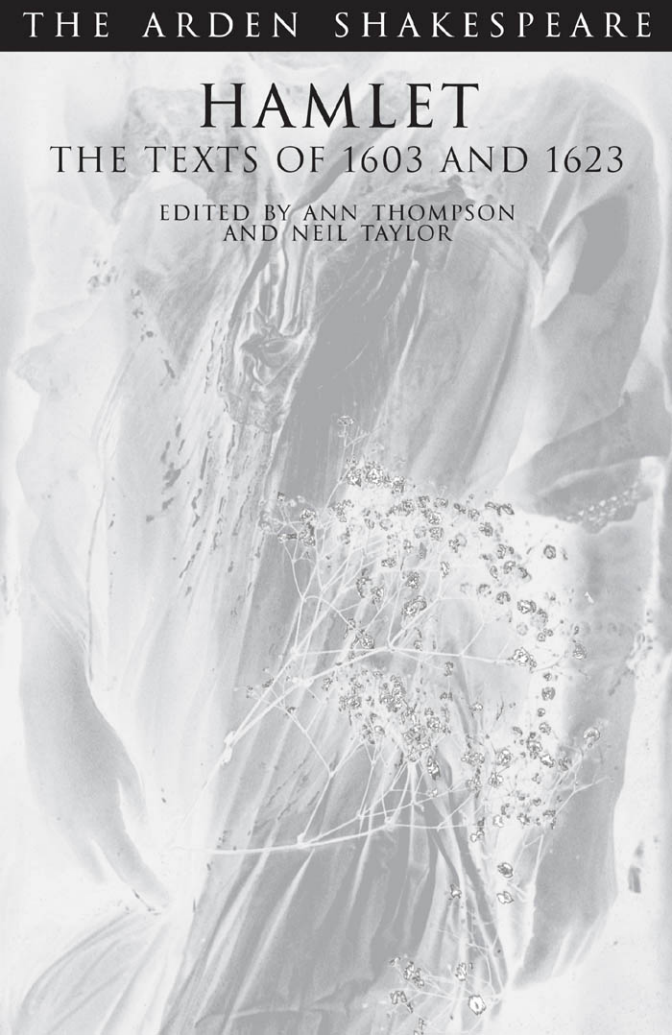


THE ARDEN SHAKESPEARE

# HAMLET

THE TEXTS OF 1603 AND 1623

EDITED BY ANN THOMPSON  
AND NEIL TAYLOR



THE ARDEN SHAKESPEARE

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THIRD SERIES

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# HAMLET

The Texts of 1603 and 1623

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For John and Sarah

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# GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

The Arden Shakespeare is now over one hundred years old. The earliest volume in the first series, Edward Dowden's *Hamlet*, was published in 1899. Since then the Arden Shakespeare has become internationally recognized and respected. It is now widely acknowledged as the pre-eminent Shakespeare series, valued by scholars, students, actors and 'the great variety of readers' alike for its readable and reliable texts, its full annotation and its richly informative introductions.

We have aimed in the third Arden edition to maintain the quality and general character of its predecessors, preserving the commitment to presenting the play as it has been shaped in history. While each individual volume will necessarily have its own emphasis in the light of the unique possibilities and problems posed by the play, the series as a whole, like the earlier Ardens, insists upon the highest standards of scholarship and upon attractive and accessible presentation.

Newly edited from the original quarto and folio editions, the texts are presented in fully modernized form, with a textual apparatus that records all substantial divergences from those early printings. The notes and introductions focus on the conditions and possibilities of meaning that editors, critics and performers (on stage and screen) have discovered in the play. While building upon the rich history of scholarly and theatrical activity that has long shaped our understanding of the texts of Shakespeare's plays, this third series of the Arden Shakespeare is made necessary and possible by a new generation's encounter with Shakespeare, engaging with the plays and their complex relation to the culture in which they were – and continue to be – produced.

## THE TEXT

On each page of the play itself, readers will find a passage of text followed by commentary and, finally, textual notes. Act and scene divisions (seldom present in the early editions and often the product of eighteenth-century or later scholarship) have been retained for ease of reference, but have been given less prominence than in the previous series. Editorial indications of location of the action have been removed to the textual notes or commentary.

In the text itself, unfamiliar typographic conventions have been avoided in order to minimize obstacles to the reader. Elided forms in the early texts are spelt out in full in verse lines wherever they indicate a usual current modern pronunciation that requires no special indication and wherever they occur in prose (except when they indicate non-standard pronunciation). In verse speeches, marks of elision are retained where they are necessary guides to the scansion and pronunciation of the line. Final -ed in past tense and participial forms of verbs is always printed as -ed without accent, never as -'d, but wherever the required pronunciation diverges from modern usage a note in the commentary draws attention to the fact. Where the final -ed should be given syllabic value contrary to modern usage, e.g.

Doth Silvia know that I am banished?  
(*TGV* 3.1.214)

the note will take the form

214 **banished** banishèd

Conventional lineation of divided verse lines shared by two or more speakers has been reconsidered and sometimes rearranged. Except for the familiar *Exit* and *Exeunt*, Latin forms in stage directions and speech prefixes have been translated into English and the original Latin forms recorded in the textual notes.

