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Judith and Lucrece: Reading Shakespeare Between Copy and Work

Toward the end of William Shakespeare's *Lucrece*, the poem's protagonist, wracked by internalized guilt and shame, kills herself in front of her stricken husband. After naming Tarquin as her attacker, Lucrece "sheathed in her harmless breast / A harmful knife, that thence her soul unsheathed."[1] Lucrece's body becomes the "sheath," or the perverse home, of the knife she wields; her soul is in turn "unsheathed" before escaping to the clouds. The weapon she uses to kill herself and her life force pass one another by and become almost interchangeable at the fragile moment of her death.

Reading these lines in a copy of *Lucrece* in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, it is possible to skip forwards and find an uncanny textual counterpoint to Lucrece's suicide. The book in question is a slim seventeenth-century sammelband, or composite volume, of the smallest kind, in that it contains just two texts. The first is a copy of the 1632 edition of *Lucrece*, while the second, also a narrative poem, is entitled *The historie of Judith* (1584) and is an adaptation of the Old Testament story in which Judith first seduces and then kills the general Holofernes ("Holophernes," in the poem and this essay).[2] In this Corpus volume, around thirty pages after Lucrece has killed herself, we find ourselves in Holophernes' chamber as an alternative woman of "chaste renowne" is about to be raped, but

1. William Shakespeare, *Shakespeare's Poems*, Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and H.R. Woudhuysen (London, 2007, rpt. 2019), 373.

2. Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Phi. B.1.2. The volume contains 1) William Shakespeare, *The rape of Lucrece* (1632) and 2) Guillaume de Saluste Du Bartas, *The historie of Judith in forme of a poeme*, tr. Thomas Hudson (1584). Unless otherwise noted, all citations are from these two editions and are provided in-text. Citations from signature B of *Lucrece* reflect the correctly printed states of the poem (the copies now in the Folger and in Edinburgh); as discussed later in the essay, in the Huntington Library and Corpus copies the rectos of sheet B run: B1, B4, B3, B2, B5, B8, B7, B6.

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this time the moment unfolds in a radically different way (E5v). Rather than imploring her attacker to stop, as Lucrece does with Tarquin, Judith instead encourages Holophernes, telling him to "go to your bed" where she will return his embraces "Assoone as I my garments may remoue" (G5). Judith takes her time undressing, though, and while she delays Holophernes falls into a drunken sleep, at which point Judith picks up his sword and "stroke this sleeping *Roy* / so fell, that from his shoulders flew his powle, / and from his body fled his *Ethnique* sowle" (G7). Judith's "stroke" of the sleeping general briefly sustains a hint of the sensuous caress Holophernes expected, collapsing intimacy and violence in a single verb. She bundles his head into a sack and carries it back to her city, where its appearance inspires the citizens to drive away the now-leaderless attacking army.

This is a volume in which sex and death are uncomfortably tangled. But the poems' similarities also highlight their obvious differences. In Shakespeare's poem the rapist succeeds, and the woman dies, while in Hudson's translation the would-be rapist ends up decapitated and the woman leads her city to freedom. Within the codicological framework of this particular book it becomes impossible to read either poem without confronting a variety of questions raised by its counterpart. Lethal shame is followed by an explosive sense of female rage and power, suggesting that the Corpus volume can, in its alternative dynamics of violent restitution, be read as a kind of boutique publication that repurposed the poems as complementary accounts of female agency.

The two poems thus provide an unusually focused example of a phenomenon in which scholars have become increasingly interested: the practice of early modern readers to gather and reorganize texts in ways that embodied interpretive acts. Safely harbored in an institutional library since the middle of the seventeenth century, this volume has survived the modernizing drive toward order and unity that has stripped many early Shakespeare editions from their original material context; its survival adds a compelling case study to existing work on sammelband books.[3] Alongside this rich copy-specific work, though, other areas of early modern studies are looking far

3. Work on sammelband volumes includes Joshua Eckhardt, *Religion around John Donne* (University Park, 2019), esp. 57–89; Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia, 2013); Alexandra Gillespie, "Poets, Printers, and Early English Sammelbände," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 67 (2004), 189–214; Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author: Chaucer, Lydgate, and Their Books 1473–1557* (Oxford, 2006); Zachary Lesser, *Ghosts, Holes, Rips and Scrapes: Shakespeare in 1619, Bibliography in the Longue Durée* (Philadelphia, 2021).

beyond the individual copy to explore the "distant reading" activity enabled by digital and quantitative approaches. A website such as the *Shakespeare Census*, for example, means that with a few clicks it is now possible to see something about every known surviving copy of *Lucrece* from the early modern period: there are fifty-five; eleven of these are in sammelband volumes, six of which date from the seventeenth century.[4] With dizzying speed we can pull back from intense scrutiny of a particular binding toward more expansive questions about *Lucrece* as a work. But what are those questions, and what kinds of claims do they enable us to make about the poem? How does *Lucrece* itself change as the poem tumbles through ever-larger frames of inquiry? As scholars begin to think through the possibilities of the "scale of early modern studies," this essay places Shakespeare's poem within a series of increasingly expansive interpretive horizons.[5] I begin with the poem itself and ask how its placement beside *Judith* invites us to read both texts together, before drawing back to explore how the material evidence of this copy (its construction, marks of reading and sale, and so on) can be folded into the earlier reading to create a layered and historicized sense of the object of study. Finally, I consider what it might mean to read *Lucrece* as an edition of 1632 and then as a literary work over the first two hundred years of its life.

II

Text

How does placing two poems beside one another change how we read them? Recent work on the "togetherness" of sammelband texts, to borrow one of Whitney Trettien's terms for the affinity between neighboring

4. *Shakespeare Census*, ed. Adam G. Hooks and Zachary Lesser, www.shakespearecensus.org. The seventeenth-century *Lucrece* sammelbands are Shakespeare Census (SC) numbers 1155, 1156, 1165, 1173, 1175, and 1178. One further copy of *Lucrece* now in the Bodleian Library (Arch. Gg. 4; SC 1157) is bound only with a copy of *Venus and Adonis* and so looks like an authorial sammelband. But the current binding looks like the work of Edmond Malone (1741–1812), who was given both titles by Richard Farmer (1735–1797). Malone certainly re-backed the volume and probably also added the marbled endpapers and the various other paper scraps and repairs; whether these two titles were originally bound together is difficult to say.

5. The quotation is the title of Adam Smyth's "The Scale of Early Modern Studies" in *ELR* 50 (2020), 145–52. In the same volume see also Zachary Lesser "The Material Text Between General and Particular, Edition and Copy," 83–92. Other relevant work includes Jeffrey Todd Knight, "Economies of Scale: Shakespeare and Book History" in *Literature Compass* 14 (2017). Beyond literary studies see also Jo Guldi and David Armitage, *The History Manifesto* (Cambridge, Eng., 2014), esp. 88–116.

titles, has argued that a poem's material context can reenergize it, jolting it out of the critical discourses and relationships into which it has settled over the centuries since its publication.[6] Perhaps we can turn to linguistics as we begin to theorize order and meaning in early modern books. The syntax of a sentence tells us that a word's meaning depends on its position in relation to those around it; the same principle in sammelband volumes connects their bibliographical structure with literary meaning. The Corpus volume begins with *Lucrece*, and so it opens with Tarquin hastening from the Roman military camp. His journey has been prompted by a round of male bragging, described in the poem's argument, in which Tarquin's fellow soldier, Collatine, has recklessly boasted of "*the incomparable chastity*" of his wife, Lucrece (A3v). After arriving at Collatium, Tarquin is welcomed by Lucrece and given lodging. In a scene that Shakespeare later reworked for *Macbeth* and *Cymbeline*, Tarquin steals into Lucrece's chamber and rapes her before stealing away. The second half of the poem focuses on Lucrece's despairing attempts to come to terms with the rape. She is deeply ashamed and debates whether or not she ought to kill herself. After summoning her husband, Lucrece pleads with him and his men to learn whether she can remove the "compelled *staine*" of her attack (D5). Despite their reassurance that she can, and that "the *minde* untainted" absolves "[h]er bodies *staine*," Lucrece nevertheless commits suicide, prompting the downfall of the Roman monarchy and the launch of its republic (D5v).

The historie of Judith was printed as an individual poem just once in the early modern period, although it was occasionally bundled into larger collections of its original author, Guillaume de Saluste Du Bartas.[7] Despite their differences in literary status the poems make a fascinating pairing. *Judith* begins, as Shakespeare's poem does, amid military action: the general Holophernes is attacking the Jewish city of Bethuel. After thirty days of siege the city's water supply is cut off and Bethuel is on the brink of collapse; the citizens turn against their leaders and believe they should have

6. Whitney Trettien, *Cut/Copy/Paste: Fragments from the History of Bookwork* (forthcoming, 2021). The "togetherness" of early modern books is discussed in a draft chapter "Edward Benlowes' Queer Books," hosted by the Manifold Scholarship platform at the University of Minnesota Press: https://manifold.umn.edu/projects/cut-copy-paste.

7. The poem was translated from the French into a hybrid form of Scots-English by Thomas Hudson, a musician in the Scottish court of King James VI, in the early 1580s. For an account see Peter Auger, *Du Bartas' Legacy in England and Scotland* (Oxford, 2019), 56–60. For Hudson's biography see ODNB. The only modern edition of the poem is James Craigie's PhD thesis, printed by the Scottish Text Society as *Thomas Hudson's Historie of Judith* (Edinburgh and London, 1941).

"offred peace to this great Lord" (D6v). Desperate for her people not to yield, Judith vows to kill Holophernes herself. She waits for night before leaving the safety of the city and walking into the enemy camp, where she is seized and brought before the general. One night after a feast, Holophernes orders Judith to his chamber and attacks her, at which point his attempted rape leads to the scenario described above, in which Judith feigns willingness before decapitating him. Severed head in hand, she arrives back at her city and rallies the Hebrew citizens, who drive the Syrian force away.

