), and made him revisit this disregard in respect of a manuscript culture in a way different from Chatterton's. This reconsideration was encouraged by his correspondent, Edmond Malone. This brought about the situation

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[25] Nick Groom, introduction, *Thomas Chatterton and Romantic Culture*, ed. Nick Groom (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999) 3.

where the fourth edition of the *Reliques* was to make an approach to Malone's editorial method, which was itself inherited from Theobald and Capell's authorial orientation.

CHAPTER 4

MALONE'S INFLUENCE OVER THE FOURTH EDITION OF THE

RELIQUES

According to Marcus Walsh, "[n]o eighteenth-century editor of secular vernacular literary texts practised anything like facsimile or diplomatic editing" (*Shakespeare* 180). But the late eighteenth century editors' policy began to show a gradual development from an authorial orientation without excluding conjectural emendations into a documentary orientation. It is true that Malone's editing pivoted upon the authorial orientation, judging from this statement in his Shakespeare edition: "[t]he question is not, which regulation renders the passage most elegant and spirited, but what was the poet's idea" (1790 ed. 9: 620-21).[1] But I shall emphasize Malone as an authorial-documentary editor. Malone attempted to "transform the texts and their related documents into one object lodged in the past, rather than tracts riddled with current cultural concerns" (Kahan, *Reforging Shakespeare* 40).[2] He saw "[t]he litmus of authenticity" as located less in "a document's aesthetics" than in "its historical accuracy" (Kahan, *Reforging Shakespeare* 40). He granted autonomy to historical documents, which were dissociated from conjecture and regarded as record about the past. In contrast to Malone as an authorial-documentary editor, authorial editors, such as Theobald and even Capell, declined to give this autonomy to historical documents, on which they imposed their conjecture in search of an ideal text of an author's own producing.

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[1] See also Peter Martin, *Edmond Malone Shakespearean Scholar: A Literary Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995) 29.

[2] Shillingsburg explains that a documentary editor is "interested in documents, in relics from the past, and wish[es] to treat them as unities" (*Scholarly Editing*, 3rd ed. 20).

Malone as an authorial editor might have made conjectural emendations, but he placed far less value on conjecture than his earlier editors did. As has been discussed in Chapter 3, this is obvious from Malone's pronouncement about a decisive departure from conjecture in the preface to his 1790 Shakespeare edition (1.1: lvi). Malone's deviation from conjecture can be corroborated by Jeffrey Kahan's assertion that "Malone simply lacked the crucial creative and imaginative capacity for such engagement [. . .]."[3] This "engagement" signifies that the mid-century strong influence of Bardolatry motivated bardolaters to buy Shakespeare's divine relics. They were "well aware of their inauthenticity" (Kahan, "Shakespeare" 21). Inspired by what was supposed to be his relics, they attempted to imagine sacred Shakespeare, just as Percy brought to mind an ideal text of an ancient minstrel. However, as Kahan points out, "[t]he 'divinity' of Shakespeare, so heralded by early Shakespeare devotees, held little power over Malone [. . .]" ("Shakespeare" 28), to whom "Shakespeare was a dead man, who might be measured by the quintessence of his authenticated dust" ("Shakespeare" 29). In contrast to this, for William Henry Ireland and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Shakespeare was a living, poetic principle, in form and expression, how like a god" (Kahan, "Shakespeare" 29), whose "power lay beyond the text; a power which might be only glanced at intuitively" ("Shakespeare" 28).[4] Resistance to this spiritualism provoked Malone to uncover Ireland's forgeries

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[3] Jeffrey Kahan, "Shakespeare and the Forging of Belief," *Critical Quarterly* 43.2 (2001): 21.

[4] See M. M. Badawi, *Coleridge: Critic of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1973) 216-17. According to Badawi, Coleridge's disregard for scholars like Malone was demonstrated against a background of growing reluctance of the general reader to accept Shakespearean commentators' scholarship. Owing to this impatience, "[f]rom the closing years of the eighteenth century onwards there poured a flood of satires, skits, parodies and burlesques on the commentators" (217), such as *The Essence of Malone* and *Another Essence of Malone*, published by G. Hardinge in 1800 and 1801 respectively.

about Shakespeare by recourse to physical witness of surviving historical documents. Excluding circumstantial evidence and "judging of these papers [concerning Shakespeare and others published by Ireland] merely as they appear in the printed copy and in the *fac-similes*," Malone endeavoured "to prove, from 1. the Orthography, 2. the Phraseology, 3. the Dates given or deducible by inference, and 4. the Dissimilitude of the Hand-writing, that not a single paper or deed in this extraordinary volume was written or executed by the person to whom it is ascribed."[5] This mirrors the documentary orientation in pursuit of physical forms of documents. In this inquiry Malone's documentary attitude expands to illustration of a facsimile of Shakespeare's handwriting, which had never been shown in public, in order to expose Ireland's forgery. Kahan suggests that by comparison with Thomas Warton as well as Ireland and Coleridge, the former of whom "rejected Malone's system" for exposing Thomas Chatterton's forgery ("Shakespeare" 22) and regarded aesthetics rather than documentary matters as the primary issue, Malone gave priority to "[m]aterial documentary authenticity and historical accuracy" ("Shakespeare" 23).

This chapter demonstrates that Malone's documentary tendency urged Percy to reconsider his failure to respect the Folio MS as a historical document in editing the *Reliques*. Percy published five editions of the *Reliques*. It took about twenty years to revise the third edition (1775) into the fourth (1794). The reason why Percy changed his mind and decided to reedit the *Reliques* is that during those nineteen years Percy was likely to have been influenced by the new trend in scholarly editing. This trend was Malone's documentary tendency, which found its inspiration in

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[5] Edmond Malone, *An Inquiry into the Authenticity of Certain Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments, Published Dec. 24, M DCC XC V. and Attributed to Shakspeare, Queen Elizabeth, and Henry, Earl of Southampton* (London: Cadell, 1796) 22-23.

Percy's ballad editing.

First, by collating the Folio MS, the earlier editions of *the Reliques*, and the fourth edition, this chapter proves that unlike the earlier editions, the fourth edition presents texts faithful to the Folio MS. Later, it discusses the reason of the Folio MS respected in the fourth edition, revolving around the relationship between Percy and Joseph Ritson as well as Malone. In his edition of the *Reliques* (1893), M. M. Arnold Schröer, by painstaking comparison of all the editions from the first to the fifth, demonstrated the return to the authority of the Folio MS.[6] But this thesis makes collation of each edition to look at the wider context of the *Reliques* in terms of Malone's influence upon Percy's editorial practice.

1. Collation of the Folio MS and Each Edition of the *Reliques*

The collation focuses on some of those ballads that Percy selected from the Folio MS: "Edom o' Gordon," "Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, and William of Cloudesley," "The More Modern Ballad of Chevy Chace," "Northumberland Betrayed by Douglas," "The Heir of Linne," "The Murder of the King of Scots," "Mary Ambree," "The Winning of Cales," "The Spanish Lady's Love," and "King Estmere," which can provide us with samples of the Folio revival in the fourth edition. It has been made in terms of vocabulary, spelling, syntax and word order without any respect of more accidental elements. I have not been concerned about whether a letter is a capital or not. Nor am I particular about punctuation. The bracketed number at each end means a line number.

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[6] M. M. Arnold Schröer, ed., *Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry nach der Ersten Ausgabe von 1765 mit den Varianten der Späteren Originalausgaben Herausgegeben und mit Einleitung und Registeren Versehen*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Felber, 1893) 811-1113.

1.1. "Edom o' Gordon"[7]

In "Edom o' Gordon" in the *Reliques*, Percy uses "nourice" and "westlin" in the first, second, and third editions, while in the fourth edition he changes them into other words, which the Folio counterpart, "Captaine Carre" presents:

[1st -3rd editions]Sate on the nourice' knee   (78)

[4th edition]Sate on the nurses knee   (78)

[Folio MS]that sate on the nurses knee   (41)

[1-3]For ane blast o' the westlin wind   (83)

[4]For ane blast o' the western wind   (83)

[F]for one blast of the westerne wind   (46)

Both of these examples show that an archaic or a Scottish word is normalized in the process of the Folio revival.