## COMMENTARY AND TEXTUAL NOTES

Notes in the commentary, for which a major source will be the *Oxford English Dictionary*, offer glossarial and other explication of verbal difficulties; they may also include discussion of points of theatrical interpretation and, in relevant cases, substantial extracts from Shakespeare's source material. Editors will not usually offer glossarial notes for words adequately defined in the latest edition of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* or *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, but in cases of doubt they will include notes. Attention, however, will be drawn to places where more than one likely interpretation can be proposed and to significant verbal and syntactic complexity. Notes preceded by \* discuss editorial emendations or variant readings from the early edition(s) on which the text is based.

Headnotes to acts or scenes discuss, where appropriate, questions of scene location, Shakespeare's handling of his source materials, and major difficulties of staging. The list of roles (so headed to emphasize the play's status as a text for performance) is also considered in commentary notes. These may include comment on plausible patterns of casting with the resources of an Elizabethan or Jacobean acting company, and also on any variation in the description of roles in their speech prefixes in the early editions.

The textual notes are designed to let readers know when the edited text diverges from the early edition(s) on which it is based. Wherever this happens the note will record the rejected reading of the early edition(s), in original spelling, and the source of the reading adopted in this edition. Other forms from the early edition(s) recorded in these notes will include some spellings of particular interest or significance and original forms of translated stage directions. Where two early editions are involved, for instance with *Othello*, the notes will also record all important differences between them. The textual notes take a form that has been in use since the nineteenth century. This comprises, first: line

reference, reading adopted in the text and closing square bracket; then: abbreviated reference, in *italic*, to the earliest edition to adopt the accepted reading, *italic* semicolon and noteworthy alternative reading(s), each with abbreviated *italic* reference to its source.

Conventions used in these textual notes include the following. The solidus / is used, in notes quoting verse or discussing verse lining, to indicate line endings. Distinctive spellings of the basic text (Q or F) follow the square bracket without indication of source and are enclosed in *italic* brackets. Names enclosed in *italic* brackets indicate originators of conjectural emendations when these did not originate in an edition of the text, or when the named edition records a conjecture not accepted into its text. Stage directions (SDs) are referred to by the number of the line within or immediately after which they are placed. Line numbers with a decimal point relate to entry SDs and to SDs more than one line long, with the number after the point indicating the line within the SD: e.g. 78.4 refers to the fourth line of the SD following line 78. Lines of SDs at the start of a scene are numbered 0.1, 0.2, etc. Where only a line number and SD precede the square bracket, e.g. 128 SD], the note relates to the whole of a SD within or immediately following the line. Speech prefixes (SPs) follow similar conventions, 203 SP] referring to the speaker's name for line 203. Where a SP reference takes the form, for example, 38+ SP, it relates to all subsequent speeches assigned to that speaker in the scene in question.

Where, as with *King Henry V*, one of the early editions is a so-called 'bad quarto' (that is, a text either heavily adapted, or reconstructed from memory, or both), the divergences from the present edition are too great to be recorded in full in the notes. In these cases the editions will normally include a reduced photographic facsimile of the 'bad quarto' in an appendix. Exceptionally, in the case of *Hamlet* we are publishing fully modernized and edited versions of all three texts in two volumes.

## INTRODUCTION

Both the introduction and the commentary are designed to present the plays as texts for performance, and make appropriate reference to stage, film and television versions, as well as introducing the reader to the range of critical approaches to the plays. They discuss the history of the reception of the texts within the theatre and in scholarship and beyond, investigating the interdependency of the literary text and the surrounding 'cultural text' both at the time of the original production of Shakespeare's works and during their long and rich afterlife.



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# INTRODUCTION

## THE RELATIONSHIP OF THIS VOLUME TO THE ARDEN *HAMLET*

This volume contains edited and annotated texts of the 1603 (Q1) and 1623 (F) printed versions of *Hamlet*. It is designed to be supplementary to the Arden *Hamlet* volume containing the 1604–5 (Q2) version and does not repeat material that can be found in that volume, which is abbreviated here as ‘Ard Q2’. Readers are referred to the Introduction and Appendices of Ard Q2 for a full discussion of dating, sources, textual matters, afterlife and all the other topics usually covered in an Arden edition, including a detailed statement of our rationale for offering all three texts in this way. The headnotes to each scene in the Ard Q2 commentary also contain brief summaries of the principal differences in the handling of the material in the three texts. The present volume (abbreviated here as ‘Ard Q1/F’) does, however, contain a stage history of Q1, since the quantity of material available seems to justify our treating this as a separate topic; this argument does not apply to the stage history of F, which is less traceable because a conflated Q2/F text lies behind most stagings.

