

Be not affraid, though you do see me weapon'd :
Heere is my iournies end, heere is my butt
And verie Sea-marke of my vtmost Saile.
Do you go backe dismaid? 'Tis a lost feare:
Man but a Rush against *Othello's* brest,
And he retires. Where should *Othello* go?
Now : how dost thou looke now? Oh ill-Starr'd wench,
Pale as thy Smocke : when we shall meete at compt,
This looke of thine will hurle my Soule from Heauen,
And Fiends will snatch at it. Cold, cold, my Girle?
Euen like thy Chastity. O cursed, cursed Slaue!
Whip me, ye Diuels,
From the possession of this Heauenly fight :
Blow me about in windes, roast me in Sulphure,
Wash me in steepe-downe gulfes of Liquid fire.
Oh *Desdemona*! dead *Desdemona* : dead. Oh, oh!

*Enter Lodowico, Cassio, Montano, and Iago,
with Officers.*

Lod. Where is this rash, and most vnfortunate man?

Oth. That's he that was *Othello* : heere I am.

Lod. Where is that Viper?

Bring the Villaine forth.

Oth. I look down towards his feet ; but that's a Fable,
If that thou bee'st a Diuell, I cannot kill thee,

Lod. Wrench his Sword from him.

Iago. I bleed Sir, but not kill'd.

Othel. I am not sorry neither, I'd haue thee liue :
For in my sense, 'tis happinesse to die.

Lod. Oh thou *Othello*, that was once so good,
False in the practise of a cursed Slaue,

That there he dropt it for a speciall purpose,
Which wrought to his desire.

Othel. O Foole, foole, foole!

Cassio. There is besides, in *Rodorigo's* Letter,
How he vpbraides *Iago*, that he made him
Braue me vpon the Watch : whereon it came
That I was cast : and euen but now he spake
(After long seeming dead) *Iago* hurt him,
Iago set him on.

Lod. You must forsake this roome, and go with vs
Your Power, and your Command is taken off,
And *Cassio* rules in Cyprus. For this Slaue,
If there be any cunning Crueltie,
That can torment him much, and hold him long,
It shall be his. You shall close Prisoner rest,
Till that the Nature of your fault be knowne
To the Venetian State. Come, bring away.

Oth. Soft you ; a word or two before you goe :
I haue done the State some seruice, and they know't :
No more of that. I pray you in your Letters,
When you shall these vnluckie deeds relate,
Speake of me, as I am. Nothing extenuate,
Nor set downe ought in malice.
Then must you speake,
Of one that lou'd not wisely, but too well :
Of one, not easily lealiours, but being wrought,
Perplexed in the extreame : Of one, whose hand
(Like the base Iudean) threw a Pearle away
Richer then all his Tribe : Of one, whose subdu'd Eyes
Albeit vn-vsed to the melting moode,
Drops teares as fast as the Arabian Trees
Their Medicinable gumme. Set you downe this :

Shakespeare, Pope and Theobald in the Fellows' Library

Oth. I.

Cas. Deere Generall, I neuer gaue you cause.

Oth. I do beleue it, and I aske your pardon :

Gra. All that is spoke, is marr'd.

Oth. I kist thee, ere I kill'd thee; No way but this

PART ONE: The poet and the word-catcher

Did some more sober critic come abroad?
 If wrong, I smiled; if right, I kissed the rod.
 Pains, reading, study are their just pretence,
 And all they want is spirit, taste, and sense.
 Commas and points they set exactly right,
 And 'twere a sin to rob them of their mite.
 Yet ne'er one sprig of laurel graced these ribalds,
 From slashing Bentley down to piddling Tibbalds:
 Each wight who reads not, and but scans and spells,
 Each word-catcher that lives on syllables,
 Ev'n such small critics some regard may claim,
 Preserv'd in Milton's or on Shakespeare's name.

(‘Alexander Pope, Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot’, ll. 157–172)¹

Figure 1: Alexander Pope, *An Epistle from Mr. Pope, to Dr. Arbuthnot* (London, 1734), p. 9 [Winchester College Bk11567]

Even by the standards of the early eighteenth century, the literary dust-up between Alexander Pope (1688–1744) and Lewis Theobald (1688–1744) was particularly nasty. The stakes ran high: this was about the nature of literature—specifically English literature—and about the authority of interpretation. The catalyst was Pope’s edition of Shakespeare and its errors, ‘as well committed, as unamended’, which Theobald mercilessly and meticulously catalogued in *Shakespeare Restored* (1726; fig. 2). Pope’s response was characteristically unequivocal: he crowned ‘piddling Tibbald’ as King of the Dunces in the first edition of *The Dunciad* (1728). Theobald’s pedantic claims to accuracy were, Pope loftily observed,