1.2. "Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, and William of Cloudesley"[8]

The first part of "Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, and William of Cloudesley" shows the Folio revival in the fourth edition, which uses a new verb instead of old-fashioned "ryse" in the earlier editions:

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[7] *Reliques*, 1st ed. 1: 99-106; 2nd ed. 1: 116-24; 3rd ed. 1: 118-26; 4th ed. 1: 118-26; Hales and Furnivall 1: 79-83.

[8] 1st ed. 1: 129-60; 2nd ed. 1: 141-72; 3rd ed. 1: 143-74; 4th ed. 1: 154-85; Hales and Furnivall 3: 76-101. The title of this ballad is spelled like "Adam Bell, Clime of the Cloug[he] and William off Cloudeslee" in the Folio Manuscript.

[1-3]To ryse the dere out of theyr denne   (1.5)

[4]To raise the dere out of theyr denne   (1.5)

[F]to raise the deere out of their den   (5)

This ballad also supports the revival by the introduction of a fresh word, "fast," which is not observable in the earlier editions:

[1-3]That theyther-ward they hyed   (1.84)

[4]That thither-ward fast hyed   (1.84)

[F]*that* thitherward fast hyed   (84)

Next, strikingly different texts are presented between the fourth edition based on the Folio version and the previous editions:

[1-3]And wyth shetes let downe his wyfe / And eke hys chyldren thre (1.123-24)

[4]And there with sheetes he did let downe / His wyfe and children three

(1.123-24)

[F]& there w*i*th sheetes he did let downe / his wiffe and children 3   (123-24)

The last example of this ballad shows that the Folio revival makes Percy call a character "William," not "Cloudesle":

[1-3]Oft he had seene Cloudesle in the wodde   (1.175)

[4]Oft he had seene William in the wodde   (1.175)

[F]full oft hee had seene will*ia*m in the wood   (175)

1.3. "The More Modern Ballad of Chevy Chace"[9]

"The More Modern Ballad of Chevy Chace" in the fourth edition achieves the

Folio revival by clarification of what the pronoun refers to. In this ballad, *A*

Collection of Old Ballads (1723-25), which is indicated in the mark of "[C]," is also

compared with the *Reliques* and the Folio MS:

[1-3]To rouze them up againe   (32)

[4]To rouze the deare againe   (32)

[F]to rouze the deare againe   (32)

[C] To rouze them up again   (32)[10]

The Folio revival motivated Percy to change the words used in the first, second and

third editions, which the following three examples demonstrate:

[1-3]Any of these our harmlesse men   (87)

[4]Any of these our guiltlesse men   (87)

[F]then any of these our guiltlesse men   (87)

[C]Any of these our harmless Men   (87)

[1-3]Full threescore Scots they slew   (108)

[4]Full four-score Scots they slew   (108)

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[9] 1st ed. 1: 231-46; 2nd ed. 1: 249-68; 3rd ed. 1: 251-70; 4th ed. 1: 265-84; Hales and Furnivall 2: 1-16. The title of the Folio version is "Cheuy Chase."

[10] *A Collection of Old Ballads* 1: 108-19. *A Collection of Old Ballads* provides this ballad with the title, "Chavy Chace."

[F]full foure score scotts thé slew   (108)

[C]Full Threescore Scots they slew   (108)

[1]a more renowned knight   (155)

[2-3]a more renowned knight   (167)

[4]a more redoubted knight   (167)

[F]a more redoubted K*night*   (155)

[C]a more renowned Knight   (155)

The collation in this ballad testifies that in contrast to the Folio-based fourth edition, the earlier editions are edited on the foundation of the contemporary ballad collection, *A Collection of Old Ballads*.

1.4. "Northumberland Betrayed by Douglas"[11]

"Northumberland Betrayed by Douglas" provides us with two cases of the Folio revival. First, we can observe the word "yet" followed by the word inversion, "have [or had] I"; in contrast, the earlier editions use "and."

[1-3]And I have never had noe outrake   (151)

[4]Yett have I never had noe outrake   (151)

[F]yett had I neuer noe out-rake   (129)

Secondly, the fourth edition and the previous editions are radically different from

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[11] 1st ed. 1: 257-68; 2nd ed. 1: 279-91; 3rd ed. 1: 281-93; 4th ed. 1: 295-307; Hales and Furnivall 2: 217-26.

each other:

> [1-3]They landed him at Berwick towne / The Douglas landed Lord Percìe
>
> (223-24)
>
> [4]They landed low by Berwicke side / A deputed 'laird' landed Lord Percye
>
> (223-24)
>
> [F]thé landed low by Barwicke side / a deputed land Landed Lo*rd* Percye
>
> (213-14)

It is possible that in the first, second, and third editions, Percy changed the Folio reading in order to make these lines iambic. Aiming at the Folio revival in the fourth edition, however, Percy renounced this metrical device. This is supported by the lack of the accent mark of "Percìe" in the fourth edition.

1.5. "The Heir of Linne"[12]

In the first half of "The Heir of Linne," there is a line corroborating the revival phenomenon in terms of word-selection:

> [1]And John he gave him a gods-pennìe   (1.34)
>
> [2-3]And John he gave him a gods-pennie   (1.34)
>
> [4]And John he cast him a gods-pennie   (1.34)
>
> [F]w*ith that* he cast him a good-se peny   (20)

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[12] 1st ed. 2: 309-18; 2nd ed. 2: 126-35; 3rd ed. 2: 128-37; 4th ed. 2: 128-37; Hales and Furnivall 1: 174-79. In contrast to the *Reliques*, there is no division in the Folio.

In the arrangement of words, Percy made the fourth edition accord with the Folio version:

[1-3]The land is mine, the gold is thine   (1.39)

[4]The gold is thine, the land is mine   (1.39)

[F]*that* gold is thine, the land is mine   (23)

The last example of this ballad arrests our attention to the difference in the way that indefinite pronouns are used:

[1-3]

The tone was brass, and the tone was lead / And tother it was white monèy

(1.63-64)

[4]And one was brass, another was lead / And another it was white monèy

(1.63-64)

[F]& one was brasse, & another was lead / & another was white mony   (35-36)

1.6. "The Murder of the King of Scots"[13]

In "The Murder of the King of Scots," the Folio revival omitted the connecting word and the second name:

[1-3]And David Riccio was his name   (15)

[4]Lord David was his name   (15)

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[13] 1st ed. 2: 197-200; 2nd ed. 2: 197-200; 3rd ed. 2: 199-202; 4th ed. 2: 200-03; Hales and Furnivall 2: 260-64. In the Folio, this ballad is under the title of "Earle Bodwell."

[F]Lo*rd* David was his name   (15)

The omission extends to the nominative pronoun so that "was" can be embedded:

[1-3]When the queene shee saw her chamberlaine slaine   (25)

[4]When the queene saw her chamberlaine was slaine   (25)

[F]when this queene see the Chamberlaine was slaine   (25)

1.7. "Mary Ambree"[14]

"Mary Ambree" presents two examples of variance between the fourth edition and its previous editions. First, we can see the difference in terms of syntax:

[1-3]Noe mayden was ever like Mary Ambree   (28)

[4]There was none ever like Mary Ambree   (28)

[F]there was neu*er* none like to Mary Aumbree!   (32)

Second, the way of using a word signifying a young woman is different:

[1-3]But a poor simple mayden, calld Mary Ambree   (72)

[4]But a poor simple lass, called Mary Ambree   (72)

[F]but eue[n]e a pore bony Lasse, Mary Aumbree   (76)

1.8. "The Winning of Cales"[15]

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[14] 1st ed. 2: 212-16; 2nd ed. 2: 216-20; 3rd ed. 2: 218-22; 4th ed. 2: 219-23; Hales and Furnivall 1: 515-19.