We are printing the two texts serially rather than in parallel for a number of reasons. There is, of course, something to be said for the parallel layout, as exemplified by *The Three-Text Hamlet*, edited by Paul Bertram and Bernice Kliman, which allows for a comparative study, scene by scene, but they present the texts without textual notes or commentaries on the page. Even so, Bertram and Kliman run into problems through having to print a number of blank pages where one text lacks material found in

another, and having to repeat material when passages arise in a different order. If we had tried to do something similar in the Arden format we would have ended up with a two-volume edition divided somewhere in the middle of Act 3. Our decision to print Ard Q2 as a free-standing volume that can be seen as ‘the Arden *Hamlet*’ without necessary reference to this volume made the case for printing the other two texts in parallel less compelling, since the value of the comparative exercise depends on having all three texts available. While the same decision has precluded our printing a parallel-text edition of Q2 and F (rather like René Weis’s parallel-text edition of the 1608 and 1623 texts of *King Lear*<sup>1</sup>), anyone with both volumes on the desk can read Q2 alongside either F or Q1 if they so wish. This kind of reading makes the discontinuous differences the focus of the experience, but we feel it is also very important to provide texts of both Q1 and F that can be read straight through as coherent versions of the play.

*Policy on commentary notes, textual notes and references*

In order to make use of this volume, a reader will need to have access to Ard Q2 (but not vice versa). Apart from the minimal annotation of sounded ‘-èd’ endings, material is not repeated from Ard Q2. One important implication of this strategy is that the commentary notes do not provide a full commentary on either Q1 or F but are restricted to points of difference between those texts and Q2, resulting in a relatively extensive commentary on Q1 but a much more limited commentary on F, with the focus mainly on variant readings. The F commentary notes do therefore record notable occasions when editors who usually follow Q2 (such as T.J.B. Spencer and Harold Jenkins) adopt a reading from F, and, more often, when editors who usually follow F (such as George MacDonald, the Oxford editors and G.R. Hibbard) adopt a reading from Q2. Hence, apart from commentary on F-only words and passages, such as the characterization of Denmark as a prison (see F 2.2.238–67n. and Fig. 1), these notes are often concerned

1 *King Lear: A Parallel Text Edition*, ed. René Weis (1993).

Image removed - rights not available

- 1 'Denmark's a prison' (see F 2.2.242 and 238–67n.): Michael Maloney as Hamlet within Tsukasa Nakagoshi's permanent set for Yukio Ninagawa's production of a conflated text at the Barbican, London, 2004

with the editorial tradition and the extent to which it has been eclectic in practice. Similarly, the textual notes are restricted to those places where the relevant copy-text (Q1 or F) has been emended; where the commentary notes refer to particular readings in one or more of the three texts, there is also a textual note covering all the variants within the three texts. Finally, the list of Abbreviations and References is also highly selective, containing only those items that appear exclusively in this volume and not repeating items listed in the Q2 volume. These decisions have been dictated by the practical requirements of offering two *Hamlet* editions in a single volume of a manageable size.

*Retention of F readings*

The opportunity to print all three early texts of *Hamlet* has allowed us the luxury of not having to choose a single reading on the very many occasions when Q2 and F vary at the level of individual words. In some cases, it is clear that one reading must be correct: F's 'Selfe-slaughter' at 1.2.130, for example, makes sense in the context of the speech where Q2's 'seale slaughter' does not, while at 2.1.61 it is Q2's 'carpe of truth' that makes sense while F's 'Cape of truth' does not. But we are often faced with two readings that both make sense in the context and therefore arguably should be retained. Some examples from Act 1 include the following (the F reading is given first and the line references are to our F text): 'Landlesse'/'lawelesse' at 1.1.97, 'veyled'/'vailed' at 1.2.68, 'solid'/'sallied' at 1.2.127, 'bestil'd'/'distil'd' at 1.2.201, 'enurn'd'/'interr'd' at 1.4.28 and 'rots'/'rootes' at 1.5.33. If Q2 had not survived and we had only the F text of *Hamlet*, we believe that all these F readings would pass unquestioned and we therefore print them here. Similarly, if *Hamlet* had been left out of the First Folio, all these Q2 readings would pass unquestioned and we therefore print them in Ard Q2.

Some editors have, of course, emended these and similar readings, either in line with their theory of the relationship between the texts or because of a critical or aesthetic preference for one reading over the other. Jenkins, for example, who bases his

1982 Arden text on Q2, nevertheless prints F's 'inurned' at 1.4.49 (Ard<sup>2</sup> line number), while Hibbard, who bases his 1987 text on F, nevertheless prints Q2's 'roots' at 1.5.33 (the Oxf<sup>1</sup> number is the same as ours); both editors defend their emendations in their notes. Our position has been to retain in both texts readings that seem to us to make sense, though we are aware that such judgements are finally subjective and that some readers will feel we have been too strenuous in defending our right *not* to emend in some instances where one reading has traditionally been accepted and the other dismissed: examples would include our retention of F's 'foule' at 3.3.77, where virtually all other editors adopt Q2's 'sole', and our retention of Q2's 'base and silly' later in the same speech (3.3.79 in Ard Q2), where virtually all other editors adopt F's 'hyre and Sallery'. In all such cases we too defend our decisions in the commentary notes.

*Retention of Q1 readings*

Our editorial policy is similar in relation to Q1, in that we retain readings that seem to us to make sense even in cases where previous editors have emended, usually so as to bring the Q1 text closer in line with Q2/F. Examples of this include our retention of Q1's 'contrary' at 9.82 (other editors emend to Q2/F's 'country'), 'demises' at 9.118 (others emend to Q2's 'deuises') and 'thy' at 11.69 (others emend to Q2/F's implied 'her'); we also argue for 'epithet' at 7.382 and at 9.156, where most editors emend Q1's 'Epiteeth/Epitithe' to Q2/F's 'Epitaph'. On the other hand, we do emend 'invelmorable' at 1.101 to Q2/F's 'invulnerable', 'my chiefe' at 9.85 to Q2/F's 'mischiefe' and 'begin. Murdred' at 9.162 to Q2/F's 'Beginne murtherer'. Again, our decisions are defended in the commentary notes.