In practice the literary work of close reading sammelbands like this creates problems that we are still grappling with. The size and miscellaneous nature of many composite volumes present a challenge to scholars who, if they are able to pin down a particular concern or theme embodied by such a book, often struggle to do much sustained interpretive work with the language itself. A 1676 quarto of *Hamlet* now in Glasgow survives in a volume containing nineteen items, with further titles (now missing) recorded in a manuscript contents list at the start of the book. How should we "read" this volume, except in the broadest descriptive terms?[8] On the other hand, the economy of the Corpus volume makes it possible to read both poems without getting lost. Several details in both texts gleam with new significance by virtue of their togetherness; the two poems vibrate beside one another, grant fresh urgency to each other's work. Tarquin's arrival at Collatium, for example, has a chiastic equivalent in Judith's arrival before Holophernes, creating a narrative pattern of arrival and disruption. In both poems the male attacker fixates specifically on the chastity of the woman: while for Tarquin it is "that name of *chast*" which sharpens "his keene *appetite*," so we are told that "night & day," the mind of Holophernes "doth frame / to conquer, this most chast vnconquest Dame" (*Lucrece*, A5; *Judith*, F2v). The physical arrangement of the volume promotes a mode of reading that seizes on such affinities, transforming them into telling points of contact and difference between the poems.

In other words, what is missing from sammelband volumes—the limits of their fruitful miscellaneity, their gaps and omissions—can be as helpful as what they contain. This is true in the sense that the Corpus volume

8. University of Glasgow, Sp Coll Hunterian Co.3.34. SC # 110. For a discussion of how to read patterns and themes when confronted by an abundance of material, and the related point that many of our critical terms (author, genre, theme) struggle to accommodate this kind of excess, see Adam Smyth, "Thinking with Ferrar Papers 1422: A c. 1681 Verse Miscellany," *The Library* 21 (2020), 192–215.

conveniently has only two poems and also because by binding them together the volume creates a startling historical gap. Some of those six early *Lucrece* sammelbands gather titles that were available at a particular, if loose, historical moment, and so like many other sammelband books they seem to embody a mixture of practical and interpretive concerns.[9] But in the Corpus volume, moving between the two titles involves vaulting a forty-eight-year gap, which is the largest found in any surviving *Lucrece* sammelband from the early modern period. In gathering remnants from the past, sammelband books create and enshrine temporal gulfs, even as in another way they efface chronological distance by setting titles physically beside one another. We can use these uneven steps up and down history, made apparent by moving laterally through a sammelband, to theorize and understand textual assembly. Compared to other surviving examples of *Lucrece*, the improbable historical gap found in the Corpus volume frees us to an extent from the haunting suspicion that the literary or interpretive concerns of the binding's assembly were overruled by its practical advantages and encourages us to read the volume for its thematic resonance. The two poems offer a tightly focused example and counterexample of female agency. In its most basic form, this is a book which first details how a sexual attack on a married woman famed for her chastity leads to a death that sparks regime change, and then follows that story with another in which a failed sexual attack on another famously chaste woman, this time a widow, also leads to a death with larger political consequences.

One of the sharpest debates generated by the pairing concerns the nature of female virtue. Judith and Lucrece were both rich signifiers in early modern culture, but their meanings often related to conceptions of virtue and chastity in some form. The two poems initially foreground these qualities in similar ways. Lucrece's "*incomparable chastity*" is the first detail that Shakespeare supplies about her in the poem's prose argument; the first chapter heading of the 1632 edition follows this up by highlighting "*The praising of* Lucrece *as chast, vertuous, and beautifull*," singling out the first stanza's description of "*Lucrece* the chast" (A3v–A5). Similar ideas of virtue define Lucrece's legacy at the poem's conclusion: it is as "chast *Lucrece*" and

9. The only other 1632 *Lucrece* sammelband contains two poems that were published four years apart, and so might easily have been on sale in a bookshop at the same time (Folger Library STC 22352, SC 1173). On this volume see Knight, *Bound to Read*, 77–80. The only surviving sammelband from the 1655 *Lucrece* gathers four titles that were all published between 1655 and 1657 (British Library E.1672, SC 1178).

"this true *wife*" that Brutus describes her in the closing lines (D7). Hudson's translation makes Judith's impermeable modesty equally central in the second poem: "loues firie dart," we are told, could never "vnfriese the frost of her chast hart" (E5v). A lengthy conversation between two guards in book four of the poem provides us with a potted history of Judith's life. She spends her time reading scripture, obeying her father's wishes, and after the death of her husband she leaves her house only to visit the sick. When not tending the needy she spends her time at needlework: just as Tarquin stumbles over the "chaste" glove on which Lucrece has been doing her needlework, so too does Judith spend her free time "with siluer nedle fine" working "on cloth some historie deuine" (*Lucrece*, B1v; *Judith*, E4v).

Yet the story of placid virtue found in both poems is shattered by the sexual encounters. The women respond in completely different ways to the threat of rape and their divergent attitudes complicate the volume's presentation of female agency. Lucrece consistently rejects Tarquin, pleading with him not to corrupt his own honor as well as hers. Against a tradition of skeptical readings of Lucrece's culpability in her relations with Tarquin, Shakespeare's poem is clear that sex is never on her mind. Lucrece's innocence is particularly clear in this edition, in which the marginal editorial notes added in 1616 but retained for future editions make clear that Tarquin was "denied of consent" when he assaulted her "by force" (B6).[10] Part of the trauma of Tarquin's assault lies in the contrast between the slow growth of his predatory desire and Lucrece's own utter lack of anticipation. When he first arrives, Lucrece is unable to "read the subtile *shining secrecies*" written in Tarquin's eyes and can "pick no meaning" from "his wanton sight" (A6v). On waking to find him in her chamber, she begs him to leave with "vehement *prayers*" (B3v). The detail about Lucrece's failure to recognize Tarquin's intentions is important because it suggests that her innocence is not a matter of choice but rather an epistemological state, a fundamental quality of her being. Lucrece's faultless behavior is not enough to save her, though, as the second half of the poem portrays an extended psychological battle with her feelings of shame and self-hatred. In a glimpse

10. The tradition of readers taking a skeptical view of Lucrece's chastity, mostly based on the Augustinian dispute about why an innocent person would kill themselves, is discussed by Sasha Roberts, *Reading Shakespeare's Poems in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2003), 103–12. See also William Shakespeare, *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Sonnets and Poems*, ed. Colin Burrow (Oxford, 2002), 66–73. Coppélia Kahn traces a similar suspicion among twentieth-century critical readings: "The Rape in Shakespeare's *Lucrece*," *Shakespeare Studies* 9 (1976), 45–72 (69).

of the fatal harm she will later do herself, Lucrece's first action after Tarquin skulks away is to tear at her own flesh with her nails, before praying that her "vnseen sinne," "guilt," and "helplesse shame" remains hidden and internal (B7v).[11] Her struggle emerges from the clash between her private feeling and the internalization of public suspicion, between the innocent woman who knows she has done nothing wrong and the public perception of rape victims as shameful and potentially adulterous. According to the poem, the exemplary status of Lucrece's virtue rests on the fact that she ultimately overrules her own innocence and sacrifices herself to uphold a code of sexual regulation. Her suicide enacts a bleak and punitive societal attitude toward female sexual conduct. Lucrece's own inner morality becomes irrelevant, except in the sense that it steers her unblinking commitment to public values.

If Lucrece sacrifices herself to preserve the patriarchal values of the society in which she lives, then Judith offers a strikingly different approach. What it means to be "chaste" in this sammelband breaks down as Judith—a virtuous widow—actively seeks a sexual encounter to gain power over her male aggressor. It is reading that cues her seduction. Halfway through the poem an aleatory "puft of wind" blows the pages of Judith's bible to an opening that shows the story of the Hebrew heroine Jael, who welcomed the tyrant Sisera "on her bed" then drove a nail into his brow as he slept (D8v).[12] Like Lucrece staring at the fall of Troy, Judith here encounters a model that shapes her experience. Yet whereas for Lucrece, the Troy painting offers limited cathartic release ("Foole, foole" she calls herself ruefully for tearing the image of treacherous Sinon), Judith's reading propels her from fretful victim to inspired actor (D3). Chaste propriety gives way to the defiance of sexual shame. Judith's newly seductive ways begin with an incantatory prayer. Thinking of Holophernes, she chants:

11. This, as Jane O. Newman puts it, is a "script that blames the victim": "'And Let Mild Women to Him Lose Their Mildness': Philomela, Female Violence, and Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 45 (1994), 304–26 (305). For a recent exploration of the Lucretia story as a tale that epitomizes a problematic Western concept of female honor, see Mithu Sanyal, *Rape: From Lucretia to #MeToo* (London, 2019), 37–60.

12. On bibliomancy and other early modern aleatory reading practices—a mode of reading that granted the material book a sense of "authority over life"—see Penelope Meyers Usher, "'Pricking in Virgil': Early Modern Prophetic *Phronesis* and the *Sortes Virgilianae*," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 45 (2015), 557–71 (563).

> Grant that my sweet regards may gall his hart
> with darts of loue to cause his endles smart.
> Grant that these gifts of thine my beutie small
> may bind his furious rage, & make him thrall:
> grant that my artificiall tong may moue
> His subtill craft & snare his hart in loue:
> But chiefly lord grant that this hand of mine
> may be the *Pagans* scourge & whole ruine. (E2v)

In these lines, as we shuttle back and forth between Judith's physical qualities (her "sweet regards" and "beutie small") and their hoped-for effects (to cause "endless smart," and "gall his hart"), we see the emergence of a kind of sexual consciousness that is entirely absent from Lucrece's early encounters with Tarquin but which is crucial to Judith's plan. Judith realizes that to bring about the "whole ruine" of Holophernes her body is a far more effective weapon than the farming tools that are elsewhere being crudely refashioned by Bethuel's citizens as they scramble to defend their city. Just as the city's armorers remake a "tilling Culter" (or plough blade) into a spear, and just as the "crooked Sith" is adapted into a sword, so too is Judith's body transformed by her sexuality (B7v). Before leaving the city she puts on "pearles and Jewels" and "sweete perfume" which cause her "to be spide" and judged by those around her; she borrows alluring clothes from less virtuous friends, setting aside her usual mourning garments (E3). So effective are her preparations that the poem's narrator takes pains to remind us that Judith is at heart not someone who with "wanton vearse" and "luring lookes" seeks "t'entrapt great men" (E5).

Except that Judith is exactly doing these things. Or at least, she seems to be doing them. And it is her ability to adopt a more complicated and layered morality—one that prompts the narrator's anxiety but is secured by Judith's inner purpose—which begins to cast Lucrece's final rejection of her own innocence in a different light. "[W]here goes this gallant wight / so trim in such a tyme?" asks Achior, the city guard, as he watches Judith gliding out to meet Holophernes, her perfume lingering in the night air behind her: "hath she no pittie / of this most wretched persecuted Cittie?" (E3v). Intent on her plan, Judith merely shrugs off his scathing comments on her "trim" appearance and the "spide" glances at her jewelry. "I can nought / tell wher she goes, much les whats in her thought," replies Carmis, a fellow guard (E7v). Although she seems to abandon her city at its hour of need, Judith finds strength in her own morality.