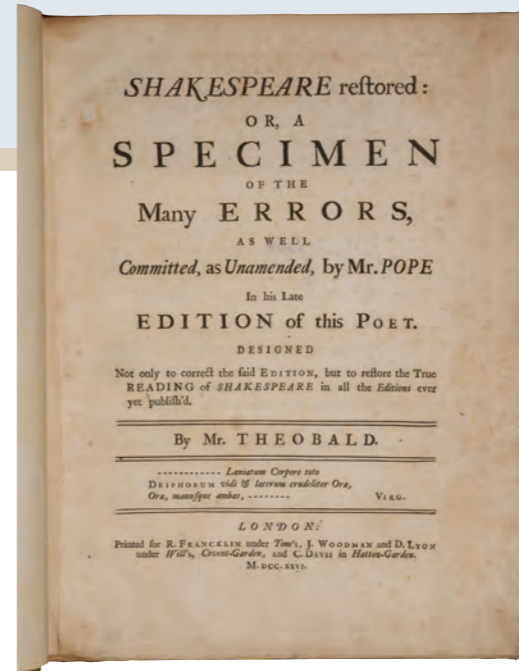
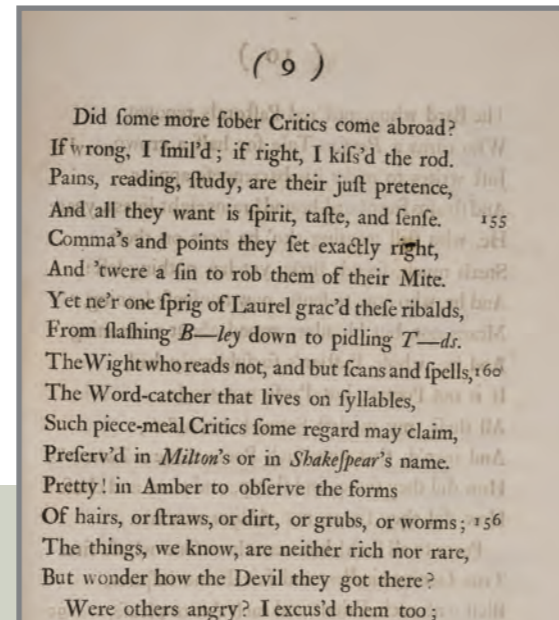


Figure 2: Lewis Theobald, *Shakespeare Restored* (London, 1726), title page [Winchester College Bk12335]

no substitute for ‘spirit, taste and sense’. When Theobald published his own edition of Shakespeare’s works in 1733, he tartly catalogued Pope’s edition under the heading, ‘no authority’. The Winchester College Fellows’ Library contains within its holdings a unique window into this dispute in the form of Theobald’s own copy of nine of Shakespeare’s plays (in Pope’s revised 1728 edition), replete with the manuscript amendments, annotations and comments which formed the basis of his own edition (fig. 3).² The Library’s holdings of both Pope and Theobald’s Shakespeare edition, alongside its Pope first editions and the 1623 Folio of Shakespeare’s plays, further



Figure 3: Three volumes of Pope’s edition of Shakespeare (1728) with manuscript emendations and annotations by Lewis Theobald [Winchester College Bk8815]

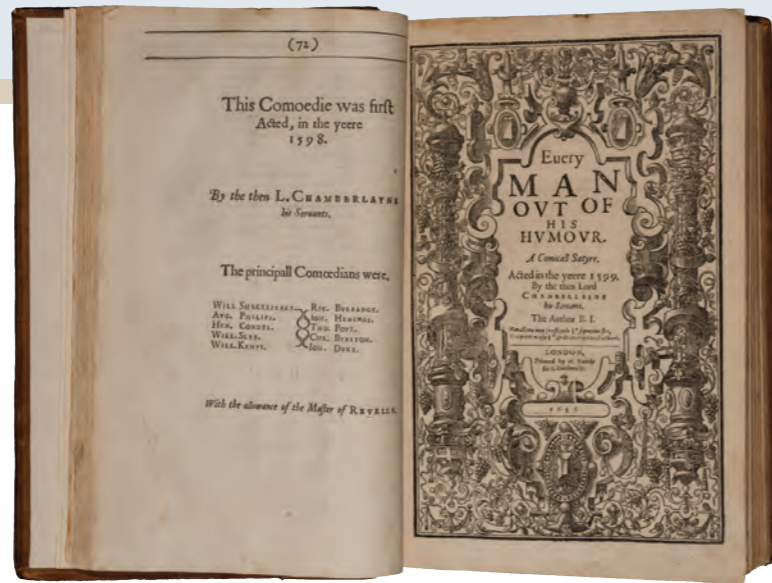


Figure 4: Ben Jonson, *The Works of Ben Jonson* (London, 1616), pp. 72-73 [Winchester College Bk5554]



Figure 5: Alexander Pope, *The Works of Mr. Alexander Pope*, vol 1 (London, 1717), title page [Winchester College Bk8016]

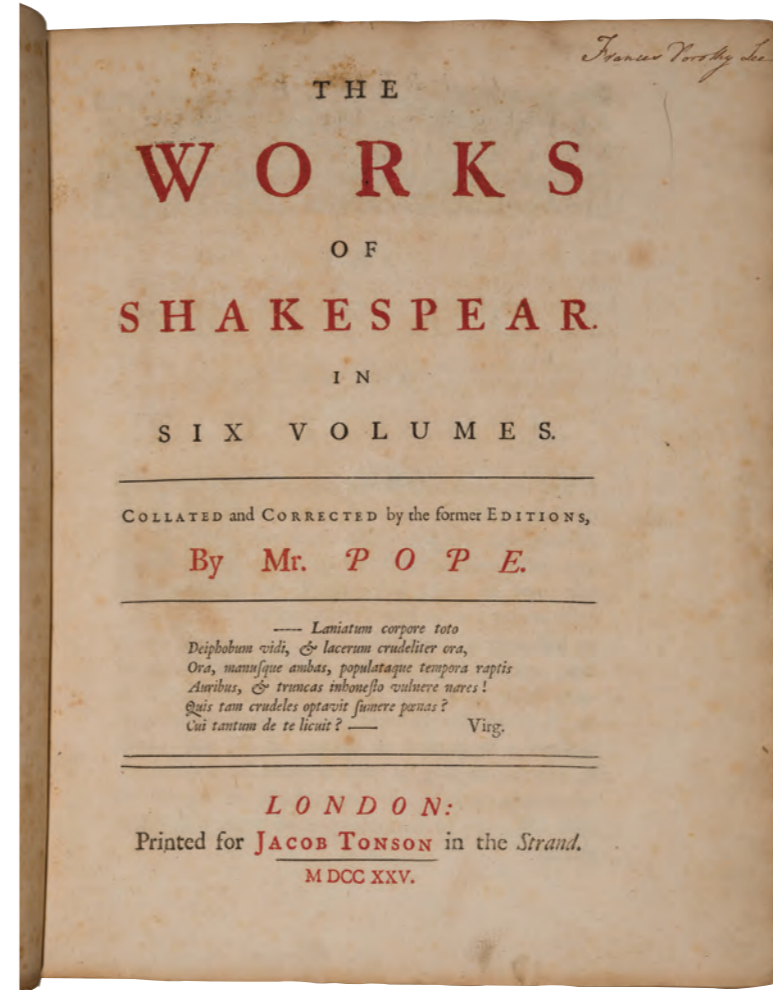


Figure 6: Alexander Pope (ed.), *The Works of Shakespear* (London, 1725), title page [Winchester College Bk8826]

enrich our understanding of the detail of this dispute, and its implications for the way that we read literary texts.