*Policy on Q1 metre and lineation*

The First Quarto text of 1603 is printed as if it were a verse play throughout, perhaps indicating that, for some compositors at least (though of course not for all), verse was the default layout

for plays of this period. It is immediately apparent, however, that adherence to iambic pentameter is much less regular than it is in Q2/F. This is not a problem where Q1 is reasonably close to Q2/F (as it is, for example, in much of scenes 1–5, the equivalent of Q2/F's Act 1), but creates difficulties when the relationship is less close in the later scenes. After considerable reflection, we have followed previous editors of Q1 in setting the text as prose in several passages where the equivalent material in Q2/F is prose. We do this, for example, at 7.137–94 (Hamlet's dialogue with Ofelia following 'To be or not to be'), 9.1–40 (his dialogue with the players immediately before *The Murder of Gonzago*), 16.1–124 (the gravediggers and Hamlet's dialogue with them until just before the entry of Ofelia's funeral) and 17.7–46 (his dialogue with the 'braggart Gentleman'). At 6.5–31 (Corambis' dialogue with Montano), the situation seems to us less clear: we follow Weiner in treating this passage as prose, unlike Hubbard and Irace, who treat it as verse (as it is in Q2/F).

Ambiguities in this area can arise and editors can disagree because (1) Elizabethan prose is itself often rhythmical, blurring a simple distinction between prose and verse, and (2) the lineation of Q1 is not simply random but seems to reflect syntactic structure; that is to say, the line endings generally come where the phrases or clauses end (whether or not this is reflected in the original punctuation). George T. Wright (in a private communication) has called this 'the phrasal line' and associates it with oral delivery: 'where the verse isn't metrically clear, the lines usually contain one, two or three phrases that can be said in a single breath.' This might relate to an oral element in the transmission of the text and, if one were convinced by this argument, one might choose to retain the Q1 lineation more than we have done. But the resulting lines are so clearly non-standard that the result might be to make Q1 appear an even stranger (and 'worse' text) than it already is. As part of our research into this, we did some workshops with actors, both before and at the British Shakespeare Association conference at Leicester

in August 2003.<sup>1</sup> We used the dialogue between Hamlet and Ofelia at 7.138–93, trying out first the Q1 version (with the actors trying to observe the original Q1 ‘phrasal lines’), then the version following Q2/F’s prose. The actors were divided between those who found the verse ‘more powerful’ and those who found the prose ‘more direct’. The audience of Shakespeare specialists, who had not been forewarned of what exactly we were doing, disagreed on which version was in prose and which was in verse – a testimony to point 1 above.

On several occasions, we, like other readers, have noticed iambic pentameter lines embedded in the uneven texture of Q1’s verse; this is true even in passages we have set as prose, such as 9.203–19 (Hamlet’s dialogue with Rosencraft and Gilderstone after *The Murder of Gonzago*), which, in the original, contains acceptable lines such as ‘And diue into the secreet of my soule’, ‘For hee doth keep you as an Ape doth nuttes’ and ‘And sponge, you shall be dry againe, you shall’. The last of these examples even indicates, in the repetition of ‘you shall’, a deliberate attempt to produce blank verse, but this is by no means consistent within the passage. We have also noticed places at which Q1 offers unique iambic pentameter couplets, as at 3.69–70 (which has a possible parallel in *Twelfth Night*), 8.39–40, 9.98–109, 11.165–6, 13.122–3, 126–7 and 128–9, 15.53–4 (which has a possible parallel with *The Spanish Tragedy*) and 17.124–5. In some instances, especially at the ends of scenes, Q1 has the same rhyme as Q2/F but as part of a different couplet (see, for example, 6.63–4, 9.236–7, 10.32–3, and a mid-scene example at 11.102–3).

#### *Policy on punctuation*

We have modernized punctuation, but we have also attempted to some extent to reflect the different punctuation characteristics of

1 We are very grateful to Scott Handy, Abigail Rokison and James Wallace for their generous participation and helpful comments on these occasions; also to other performers who took part more informally in the debate during the conference, including David Rintoul, David Tennant and Samuel West.



the three printed texts. F is more heavily punctuated than Q1 or Q2,<sup>1</sup> using both more punctuation and more of the ‘heavier’ marks (i.e. fewer commas and more semicolons, colons, dashes, brackets, question marks, exclamation marks and full stops).<sup>2</sup> Anthony Graham-White has observed that F adopts more complex punctuation than the quartos, not only because of its wish to be ‘literary’ but because punctuation had become more sophisticated by 1623 – particularly in relation to the intermediate marks, the colon and the semicolon.<sup>3</sup> The exclamation mark appears rarely in Shakespeare’s plays and compositors had more question marks in their case, so the question mark is often found where we would expect an exclamation mark. We have taken note of each copy-text’s punctuation both at a local level and at the level of the text as a whole and, where it makes acceptable sense and modern conventions allow, have tried to follow it. Modern (and Arden) punctuation conventions do not always give us much room for manoeuvre, however, and the distinctive character of each text is frequently erased. We have discussed Hamlet’s first soliloquy (1.2.129–59) in Arden Q2 (pp. 520–2) as an example, not only of the punctuation characteristics of the three texts, but also of the problems posed by attempting to punctuate our editions of them.