By weaponizing sexual consent, Judith achieves a far greater level of agency than is afforded to Lucrece, who, even in her most private moments of lament, seems pinned in place by an excoriating public gaze. Rejecting sexual shame means Judith is able to manipulate Holophernes and his soldiers to her advantage. As she walks toward the gate of her city, the poem supplies a blazon that foregrounds her physical appeal.

> her golden haire: her yvrie neck,
> the Rubies rich, and Saphirs blew did deck.
> And at her eare, a Pearle of greater vallewe
> ther hong, then that th'Egiptian Quene did swallew.
> And through her collet shewde her snowie brest,
> Her vtmost robe was coulour blew Coelest,
> Benetted all with twist of perfite golde,
> Beseeming well her comely corps tenfolde. (E3)

The erotic gaze of this passage, which lingers on Judith's "yvrie neck," the blue sapphires she wears, and the "snowie brest" that shows through her collar (or "collet"), recalls a similar moment from Shakespeare's poem. As Tarquin approaches the sleeping Lucrece, his gaze lingers on her breasts, "like iuory *globes* circled with *blew*," and her hair "like golden *threads*" (B2v). But when read beside one another the two passages offer starkly different dynamics of desire. Lucrece is, as Samuel Arkin has noted, entirely absent from this construction of herself; asleep, her appearance is written through Tarquin's gaze.[13] The blazon of Judith, though, is underwritten by a powerful sense of her own agency, simmering beneath the surface of these lines. She has deliberately cultivated this allure. While it is Tarquin who lingers over the "golden *threads*" of Lucrece's hair falling across her face, it is Judith herself who determinedly "sets her glasse" before her and begins to "deck her hair like burnisht gold" in order that Holophernes "may with my crisped haire be captiue knit" (F5v, E2v). The poems here supply two parts of a strange whole, where the determined psychology of Judith's seduction becomes a kind of vengeful response to Tarquin's uninvited fixation.

Deception itself evolves as we progress through the volume. In Shakespeare's poem, the duplicity belongs to Tarquin, whose "outward honesty" is "defil'd / With inward *vice*" (D3). *Judith* reclaims the value of deception,

13. Samuel Arkin, "'That map which deep impression bears': Lucrece and the Anatomy of Shakespeare's Sympathy," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 64 (2013), 349–71 (358).

offering us a kind of outward "vice" made virtuous by its inner "honesty" and so supplying a more complex and deeply layered version of femininity. It is seeming to consent that grants Judith access to Holophernes, which disarms his aggression and leaves him vulnerable. As the sexual encounter looms, Holophernes dismisses his soldiers, and "[a]ssoone as they were gone" he reaches for Judith, who halts him by offering herself freely: "what hast neede you" she asks, "to reap the flowre that none other can from you take?" (G5). And so, "thus beguilde," he lets Judith "slide out of his arme" so that she may undress and waits for her alone in his private chamber (G5v). Impatient for sex, he uses his sword to cut off his own clothes before laying it down beside him, ready to be transformed into the instrument of his death. Eager for her arrival, Holophernes "naked went to bed" before falling asleep thinking about "the sweete remembrance of her louing looke" (G5v, G6). The chamber itself, a site of intrusion and shame in *Lucrece*, is repurposed as the scene of revenge. Reading across the two poems becomes a journey from innocence to experience, where Judith's pliability offers a kind of resourceful alternative to the failure of Lucrece's clear refusal.

These differing approaches to virtue and chastity are captured most starkly at the poems' climactic deaths. "How may this forced *staine* be wipt from me?" begs Lucrece of her husband and his lords toward the end of Shakespeare's poem, "May my pure *mind* with the foul *act* dispence, / My low declined *honour* to aduance?" (D5). Here, as part of her final appeal, Lucrece asks her husband to recognize the distinction between her "pure mind" and the corruption of her physical body: is redemption possible, she asks? Collatine and his lords offer her what we might think of as the perfect response: of course, they say "all at once," replying that "the *minde* vntainted" clears "[h]er bodies *staine*" (D5v). Yet Lucrece rejects their reassurance "with a ioylesse *smile*" and is unable to accept her own innocence. The—surely akratic—reasoning she offers is that no other woman should use her experience as an excuse for adultery: "no *Dame*, hereafter liuing, / By my *excuse* shall claime excuses giuing" (D5v). A similar argument resurfaces at the moment of Holophernes' death. As Judith stands in an anteroom of Holophernes' chamber, delaying her slow undressing, she is gripped by a fresh anxiety: "what if they polute thee like a slaue?" she asks herself, meaning, what if she fails and is actually raped, not only by Holophernes but by his army, too? Her answer is to echo Collatine as she pledges that "my body with my hart they shall not haue" (G6v). Picking up the sword, Judith finds strength in the proposition that Lucrece was

unable to accept: that her virtue is defined not by the physical reality of how her body is treated but by the inner morality of her "hart." In her understanding that rape will not affect her chastity, Judith retrospectively offers Lucrece the redemption she was unable to grant herself.

These ideas about virtue and agency also have implications for the politics of the two poems. Latent within *Lucrece*, as Jane O. Newman has shown, are the fragments of an alternative and more violent response to Tarquin's rape.[14] Lucrece's two references to Philomela alert us to her awareness of a potential other pathway, one that the poem considers but then rejects. Judith's willing embrace of direct political violence, of a rage that explodes outwards rather than plunging inwards to consume its subject, takes up the call for this empowering alternative. She first brings her plan "to murder this *Vizroy*" to the city's rulers, who offer her no help (D8v). Her leaders advise her instead to "weep night & day" in a bid for divine sympathy (E1v). Judith's dismissal of this abject strategy buys her the freedom to act as an autonomous agent. Again, by rejecting the social and political structures to which Lucrece hews so tightly, Judith is free to control the events of her poem. Honor in this volume is found in self-sacrifice but also in action and subterfuge, in martyrdom and in rage. Honor is both or neither of these two compelling characters, a concept that is undone by each poem and reconstituted in the movement between them. The reader who picks up the Corpus volume finds the limitations and advantages of both models.

III

Copy

Reading the poems as texts brings out their thematic similarities and differences. What happens if we allow the material evidence of this volume into our interpretive gaze? Now the poems become physical objects that circulated, have weight, were sold and marked, and so they embody attachments to a new cast of agents responsible for their handling. The style of the binding dates it to the early- or mid-seventeenth century, meaning that it may have been assembled shortly after this edition of *Lucrece* was published in 1632.[15] But it was not the first home of either poem: the

14. Newman, "'And Let Mild Women to Him Lose Their Mildness.'"

15. The binding is plain leather with fillets, a typical example of what David Pearson calls "an early-seventeenth century plain leather binding," a style with a heyday of 1600–1650: *English Bookbinding Styles 1450–1800: A Handbook* (London, 2005), 61.

gutters of both texts are marked with the tell-tale stab-stitch holes which suggest that each was originally sold as an individual text. *Lucrece* has a row of four such holes where the binder's awl has punctured the paper in preparation for the swift and cheap practice of stitching thread along the gutter to issue the book for individual sale.[16] *Judith*, on the other hand, has eight, suggesting this earlier poem had at least two prior bindings or wrappings. The mobility of this older poem, the fact that it moved through different interpretive contexts before being paired with *Lucrece*, is also brought into focus by *Judith*'s sole piece of written marginalia: a few words that appear toward the end of book four, and which were partially cropped in the making of the current binding and so belong to an earlier, pre-Shakespearean stage of the text's life.

This single piece of earlier marginalia appears beside a second blazon that describes Judith's arrival at the enemy camp. As she approaches, "flocks of soldiers" gaze spellbound at her appearance and bring her before Holophernes.

> Her wavring haire disparpling flew apart
> In seemely shed, the rest with reckles art
> with many-a curling ring decord her face,
> and gaue her glashie browes a greater grace
> (. . .)
> Her pitted cheekes aperde to be depaint,
> with mixed rose & lillies sweete and saint:
> Her dulcet mouth with precious breath repleate
> Excelde the *Saben* Queene in sauour sweete.
> Her *Corall* lips discovred as it were
> two ranks of *Orient* pearle with smyling chere.
> Her yvrie neck and brest of *Alabastre*,
> Made Heathen men of her, more *Idolastre*. (E8)

For all the narrator's reassurances about Judith's innate modesty and virtue, the blazon gradually draws the reader in, making us complicit in the sexualized gaze of the enemy soldiers and of Holophernes. The early narrative emphasis on Judith's interiority as she prepares herself for seduction is replaced here by lingering description of her surfaces (mouth, lips, neck, breast) that expands on the earlier blazon, limning a kind of raucous beauty

16. On stab-stitching see Aaron T. Pratt, "Stab-Stitching and the Status of Early English Playbooks as Literature," *The Library* 16 (2015), 304–28.

evident in her "reckles" and "disparpling" (dishevelled) hair. The early reader's note beside this passage responds to its erotic atmosphere, reading simply "a dysir[e] of Jud[ith]." So the note marks the point on Judith's nocturnal journey where her plan began to take effect, where one reader was provoked (or duped?) into admiring her beguiling qualities.[17] The final scene of beheading metes out righteous justice to a tyrant, then, but could also be read as a powerful rejection of the poetic conventions that write women as passive subjects, and a kind of rebuke to those readers who were lulled into "a dysir[e] of Jud[ith]."

The "dysir[e]" annotation is the only physical trace that *Judith* was read before it was bound beside *Lucrece*. Layered over the top of this earlier reading, though, are marks in pencil that belong to a second and later reader who read both poems together. The same swift, downward pencil strokes appear in the margins of both *Judith* and *Lucrece*, made by someone who toggled back and forth between the titles choosing their favorite lines. Twelve such passages are marked in Shakespeare's poem, and among them is a stanza from the section in which Tarquin admires the sleeping Lucrece.