[15] 1st ed. 2: 223-26; 2nd ed. 2: 227-30; 3rd ed. 2: 229-32; 4th ed. 2: 230-33; Hales and

In "The Winning of Cales," it is possible to see how Percy made the fourth edition faithful to the Folio MS. I will present two samples concerning a different word-choice:

[1-3]Did fly for their safety, and durst not come down   (40)

[4]Did fly for their savegard, and durst not come down   (40)

[F]did fflye ffor their sauegard, & durst not come dow[ne]   (36)

[1-3]But see the women and children you save   (45)

[4]But looke that the women and children you save   (45)

[F]but looke *that* women & Children you saue   (40)

1.9. "The Spanish Lady's Love"[16]

"The Spanish Lady's Love" shows a sample of words modernized in the Folio revival:

[1-3]Thou alone enjoyst my heart   (44)

[4]You alone enjoy my heart   (44)

[F]you alone inioy my hart   (12)

The second reveals that the fourth edition supplies the first person anew:

[1-3]And like a page will follow thee, where'er thou go   (54)

Furnivall 3: 453-56.

[16] 1st ed. 2: 227-31; 2nd ed. 2: 231-35; 3rd ed. 2: 233-37; 4th ed. 2: 234-38; Hales and Furnivall 3: 393-98.

[4]And like a page Ile follow thee, where'er thou go   (54)

[F]& like a page Ile ffollow thee whersoere Thou goe   (22)

Lastly, the revival is achieved with the reduction of the number:

[1] And eke ten thousand pounds in gold that lies unknown   (60)

[2-3] And eke tèn thousand pounds in gold that lies unknown   (60)

[4]And eke five hundred pounds in gold that lies unknown   (60)

[F]& eke 500.[li] in gold *that* Lyes vnknowne   (28)

1.10. "King Estmere"[17]

The Folio copy of this ballad "was torn out by Percy [. . .] and is now unfortunately lost," which is why "we have no means of telling what alterations he made in addition to those which he mentions in the foot notes" in the fourth edition (Wheatley 1: 86). Judging from one of the foot notes, we can see that a Folio text is not altered so much as regained in the fourth edition:

[1-3] of that foule paynìm (89)

[4] of the king of Spaine (89)

[F] of the King his sonne of Spaine[18]

Another footnote (to the 253rd line) corroborates the Folio revival: "[s]*ome liberties have been taken in the following stanzas; but wherever this Edition differs from the*

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[17] 1st ed. 1: 56-71; 2nd ed. 1: 59-76; 3rd ed. 1: 62-78; 4th ed. 1: 62-78.

[18] *Reliques,* 4th ed. 1: 68.

preceding, it hath been brought nearer to the folio MS." (*Reliques*, 4th ed. 1: 75).

1.11. Conclusion Drawn from This Collation

These are only a selection of all the samples. However, we can confirm that unlike the earlier editions, the fourth edition is in accordance with the Folio version. The following list gives a full picture of how extensive such changes in the fourth edition are, and of how consistently they restore the Folio MS. Each volume of the *Reliques* consists of three books respectively: the *Reliques* has nine subcategories in total. The first book of the first volume includes five ballads based on the Folio MS, three out of which offer more than one example typical of the revival. In the second book of the first volume, three ballads show instances of a return to the Folio text. The denominator means the number of ballads in the *Reliques* borrowed from, or collated with, the Folio MS; the numerator the number of ballads offering more than one example of the Folio restoration:

Vol. 1 Bk. 1	3/5	Vol. 1 Bk. 2	3/3	Vol. 1 Bk. 3	3/3
Vol. 2 Bk. 1	2/4	Vol. 2 Bk. 2	8/9*	Vol. 2 Bk. 3	1/4
Vol. 3 Bk. 1	6/9	Vol. 3 Bk. 2	3/8	Vol. 3 Bk. 3	0/0

*Vol.2 Bk. 2: The first edition changes this fraction and the next one (Vol.2 Bk.3) into 7/8 and 2/5 respectively. In the first edition "The Heir of Lynne," which is placed in the second book in all other editions, belongs to the third book of the second volume.

The second book of the third volume is an exceptional part: all but three neglect the Folio revival and provide us with counter-examples, which signify the fourth edition

faithful to the third edition. However, it is obvious from the list that the majority of all these ballads support the revival. We must go on to discuss the reason why the fourth edition resurrected the Folio text. In order to clarify the reason, I will shed light on two figures: Joseph Ritson and Edmond Malone, and on Percy's relationship with them.

2. Percy's Relationship with Ritson and Malone

2.1. Joseph Ritson's Criticism

Since the first edition of the *Reliques* won considerable popularity among the public reader, various ballad collections followed under the influence of the *Reliques*. David Herd published *The Ancient and Modern Scots Songs, Heroic Ballads, &c* in 1769.[19] According to A. F. Falconer, Percy "made suggestions for improvements" to this collection.[20] As a result, Herd enlarged and revised it in 1776.[21] Thomas Evans produced *Old Ballads, Historical and Narrative, with Some of Modern Date* from 1777 till 1784.[22] John Pinkerton brought out his ballad collection in 1781.[23] Pinkerton relied upon Percy, which is revealed in the letters between Pinkerton and Percy.[24]

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[19] David Herd, ed., *The Ancient and Modern Scots Songs, Heroic Ballads, &c. Now First Collected into One Body, Etc.* (Edinburgh: Martin, 1769).

[20] A. F. Falconer, ed., *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and George Paton*, The Percy Letters 6 (New Haven: Yale UP, 1961) 171.

[21] David Herd, ed., *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, Etc.*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Dickson, 1776).

[22] Thomas Evans, ed., *Old Ballads, Historical and Narrative, with Some of Modern Date*, 4 vols. (London: Evans, 1777-84).

[23] John Pinkerton, ed., *Hardyknute, an Heroic Ballad, Now First Published Complete; with the Other More Approved Scottish Ballads, and Some Not Hitherto Made Public, in the Tragic Stile* (London: n.p., 1781).

[24] Harriet Harvey Wood, ed., *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and John Pinkerton,*

Joseph Ritson, in contrast to these followers, had a negative response to Percy's editorial policy. He opposed Percy's *Reliques* by the publication of *A Select Collection of English Songs* (1783) and *Ancient Songs, from the Time of King Henry the Third, to the Revolution* (1790). Ritson's passionate attachment to original documents makes a marked contrast to Percy's neglect of the Folio MS in the earlier editions of the *Reliques*. This is revealed in a letter from Ritson to J. Cooper Walker, written in 1790:

I have not the pleasure to agree with you that an editor has a right "to avoid a disgusting orthography of a common word"—at least without affording his readers an opportunity of knowing whether it is disgusting or not. On the contrary I am persuaded that a strict adherence to ancient orthography, however rude, which I conceive is what you mean by disgusting, is the test of an editors [sic] fidelity; & can place no confidence whatever in one who secretly innovates even in a single word.[25]

Ritson's sticking to original texts gives us some idea of invalidity of Percy's sophistication in the *Reliques*. In the case of Shakespeare editing, however, Percy proposed to Malone that his Shakespeare edition should follow the old orthography, which proposal Malone declined, as has been discussed in Chapter 1. Ritson, who was more documentary-intentioned than materialistic Malone, objects to Percy's editorial practice in two pieces of evidence.

The Percy Letters 8 (New Haven: Yale UP, 1985) 22, 23, 24, 37 and 39.

[25] Bertrand H. Bronson, *Joseph Ritson: Scholar-at-Arms*, vol. 2 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1938) 547-48. Bronson published this letter for the first time, although only a part of it had been already disclosed.