*Summary of our position on the three texts*

We begin with the observation that there is little overall consensus among scholars over the transmission of the three texts, and that

- 1 Q1 has 3,115 punctuation marks across its 15,983 words; Q2 has 4,741 across its 28,628 words; F has 5,434 across its 27,602 words.
- 2 Commas make up 67 per cent of Q2’s punctuation, 64 per cent of Q1’s, but only 51 per cent of F’s. F makes more use of each of the other punctuation marks than Q2 does, and Q1 only exceeds F in its use of the exclamation mark. Q1 has 1,987 commas, 21 semicolons, 227 colons, 5 pairs of brackets, 208 question marks, 31 exclamation marks, no dashes and 636 full stops. Q2 has 3,189 commas, 118 semicolons, 123 colons, 13 pairs of brackets, 261 question marks, 4 exclamation marks, no dashes and 1,033 full stops. F has 2,767 commas, 285 semicolons, 547 colons, 59 pairs of brackets, 445 question marks, 20 exclamation marks, 7 dashes and 1,304 full stops.
- 3 Anthony Graham-White, *Punctuation and its Dramatic Value in Shakespearean Drama* (Newark, NJ, 1995), 34.

this is because so much of the evidence is either contradictory or ambiguous. To begin with Q1, very few now see in it an early draft of a play by Shakespeare, but even so the rest are not agreed on how the text came into being. It clearly contains versions of many of the F passages not found in Q2 – such as 2.2.337–62 on the theatre, Hamlet’s ‘frighted with false fire?’ at 3.2.257 (see Fig. 2), and 5.2.75–80 on Laertes – and lacks many of the Q2 passages not found in F (such as Hamlet’s twenty-two lines about Denmark’s reputation in 1.2, and his dialogue with the Captain and subsequent soliloquy in 4.4). This suggests some kind of causal link between Q1 and F, but those scholars who see such a link are not agreed on the precise relationship. Most believe that the original form of the text of Q1 post-dates the original form of the text of F, but find it difficult to agree whether it is a memorial reconstruction or an adaptation – or a memorial reconstruction of an adaptation, or an adaptation of a memorial reconstruction – and whether what is being reconstructed or adapted is the text behind F or a performance of the text behind F.

As for F, there is no consensus over some fundamentals. Most scholars believe that the original form of the text of F post-dates the original form of the text of Q2. This in turn means that most scholars, while they accept the dates on the title-pages of all three texts, and therefore the order of printing which they imply, believe that the order of composition of the three texts in their original forms is not Q1 > Q2 > F, but Q2 > F > Q1. And, since the date on the title-page of Q1 is 1603, this means that the original forms of all three texts were in existence twenty years before F was printed. But that is the end of consensus. Scholars are divided as to whether F’s basic copy is an annotated exemplar of Q2, collated with and emended against a transcript of a fair copy of Shakespeare’s foul papers, or a transcript of Shakespeare’s own revision of those foul papers.

Our editorial approach is to produce a conservative edition of each text, while providing the reader with enough information to construct a less conservative edition if they so wish. By

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- 2 'What, frightened with false fire?' (see F 3.2.257 and Q1 9.174): illustration by Edward Gordon Craig from *The Tragedy of Hamlet*, text and sources edited by John Dover Wilson (Weimar, 1930)

‘conservative edition’ we mean one that keeps to the copy-text wherever it seems plausible to do so. Why are we conservative? For all that we are curious about our texts’ transmission and their author’s (or authors’) intentions, we begin with the working assumption that the copy-text accurately reflects the compositor’s copy. We attribute authority to the compositor’s copy on the basis that, for all we know to the contrary (there being no hard evidence to go on), it is an accurate record of what the author wrote and intended to write. Since all three texts claim Shakespeare as the author, and since Shakespeare was resident dramatist in an acting company, and all three texts contain publishers’ references to that company as being the play’s provenance, the issue of whether or not ‘playhouse practice’ or ‘actors’ interpolations’ have contaminated the author’s text is not, for us, a major consideration.

The questions which follow from this are: how often are we going to emend, and upon what principle? The answer is that we print the copy-text reading wherever we can reasonably defend it and emend only when that is impossible. When we emend, it is to provide the reader with a reading that makes sense in the context of a play probably written by Shakespeare in the earliest years of the seventeenth century. We are not assuming that behind the copy-text lies any particular lost text, be it holograph, promptbook or performance, but we recognize that somewhere behind each text lies an authorial manuscript, and that where the copy-text is in error there is a degree of probability (but no certainty) that one of the other texts contains a more accurate record of the author’s intentions. Almost all other editors have emended much more frequently than we do, and many have used a different principle from ours.