As indisputably great as Pope's best poetry is, his status as the preeminent English poet of the early eighteenth century is bound up in his canny understanding and exploitation of the inter-relationship between literary reputation, publication and publicity. His edition of Shakespeare was part of this project. Much like Ben Jonson (1572–1637) a century before, Pope had ensured that his collected works were published in his lifetime, although where Jonson waited until he was in his mid-forties to publish the Folio edition of his *Workes* (1616; fig. 4), Pope did so in a two-volume edition at the age of 29 (fig. 5).³ His 'emergence as a literary titan after the Hanoverian succession' was consolidated by the translation of Homer and Horace, publications which allowed Pope to 'market himself in print as a poet of undisputed classical status.'⁴ It is from this vantage, then, that Pope turned his attention to Shakespeare in the mid-1720s (fig. 6).

Theobald made no such claim to literary greatness. When he published *Shakespeare Restored*, his literary output was limited to a number of minor plays and pantomimes. Were it not for his disagreement with Pope, his only claim to posterity would likely be the play *Double Falshood* (1727), which he claimed to be based on a lost Shakespearean original—an attribution that remains controversial. Instead, the better part of his reputation rests on his dispute with Pope and the editorial work that he undertook both in *Shakespeare Restored*—or, to give it its full title, *Shakespeare Restored: Or, A Specimen of the Many Errors, as well Committed, as Unamended, by Mr. Pope, In his Late Edition of this Poet*—and the preparation of his own edition of Shakespeare's works, published in 1733.

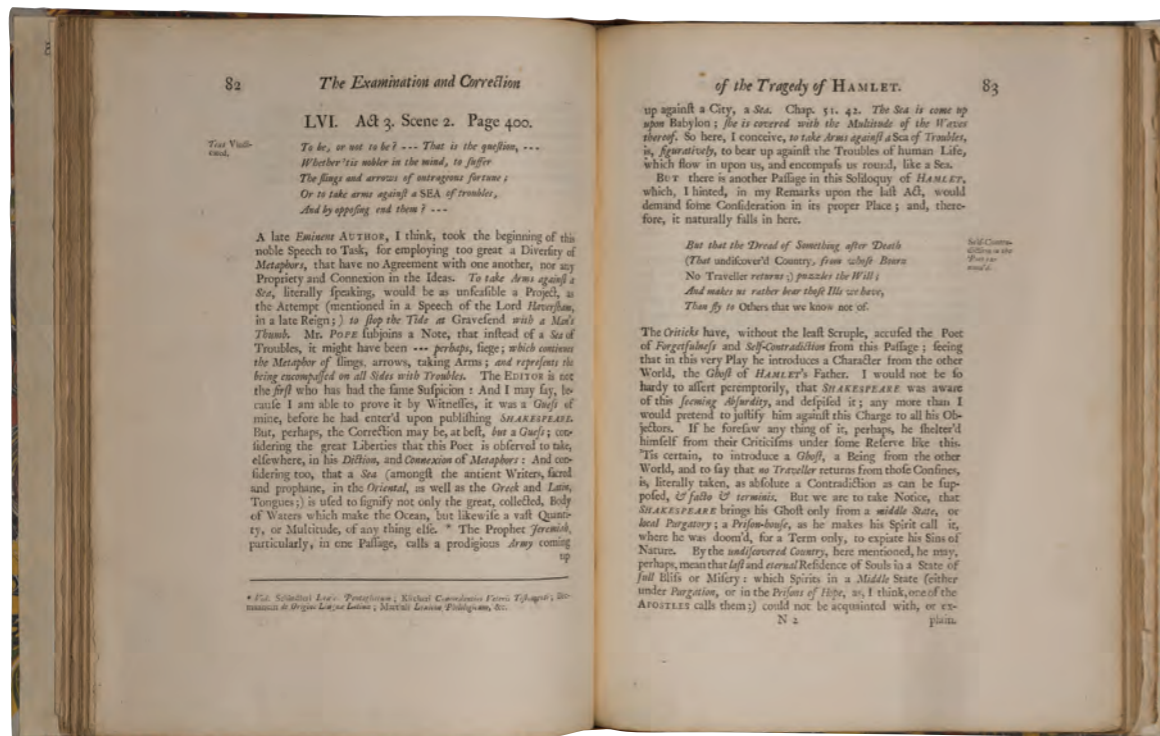


Figure 7: Theobald's correction of Pope in *Shakespeare Restored* (London, 1726), pp. 82-83 [Winchester College Bk12335]

'The dull duty of an Editor'

The dispute between the two men was the consequence of a fundamental disagreement about what could properly be considered the duty of an editor—and through that, what the interpretive possibilities of reading might be. For Pope, it was a necessarily dull and thankless task, one that should properly be discharged 'with a religious abhorrence of all Innovation, and without any indulgence to [the editor's] private sense or conjecture.'⁵ An editor should seek to restore the text to its original condition,

even where that condition was imperfect: the 'faults' and 'irregularity' that Pope found in Shakespeare were to be understood as analogous to:

an ancient majestic piece of *Gothick Architecture* compar'd with a neat Modern building: the latter is more elegant and glaring, but the former is more strong and solemn. [...] It has much the greater variety, and much the nobler apartments;

tho' we are often conducted to them by dark, odd, and uncouth passages. Nor does the whole fail to strike us with greater reverence, tho' many of the Parts are childish, ill-plac'd, and unequal to its grandeur.⁶