First, in *English Songs*, which shares twenty ballads with the *Reliques*, Ritson makes a derogatory comment on Percy's editorial policy:

[T]here is not the least rivalship, or even connection, between the two publications [the *English Songs* and the *Reliques*]. And, indeed, if the contrary had been the case, the inaccurate, and sophisticated manner in which every thing that had real pretensions to antiquity, had been printed by the right reverend editor of that admired and celebrated work [Percy], would be a sufficient apology for any one who might undertake to publish more faithful, though, haply, less elegant copies.[26]

Ritson means that Percy aimed at refining ancient ballads, with the result of being disqualified as an editor who endeavours to "publish more faithful, though, haply, less elegant copies." Following this quotation, Ritson declares his editing, in contrast to Percy's, to be far from taking liberties "with the language of these antique compositions," guaranteeing his readers that they "must be [. . .] content to take them, as they were probably written, —at least, as they have come down to us, —[w]ith all their imperfections on their head" (*English Songs* x).

Next, he writes in *Ancient Songs* that "[Percy's Folio MS] is doubtless the most singular thing of the kind that was ever known to exist."[27] This is followed by Ritson's scepticism about this MS including "compositions from the ages prior to Chaucer": he maintains that the way in which it was produced as late as 1650 "is

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[26] Joseph Ritson, ed., *A Select Collection of English Songs*, vol. 1 (London: Johnson, 1783) x. See also Bronson 2: 556-57.

[27] Joseph Ritson, ed., *Ancient Songs, from the Time of King Henry the Third, to the Revolution* (London: Johnson, 1790) xix.

scarcely to be conceived by those versed in ancient MSS.[,] a similar instance perhaps not being to be found in any library public or private" (*Ancient Songs* xix). Therefore he insists that "no other writer has ever pretended to have seen [Percy's Folio MS]" and that even Thomas Tyrwhitt, who was "an excellent judge and diligent peruser of old compositions, and an intimate friend of the owner," was no exception to this (*Ancient Songs* xix). Immediately afterwards, he writes with sarcasm: "it is remarkable, that scarcely any thing is published from it, not being to be found elsewhere, without our being told of the defects and mutilation of the MS" (*Ancient Songs* xix). This suggests that the *Reliques* leaves us with a strong impression of Percy's own discretion and judgement irrespective of the documentary source itself, and that Percy, taking advantage of the corrupt condition of mutilated ballads in the Folio MS, was dishonest enough to obscure his conjectural editing. Ritson reaches the conclusion that "no confidence can be placed in any of the 'old Minstrel ballads' inserted in [the *Reliques*]" because they are "not to be found elsewhere" (*Ancient Songs* xxi; Bronson 2: 549). This scathing attack brought Percy's editorial method into discredit, and degraded his status as a pioneer of serious ballad editing.

Albert B. Friedman regards "[t]he changes made in the editorial matter for the fourth edition" as the echo of "Percy's reaction to Ritson's criticism of the manner in which the editor had tampered with his texts" (*The Ballad Revival* 202). He points out that readings in the fourth edition "drawn nearer the manuscript versions" signifies "the new standards of accuracy in ballad-editing that had come into being in the thirty years since the *Reliques* was first published" (*The Ballad Revival* 202). This thesis agrees with Friedman on the point of the progress in editorial standard, but it demonstrates another figure who was at the bottom of the Folio revival,

Edmond Malone.

2.2. United Front against Ritson

In response to Ritson's attack on Percy's editorial policy, John Pinkerton, on whose help Percy relied in refuting the charges (Wood xxvi-xxvii), proposed that Percy should give permission for Ritson to examine the Folio MS. However, Percy declined this proposal, which is evident from a Percy-to-Pinkerton letter, written in July 1792:

And against the Expedient you Suggest, I have my particular Reasons: One of which is, that I am now convinced, that This was the very end to which Mr R. has been driving, (Whom wanton Outrage and unprovoked Insult cost nothing) viz to compel me to lay my MS. in some place for public Inspection, where he might examine and collate it (possibly extract some of the Smaller Articles) without being at all obliged to me: or by his Subsequent inquisitorial Search, Find Pretences to justify his antecedent injurious Charges and Insinuations.

(Wood 87-88)

Percy's plan to share repugnance for Ritson with Pinkerton was frustrated by this suggestion. But Percy had already had another companion in order to form a united front against Ritson: an editor of Shakespeare edition, Edmond Malone.

A letter from Malone to Percy, written in September 1783, seven years before publication of his Shakespeare edition, reveals that Malone was one of the victims of acrimonious Ritson: "[a]t the end of his very impudent and scurrilous pamphlet, in which I have the honour to be abused very liberally in common with your Lordship,

D^r J[ohnson]. M^r S[teevens]. M^r T[yrwhitt]. [. . .]" (Tillotson 9). Two years later, in

his letter to Malone, written in July, Percy refers to Ritson as "our Zoilus"

(Tillotson 28). This signifies that Ritson was an enemy common to Percy and

Malone. Zoilus was a sophist, who severely censured Isocrates and Homer. The

reason why Percy compared Ritson to Zoilus is that there was a similarity in

acrimony between Ritson and Zoilus and that Percy tried to promote union solidarity

with Malone against the 'modern' Zoilus by analogizing them with the ancient

Greek geniuses. Because of the solidarity with Malone, who was also attacked by

their enemy, Zoilus, Percy's approach was made to Malone's editorial policy all the

more. The solidarity triggered Malone's influence upon the fourth edition of Percy's

Reliques, which the next section will come up with.

The preface to Ritson's *Cursory Criticisms on the Edition of Shakspeare

Published by Edmond Malone* (1792) censures Malone's Shakespeare editing: "[t]he

total want of *ear* and *judgement*, under which Mr. Malone will be found to labour, is

undoubtedly a natural defect, for which he would be an object rather of pity than of

reprehension [. . .]."[28] His harsh criticism continues:

> But it is not the want of ear and judgement only of which I have to accuse Mr.
>
> Malone: he stands charged with divers other high crimes and misdemeanors
>
> against the divine majesty of our sovereign lord of the drama; with deforming
>
> his text, and degrading his margin, by intentional corruption, flagrant
>
> misrepresentation, malignant hypercriticism, and unexampled scurrility.
>
> (*Cursory Criticisms* viii)

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[28] Joseph Ritson, *Cursory Criticisms on the Edition of Shakspeare Published by Edmond Malone* (1792; New York: Kelley, 1970) vii-viii.

Before this sharp criticism, Ritson argues that Malone's collation of old copies "has not been either so diligent or so successful as he would induce us to believe" (*Cursory Criticisms* vii-viii).[29] This argument was provoked by Malone's description in his two-volume supplement to 1778 Johnson-Steevens edition, published in 1780: "[b]y a diligent collation of all the old copies hitherto discovered, and the judicious restoration of ancient readings, the text of this author seems indeed now finally settled."[30] In the preface to *Cursory Criticisms* Ritson points out thirteen instances of Malone's poor collation.

To this criticism Malone replied in *A Letter to the Rev. Richard Farmer* (1792). He insists that in 1780 he "had not then undertaken to publish an edition of Shakspeare, nor regularly collated a single play of that author with the authentick copies."[31] But after that, he made a strenuous effort to "ensure a genuine text, to collate word by word every line of his plays and poems with the original and authentick copies," with the result that he "obtained ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY FOUR EMENDATIONS of the text" (*A Letter to Farmer* 8). These emendations were made to improve corrupted readings, which remained "withstanding all the well-employed diligence and care of the late editors in correcting the errors of former copies" (*A Letter to Farmer* 8). The emendations are not based upon "capricious innovation, or fanciful conjecture," but upon an attempt

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[29] In *Cursory Criticisms* there are two pages for vii and viii respectively. This quotation is from earlier vii and viii.

[30] Edmond Malone, ed., *Supplement to the Edition of Shakspeare's Plays Published in 1778 by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens*, vol. 1 (London: Bathurst, 1780) i.