As we explain in *Ard Q2*, Appendix 2, we have eschewed the imposition of rules that involve correcting the copy-text when there is no problem of meaning. In the case of stage directions, we emend when this helps to clarify the action, or helps the reader visualize the play in performance. But in respect of the dialogue our rule is that, where the copy-text is implausible, we take note

of the other two texts before any other potential emendatory source, and that, where we wish to choose between variants within that pool, F is a likelier authority than Q2 for emending Q1, F is a likelier authority than Q1 for emending Q2, and Q2 is a likelier authority than Q1 for emending F. An example is provided at Q1's 'fate' (5.42), which we have emended to F's 'sate', because F's reading makes fairly acceptable sense (certainly better than any alternative we can think of) for Q1. As it happens, F also takes precedence in the chain of textual authority for Q1, and had it been competing with an equally plausible variant in Q2 at 1.5.56 (which it does not — Q2's 'sort' has persuaded few editors) it would have won out. Finally, of course, confusion of *f* and long *s* is among the easiest of misreadings and misprints.

## STAGE HISTORY OF THE FIRST QUARTO

There is, of course, very little evidence that will reveal to us the nature of a performing text in Shakespeare's theater; but there is a little. There are those notorious 'bad' quartos that seem to derive directly from performing texts, or even conceivably (like the first quarto of *Hamlet*) from a recollection of performance itself, and whose evidence, therefore, in this respect, is not bad, but excellent. If we were less concerned with the authority of texts, and more with the nature of plays, these would be the good quartos.

(Orgel, 4)

Although many scholars and editors have argued that the First Quarto of *Hamlet* does indeed derive from a recollection of an early performance, no one has been able to substantiate the claim on the 1603 title-page that it had been 'diuerse times acted by his Highnesse seruants in the Cittie of London: as also in the two Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where'; this claim may in any case relate to performances of a longer version of the

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- 3 Carol Royle as Ophelia (with Tony Church as Polonius) in a production of a conflated text directed by John Barton, RSC, Stratford-upon-Avon, 1980. The scene is 2.1, but Royle's appearance indicates the influence of Q1 13.14.1 where Ofelia appears '*playing on a Lute, and her haire downe, singing*'

text (see Ard Q2, pp. 55–6). And many scholars have nevertheless dismissed Q1's most striking instances of 'excellent evidence' of performance as irrelevant. Harold Jenkins, for example, says that the lute (see Fig. 3) which is specified in Q1's stage direction for Ofelia's entry at 13.14 (4.5.20n. in Ard<sup>2</sup>) is 'an actors' embellishment', and he seems disinclined to believe that the Ghost entered '*in his night gowne*' at 11.57 (3.4.103n. in Ard<sup>2</sup>).

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- 4 Clifford Rose as the Ghost (with Kenneth Branagh as Hamlet and Jane Lapotaire as the Queen) in a production of a conflated text directed by Adrian Noble, RSC, Stratford-upon-Avon, 1992. Rose's cardigan and slacks indicate the influence of Q1 11.57.1 where the Ghost appears in an equally informal domestic '*night gowne*'

G.R. Hibbard, on the other hand, likes the '*night gowne*' and suggests that it 'modifies our previous impression of [the Ghost] greatly by bringing out his humanity' (3.4.95n. in Oxf<sup>1</sup>); see also Fig. 4. Certainly, many stagings of *Hamlet* based on Q2 and/or F have, since the rediscovery of Q1 in 1823, borrowed from it not only details such as these but structural changes such as the earlier placing of both 'To be or not to be' and the 'nunnery' encounter between Hamlet and Ophelia (see Ard Q2, pp. 18–25). One Q1 stage direction that has frequently been followed in productions based on Q2 and/or F is Hamlet's leaping into Ofelia's grave at Q1 16.145.1 (see Fig. 5). Moreover, Q1 has enjoyed its own stage history since William Poel's production in 1881. Many productions have been 'academic' in nature, put on by universities or Shakespeare societies, but several have been regular commercial

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- 5 Mark Rylance as Hamlet having leapt into Ophelia's grave after Mark Lockyer as Laertes (see Q1 16.145.1) in Giles Block's production of a Folio-based text, Globe theatre, London, 2000



presentations and the list includes performances in Germany, France, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Japan and the United States as well as in the UK. The rate is increasing, with six productions and two staged readings in the last ten years (for details, see the checklist at the end of this section).

It is not hard to see why Q1 should be attractive to performers. It is fast, plot-driven and far less ruminative than the other texts. Its emotions are raw rather than mediated and it is more of an ensemble piece, not a showcase for a single star performer. There is something ‘rough and ready’ about it that suits a company with limited rehearsal time. Its charm is precisely that it is not the canonical *Hamlet*: it is a refreshing experience for actors and audiences who have become jaded with the longer texts; everything is at once familiar and oddly alien. A company putting it on has most of the commercial advantages of putting on ‘Shakespeare’, while relishing the chance to do something different and surprising. Q1 offers the opportunity for defamiliarizing ourselves with *Hamlet* and for undergoing a continuous sequence of alienation effects: it is *Hamlet*, but not as we know it. The actors have to work hard, partly because they usually have to unlearn the better-known lines, but, despite the supposed ‘badness’ of the text, the language is surprisingly intelligible and accessible. As Laurie Maguire puts it, ‘Speeches make good (if blunt) general sense, but often suffer from grammatical *non sequiturs* ... and jumbled line order’ (Maguire, 255). Talented and motivated performers can find ways of negotiating such difficulties. In the four versions we have seen ourselves, words and phrases from the other texts had crept back in, perhaps inadvertently; this happened even at a staged reading at the Globe Education Centre in London (25 June 2000) when the actors were all following the play in their scripts: as soon as they looked up to risk a few lines from memory they were in danger of reverting to Q2 or F.