Those 'dark, odd, and uncouth passages' in Shakespeare's work were not to be expunged from the text; even those 'suspected passages which are excessively bad' were allowed to retain their place in Pope's text, although they are, as he notes, 'degraded to the bottom of the page, with an Asterisk referring to the places of their insertion.'⁷ Theobald dismissed Pope's 'religious abhorrence of all Innovation' as 'downright Superstition': the editor of secular writing ought not, he contends, 'to be as cautious of altering *their* Text, as we would of the *sacred Writings*'.⁸ Rather than accepting obscurity as part of the original condition of Shakespeare's text, Theobald asserts that it is the duty of an editor:

to give Light and restore Sense to the Passage, and, by a reasonable Emendation, to make that satisfactory and consistent with the Context, which before was so absurd, unintelligible, and intricate.⁹

For Theobald, then, the enlightened exercise of reason permits an editor to make conjectural changes to a text if it helps to restore a sense that has been obscured in the material history of a text's transmission in print.

'The Nature of a Classic Writer'

Pope and Theobald's disagreement can be understood more fully if it is set in the literary context in which it took place. The idea of an editor as it is understood

in the modern sense was still taking shape in the early eighteenth century: it was not until the publication of Nicholas Rowe's edition of Shakespeare's works in 1709 that the name of an editor appeared on the title page of Shakespeare's work.¹⁰ This new conception of an editor developed with a particular focus on the work of English authors of the seventeenth century like Shakespeare and Milton, whose work began to be read with a form of sustained scholarly attention that had not previously been afforded to secular works of English literature.

A sense of the augmented value of these writers can be seen in the enhanced material quality of the editions in which their work was published. Rowe's edition of Shakespeare was beautifully illustrated, for instance, as was the 1688 edition of *Paradise Lost* (fig. 8); both volumes were published by the impresarial Jacob Tonson, who had also published Pope's Shakespeare. These editions framed this vernacular, secular work within unexpected interpretive contexts: in 1695, for example, Tonson also published the 321 pages of Patrick Hume's annotations on *Paradise Lost*, affording it the kind of scholarly exegesis typically reserved for commentary on scripture or classical texts. Although Theobald was sceptical of Pope's religious reverence for Shakespeare's texts, he justified his conjectural emends by asserting that it is precisely because of their 'Classical' standing that such an editorial approach is warranted:

As *SHAKESPEARE* stands, or at least ought to stand, in the Nature of a Classic Writer, and, indeed, he is corrupt enough to pass for one of the oldest Stamp, every one, who has a Talent and Ability this Way, is at liberty to make his Comments and Emendations upon him.¹¹

PART TWO: Teaching with Pope and Theobald



Figure 8: John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, the fourth edition (London, 1688), p. 1 [Winchester College Bk6768]

If Shakespeare is to be read as a 'Classic Writer', Theobald contends, his work can be subjected to the critical attention of anyone possessing sufficient 'Talent and Ability'.

The final volume of Theobald's printer's copy in the Fellows' Library shows both how this work might be undertaken and also its complexity. In a letter sewn into the back of edition, Theobald copies out the titles of all the versions of the plays that he has collated as evidence for the editorial decisions that he has made in preparing the edition. Sorted into three categories of authority, he reserves the final category—'Editions of No Authority'—

for the work of Pope and Rowe alone. Despite this, there is more common ground than might be supposed: in 1728, Pope published a revised edition of Shakespeare's works in light of Theobald's criticism, and—as Carly Watson has observed—Theobald's own editorial practice shifted between *Shakespeare Restored* and his own edition of Shakespeare's works, which contained within it a number of changes introduced by Pope into the text that had no precedent in the collated texts that he had so assiduously listed at the back of his edition.¹²

Access to the materials discussed above gives an insight into a moment of literary history and allows us to ask questions about what exactly it is that we are reading when we are reading Shakespeare. A powerful example of this is in the textual crux—that is, a moment of uncertainty about the accuracy of the text that cannot be definitively resolved—which appears in Othello's final speech. With the dead bodies of Desdemona and Emilia lying in front of him, and Iago's machinations finally exposed, Othello addresses the assembled Venetian dignitaries before killing himself:

Soft you, a word or two before you go.
I have done the state some service, and they know't:
No more of that. I pray you, in your letters,
When you shall these unlucky deeds relate,
Speak of me as I am. Nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice. Then must you speak
Of one that loved not wisely, but too well;
Of one not easily jealous, but, being wrought,
Perplexed in the extreme; of one whose hand,
Like the base Indian, threw a pearl away
Richer than all his tribe; of one whose subdued eyes,
Albeit unused to the melting mood,
Drops tears as fast as the Arabian trees
Their medicinal gum. Set you down this,
And say besides that in Aleppo once,
Where a malignant and a turban'd Turk
Beat a Venetian and traduced the state,
I took by th' throat the circumcised dog,
And smote him—thus! *He stabs himself.*