> What could he see but mightily he *noted*?
> What did he *note*, but strongly he *desired*?
> What he *beheld*, on that he firmly *doted*,
> And in his *will* his wilful *eye* he tired.
> With more than *admiration* he admired
> Here azure *veines*, her *alabaster* skinne,
> Her *corall lips*, her *snow-white* dimpled chin. (B3)

There are obvious local similarities between this passage of *Lucrece* and the blazon that was marked up by the earlier reader of *Judith*. The descriptive tropes of the "*corall lips*" and "*alabaster* skinne" over which Tarquin dotes are matched by Judith's own "*Corall* lips" and "brest of *Alabastre*." Judith's cheeks are "mixed rose & lillies," recalling both the "silent *warre* of *Lilies* and of *Roses*" Tarquin finds in Lucrece's face when he first meets her, and his observation of her "lilly *hand*" which he observes lying under "her *rosie* cheekes" a few lines before the marked-up *Lucrece* stanza (A6, B2v). The similarity between these two acts of selection could be simple coincidence,

17. A counter-reading to this interpretation of the annotation would be that the "dysir[e]" of this moment belonged to Judith, and that the reader was admiring her ability to enact her wishes. Here "dysir[e]" would be synonymous with a word like "will" or "volition." Thanks to Alice Leonard for this suggestion.

attesting to the commonplace nature of such language.[18] But it might also represent a connection between successive owners, a kind of polychronic reading activity. Perhaps the material chain of ownership behind this copy of *Judith* gave rise to a kind of intellectual provenance, where each new reading of the book was influenced to some degree by its predecessors, transforming the book into a site of collaboration between the past and the present. After all, the other penciled moments in this copy of *Lucrece* suggest a reader who was mainly interested in the poem's moral or pragmatic *sententiae*, not its erotic possibility, such that the annotation of the description of Lucrece seems unusual.[19] The discrepancy between the later reader's main project and their local interest in the sleeping Lucrece prompts us to ask whether they noticed and responded to the earlier annotation of a comparable moment on their copy of *Judith*, which is difficult to miss even with a brief look over the poem. How attentive to this kind of inherited marginalia were early moderns?[20] If then, as today, the annotations on a borrowed or second-hand book had a magnetism all of their own for the way in which they enrich a book's sense of having once absorbed another human's attention, then perhaps the earlier reading of *Judith* was here folded into the later reading of both poems, materializing the kinds of comparative literary connections between the two texts that are described above. In such bundling together of the old and the new, sammelband books have a levelling potential that offers a new and equal "publication" of titles regardless of their age and status. At the same time, the neutrality of such reading frameworks could be disrupted by titles that had absorbed evidence of their usage and so carried forward the charge of older readings, bringing the past into contact with a continually new present.

The penciled annotations of the later reader may belong to John Rosewell (d. 1684), the Eton headmaster who donated this volume along

18. Parts of this section of *Lucrece* were sometimes extracted in manuscript miscellanies (such as British Library Add. MS 27406, 74). A longer chunk was printed in Robert Allot's *Englands Parnassus* (1600) under the heading "Discriptions of Beautie & Personage" (2C6v–C7).

19. Other marked couplets include the claim that women have "waxen *minds*," and so "No more than *waxe* shall be accounted euill / Wherein is stampt the semblence of a *diuell*" (C6v). Similarly marked is Lucrece's proverbial reminder to Tarquin of his royal position: "The *Cedar* stoopes not to the base *shrubs* foote, / But low *shrubs* wither at the *Cedars root*" (B6v).

20. John Donne for one was alert to some of the markings he inherited, occasionally overlaying or rewriting the names and mottos of the previous owners of his books, although perhaps provenance information attracted a different level of attention than internal marginalia: Eckhardt, *Religion*, 75–76.

with the rest of his library to Corpus Christi on his death.[21] Yet a note on a front endpaper, which records the volume's contents and a price, suggests the poems were initially paired by a canny bookseller (figure 1).

> Rape of Lucreece
> Historye of Judith 8$^{d.}$

The price of eight pence probably covers both titles, which would make this volume a trade sammelband, sold—and although we cannot know this, presumably designed—by a stationer precisely to foster the kinds of back-and-forth reading activities outlined above.[22]

Scholarship on sammelband books has tended to focus on the "tremendous agency of the consumer" in shaping the contents of early modern compilations, though Alexandra Gillespie has also suggested that printers and publishers of the early sixteenth century sometimes issued trade collections.[23] The Corpus volume looks to confirm Gillespie's suggestion that those who produced books were open to mixing their wares in creative combinations that further individuated the inflections and meanings a text might afford, meaning that one edition could in theory be crumbled into many different bespoke publications. When stationer-created sammelbands are found elsewhere, they often seem to be organized around an author, as with the pre-bound sammelband volumes of Chaucer's works issued by Richard Pynson in the 1520s or the gathered quarto editions of the popular preacher John Boys issued by William Aspley in the early seventeenth century. Against such a tidy organizational category, the undeniable interpretive creativity of the Corpus volume demands that we attend to its assembly as an aspect of its literary meaning.

However the two poems came together, the material construction of the volume encourages us to read them within the same interpretive frame.

21. Rosewell mentions the bequest in his will: "all my printed Bookes I bequeath to Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford excepting those which are already in the library of that Colledge of the same Edition and likewise any more then one where there shall-bee duplicates found in my Studdy" (The National Archives, Kew, PROB 11/378/176). A printed book label inside the upper board confirms the volume was a gift "Ex testamento Reverendi viri *Johannis Rosewell*."

22. Rosewell does not seem to have been in the habit of marking the books he donated to Corpus with their prices, which suggests the note was made by the stationer from whom Rosewell bought the volume. Rosewell's donation of around one thousand titles, including works by Philip Sidney, Thomas Browne, and John Milton among others, is catalogued in Corpus Christi College Archives B/11/1/2, pp. 25–50. The entry for *Lucrece*—the only Shakespeare title—is on p. 45.

23. Knight, *Bound to Read*, 4; Gillespie, "Poets, Printers, and Early English Sammelbände"; Gillespie, *Print Culture*, 126–34.

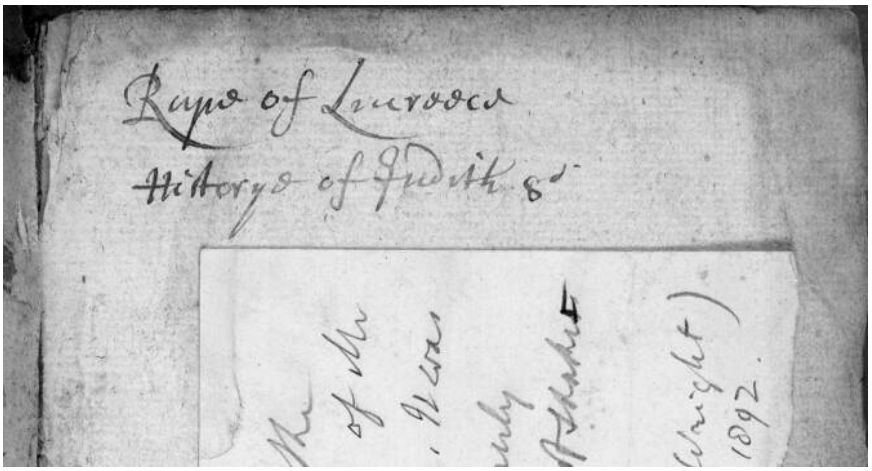
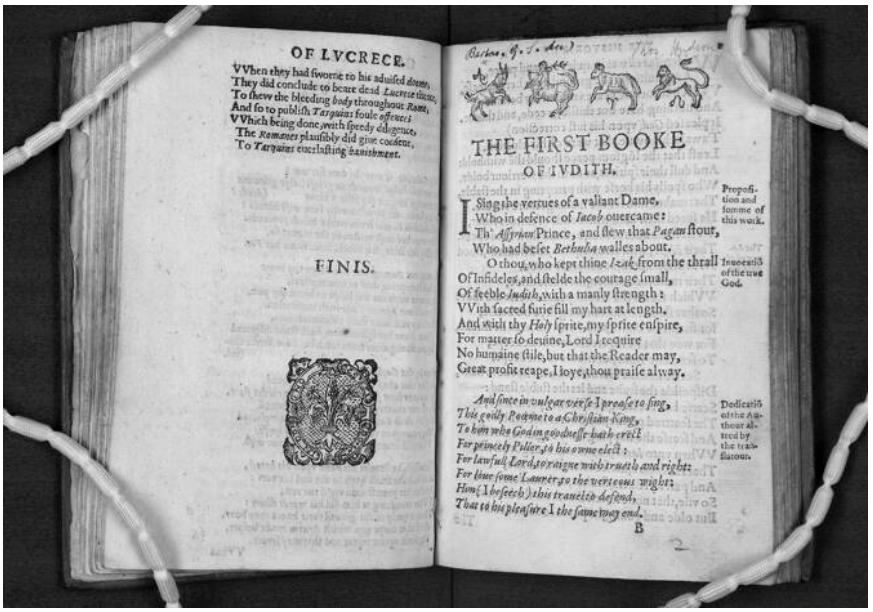


Figure 1: Annotation on the flyleaf of the Corpus volume. © Corpus Christi College, Oxford 2021, Phi.B.1.2, flyleaf.

Sidney Lee accurately noted in his 1905 census of *Lucrece* that this copy of *Judith* has no title-page.[24] In fact, all the material between the ending of the text of *Lucrece* and the beginning of *Judith* has been removed, such that *Lucrece*'s final lines spill into the first words of *Judith* across a unique opening. For Shakespeare's poem, creating this opening only meant removing a single final blank leaf (D8), the loss of which could easily be attributed to damage. Hudson's *Judith* saw more radical alteration. The poem is an octavo that collates A-G^{8} H^{4}. The first quire is filled with preliminary matter: after the title-page comes Hudson's dedication to King James, two sonnets, a translated address to the reader by Du Bartas, and the poem's narrative "argument." In other words, material that both locks the poem into economies of patronage, literary relations, and nationhood, and which also marks it as a discrete unit of literary work. Yet this entire quire is missing from the Corpus copy. It is possible the quire was damaged at some earlier stage of the book's life, but there is no sign of any such damage to the rest of the book. Instead, the fact that this copy of *Judith* lacks all eight leaves of the first quire, all of which contain paratextual material, invites us to consider the quire's removal as purposeful and of a piece with the absence of *Lucrece*'s D8 (figure 2).[25]

24. Sidney Lee, ed., *Shakespeares* [sic] *Lucrece: Being a Reproduction in Facsimile* (Oxford, 1905), 50.

25. Of the five known copies of the 1584 *Judith* listed by the ESTC, three have no damage recorded (Huntington Library, British Library, and National Library of Scotland) while the copy


OF LVCRECE.