The fullest stage history of Q1 to be published so far is given by Kathleen O. Irace in her 1998 edition of the text (Irace, 20–7). She

discusses eleven productions and gives footnote references to eight more (24). We have augmented her accounts of several of these productions and we have found records of six more productions before 1998 (Paris in 1928, London in 1933, Prague in 1978, Tokyo in 1983, Göttingen in 1984 and Stratford-upon-Avon in 1996, as below). We have been able to add three post-1998 productions: the Red Shift production in London and on tour in 1999–2000, the staged reading at the Globe Education Centre in London in 2000, and the production in 2003 by the Theatre of NOTE, Los Angeles, on which Irace herself acted as dramaturg.<sup>1</sup>

The very existence of the German text, *Der bestrafte Brudermord oder Prinz Hamlet aus Dännemark* (known in English as *Fratricide Punished*), seems to attest to the likelihood of performances in Germany of something quite like Q1 in the early seventeenth century. Visits by touring companies of English actors are well documented (see Cohn; Brennecke) and a play called *Tragoedia von Hamlet einen Prinzen in Dennemarck* was performed by John Green's company of 'Engländer' in Dresden in 1626. The extant text, which comes from a manuscript dated 1710, is half the length of Q1 (itself half the length of Q2), but preserves unmistakable features of it, both in the ordering of the scenes and in some specific details, though there is evidence that a version of one of the longer texts was used as well (see Ard Q2, pp. 45–6). Between the time of the 1626 performance in Dresden and the production of the 1701 manuscript, this text was probably acted by Carl Andreas Paul's German company who toured Germany and Scandinavia between 1660 and 1690 (see Bullough, 7.20–4).

Some time after the rediscovery of Q1 in 1823, its theatrical viability was championed by W.H. Widgey in his 1880 *Harness*

1 We are grateful to Kathleen Irace and to Tim Sheridan (producer, and performer of Horatio) for supplying information, photographs and a DVD of this most recent production; also to James Shaw of the Shakespeare Institute for giving us access to the videotape and programme of the Stratford-upon-Avon production, and to Paul Edmondson of the Shakespeare Centre in Stratford, another performer of Horatio, for further information about that production.

Prize essay. He cited the opinion of the Devrient brothers, the sons of Ludwig Devrient, the famous German Romantic actor whose parts had included Richard III, Shylock, Falstaff and King Lear. Eduard Devrient was a major historian of the German stage and a noted actor and director as well as a theatre historian (see Devrient; and S. Williams, 131, 139). Widgery wrote:

Against the inclination of the Clarendon editors to see considerable portions of the Urhamlet in Q1, may be placed the testimony – and upon that testimony we cannot lay too much stress – of the brothers Eduard and Otto Devrient: they affirm, and to their affirmation they add the weight of practical experience, that Q1 is superior to Q2 for acting purposes, a result that would not happen if the Fratricide preserves in the main a play of which portions of some size are still left in the first quarto.

(Widgery, 183–4)

Widgery does not mention an actual production of Q1, but he did not have long to wait. The year 1880 had also seen the publication of facsimile reprints of both the First and Second Quartos of *Hamlet*, sponsored by the New Shakspeare (*sic*) Society with forewords by the director of the society, Frederick James Furnivall. Although Q1 had been reprinted in this way at least four times since its rediscovery in 1823, and the complete text had appeared in both William George Clark and William Aldis Wright's Cambridge edition of Q2/F in 1866 and Horace Howard Furness's Variorum edition of Q2/F in 1877, it was the 1880 reprint that inspired William Poel to write to Furnivall on 1 February 1881 suggesting that the New Shakspeare Society might also like to sponsor a production of Q1. He noted that the text was of particular interest to actors because

the Editor [adaptor, reporter] has endeavoured to reproduce the play as he saw it represented and therefore in the management of the scenes, the stage directions, the omissions, and the alterations, there is much to guide and

instruct him in the stage representation of the play, as it appeared in Shakespeare's time.

(quoted in Lundstrom, 14–15)

At this point Poel believed, like Furnivall, Widgery and Herford (author of a further 1880 Harness Prize essay), that Q1 was adapted from Shakespeare's 'first sketch' of Hamlet.<sup>1</sup> Furnivall responded with his usual alacrity and energy, and Q1 was performed at St George's Hall in London on 16 April (see Fig. 6). Furnivall also alluded to the Devrient theory in his pre-performance address, according to reviewers (Lundstrom, 16), but the production was not well received by the press, a response Poel later attributed in part to the fact that 'Sir Henry Irving had just made his first appearance in the part, at the Lyceum Theatre, in the eighteenth-century stage version then still in vogue' (Poel, 301). The staging was simple and the actors all amateurs, including Poel himself as Hamlet. Reviewers found the performances under-rehearsed and deplored the language as 'barbarously mutilated' by 'botchers and pirates'; unfortunately, they were preoccupied with detailing the actors' shortcomings and failed to comment on issues such as how the early placing of 'To be or not to be' and the 'nunnery' scene worked, or how the unique Scene 14 was presented (see several reviews quoted in Rosenberg, 'First Staging').