(*Othello*, V.ii.336–354)¹³

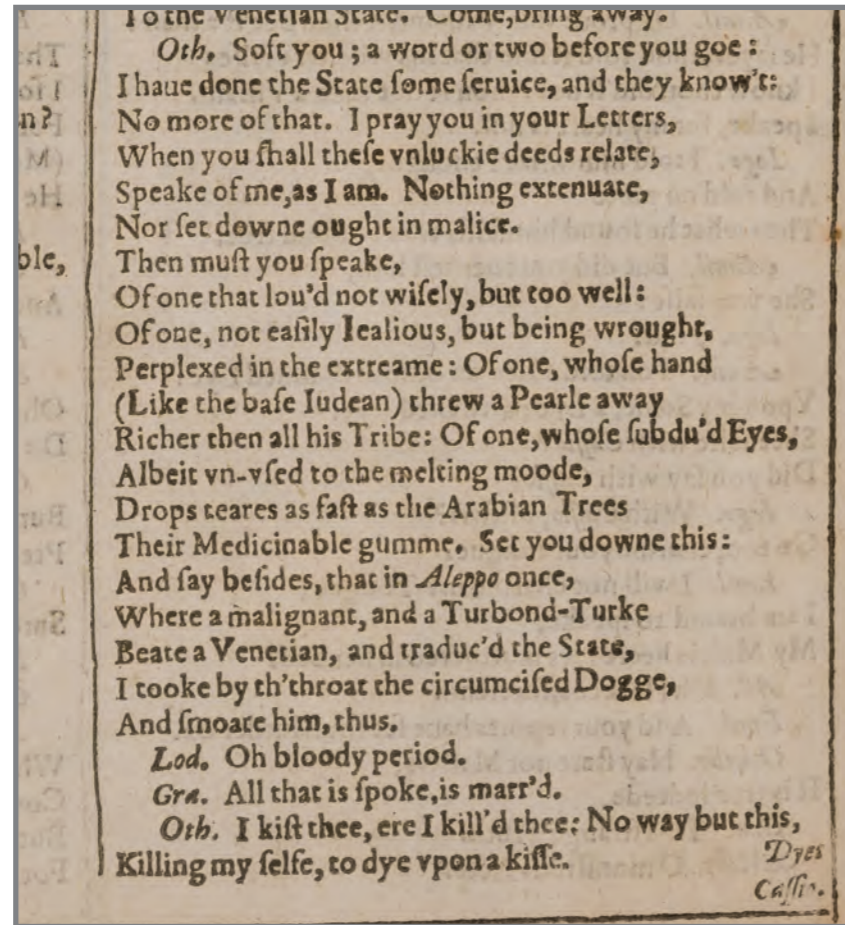


Figure 9: William Shakespeare, *Mr William Shakespeares comedies, histories & tragedies* (London, 1623), p. 338 [Winchester College Bk8816]

The crux here is in the line 'Like the base Indian, threw a pearl away'. The play did not appear in print in Shakespeare's lifetime: it was first published in a quarto edition in 1622 before being printed again in the 1623 Folio. There are a number of significant differences

between these versions, not least in terms of the simile Othello uses to describe himself, where the quarto has 'Indian' and the Folio 'Iudean' (fig. 9). The difference between these texts could be the consequence of something as slight as an inattentive compositor inverting

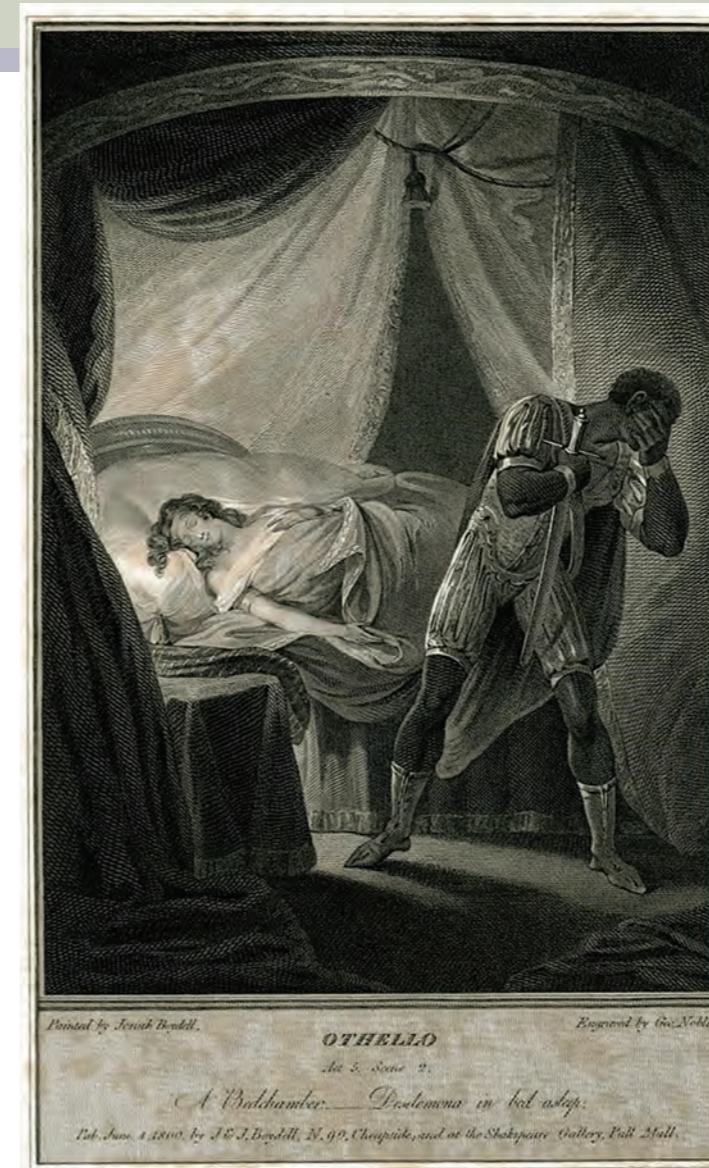


Figure 10: George Noble after Josiah Boydell, *A Bedchamber – Desdemona in Bed Asleep* (Othello Act 5, scene 2), engraving, 1800.

a single letter—an 'n' or a 'u'—in the preparation of the type for setting, but without an authorial manuscript to compare it to, the matter cannot be definitively resolved.