[31] Edmond Malone, *A Letter to the Rev. Richard Farmer, D. D. Relative to the Edition of Shakspeare, Published in 1790, and Some Late Criticisms on That Work* (1792; New York: Kelley, 1970) 8.

to restore "the poet's words, as they are found in the only copies of authority" (*A Letter to Farmer* 8-9). Therefore Malone is proud that "by this process, which had never before been attempted, and a long acquaintance with the writers of Shakspeare's age," he "should be able to improve on all the former editions of this author" (*A Letter to Farmer* 10). As a result, he concludes that "though *thirteen* over-sights have been enumerated [by Ritson], *five* of them *have no foundation in truth*" (*A Letter to Farmer* 11). In other words, Malone admits that the rest of the "over-sights" are valid.

Before offering this long excuse, Malone does not hesitate to show that Ritson's *Cursory Criticisms* is a repulsive production: "I will not stain my paper by transcribing any part of the vulgar ribaldry with which [*Cursory Criticisms*] abounds" (*A Letter to Farmer* 4). Malone goes so far as to allow it to "rest with the low societies among whom it has been picked up, and in the bookseller's warehouse, where, with other neglected trash, it will long remain in undisturbed repose" (*A Letter to Farmer* 4). In spite of this repugnance, immediately afterwards, Malone arrests Farmer's attention to what Ritson points out because "two or three *facts* have been mentioned, which, however distorted or discoloured, have something like the semblance, though nothing of the reality, of truth" (*A Letter to Farmer* 4). One of the facts is related to Ritson's criticism about Malone's collation, discussed above. In this comment we might catch a glimpse of Malone's acceptance of Ritson's censure. Malone could not entirely neglect Ritson's attack: his editorial policy was not totally incompatible with Ritson's. However, Malone was forced to be confronted with Ritson's censure, conceding it to some extent. In order to counter acrimonious "Zoilus," it was necessary for Malone and Percy to be in accord with each other on editorial matters.

2.3. Edmond Malone's Influence

While criticized by Ritson, Percy kept in contact with Malone. This contact exerted a strong pull over the fourth edition of the *Reliques*. I focus on two letters from Malone to Percy, which were likely to trigger Percy's exclusion of whimsical alterations to original texts. I also discuss the possibility that Malone's preface to his Shakespeare edition had an impact on Percy's reconsideration of his earlier editorial policy. Moreover, I shall wish to give the result of investigation of Malone's Shakespeare edition of Percy's own possessing.

In his letter to Percy, written in 1793, one year before the publication of the fourth edition, Malone accuses George Steevens of basing his revision of texts on capricious conjecture:

[M]eddling with the text and mending it by fanciful conjectures (as Dr Farmer here has attempted to do) unless in cases of extremity, is always very dangerous. But all that we have been contending for these twenty years, is endeavoured to be overturned in Mr Steevens's late edition: the heart is once more changed to the *right* side; a new system set up; and the most capricious alterations, omissions and interpolations adopted, under pretence of rectifying the *metre*. (Tillotson 65)

After this, Malone sets his editing against Steevens's: "[a] genuine text having been obtained by the laborious collation which I made, no more credit was to be obtained on the score of *fidelity* [. . .]" (Tillotson 65). Steevens's editorial practice in his 1793 Shakespeare edition signifies that the twenty-year efforts by authorial Shakespeare

editors were made evaporative by Popean activity: Steevens's editing can be evidence of a retrogression to Pope's editorial wantonness. Judging from the list of samples shown above, it is obvious that Percy made fanciful alterations to the Folio texts in the first, second, and third editions of the *Reliques*, whereas the Folio revival in the fourth edition excludes them and shows Percy's attempt to be faithful to the original source without resort to his own judgement or taste. This letter was likely to make Percy realize that he, together with Steevens, blocked the editorial reform and made authorial editors' efforts move in a circle. It is highly probable that Malone's editorial principle in this letter awakened Percy to the necessity of a departure from his previous method and to the significance of the resuscitation of original elements in the fourth edition of the *Reliques*.

Malone's statements in the preface to his 1790 Shakespeare edition had also impelled Percy to modify his earlier editorial method. By reading Malone's preface, Percy was presumably pressurized to be keenly aware that "the era of conjectural criticism and capricious innovation" had ended (1.1: lv). The preface declares a shift in editorial method by indicating how Malone is distinguished from his predecessors, whom a "rage for innovation seems to have seized" (1.1: lxv). In addition to this revolutionary feature, what was thought-provoking for Percy is the statement that "the first edition of each play is alone of any authority, and accordingly to no other have I paid any attention" (1.1: xviii). This statement was influential enough to make Percy have second thought of his negligent treatment of the Folio MS. Malone argues in the preface that the editor of the Second Folio made "capricious alterations" to what the First Folio presents owing to his "profound ignorance of [Shakespeare's] phraseology and metre" (1.1: xix), with the result that "no person who wishes to peruse the plays of Shakspeare should ever open the Second Folio, or

either of the subsequent copies" (1.1: xliii). Malone regards the editor of the Second Folio and Pope as "the two great corrupters of our poet's text" (1.1: xix). Percy may have felt apprehensive about the possibility that his *Reliques* would be associated with the defective Second Folio, and about the impression that he, like the Second Folio editor as well as Pope, ruined his editorial source with a number of innovations. Thus Malone's assertion that "the first folio, printed in 1623, is the only authentick edition" (1.1: xix) motivated Percy to respect as "the only authentick edition" his Folio MS, which he had neglected as a source book in the earlier editions of the *Reliques*; otherwise, Percy would have been indistinguishable from the editor of Second Folio. His *Reliques* can have functioned either as the faithful edition of the Folio MS or as the corrupted edition of it. The latter case conveys that the *Reliques* is no different from the Shakespearean Second Folio. The former function became all the more important for Malone's comment in the preface, so that Percy created an edition closer to the Folio MS, that is, the fourth edition of the *Reliques*.

This importance had already been recognized by Percy, which is indicated in a Malone-to-Percy letter, written in 1783. After thanking Percy for leaving in Malone's custody the Second Folio of Percy's own possessing, Malone rebuts Ritson's charge against Percy and Malone with their disregard of the Second Folio, on the grounds that it "has been the cause of almost all the grand corruptions of Shakspeare": Malone insists that since it is "far from being a copy that one ought to consult for the purpose of improving the author by *new* readings," it is necessary that one should scrutinize it so as to "detect the numerous sophistications that its editor has introduced in almost every page" (Tillotson 10). Ironically, Percy was provided an opportunity to reconsider his editorial attitude in the earlier editions of

the *Reliques* by granting the loan of his Second Folio to Malone.

The last point is my bold hypothesis about Percy's intense interest in a facsimile of Shakespeare's original autograph, which may give rise to considerable controversy. Queen's University of Belfast has the library of Thomas Percy perhaps because he was a bishop at Dromore in Northern Ireland. The library has Malone's Shakespeare edition dedicated from the editor to Percy.[32] This is obvious from its front free endpaper, on which is inscribed the following: "To the Lord Bishop of Dromore, from the Editor." In the first part of the first volumes of the edition of Percy's own possessing are missing pages from 191 to 194 together with two leaves restoring Shakespeare's handwriting without any page number.[33] One of the leaves originally offers a facsimile of Shakespeare's autograph regarding his will between pages 190 and 191; the other with reference to his mortgage between 192 and 193 pages. 191 and 192 of the missing pages, which form a leaf, were incompletely torn, with the result that this leaf has left a part of the original.[34] This might signify that the main objective of Percy's tearing was to obtain nothing but the two leaves illustrating Shakespeare's handwriting. That is why, 191 and 192, accidentally situated between the handwriting leaves, remains to be completely removed, although nothing remained of pages 193 and 194. It is possible that this tearing resulted from Percy's strong interest in Malone's documentary attempt to show a facsimile of Shakespeare's handwriting. This interest formed the foundation of

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[32] See Margaret M. Smith, ed., *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, vol. 3, pt. 2 (London: Mansell, 1989) 336.