When Poel staged what was advertised as Q1 again in 1900, for the Elizabethan Stage Society at Carpenters' Hall in London, he in fact used the Folio text, cut and rearranged in the order of Q1 with occasional direct interpolations from the latter – a most unusual case of textual conflation. There was an all-male cast, with Poel himself playing Corambis. This version was received more enthusiastically (by Max Beerbohm, among others; see Lundstrom, 83), though some people complained, not surprisingly, that it was not in fact very loyal to Q1. By this time

1 Richard Grant White, however, disputed this view in 1881.

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- 6 Zoe Bland as the Queen and Maude Holt as Ofelia in Scene 13 of William Poel's production of *Q1*, St George's Hall, London, 1881

Poel had become convinced that Q1 was 'a tampered version of the Globe Playhouse copy' (Lundstrom, 54), and he was more interested in questions of experimental staging than in the textual issues. (He hadn't finished with *Hamlet*: he went on to produce an Elizabethan-style Q2 in 1914 and even staged *Der bestrafte Brudermord* or *Fratricide Punished* in 1924.)

The association between the presentation of Q1 and a striving for Elizabethan/Jacobean authenticity recurred in the production by the Ben Greet Players at the Rudolph Steiner Hall in London for three performances in April 1928 and at the Arts Theatre Club in London for two further performances in April 1929; John Wyse played Hamlet and Greet the Gravedigger. This production (with some cast changes) subsequently toured in the USA in 1929, 1930 and 1931. Greet had worked with Gordon Craig on a production of *Hamlet* at the Olympic Theatre in London in 1897 (Craig played Hamlet, Greet played Polonius) and had collaborated with Poel on productions of Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* and the medieval drama *Everyman* in 1902 (see Isaac, 189–90, 42, 49–52). A programme for Q1 *Hamlet* (possibly from the performance on 20 March 1930 at the Pasadena Playhouse) survives at the Huntington Library in California and it asserts:

For all of the Shakespearean Plays presented by the Ben Greet Players the Stage is set as far as practicable to indicate the simplicity of the Theatre of Shakespeare's life time. The plays are acted in a manner approximating that of the Elizabethan period, with such modern modifications as may be necessary. However, the purpose of Ben Greet is not merely to reproduce dramatic conditions under which Shakespeare worked, but to present the plays as they were written.

*Much Ado About Nothing*, *Twelfth Night* and *Everyman* were presented in the same season. On tour, Ben Greet acted Corambis and the First Clown (the Gravedigger) in Q1 *Hamlet*, Dogberry in *Much Ado* and Malvolio in *Twelfth Night*; Hamlet was played by

Russell Thorndike (brother of Sybil). In 1933, Donald Wolfit directed and starred in another Q1 for the Ben Greet Players at the Arts Theatre in London; he later wrote that '[in moving the "To be" soliloquy earlier and having Gertrude tell Hamlet that she never knew of this most horrid murder] I consider Shakespeare showed superior craftsmanship in the First Quarto than in the later editions' (quoted in Harwood, 114–15).

Like Poel, Greet may be accounted a devotee of *Hamlet* in all its forms, presenting *Hamlet in its Entirety* (jokingly referred to here, as in other contexts, as 'the eternity') at Berkeley in 1904, an open-air performance in the 'Greek Theatre' that lasted from 11.00 a.m. to sunset, and an Elizabethan Q2 in two parts at Ann Arbor in 1907, with Greet as Hamlet and Sybil Thorndike as Ophelia (see Isaac, 95, 112–13). The Ben Greet Players also gave two special matinees of the *Entirety* at Sadler's Wells in 1934, with Ernest Milton as Hamlet, Sybil Thorndike as the Queen and Greet as the Gravedigger (Isaac, 155–8). In 1928, the same year as Greet's first London production, Q1 was also presented by Gaston Baty at the Théâtre de l'Avenue in Paris, using a translation by Theodore Lascaris and casting a woman, Marguerite Jamois, as Hamlet. Baty believed that Q1 was the original stage version of *Hamlet* and, like Poel and Greet, he emphasized the simplicity of the original staging (notebooks by Baty himself and by the translator were published by the Société des Spectacles Gaston Baty in Paris in 1928 and 1932<sup>1</sup>).

Minimal records survive of a student production of Q1 in Oxford in 1948 (see Trewin, 80), but a 1968 production directed by Hans Rastan in Borås, Sweden, is documented in more detail by Gunnar Sjögren, the translator and dramaturg. He found Q1 'a surprisingly good stage play' and became convinced that 'the transposition of the "To be or not to be" speech and the nunnery scene can hardly be accidental, nor can the judicious substitution of the one scene between the Queen and Horatio [Scene 14] for the

1 We are grateful to Claudine Friedan for informing us about these notebooks, which are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. See Howard on the casting of Jamois.