The cause of this crux might be slight, but its consequences touch on the heart of the speech and of the play more generally. This is a decisive moment—the decisive moment, perhaps, in which a reckoning is made of the play's tragedy. Othello's only acknowledgement of Desdemona—who is lying dead on stage throughout—is mediated through simile: she is the pearl that has been thrown away. Who threw the pearl away is a question that has the power to the turn the play on its head. If it is a 'base Indian', then the speech is exculpatory, since it insists that Othello's actions have been motivated by the naïve ignorance of an outsider oblivious to the value of what he possesses. To be a 'base Iudian' implies the opposite, however: Judas knew the value of what he was throwing away, and was prepared to exchange it for his pieces of silver. Instead of naïvety and ignorance, then, Othello makes a frank admission of guilt that recognises the gravity of his betrayal.

Our understanding of whether or not Othello is a tragic hero turns on this crux. If he is likening himself to an Indian, he dies without truly recognising what he has done; if he is likening himself to Judas, he is expressing that recognition in the starkest possible terms. In the classroom, such considerations lead naturally to a consideration of what kind of tragedy *Othello* is, and what role Aristotelean concepts such as *anagnorisis* play in our interpretation of it. Is Othello really 'a nobly tragic figure ... tak[ing] just pride in recalling his honourable service', as G. C. Knight once wrote, and so wracked with guilt as George Noble represented him in 1800 (fig. 10);



Figure 11: Edward Büchel after Heinrich Hofmann, *Othello and Desdemona*, etching and engraving, c. 1888.

or is he simply a murderer, as per Edouard Büchel's engraving (fig. 11), a murderer who is, as T. S. Eliot saw it, simply 'cheering himself up' in his final speech?¹⁴

Enter Herod

Needless to say, Pope and Theobald disagree about the better solution to this crux. Pope has it as 'Indian', Theobald as 'Judean' (fig. 12). What is particularly exciting about reading through this disagreement is the possibility opened up within it for a reorientation of the focus of this passage and the questions it elicits, shifting it away from Othello's nobility or otherwise and towards Desdemona. The readings outlined above reduce Desdemona either to something ornamental (which is the pearl's literal function within the Indian simile) or, if 'Judean' is preferred, as something transposed into an exaggerated and unsexed innocence. In either reading, the reality of the dead woman on the bed in front of Othello—the wife he has just murdered—is transfigured in his language into something idealised; the only significance that is afforded to her is determined by her relation to the agonic self-definition of her murderer. By focussing on its implications for Othello's status as a tragic hero, the kind of critical readings advanced by Eliot and Knight above run the risk simply of repeating this diminution of her significance.

In the context of Pope and Theobald's editorial dispute about the pearl, however, it is possible to recover an understanding of Othello's final speech in which Desdemona is not written out of the tragedy's final reckoning. Theobald substitutes 'Judean' for Pope's 'Indian' and, in an extensive manuscript note on interleaved blank pages

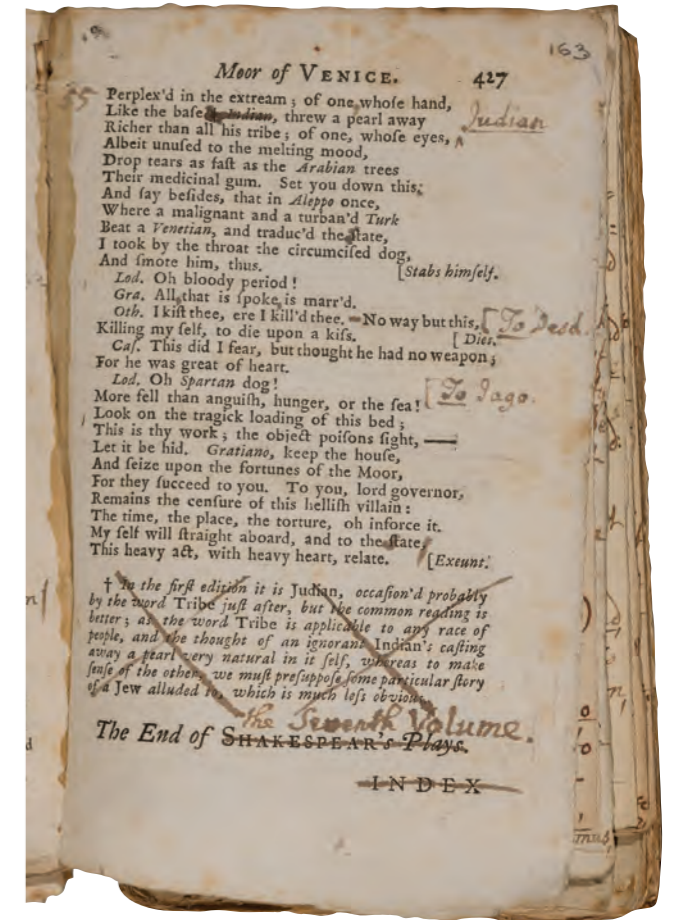


Figure 12: 'Indian' crossed out in Theobald's copy of Pope's edition [Winchester College Bk8815, Vol C, f. 163r]