[33] A yellow oblong card inserted in the lacking position writes: "Pages 191-194 missing. A. Adams 28 Jan 05." According to a librarian of the Special Collections of the Main Library at Queen's University, he does not know who Adams is. I am searching for him to ask him about the detail.

[34] In consideration of the way of the leaf being torn, we cannot ignore the possibility that it may have been recently split.

Percy's respect of the Folio MS in the fourth edition of the *Reliques*.

The main point can be briefly summarized: from 1783 to 1793, Ritson's criticism about the *Reliques* and Malone's editorial policy motivated Percy to reedit his *Reliques* on the basis of an external and objective standard, not on his own internal and subjective standard. As a result, in the fourth edition of the *Reliques* Percy superimposed a new passage on the preface. In the passage Percy confesses his guilt about concealing amendments to old copies (*Reliques*, 4th ed. 1: xvii).

3. A Documentary Tendency Reflected in the Folio Revival

Malone's influence on Percy's editorial method was connected to Percy's awareness of the progress in eighteenth-century editorial trend. This progress was accelerated by Capell, and inherited by Malone. This is misunderstood by Margreta de Grazia, who radically distinguishes Malone from his previous Shakespeare editors: she adheres to Malone's status as an editorial revolutionist by emphasizing some of Capell's editorial practices incompatible "with the criterion of authenticity" (*Shakespeare Verbatim* 54). However, we cannot be silent on her contention that unlike his predecessors, Malone insisted upon the importance of an objective method based upon actual documentary proof (*Shakespeare Verbatim* 70). Malone tried to associate Shakespearean texts with substantial archival evidence, which signifies that "Shakespeare studies could move forward progressively and cumulatively, like a science" (*Shakespeare Verbatim* 70).

Theobald marked a significant shift from aesthetic to authorial orientation. This means a scholarly effort to detach Shakespeare's texts from an editor's own judgement, taste, or evaluation. As Sailendra Kumar Sen argues, Capell returned to the early printed copies "instead of following the practice of taking over the text of a

predecessor and then tinkering with it."[35] Sen points out the tendency of following

in the wake of immediate former editions from the Fourth Folio used by Rowe to

Johnson's edition, which is based upon Theobald's and Warburton's (9). It follows

that the Fourth Folio "continued to provide the basis for the text of all editions of

Shakespeare down to the time of Johnson" (Sen 9). Capell thought that "his

predecessors [had] erred in deriving their text, directly or mediately, from the Fourth

Folio," and had "hope only in going back to the old texts" (Sen 13). In spite of this

revolutionized textual practice, Capell was not a documentary editor since he

refused to give authority to the document itself (Walsh, *Shakespeare* 180). It was

Malone who began to show a documentary tendency in the authorial school. Malone

set physical documentary evidence over authorially-orientated conjecture to recreate

what an author originally intended.[36] This is reflected in Percy's editorial practice in

the fourth edition of the *Reliques*.

Just as predecessors to Capell, such as Pope, altered Shakespeare's texts at

their discretion without much respect of the earliest Shakespearean versions, so

Percy, in 1760s and 70s, neglected his Folio texts by intervening with his own

judgement in the *Reliques*. Earlier editors than Capell and Malone grounded their

editions not upon the early editions but upon contemporary editions of Shakespeare,

as opposed to the revolutionists, who had to counter the traditional tendency to

underestimate "the corrupt character of the quartos and the First Folio" (Sen 26). In

the same way, Percy did not select the Folio MS but *A Collection of Old Ballads* as

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[35] Sailendra Kumar Sen, *Capell and Malone, and Modern Critical Bibliography* (Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1960) 10.

[36] Paul Werstine argues that "Malone's success in discovering and reproducing documents and in building narratives on them offered a focus for his successors' emulation and an impetus for the development of subsequent scholarship." See Werstine, "Shakespeare," *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research*, ed. D. C. Greetham (New York: MLA, 1995) 262.

an exemplar for his "The More Modern Ballad of Chevy Chace" in the first, second and third editions of the *Reliques*. However, the 1794 edition rejected the collection, and made a restoration of the Folio texts.

Despite this Folio restoration, the fourth edition does not introduce a sweeping reform. Percy's trivial conjectural readings neglecting the Folio MS survived throughout all the editions of the *Reliques*. For example, "The More Modern Ballad of Chevy Chace" shows that the conjectural readings still remain in the fourth edition, despite more than ten samples of the restorations of Folio readings offered in this ballad. In terms of use of words, it is obvious that Percy continued to resist returning to the Folio readings:

[1]Until the blood, like drops of rain   (127)

[2-4]Until the blood, like drops of rain   (139)

[F]till blood [a-]downe their cheekes like raine   (127)

[1]He had a bow bent in his hand   (177)

[2-4]He had a bow bent in his hand   (189)

[F]he had [a] good bow in his hand   (177)

[1]Up to the head drew hee   (180)

[2-4]Up to the head drew hee   (192)

[F]to the hard head haled hee   (180)

As for proper names, the fourth edition follows the earlier editions rather than the Folio MS:

[1]Sir Robert Ratcliff, and Sir John   (191)

[2-4]Sir Robert Ratcliff, and Sir John   (203)

[F]S*ir* Rob*ert* Harcliffe & S*ir* William   (191)

[1]

Sir Charles Murray, of Ratcliff, too,

　　His sisters sonne was hee;

Sir David Lamb, so well esteem'd,

　　Yet saved cold not be.   (205-08)

[2-3]

Sir Charles Murray, of Ratcliff, too,

　　His sisters sonne was hee;

Sir David Lamb, so well esteem'd,

　　Yet saved cold not be.   (217-20)

[4]

Sir Charles Murray, of Ratcliff, too,

　　His sisters sonne was hee;

Sir David Lamb, so well esteem'd,

　　Yet saved cold not bee.   (217-20)

[F]

S*ir* Roger Heuer of Harcliffe tow,—

　　his sisters sonne was hee,—

S*ir* david Lambwell well esteemed,

　　but saved he cold not bee;   (205-08)

One stanza from this ballad reveals how different the *Reliques* and the Folio MS are:

[1]

O Christ! it was a griefe to see,

    And likewise for to heare,

The cries of men lying in their gore,

    And scatter'd here and there.   (117-20)

[2-4]

O Christ! it was a griefe to see,

    And likewise for to heare,

The cries of men lying in their gore,

    And scattered here and there.   (129-32)

[F]

O Christ! it was great greeue to see

    how eche man chose his spere,

& how the blood out of their brests

    did gush like water cleare!   (117-20)

In "Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, and William of Cloudesley," which also gives a number of examples of the Folio revival, we can observe Percy wavering between the return to the Folio MS and adherence to the earlier editions of the *Reliques*:

[1-3]With strokes great and strong / The porter herde suche noyse therat

(2.18-19)

[4]With strokes great and stronge / The porter marveiled, who was therat

(2.18-19)

[F]w*i*th strokes hard and stronge / the Porter marueiled who was theratt

(222-23)

[1-3]Who is there nowe, sayde the porter / That maketh all thys dinne?

(2.21-22)

[4]Who is there now, sayde the porter / That maketh all thys knockinge?

(2.21-22)

[F] "who be there," said the Porter / "*that* makes all this knockinge?"   (225-26)

The fourth edition does not purge the *Reliques* of Percy's fanciful alterations in Chapter 3, either. It fails to mark a dramatic shift from the earlier editions, vacillating between capricious alterations by subjective standards and respect for an objective document. All that this chapter can argue is that relatively speaking, the fourth edition is faithful to the Folio MS. The *Reliques* reflects a hybrid of multifarious editorial intentions, which leads to its inscrutability. Nick Groom argues that "[t]he production of the *Reliques* was slow and fitful, intentions changed radically several times, and we are left with a variety of conflicting potential texts" (*The Making of Percy's Reliques* 13). It is difficult to elucidate the overall picture of ever-changing editorial intentions in such an unfathomable ballad collection. However, this chapter, together with the last chapter, has somewhat contributed toward demystifying enigmatic *Reliques* by highlighting an editorial change from an ideal text in an editor's mind to physical documents.