VVhen they had sworne to his aduised doome,
They did conclude to beare dead *Lucrece* thence,
To shew the bleeding body throughout *Rome*,
And so to publish *Tarquins* foule offence:
VVhich being done, with speedy diligence,
The *Romanes* plausibly did giue consent,
To *Tarquins* euerlasting banishment.

FINIS.

THE FIRST BOOKE
OF IVDITH.

Propositi-on and somme of this work.

I Sing the vertues of a valiant Dame,
Who in defence of *Iacob* ouercame:
Th' *Assirian* Prince, and slew that *Pagan* stout,
Who had beset *Bethulia* walles about.
O thou, who kept thine *Izak* from the thrall
Of Infideles, and stelde the courage small,
Of feeble *Iudith*, with a manly strength:
VVith sacred furie fill my hart at length.
And with thy *Holy* sprite, my sprite enspire,
For matter so deuine, Lord I require
No humaine stile, but that the Reader may,
Great profit reape, I loye, thou praise alway.

Inuocatiō of the true God.

And since in vulgar verse I proose to sing,
This godly Poeme to a Christian King,
To him who God in goodnesse hath ereēt
For princely Pillar, to his owne elect:
For lawfull Lord, to raigne with truetie and right:
For loue some Laurer, to the vertuous wight:
Him, I beseech) this trauel to defend,
That to his pleasure I the same may end.

Dedicatiō of the Au-thour al-tred by the trai-fatour.

B 2

Figure 2: The doctored opening of the Corpus volume, showing the final page of *Lucrece* (D7v) and the first page of *Judith* (B1r). © Corpus Christi College, Oxford 2021, Phi.B.1.2.

Why might the stationer have done this? One obvious incentive would be to strip Hudson's poem of its glaringly out-of-date title-page, which records that the poem was printed in Edinburgh in 1584. But the missing paratextual barriers between the titles also foster a more porous conception of the literary work of this volume, one in which meaning can flow unimpeded between the two texts. The agent saw the paratextual material as clutter to be peeled away from the poems within, leading to several interpretive consequences. The conclusion of *Lucrece*, in which the protagonist's body is carried away and Tarquin's "foule *offence*" creates ructions throughout Rome, becomes a pause, not an ending. Before we can think about the arrival of the nascent Roman republic, our eyes travel across the page and *Judith* refocuses our attention onto a new female figure and an alternative violent antagonist. In this volume, Lucrece's rape cannot be dismissed as the prelude to a larger foundational myth; the opening lines

in Edinburgh University Library is missing the title leaf (A1). I have not been able to check the copy in Westminster Abbey Library.

of *Judith* insist we confront again the dynamics of power and violence between men and women.

> I sing the vertues of a valiant Dame,
> Who in defence of *Jacob* ouercame:
> Th' *Assyrian* Prince, and slew that *Pagan* stout
> Who had beset *Bethulia* walles about. (B1)

This time, the lines immediately tell us, it is the "valiant Dame" who will, with "manly strength" and "sacred furie," triumph over the male aggressor. The motto curled around the woodblock which marks the end of *Lucrece*—"IN DOMINO CONFIDO," or "in God I trust"—shimmers with new potency opposite the first page of *Judith*, which begins with a marginal note labelling the opening lines an "Inuocation of the true God" and a direct address from the narrator to the Christian god. The hope conveyed by the ending of one poem is taken up at the start of the next. The siege imagery that runs throughout *Lucrece* (where Lucrece's body is consistently described as a city or castle under attack) is repurposed here in a different key, one that immediately highlights the failure and death of "that Pagan stout" who "beset" the city walls. The narratorial voice of *Lucrece*, hovering over the poem's final stanzas describing the grief of Collatine, Lucretius, and Brutus, plunges back with renewed force: "I sing."

A helpful typographical consistency between the two poems seems also to present them as part of the same project. Both, for example, make use of *sententiae* markers and marginal notes to organize the text; the running titles of each ("THE RAPE OF LVCRECE" and "THE HISTORIE OF IVDITH") have a suggestive affinity that organizes each text around its central female figure. But another curious effect of the splicing together of these titles is to unsettle the limits of what paratexts do survive. Without *Judith*'s first quire, Shakespeare's dedication to Henry Wriothesley at the start of *Lucrece* seems to encompass both poems, suggesting that a more balanced account of female agency is, as Shakespeare puts it, "bound to your Lord-ship" (A3). And if there is no longer a clear limit to the material covered by Shakespeare's dedication, the same is true of Hudson's end matter. At the end of the volume is a "table of signification" (H2v), which Hudson used to provide explanatory glosses for his poem's various allusions. Yet as both *Lucrece* and *Judith* draw on similar classical material, Hudson's table also seems to reach back and explicate the meanings of Shakespeare's work. Lucrece's lengthy contemplation of the Troy painting or tapestry

sees her address "despairing Hecuba," Priam, and Helen, "the strumpet that began this stirre" (D1v-D2). The narrator of *Judith* dwells on the same figures, leading to notes at the end of the volume that explain to us who "Hecuba the honorable," Priam, and "Helen the dishonest wife" are (H3, H4). Perhaps these simple glosses generate limited interpretive interest, but the table also draws our attention to more meaningful concepts such as Hudson's entry for "Sympathie," which he glosses as a "Concordance of natures and things" (H4v). Hudson intends to send us back to Judith's thoughts on marital sympathy in book four, where the poem illustrates the perfection of Judith's marriage by the emotional understanding she shared with her late husband: "Her husbands dolours made her hart vnglad, / And *Judiths* sorrowes made her husband sad" (E6). But in this volume, Hudson's table also reminds us of the prominence of the concept of sympathy within Lucrece.[26] The weeping of Lucrece's maid, for example, is "enforc'd by simpathy" with her mistress' sorrow after the rape and it is the lack of emotional sympathy between Lucrece and her groom that prompts her to feel increasingly ashamed (C6v). Lucrece's final address to her husband returns us to the vision of marital sympathy offered by *Judith*: "thy sorrow to my *sorrow* lendeth / Another *power*" she tells him shortly before her suicide (D5). Shakespeare's poem thus enriches Hudson's translation by creating a more nuanced sense of the dynamics of emotional exchange in the volume, just as the table consolidates the material connection between the two poems by establishing an authoritative frame of meaning for both. The surviving paratexts knit the titles together, fulfilling our formal expectations of the kind of printed matter we expect to find at the beginning and end of a single book.

At some point in the middle of the seventeenth century, then, it was probably an inspired bookseller who placed a tired old copy of *Judith* beside a fresh copy of *Lucrece* to create a boutique publication. It is particularly telling that *Lucrece*, a poem whose "open-ended" narrative invites closure, appears first in the volume.[27] The painful unfairness of the poem's conclusion, in which, despite the pleading of her husband and his lords, Lucrece "punished in her selfe anothers faulte" as Philip Sidney put it in his *Defence of poesie*, leaves the reader with a powerful sense of injustice.[28] The lopsided

26. Arkin, "'That map which deep impression bears.'"

27. Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems*, 67.

28. Philip Sidney, *The Defence of poesie* (1595), C2. Sidney's *Defence* was written in the early 1580s, meaning that Sidney had in mind the broader story of Lucretia rather than Shakespeare's later poem.

conclusion is made particularly stark in Shakespeare's treatment of the Lucretia story: the agonized debate and eventual suicide that occupy the poem's second half are followed by a cursory final line that gestures to the "euerlasting *banishment*" of the Tarquin family (D7v). The poem leaves us gasping for some kind of retribution, which in the Corpus volume is amply supplied by Judith's vengeful decapitation of Holophernes. The material situation of these poems then, with *Lucrece* first and *Judith* second, creates a collaborative poetics of restitution and makes *Judith* a continuation of Shakespeare's poem rather than just a passive companion. The act of organizing these poems could be placed somewhere on a creative continuum that includes other kinds of literary response to the patchy, open-ended, and imitative nature of the Renaissance textual record: George Chapman's completion of *Hero and Leander*, say, or John Fletcher's *The Woman's Prize, or, The Tamer Tamed*, which turned the tables on Petruchio from Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* to create a sequel that rebalanced the gender relations of the earlier play.[29] At least one early manuscript version of a section of *Lucrece* altered a pronoun at a crucial moment to elide the violence of the rape and create a version of the poem that sits somewhere between a transcription and a response. As Tarquin gazes at the sleeping Lucrece, the narrator describes how "Her lilly *hand* her *rosie* cheekes lies vnder, / Coozening the *pillow* of a lawful kisse" (B2v). In the manuscript, though, Lucrece's hand rests comfortably under "his rosy cheekes," suggesting a "vision of post-coital fulfilment" as Colin Burrow notes.[30] Against this local response, in which the copyist seems to suppress the imminent rape, the melding of the two poems in the Corpus volume looks like a proto-feminist intervention designed to foreground the consequences of violent assault.

However pleasing the pairing was in a literary sense, it presumably had the added commercial advantage of selling a stale title. The idea to tack a second poem on to Shakespeare's work may have been prompted by the 1655 edition of *Lucrece*, in which Shakespeare's poem was printed alongside a continuation written by John Quarles. The 1655 edition advertised "The Banishment of Tarquin" as an offering that would redress the poem's unfair conclusion. Tarquin, Quarles pointed out, had repaid Lucrece's

29. Thanks to Emma Smith for suggesting this comparison.

30. Burrow, ed., *Complete Sonnets and Poems*, 44. The manuscript is British Library Add. MS 27406, f. 74. The *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts*, https://celm-ms.org.uk dates the transcription to the 1630s (*CELM* ShW 2).

"many civilities" with "a most barbarous rape," and his actions had "caused not only his banishment, but likewise cost the lives of many of the Nobility; nay, and the King himself in defence of his son, the Ravisher, lost his life; and that which was more than all, was the losse of Lucretia's life."[31] Those who shared Quarles' outrage at Tarquin could now "read his punishment" (F5v). Quarles' poem describes the death of Tarquin's father, slain at the hands of vengeful noblemen, before detailing the capture, banishment, and suffering of Tarquin himself. Eventually, after several stanzas of torment, Tarquin is sung to death by Philomel and a flock of nightingales, whose "sad, and melancholy notes" torture his ears and cause him to lose his mind (G4). The Corpus volume shares with the 1655 *Lucrece* an investment in the moral and emotional structure of Shakespeare's narrative. Both were forms of continuation that treated *Lucrece* as the malleable product of a fluid and recombinant bibliographical culture, even if the single Corpus volume does this at the level of the copy, as opposed to the edition put out by Quarles. Today around four-fifths of the surviving early copies of *Lucrece* are bound as individual titles that enshrine modern notions of Shakespeare's authorship and value.[32] Amid that context of singularity, the material construction of the Corpus volume preserves a version of Shakespeare as a collaborative author alongside Du Bartas, Hudson, and the agent responsible for bringing the texts together.