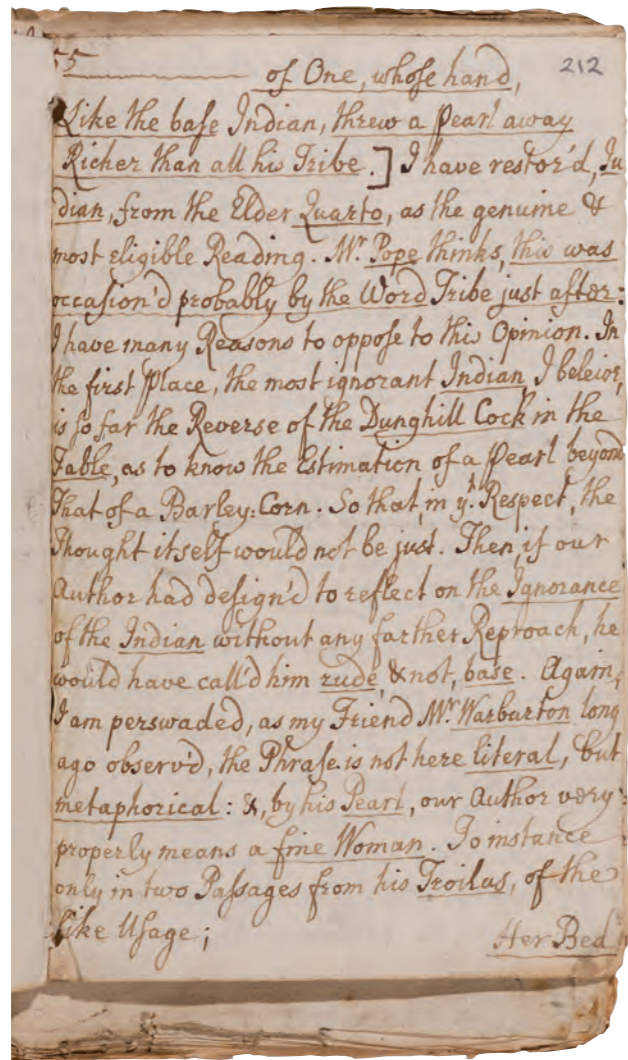


Figure 13: A page from Theobald's notes on *Othello*, inserted into his copy of Pope's edition [Winchester College Bk8815, Vol. C, f. 212r]

inserted into the volume (fig. 13), insists that this was the 'more genuine and eligible Reading':¹⁵

I am satisfied, in his *Judian*, he is alluding to *Herod*; who, in a Fit of blind Jealousie, threw away such a Jewel of a Wife as *Mariamne* was to him. What can be more parallel in Circumstance, than the Conduct of *Herod* and *Othello*?

Although Theobald draws attention to the analogous conduct of Othello and Herod here, which retains a focus on the possibility of Othello's Aristotelean self-recognition, his editorial intervention is in some ways more significant because of its implications for Desdemona. In the terms made available by this simile as Theobald has it, she is neither an ornament nor an ideal—she is a woman who has been murdered by her jealous husband. The simile returns us to fact, cutting through the obliquity of Othello's eloquence.

The tragedies of *Othello* and *Mariam*

Perhaps even more compellingly, Theobald draws a comparison between *Othello* and another contemporary play, *The Tragedy of Mariam*, by Elizabeth Cary, which he uses to shore up this analogy:

Nor was the story so little obvious, as Mr. Pope seems to imagine: For, in the Year 1613, the Lady *Elizabeth Carew* publish'd a Tragedy, called *MARIAM, the fair Queen of Jewry*.

Although the year of publication is nearly a decade after the first performance of *Othello*, Martin Wiggins dates

Mariam's composition to between 1602 and 1609 (his best guess is 1605, a year after *Othello*'s first recorded performance), and draws attention to a reference to *Othello* in Act Four, Scene Seven without specifying a line number.¹⁶

Reading *Mariam*, for which there is no record of performance in the Early Modern period, it is difficult not to be struck by the affinities between the two plays, in terms of their shared language and imagery as well as the topical similarities. In Act 4, Scene Seven, for example, Herod prevaricates over whether to sentence Mariam to death as Salome seeks to persuade him to do so. The language is charged with racial epithets, as when Herod tells Salome that when:

you have approached near,
Myself hath often ta'en you for an ape.
And yet you prate of beauty: go your ways,
You are to her a sun-burnt blackamoor.

(*Mariam*, IV.vii.458-461)¹⁷

The allusions are more oblique too, as for example in the imagery of this exchange between Herod and Salome earlier in the scene:

Herod:
Is't possible you can command so soon
A creature's heart to quench the flaming sun,
Or from the sky to wipe away the moon?

Salome:
If Mariam be the sun and moon, it is:
For I have already commanded this.

(*Mariam*, IV.vii.393-397)

There is a clear affinity between the sense of cosmic misalignment in Othello's assertion that, having just suffocated Desdemona and on the brink of being discovered by Emilia, there:

should be now a huge eclipse
Of sun and moon, and that th'affrighted globe
Should yawn at alteration.

(*Othello*, V.ii.97-99)

The affinities are obvious but there is a subtle difference between the two that opens up again the question of gender and its performance in these lines. Both Herod and Othello are contemplating the murder of their wives and employ cosmic metaphors to articulate the magnitude of their feeling.

In both cases, though, the register is excessive—hyperbolic, even. In *Othello*, it is carefully couched in a modal verb: Othello feels like the natural order of the universe *should be* disordered, as perhaps its first audience might have too—think of the ghost in *Hamlet*, the storm in *King Lear*, the strange nocturnal goings-on in Rome that precipitate the assassination of Julius Caesar. But there's nothing of the kind in *Othello*, and Othello keenly feels that absence. The tragic arc of the play has turned on Othello's increasingly distorted perception of reality and at this moment of tragic climax, a sordidly domestic reality reasserts itself in the silence of the bedchamber. By contrast, Salome cuts through Herod's airy rhetoric, sarcastically questioning the grounds of the metaphor—'If Mariam be the sun and moon'—before flatly informing him that she has already given the command.

A younge gentill woeman doughter VI.
of Secota.



Virgins of good parentage are apparelled altogether like the woemen of Secota above mentionned, fauing that they weare hanginge about their necks in steede of a chaine certaine thicke, and rownde pearles, with little beades of copper, or polished bones betwene them. They pounce their foreheads, cheekes, armes and legs. Their haire is cutt with two ridges about their foreheads, the rest is trused opp on a knott behinde, they haue broade mowthes, reasonable fair black eyes: they lay their hands often vpon their Shoulders, and couer their brests in token of maydenlike modestye. The rest of their bodyes are naked, as in the picture is to bee seene. They deligt also in seeinge fishe taken in the riuers.