CONCLUSION

This thesis shed a fresh light on the neglected relationship between Percy's *Reliques* and its contemporary Shakespeare editions. It has clarified the relation in terms of scholarly editing. From Theobald, a representative of the antithesis of Pope's aesthetic editing, began the lineage of the authorial school, which also signified the dawn of historical criticism of Shakespeare. This school was enhanced by Capell, and developed into the authorial-documentary orientation by Malone. This thesis has revealed that Malone made Percy aware of this progress in scholarly editing, with the result that the fourth edition of the *Reliques* approached Malone's documentary tendency. By the end of the eighteenth century, editorial protocols had begun to show a tendency to respect a historical document and its entity. Eighteenth-century editors that we can see as creators of modern scholarly editing were not forming a monolithic group. This authorial school in eighteenth-century editing paved the way for the twentieth-century New Bibliography. Roughly speaking, scholarly editing had made little dramatic change from the eighteenth to the twentieth century: it is no exaggeration to say that with the exception of the documentary deviation, during the two centuries scholarly editors continued to pursue a single and ideal text of an original author, claiming superiority of him or her over other agents.

The New Bibliographers' common mission was to achieve their purpose of reviving the original author's intention. Ronald B. McKerrow associates "the duty of an editor" with the attempt "to present those works as he believes the author to have intended them to appear" rather than "to pick and choose among the variant readings

of his author's works those which he himself would prefer in writings of his own."[1]

W. W. Greg formulates "a set of principles," which makes it possible to establish a text that "current scholarship would recognize as probably approaching closer to the intention of the author."[2] The first principle Greg proposes is to "*present the text, so far as the available evidence permits, in the form in which we may suppose that it would have stood in a fair copy, made by the author himself, of the work as he finally intended it*" (Greg x; Walsh, *Shakespeare* 10). Thomas Tanselle goes so far as to say that editors' conjectural emendations, which make a contribution to reconstruction of an invisible or ideal text as a single text, may be a more reliable presentation of "what the author wrote than any of the alternative readings at a point of variation."[3]

This assertion by the New Bibliographers has been vulnerable to censure. After pointing out that "[a] wide variety of New Bibliographical tenets has come under attack [. . .]," Simon Jarvis argues that "a new generation of textual bibliographers have for some time found reason in the course of detailed empirical inquiry to question some of the New Bibliography's most widely accepted procedures [. . .]" (4). Jarvis counts Paul Werstine and D. F. McKenzie as the opponents to the New Bibliography (4). David Scott Kastan is skeptical about

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[1] Ronald B. McKerrow, ed., *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1958) 197.

[2] W. W. Greg, *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare: A Survey of the Foundations of the Text*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1954) v.

[3] G. Thomas Tanselle, "Classical, Biblical, and Medieval Textual Criticism and Modern Editing," *Studies in Bibliography* 36 (1983): 55. See also Walsh, *Shakespeare* 15-16. Jerome J. McGann categorizes Tanselle together with Paul De Man as "textual idealists." He argues that "[e]ach is caught in his own version of an impossible dialectic, an 'unequal contest' between transphenomenal desires and factive, material conditions." See McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991) 7.

authorial intentions respected as exclusively determining. On the grounds that "[a] playwright's writings are [. . .] always modified in the guts of the living theater, subjected to rearrangements, cuts, and interpolations by the demands of performance," Kastan doubts that the authorial text is "identical to the play" (*Shakespeare and the Book* 119). He does not underestimate authorial intentions, but he insists that they are "realizable only as they interact with the intentions of other agents" (*Shakespeare and the Book* 121). Margreta de Grazia and Peter Stallybrass agree with this idea: the New Bibliographers' accentuation of an idealized text reflecting a single authorial intention results in our ignorance of "the degree to which the production of a literary work" is collaboration with other agents, such as a bookseller, a printer, and an acting company, "rather than an individual creation."[4] They go on to argue that "[t]he relative insignificance of the author is particularly striking in the case of Shakespeare" (274) for the reason that "[o]f his plays published before 1600, seven of the eight were first printed anonymously" (274-75). Emphasis on "solitary and unitary authorship" has been anachronistic: Shakespeare scholars "can no longer take the unity and integrity of their standard Shakespeare for granted" after the 1980s and 90s (de Grazia and Stallybrass 276). In his *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age*, after complaining about Thomas Tanselle's assumption that an original author "wished his text to be a single thing" (3rd ed. 31), Peter Shillingsburg insists that "the author's intention itself is probably not one thing that can adequately be represented by a single or simple authenticated text" (3rd ed. 35). Therefore he proposes that the editor's duty should "not be primarily to establish a text reflecting the author's best or final intentions as the editor critically perceives

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[4] Margreta de Grazia and Peter Stallybrass, "The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 44 (1993): 274.

and appreciates them but, rather, to prepare a text and record the historical development of the authorial forms of the work so that the reader can study the whole work—a clear text and the authorial variant forms" (3rd ed. 37). In this way, after 1980s and 90s, the ideal singleness championed by the New Bibliographers has been exposed to criticism from a viewpoint of textual multiplicity. This means a change, or rather, a return in editorial history from stabilization to destabilization.

Oral transmission involves textual multiplicity that cannot be captured in a single established edition. However, Percy destroyed the orality of ballad literature to change its fragile record into secure printed matter worthy of publication. In the same way, performance texts had been exposed to constant modifications, but eighteenth-century Shakespeare editors fixed the texts on the printed page. The Tudor period were characterized by oral instability (Ong, *Rhetoric* 23-47), while in the eighteenth century texts were stabilized by printing culture both in the case of ballad-literature and of Shakespeare plays. This process of textual stabilization continued until the New Bibliography in the twentieth century. Since 1980s and 90s, however, the stabilization has been reverted by acceptance of textual multiplicity on the electric screen. In spite of about two-hundred-year editorial efforts to fix Shakespeare's texts on the printed page, stabilized texts have been recently destabilized with the appearance of hypertexts on the screen of computers. Kastan emphasizes the contrast between the page and the screen: "[o]n the page, the play is stabilized, by print and by editorial commitment [. . .] [whereas] [o]n the screen, the play is always potentially multiple and unstable" (*Shakespeare and the Book* 130). The electronic text can provide us with an opportunity to see "any number of textual versions" without any concern about "the material limits that define the book" (Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* 125). In comparison with printed volumes bound

by limitations, the electronic text on the screen displays multiplicity and unstableness because its borderless environment allows us to "move easily between [all available textual versions]" (Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* 130). Philip Gaskell argues in *From Writer to Reader: Studies in Editorial Method* (1978):

It may be tempting for an editor to suppose that he should present all the evidence concerning every version of his text, and should annotate practically every word of it [. . .]. But of course any hope of producing an all-inclusive edition would be vain and delusive: it is impossible to present and annotate *everything*; and if it were possible no one would want to read the result.[5]

However, thanks to innovative computer technology, it is safe to say that an editor can produce "an all-inclusive edition." It is no longer necessary for readers at the screen to be passive only to be supplied with what an editor selects: they are unlikely to need a single text that an editor believes to be expressive of authorial intentions. On the screen "all available versions of the play can theoretically be included" (Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* 130). Readers are free to select from them in whatever way they like without regard to authorial intentions. They do not have to concentrate on an original author's intention emphasized by an authorial editor. This means that authority has transferred from an author to readers: from those who supply information to those who receive it. In the future the act of encoding will be less important than that of decoding. D. C. Greetham, borrowing Jerome McGann's theory, maintains that this "shift from 'intention' (an authorial