IV

Edition

To move from the text to the volume is to materialize the poem, bringing into view its physicality and the traces left behind by other readers. We are still looking at an individual copy, though, and copies come to us through the category of the edition. What happens if we think about the poem at this new level? Some version of this question guided the Shakespearean

31. William Shakespeare and John Quarles, *The Rape of Lucrece, Committed by Tarquin the Sixt . . . Whereunto is annexed, the Banishment of Tarquin* (1655), F5-F5v. Adam G. Hooks provides an alternative reading of this edition that focuses on how the addition of a second poem alters the meanings of the first. For Hooks, the continuation of *Lucrece* reframed the poem's republican politics as "a kind of royalist morality tale": "Royalist Shakespeare: Publishers, Politics and the Appropriation of *The Rape of Lucrece* (1655)," in *Canonising Shakespeare: Stationers and the Book Trade, 1640–1740*, ed. Emma Depledge and Peter Kirwan (Cambridge, Eng., 2017), 26–37 (30).

32. As of October 2021, the Shakespeare Census lists fifty-five known copies of Lucrece (four of which are fragments) across the nine editions that were published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Forty-four of these are individually bound.

editor William Aldis Wright, who visited Corpus Christi College to look at the 1632 *Lucrece* in the late nineteenth century.[33] His presence is recorded in the following note, perhaps written by Wright, pasted onto a flyleaf of the Corpus volume (figure 3).

> The only other copy known of the Lucrece of 1632 is in the Library of Mr Christie Miller at Britwell. It was bought at Hebers sale & formerly belonged to Steevens the editor of Shakespeare.

Wright's early census of *Lucrece* was, like that of Lee some years later, informed by his editorial practice. As overseer of the Cambridge Shakespeare series among other works, Wright pioneered the importance of checking for stop-press variants across multiple copies of the same edition.[34] For the first Cambridge Shakespeare (published in 1866) Wright found and checked copies from six early editions of *Lucrece* but was unable, after "nearly six years labour" to track down any copies of the 1632 text.[35] For a while, then, the edition existed only as a bibliographical chimera, an elusive presence that Wright hunted by following up trace mentions in book catalogues. By the time that his fellow editor and philologist Frederick James Furnivall published a facsimile of Q1 *Lucrece* in 1886, though, Wright had discovered two copies, including the one at Corpus Christi College, which Wright collated, finding that "its readings, for the most part, agree with the later Quartos."[36] The collation was included in the revised second Cambridge edition of 1893, and so both the 1632 edition and the Corpus *Lucrece* arrived in the editorial record of Shakespeare's poem at the same time in the late nineteenth century.[37]

33. The note on the Corpus volume quoted below is dated 1892, but Wright had already visited Corpus to collate this volume by 1886, as noted by Frederick James Furnivall in his facsimile edition: *Shakspere's Lucrece: the First Quarto, 1594, A Facsimile* (London, 1886), v. Perhaps Wright returned in 1892.

34. See his comments on the differences between ten copies of Francis Bacon's *Essayes* (1625) in William Aldis Wright, ed., *Bacon's Essays and Colours of Good and Evil* (London, 1862), xxii.

35. William Shakespeare, *The Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. William George Clark and William Aldis Wright, 9 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1863–66), 9.xix. Wright was chasing a brief reference to the 1632 edition in William Thomas Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*, rev. Henry G. Bohn, 4 vols. (London, 1864), 3.2306.

36. Furnivall, ed., *Shakspere's Lucrece*, v.

37. William Shakespeare, *The Works of William Shakespeare*, second ed., ed. William Aldis Wright, 9 vols. (London, 1891–93), 9.xvi.

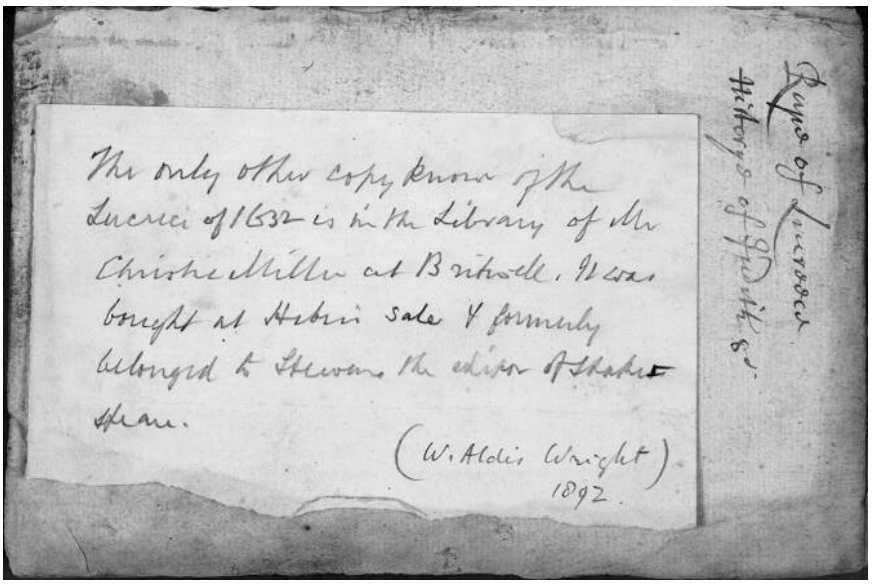


Figure 3: Annotation on the flyleaf of the Corpus volume. The main note may have been written by Wright; the attribution looks to have been added by a different hand. © Corpus Christi College, Oxford 2021, Phi.B.1.2, flyleaf.

This kind of editorial reading both recovered the unique aspects of the 1632 text and, in other ways, rendered those particularities invisible by tidying them into a textual apparatus. The way we think about textual authority means that this edition will only ever be a distant cousin of the first and most authoritative version of *Lucrece*. After Wright, the 1632 edition was far more likely to be read as a statistic, or a data point that tells us something about demand for Shakespeare's poetry, rather than as a text to be approached on its own terms. To insist on close reading this edition, and to take seriously the textual moments that individuate it from other editions, is thus in some senses a radical act that brings to life several moments with no other foothold in the poem's history.

> As seelie ieering idiots are with Kings (Q1)
> As seely leering *ideots* are with *kings* (Q8)
> (line 1812)

Here, as Collatine and his fellow lords seek to outperform one another's grief over the dead body of Lucrece, it is Brutus who is described as a

"seely leering" idiot rather than "seelie jeering," or, as all modern editions prefer, "silly jeering."[38] The "leering" variant is unique to the 1632 text, but is also too distant from Q1 to appear in the notes of modern editions. In one sense, it would be difficult to call this an error, given that it makes semantic (and literary) sense.[39] Against the modern tradition of correcting Q1's "seelie" to "silly," the OED tells us that "seely" meant "foolish" or "crazy" or even, when used to describe a person's soul, "in danger of divine judgement" (OED 6, 7, 8); when paired with "leering" in a poem so deeply concerned with the morality of lust, Brutus' character seems to reform dangerously in this line, before he recasts himself in the poem's final moments as an austere councilor to the group's collective grief. The variant only becomes an error—only becomes a variant, in fact—when it is read in a different way, one that rejects the individuality of this edition, dismissing it as an ersatz replica of the poem's earliest instantiation. A few lines later on, Brutus resurfaces in a way that is again unique to this edition.

> When they had sworne to this aduised doome (Q1)
> When they had sworne to his aduised *doome* (Q8)
> (line 1849)

In the poem's final moments, Brutus grips the bloody knife Lucrece has used to kill herself and vows to avenge her death. Turning to the gathered lords, he "doth againe repeat" his vow and urges those present to join him in swearing revenge. This line from the final stanza seems in Q8 to highlight Brutus' primacy at the end of the poem: "his aduised *doome*" seems to mean "the revenge that Brutus has advised," rather than the more generalised "aduised doome" present in other editions.[40] What are we to do with this slightly different Brutus, who lived in the minds of some readers of the 1632 edition, like John Rosewell, or Marsden Perry, the Rhode Island banker whose copy is now in the Huntington Library, or the "Jo: Drew" who scrawled a poem on his copy, now in the Folger?[41] Wright's discovery of the Corpus copy meant that this Brutus joined the

38. *Lucrece* 1632, D6v; *Lucrece* 1594, M4.

39. On error in early modern print see Alice Leonard, *Error in Shakespeare: Shakespeare in Error* (London, 2020), 145–85; Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, Eng., 2018), 75–136.

40. *Lucrece* 1632, D7v; *Lucrece* 1594, N1.

41. Huntington Library 69378, SC 1174; Folger Library STC 22352, SC 1173.

disconsolate array of typographical alternatives that form a kind of shadow poem around the main text, a record of possibilities that will never be read, or an un-*Lucrece* comprised of errors or corruptions of an earlier and more authorially powerful source.

Thinking about any early modern text at the level of the edition involves grappling with loss. To Wright's discovery of two copies of Q8 *Lucrece* we can add three more that have since been found. These five books are the remnants of an edition, the rubble left by time, and they represent probably less than one percent of the original run. Theoretically, another way we could read this edition would be to carry out five discrete case studies of these surviving copies, mimicking the copy-specific attention given to the Corpus copy above to create a fragile reception history tethered in some way to the year 1632. Some of that work has already been done: as Jeffrey Todd Knight has discussed, the Folger copy, which is also a sammelband, promotes through its contents a reading of *Lucrece* as a source of moral *sententiae* rather than as part of a conversation about female agency.[42] Another of the surviving five copies is not a copy at all, but a fragment salvaged by the shoemaker and early bibliographer John Bagford (1650–1716). In Bagford's *Collectanea*, his great bindings of printed and manuscript scraps that he slashed out of early printed books amid a "mania for mutilating" as one historian put it, a single title-page of the 1632 *Lucrece* is surrounded by the carved up remains of several other works, reminding us that cutting, too, could be a form of reading.[43] The counter-example to Bagford's single leaf is the copy now in Edinburgh, which lacks its title-page along with leaves B8 and C1, leading to a version of the poem that, in the text's surviving form, tangles Lucrece's apostrophes to Night and Opportunity.[44] While Lucrece launches her complaint "Against the vnseen secrecy of *night*" at the bottom of this copy's B7v, her addressee has changed for the next stanza at the top of C2. In the poem's full version it is Opportunity that Lucrece has in mind when she curses "Thy hainous *hours*" in which "*Wrath*, *enuy*, *treason*, *rape*,

42. Knight, *Bound to Read*, 77–80, writing on Folger Library STC 22352.

43. British Library Harley MS 5993 (90); Charles Thomas Jacobi, *Gesta Typographica: Or, A Medley for Printers and Others* (London, 1897), 29. On cutting as reading see Smyth, *Material Texts*, 17–54; "The Renaissance Collage: Toward a New History of Reading," ed. Juliet Fleming, William Sherman, and Adam Smyth, special issue of *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 45 (2015).