A 4

Figure 14: Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (Frankfurt, 1590), sig. A4r [Winchester College Bk4619]

In the classroom

What does the school's holding of the Theobald and Pope materials discussed above contribute to our understanding of English literature? Firstly, it requires us to ask ourselves about what exactly is in front of us when we read Shakespeare—whose words are these? How much of their sense and feeling have been shaped by hands other than Shakespeare's? If something as minor as the setting of a single letter can open up two completely different interpretations of an entire play, what does that do to our understanding of an author's relationship to a text?

Following up on Theobald's suggestion of a link between *Othello* and *Mariam*, the Fellows' Library material also allows us to speculate about the role that gender may have played in *Othello*'s composition and earliest reception. Given that the play was written in a culture that excluded women from performing on stage, how is our understanding of *Mariam* affected by the fact that it was written as a closet drama? And how might the representation of race, for example, be thought through when read alongside other dramatic texts with very different performance histories, such as Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness* (1605), which was written specifically for the court of James I?

The question of race returns us to the Indian/Judean crux: does it cast a retrospective glance to Biblical narrative and the Holy Land, or does it look instead westwards, across the Atlantic Ocean, to the New World? Does the simile have its roots in Scripture or in texts such as Thomas Hariot's *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (1590; fig. 14)? Or is yet another reading possible, where this textual indeterminacy creates a kind of double exposure in the image, so that we are able to see at once the sacred story and also the secular age of exploration together, anticipating the vision of a pearl expressed by Andrew Marvell in 'Bermudas' (1653),

which celebrates the divine agency which 'cast [...] / The Gospel's pearl upon our coast' ('Bermudas', ll. 31–36).¹⁸ How can this imagery be read in light of the history of colonial exploitation and violent conquest on which the age of exploration was predicated?

Perhaps the most valuable lesson that this particular textual dispute can teach us is about the relationship between uncertainty and scholarly endeavour: sometimes, the most important questions are the ones that can't be answered. The crux in *Othello* remains a source of disagreement even between contemporary editors of the play: the current Arden edition gives it as 'Indian', but the *New Oxford Shakespeare* reprints 'Judean'. It is also a reminder that, even in a volume as monumentalising as the First Folio, and the work of a writer with the cultural freight of Shakespeare, to study literature is to participate in a live discussion—and to add your voice to it.

Endnotes

- 1 Alexander Pope, 'Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot', *The Major Works*, ed. Pat Rogers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 336–350 (p. 343).
- 2 The three volumes of Theobald's printer's copy were donated to the College in 1767 by Alexander Thistlethwayte (1717/8–1771).
- 3 Jonson's decision to publish his dramatic work in such a format attracted the derision of his contemporaries: 'Pray tell me, Ben, where doth the mystery lurk, | What others call a play you call a work [...] The first that broke silence was good old Ben, | Prepar'd before with Canary wine, | And he told them plainly he deserv's the Bayes, | For his were call'd Works, where others were but Plaies' (Sir John Suckling, 'A Sessions of the Poets', quoted in Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011], pp. 326–7).
- 4 Joseph Hone, *Alexander Pope in the Making* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), p. 194.
- 5 Alexander Pope, 'Preface to the Works of Shakespeare', *The Major Works*, pp. 183–194 (p. 193).
- 6 Pope, 'Preface to Shakespeare', p. 194.
- 7 Pope, 'Preface to Shakespeare', p. 194.
- 8 Lewis Theobald, *Shakespeare Restored* (London: R. Franklin and others, 1726), iv.
- 9 Theobald, *Shakespeare Restored*, v.
- 10 See Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) for an account of the editorial labours undertaken in the preparation of the four folio editions of Shakespeare's work in the seventeenth century.
- 11 Theobald, *Shakespeare Restored*, v.
- 12 See Carly Watson, 'From Restorer to Editor: The Evolution of Lewis Theobald's Textual Critical Practice', *The Library*, 7th series, vol. 20, no. 2 (June 2019) 147–171.
- 13 *Othello: Revised Edition*, ed. by E. A. J. Honigmann, with a new introduction by Ayanna Thompson (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).
- 14 G. C. Knight, *The Wheel of Fire: Interpretation of Shakespeare's Tragedy* (Cleveland, Ohio: Meridian Books, 1989), p. 118; T. S. Eliot, 'Shakespeare and the Stoicism of Seneca', in *Selected Essays* (London: Faber & Faber, 2000), p. 118.
- 15 Confusingly, he claims to be restoring this from the 'Elder Quarto': the 1622 Quarto has 'Indian' however. Either he has mixed up the nature of the amend he is making or he is referring to the 1630 Second Quarto, which has 'Judian'. He lists both quartos at the end of his edition, with the 1622 under the heading of 'Editions of Authority' and the 1630 under 'Editions of Middling Authority'.
- 16 Martin Wiggins, in association with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue: Volume V: 1603–1608* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), #1481.
- 17 *The Tragedy of Mariam, The Fair Queen of Jewry*, ed. by Ramona Wray (London: Bloomsbury, 2012).
- 18 *The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse*, ed. by David Norbrook and H. R. Woudhuysen (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993), p. 471.

Like the base Indian, threw a pearl away
Richer than all his Tribe.] I have restor'd, In
dian, from the Elder Quarto, as the genuine &
most eligible Reading. Mr. Pope thinks, this was
occasion'd probably by the Word Tribe just after.
I have many Reasons to oppose to this Opinion. In
the first place, the most ignorant Indian I believe
is so far the Reverse of the Dunghill Cock in the
Table, as to know the Estimation of a pearl beyond
that of a Barley: Corn. So that, in y^e. Respect, the
Thought itself would not be just. Then, if our
Author had deliv'd to reflect on the Ignorance



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