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[5] Gaskell, *From Writer to Reader: Studies in Editorial Method* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978) 6.

prerogative) to 'affect' (a reader's) is symptomatic of a general shift in critical theory from a reliance on an author's imputed meaning to the free play of meaning associated with post-structuralism."[6] Under these circumstances, the technological innovation is urging us to reconsider what literature should be.[7] That is, it is time for us to take it into account how significant an author of literary work is for readers in the computer age: we must consider how his or her authority is being deconstructed. Readers are likely to play a major role in literature, on behalf of an author, who used to be at the centre of literature but is now becoming nothing but a factor of it (Nogami 186). This is indicative of "democratic pluralism," as Greetham puts it (*Textual Scholarship* 341; Nogami 186). Greetham argues that "textual scholars" who have a common task to resist any authorially-intentioned single text "suggest multiform, fragmentary, even contradictory, texts as the aim of editing, sometimes to be constructed *ad hoc* by the reader" (*Textual Scholarship* 341). He designates this tendency of textual scholarship as "democratic pluralism" and pronounces that "there is no longer, in Anglo-American editing, at least, any single orthodoxy among textual scholars" (*Textual Scholarship* 341).

Thus, pursuit of an original author's intention has been called into question, which originated in the eighteenth-century historical criticism. The endeavour to understand an ancient author, focusing on his own age and the context where his work was created, prevented some eighteenth-century editors from making a liberal

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[6] D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York: Garland, 1994) 341. An original author is, as it were, an invisible subject, to whose point of view we unconsciously or consciously acquiesced. Authorially-motivated reconstruction of his or her texts excluded editorial multiplicity. Post-structuralism throws a serious doubt into such exclusiveness, and aims at dismantling the dominant singleness. This is obvious in Jacques Derrida's deconstruction theory and Michel Foucault's archeology of knowledge.

[7] Katsuhiko Nogami, "Shakespearean Textual Criticism," *Journal of Chiba Institute of Technology (Humanities)* 36 (1999): 177.

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understanding of the past at their discretion like Pope. Both the historical and the Popean approaches toward an original author were adopted in Percy's *Reliques*. Percy tried to make a contextual understanding of Shakespeare by using ballad literature as a contextual tool, while he would not, or could not, make a contextual grasp of ancient English minstrels. As has been discussed in Chapter 3, in spite of his attempt to look upon mystical minstrels as original authors of ancient ballads, Percy based their reconstruction on pure imagination, which motivated himself to have a part as a minstrel. This signifies that in contrast to the case of Shakespeare, Percy's wish to contextualize ancient minstrels was forced to be evaporative, for contextual materials about them were almost unavailable. Percy abandoned the historical criticism of searching for original ballad authors.

After introducing McGann's editorial principles: first, his readiness to "deconstruct the Romantic myth of the author as an original and creative (and intentionalist) genius, whose copy-texts are [. . .] self-evidently 'auratic'": second, his emphasis on "the historical materialism of the text, on its physical production"; last, his shift of "the textual bibliographer's interest from intention to affect" (*The Making of Percy's Reliques* 15-16), Nick Groom proclaims that his approach to Percy's *Reliques* is not based upon the authorial intention: "[t]he text may be a representation of its author's intentions, but the most legible marks it carries are traces of its production, and it is upon these that I will focus in the case of Percy" (*The Making of Percy's Reliques* 16). He goes on to argue that ballad literature can be exempt from "any recognizable concept of authorship," immediately afterwards offering Oscar Wilde, Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault's "distrust of authorship and intention": they consider "the intentions of the author" to be no more of "authority than the work" (*The Making of Percy's Reliques* 16). In a sense Percy's

Reliques may be regarded as an anticipation of the twentieth-century deconstruction theory. Percy as an editor of the fourth edition of the *Reliques,* under the influence of Malone as an authorial-documentary editor of Shakespeare, might be said to have carried the note of "the historical materialism of the text," as McGann puts an emphasis on it, if not the decontructionism. This means that as early as the end of the eighteenth century we can catch the merest glimpse of the germ of a modern taste for decentralization of the author. However, Percy's *Reliques* is not completely disconnected to pursuit of an original author: as far as Shakespearean ballads are concerned, the *Reliques* supports a framework of eighteenth-century historical criticism. Even Malone would not renounce author's intentions. Percy would have contextualized ancient minstrels if it had not been for lack of contextual materials.

What mattered for eighteenth-century historical criticism was not only enthusiasm for a past author but also availability of contextual materials. According to the availability, enthusiasts for the past can be roughly categorized into three groups. This respect for the past motivated some editors to rely on literary documents contemporary with the original author; others reinvigorated old literature on the basis of their free imagination, owing to limited literary sources; still others went so far as to make up old literary sources.

Shakespeare editors had access to early printed copies to make a contextual understanding of Shakespeare, even if manuscripts closest to his intention were not available. They were provided sufficient contextual materials, of which they had only to make an eclectically-based selection to present the best text, although their conjectural emendations sometimes interfered in it. Even in Chaucer editing, Thomas Tyrwhitt was able to depend mainly on manuscripts.

However, literature other than the native classic writers was brought back with

the aid of imagination. Thomas Chatterton and William Henry Ireland presented ancient culture or literature with resort to pure imagination: without any literary sources, they had to make up from the scratch what they asserted to be genuine.

This sort of forgery does not apply to Thomas Percy and James Macpherson, both of whom had literary sources of their work. In order to publish the controversial Ossianic poems, consisting of *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760), *Fingal* (1762), *Temora* (1763), *The Works of Ossian* (1765) and *The Poems of Ossian* (1773), Macpherson imagined ancient Celtic culture and its symbol, Ossian, in the same way as Percy did ancient English minstrels. Both were criticised for the doubtful existence of their literary sources, which they neglected in inventing the antiquity. Joseph Ritson was sceptical about Percy's Folio MS, but it did and does exist. Samuel Johnson was doubtful of Macpherson's Ossianic manuscripts. Johnson writes to James Boswell in 1775:

[Macpherson], and Dr Blair, whom I consider as deceived, say that he copied the poem from old manuscripts. His copies, if he had them, and I believe him to have none, are nothing. Where are the manuscripts? They can be shown if they exist, but they were never shown. [. . .] No man has a claim to credit upon his own word, when better evidence, if he had it, may be easily produced. But, so far as we can find, the Erse language was never written till very lately for the purposes of religion. A nation that cannot write, or a language that was never written, has no manuscripts.[8]

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[8] James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, vol. 2 (1791; London: Navarre Society, 1924) 125-26.

As for *Fingal* the introduction explains that at the request of "several people of rank, as well as taste," Macpherson made "a journey into the Highlands and western isles, in order to recover what remained of the works of the old bards, especially those of Ossian, the son of Fingal [. . .]."[9] But Macpherson's introduction fails to refer to substantial manuscripts (*The Making of Percy's Reliques* 78). That is, Macpherson ignored manuscripts as literary sources in editing the Ossianic publications. Thus there is a similarity between Macpherson and Percy. But what makes Percy completely different from Macpherson is Percy's attempt to return to the original source. Although Percy went so far beyond even Pope in his conjectural emendations, yet he was able to see the need for greater conservatism later. In *Ossian* Macpherson stuck to peripheralization of manuscripts (*The Making of Percy's Reliques* 78). Percy judged complete printed version of ballads to be more significant than manuscript versions that he believed to be incomplete. Transformation from manuscript to printing is a typical feature of the earlier editions of Percy's *Reliques*. However, the fourth edition is the outcome of his attempt to reassess manuscript culture.

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[9] James Macpherson, *Fingal: An Ancient Epic Poem* (London: Becket, 1762) a1r. See also Groom, *The Making of Percy's Reliques* 78.

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