44. Edinburgh University, JA 3717, SC 1172. Lee's 1905 census wrongly records that leaves C1 and C2 are missing (*Shakespeares Lucrece* 51). His error is carried over into the *Shakespeare Census* through the database's accurate transcription of Lee's work.

and *murther*" all rage, but, shorn of its printed signatures, this copy bears no sign of its missing twenty stanzas, and so it preserves a version of the poem in which Night plays a unique role in Lucrece's distress and in which the initial force of her frantic misery after Tarquin's departure dissipates in the movement across the faulty opening.

What kind of history would reading the edition in this way provide? The argumentative dynamics of the case study are altered and to some extent undone by stacking five such examples beside one another, and the resulting work would look something like a list of ways that *Lucrece* has been read, in need of some larger argument or direction to give it shape. The percussive interest of the compelling individual example loses some of its force when placed beside others: collectively they become something different, although what that might be is not yet fully clear. One strand of recent work finds this larger argumentative shape in reception histories, toggling between close, copy-specific work and a broader interpretive frame of the edition to produce rich accounts of how particular books fared with readers. Scholars like Owen Gingerich (for Copernicus), Emma Smith (for Shakespeare), and William Hamlin (for Montaigne) have all surveyed many surviving copies of an edition to recover trends and patterns of readerly response.[45] These recent studies differ from an older tradition of bibliographic focus on editions (the census, the authorial bibliography) by bringing an interpretive gaze to their findings and aggregating the material traces of many different readers to tell histories that are at once wide-reaching (because they track copies all over the world, each of which may embody many different acts of reading and intervention) and insistently narrow (this diaspora of readings springs from one edition, one printing house, one particular historical moment). Ranging between the individual copy and the edition, the part and the whole, can also sometimes productively unsettle the contours of our critical work. This has recently been the case for the 1619 collection of (mostly) Shakespearean playbooks

45. Owen Gingerich found 277 copies of the first edition and 324 of the second of *De revolutionibus*: see *The Book That Nobody Read: Chasing the Revolutions of Nicolaus Copernicus* (New York, 2004); Emma Smith, *Shakespeare's First Folio: Four Centuries of an Iconic Book* (Oxford, 2016); William M. Hamlin, *Montaigne's English Journey: Reading the Essays in Shakespeare's Day* (Oxford, 2013). For work that applies this copy-specific methodology across many editions see Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge, Eng., 2005), 137–96; Harriet Phillips, "Common Errors, Common Readers: Thomas Browne's Pseudodoxia Epidemica and the Scientific Public, 1646-ca. 1800," *Studies in Philology* 117 (2020), 151–200; H.J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven, 2001).

known historically as the "Pavier Quartos" but more recently renamed as the "Jaggard Quartos." By scrutinizing more than 300 surviving copies of plays from this collection in great detail, Zachary Lesser has found that Thomas Heywood's play *A Woman Killed With Kindness* was originally sold as part of the collection.[46] In other words, close attention to the particular copy has here rewritten the larger conceptual frame, or "edition," to which those copies belong, which in turn prompts us to rethink what we knew about Shakespeare's authorial selling power in 1619.

The sheer variety of early modern bibliographic culture—in which we can track copies of *Lucrece* (never mind other titles) sliding between bindings and compilations, find them scribbled on, colored in, or having been carved up by figures like Bagford—seems at times to fray the edges of the category of the edition itself, crumbling it into an array of individually curated publications.[47] Bibliography has a sensible response: an edition is "all copies of a book made from (mostly) the same setting of type."[48] This pragmatic way of understanding an edition locates us in the printing house and so connects the 1632 *Lucrece* to the personalities of its production: to the printer Richard Badger and the publisher John Harrison, who promise access to the edition as a conceptual category. For Harrison, who published nothing else that year, the decision to invest in *Lucrece* was a significant business endeavor, one that we might read as a calculated appraisal of the market for Shakespeare's poetry at a point when the author's popularity was waning. For Badger, who had much bigger projects on hand in 1632 than this slender pamphlet, *Lucrece* was read as a technical problem: how much type would it use? How much labor would it require? How much time would it take to print?

Perhaps it was Badger's busy working schedule that caused him to leave his mark on the poem in other ways. Two of the edition's four surviving copies (Bagford's fragment aside) are bibliographically muddled in ways that have escaped notice but which lend further interpretive interest to this edition. Both the Corpus copy and a second which is now in the Huntington Library feature the same confused version of sheet B. The printed signatures of this sheet are out of sequence and at first glance this looks

46. Lesser, *Ghosts, Holes, Rips and Scrapes*, 134–36.

47. The woodblock publisher's device and the ornamental headpiece on the title-page of a copy of Q4 *Lucrece* (1600) now in the Bodleian Library were colored in at some point by a reader. The decorative capital of the dedication and headpiece made of printer's flowers on the same page have also been shaded: Bodleian Library Arch. G g.4 (1).

48. Sarah Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books, 1450–1800: A Practical Guide* (Hoboken, 2019), 87.

like a binder's folding error, which is what the Huntington catalogue suggests.[49] But the binders never stood a chance here: both copies share the same errors because sheet B was wrongly handled in the printing house during the printing of the second side. Set down from one end and picked up from the other, some copies of sheet B were mistakenly rotated before being laid on the form, leading to some baffling recto/verso pairings (B1: B3v, B4:B2v, B3:B1v and so on).[50] The error has left us with a *Lucrece* to delight Raymond Queneau, in which the narrative events of this section have been reorganized by the mechanical logic of a reversed form. The new poem seems plausible partly because each opening is correct (B3v faces B4, B2v faces B3, and so on—they just appear out of sequence), and partly because each page of this edition features five complete stanzas, meaning that the fractures lie hidden between page turns, rather than surfacing mid-stanza. Among the striking interpretive consequences of this mistake is the fact that Tarquin now seems to rape Lucrece twice. After he first leaves her chamber "like a theeuish *dog*" who "creepes sadly thence," he then returns over the page. Moving forwards in these copies of the poem involves jumping back in narrative time, so that Tarquin reappears to silence Lucrece's renewed pleading ("No more, quoth he, by heauen I will not heare thee"), then "sets his foot vpon the *light*" and assaults her for a second time, causing "further strife" until "he hath won what he would lose again" (B7v, B6v).

Is it reasonable to explore these readings, rather than dismissing them as errors? It is impossible to say how much of the edition was affected by Badger's mistake, but given that half of the surviving copies (an admittedly small corpus) do feature this sheet, it seems possible that many readers of the 1630s encountered a version of *Lucrece* in which the central act of rape was duplicated. Neither the Huntington copy nor the Corpus copy—which bears evidence of having been carefully read throughout—suggest that a reader noticed the printing error. Furthermore, the Huntington copy was scanned by *Early English Books Online*, meaning that readers who turn to a digitized version of the 1632 edition continue to discover a very different narrative. This printing house slip has left us with an edition of *Lucrece* that is divided, surviving in two distinct bibliographical "states."

49. Huntington Library 69378, SC 1174. See n.2.

50. This seems to have been a problem with paper handling rather than of imposition: individually, each side of the sheet was correctly imposed for an octavo form, but each side sits head-to-toe rather than head-to-head.

The 1632 *Lucrece* was the last for more than a century to print the poem as an individual text, rather than as part of some larger compilation. Perhaps this final unique attribute was connected to one unexpected feature of the edition's afterlife. In 1709 the publisher Bernard Lintott published a collection of Shakespeare's poems. Within his volume the title-page of *Lucrece* claims to have been "Printed in the Year 1632," presenting the reader with an uncanny revival of the earlier edition (figure 4). The claim is obviously false and Lintott made no other attempt to make the poem resemble the earlier text.[51] Rather than being an accurate record of the book's making, the jarring *Lucrece* imprint instead worked as supporting evidence for Lintott's proud account in his "Advertisement" that he had printed the poems "from very old Editions."[52] In other words, in the early eighteenth century the 1632 edition conveyed precisely the kind of textual authority from which it is today excluded. As a result, Lintott's readers also encountered the version of Brutus—the man who had disguised himself as a "leering" idiot but who then urges the nobles to help him enact "his advised" revenge—preserved in no other early edition.[53]

V

Work

The edition belongs to a specific moment in time, even if Lintott's date momentarily vexes that reassuring fixity. Reading the poem as a work invites thinking through and across time, finding ways to approach *Lucrece* through the *longue durée*, whether we pursue the history of a particular copy or instead, like Peter Murphy, track the poem as it races through new communities and leaps into different editions.[54] In this last expansion I think about the poem over the first two hundred years of its life from Q1 in 1594 to the brink of Edmond Malone and the poem's first recognizably modern edition. As with the jump between volume and edition, reframing the object of study as a work changes our relationship to the text. When viewed from this distance, as a series of material instantiations, the poem

51. Although Edmond Malone seems for a while at least to have taken the false imprints at their word. One of his copies of this edition, rebound in a Malone binding, is labelled on its spine "SHAKESPEARS | POEMS | LONDON | 1630," where the date of "1630" is taken from the internal title-page to *Venus and Adonis*: Bodleian Library, Mal. I 85.

52. William Shakespeare, *A Collection of Poems* (1709), A2.

53. William Shakespeare, *A Collection of Poems* (1709), K1.

54. Murphy supplies a history of Thomas Wyatt's lyric "They Flee From Me": *The Long Public Life of a Short Private Poem: Reading and Remembering Thomas Wyatt* (Stanford, 2019).

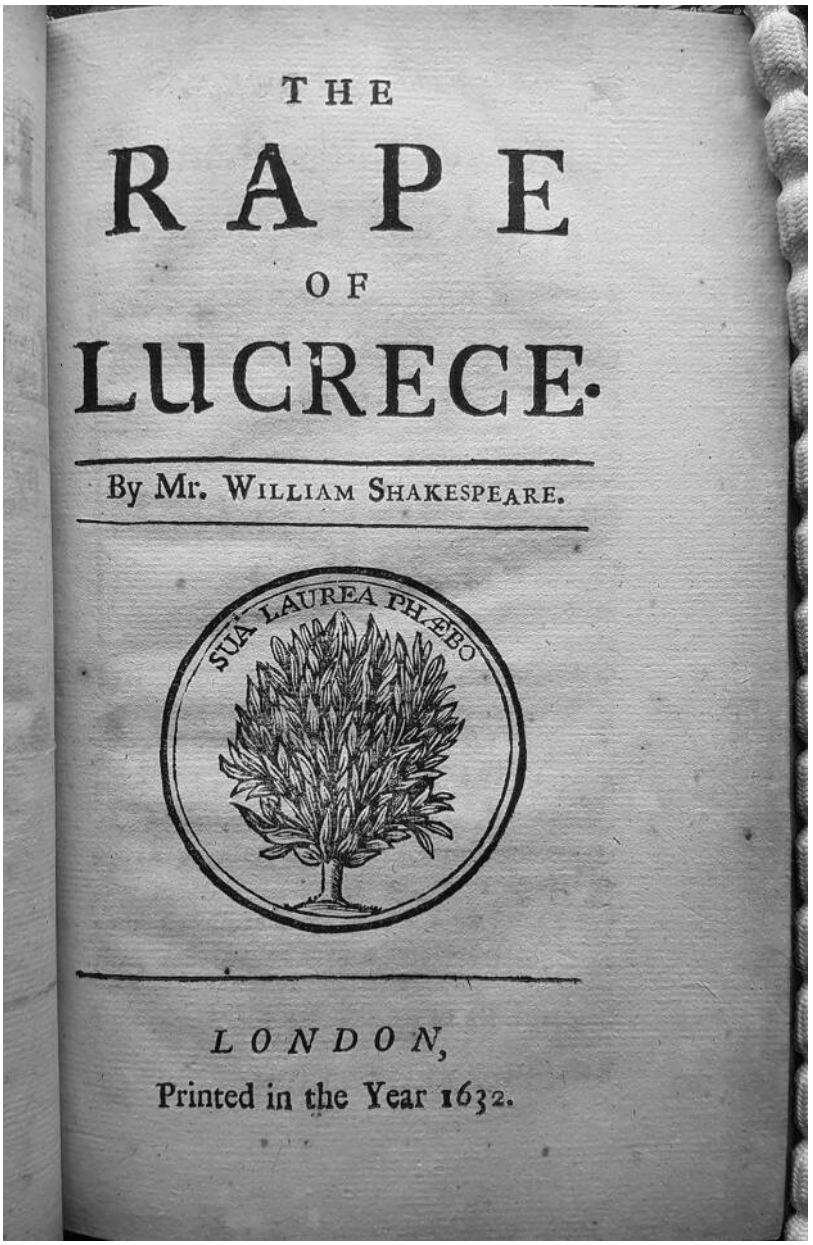


Figure 4: The misdated internal title-page of *Lucrece* from Bernard Lintott's edition of *A collection of poems* (1709). Credit: Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Mal. I 85, E3. Used under Creative Commons license CC-BY-NC 4.0.

itself becomes something like a carrier, or a substrate that is overlaid with the changing values of generations of Shakespeare readers and editors. Early in its life, one such set of alterations involved space, whereby the poem was squeezed onto fewer and fewer sheets of paper, withdrawing in on itself. The text of printer Richard Field's generously spaced quarto first edition (three stanzas per page, airy leading) was packed into a tight-fitting octavo (four stanzas per page) by the printer Peter Short for the second edition, and compressed further by Nicholas Okes for its fifth edition. Where Field's edition had allowed each stanza to finish on the page, and so had established the sense that the physical book—complete with its own haptic rhythms, found in the turn of the leaf, or the sweep of the gaze from the bottom of one recto to the top of the facing verso—hospitably accommodated the metrical units of the poem, Okes saved paper by printing stanzas across page turns, presenting a poem that seems to collapse across the leaves and is raggedly out of sync with the book in which it is housed.[55]

These are changes of economy, perhaps inevitable as a poem loses its initial flush of novelty, but we can find variety even in what is arguably the most basic of the poem's signs: its title, which evolved several times in the first two hundred years of the poem's life, starting with its entry in the Stationers' Register.

> the Ravyshement of Lucrece (1594)
> Lucrece (1594)
> The Rape of Lucrece (1616)
> Tarquin and Lucrece (1710)
> Tarquin and Lucrece, or, The Rape (1768)
> The Rape of Lucrece (1771)
> Tarquin and Lucrece (1775)
> Rape of Lucrece (1780)
> The Rape of Lucrece (1790)
> Tarquin and Lucrece (1791)
> Rape of Lucrece (1794)

Tarquin's erratic intrusion into the title, skittering in and out of view across the eighteenth century, mimics on a grand scale his invasion of Lucrece's

55. For a detailed bibliographical account of the early editions see Hyder Edward Rollins, ed., *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Poems* (London, 1938), 406–13.

chamber and uncomfortably challenges Lucrece's ownership of this narrative. Reading the poem's editorial treatment over time becomes one way to frame the central struggle that defines the text. The editor Charles Gildon first added the title *Tarquin and Lucrece* to his edition of Shakespeare's poems in 1710. His decision looks eccentric at the least today, particularly given that Tarquin's name appears in a larger typeface than that used for Lucrece on the poem's title-page, but Gildon offered no rationale for the change. Perhaps we can find a clue in a Franco Moretti-style view of *Lucrece*'s popularity over the first two hundred years of its life (figure 5).[56] Here we see that Gildon's edition arrived at a tipping point for the reception of Shakespeare's work.

While demand for the plays rose sharply following Nicholas Rowe's edition of 1709, interest in the poems dwindled. Editions of *Lucrece* typically shared what Colin Burrow has called the "general fate" of Shakespeare's poems at this time: to be printed in lonely supplementary editions that circled the more prestigious dramatic collections.[57] The "works of SHAKESPEAR have been lately publish'd without the Poems," Gildon allowed in 1710, but he urged readers not to view his collection as "spurious, or doubtful" or "not genuine."[58] Perhaps it was this defensiveness, then, this consciousness of the poems as "doubtful" that led Gildon to tidy up the poem's title so that it made for an orderly pairing with *Venus and Adonis*. One of the consequences of his decision, though, is that the new title seems to present Tarquin and Lucrece as a heterosexual couple; it yokes them together in ways that Lucrece herself consistently rejects. Gildon's title came to define the poem for most of the eighteenth century and some of the nineteenth: it was as "Tarquin and Lucrece" that William Hazlitt

56. The data for this chart is taken from Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing* (Cambridge, Eng., 2003), 277–386, checked against the ESTC. I find just one edition of *Lucrece* not included in Murphy's otherwise comprehensive survey: *Tarquin and Lucrece, or The Rape: A Poem* (1768). The chart shows the new editions of both *Lucrece* and of collected editions of Shakespeare's plays published each decade after 1594. The data is smoothed to a running average of two decades, so that, for *Lucrece*, 1594–1603 (4 editions) and 1604–1613 (1 edition) creates a first data point of 2.5, and so on. I have not included the "Fifth Folio," thought to have been issued in about 1700 (Murphy §159).

57. Burrow, ed., *Complete Sonnets and Poems*, 43.

58. William Shakespeare, *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear. Volume the Seventh. Containing, Venus & Adonis. Tarquin & Lucrece and His Miscellany Poems* (1710), A1. Gildon's volume was explicitly marketed as a companion ("*Volume the Seventh*") to Rowe's six-volume edition of the plays that appeared the previous year.

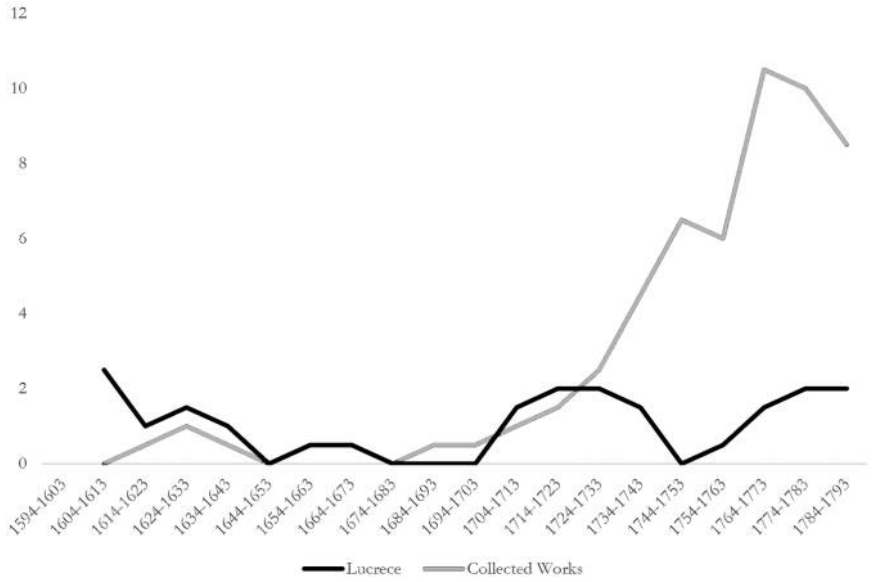


Figure 5: Chart showing the publication of new collected editions of Shakespeare's plays (usually marketed during this period as Shakespeare's *Works*) and new editions of *Lucrece*, 1594–1793.

knew the poem in 1817 when he compared it to an icehouse: "about as hard, as glittering, and as cold."[59]

The unusually large number of changes to this title stem from an editorial history that has at times avoided the issue of sexual assault. It is the rape itself that has catalyzed these changes. No printed edition retains what was presumably Shakespeare's own term, "ravyshement," from the manuscript registered with the Stationers' Company.[60] This early alteration tends not to attract editorial attention, probably because the first quarto—called simply *Lucrece* on its title-page—does feature the revised title *The Rape of Lucrece* in the running titles along the top of its pages. Shakespeare is typically thought to have been close to the production of this quarto because of its dedication to Henry Wriothelsey, and so he presumably signed off on this new version of the title. But what lies behind the change? Although "ravish" was a close synonym for "rape," containing overlapping meanings of sexual violence and theft, the former also contained the inverse meaning

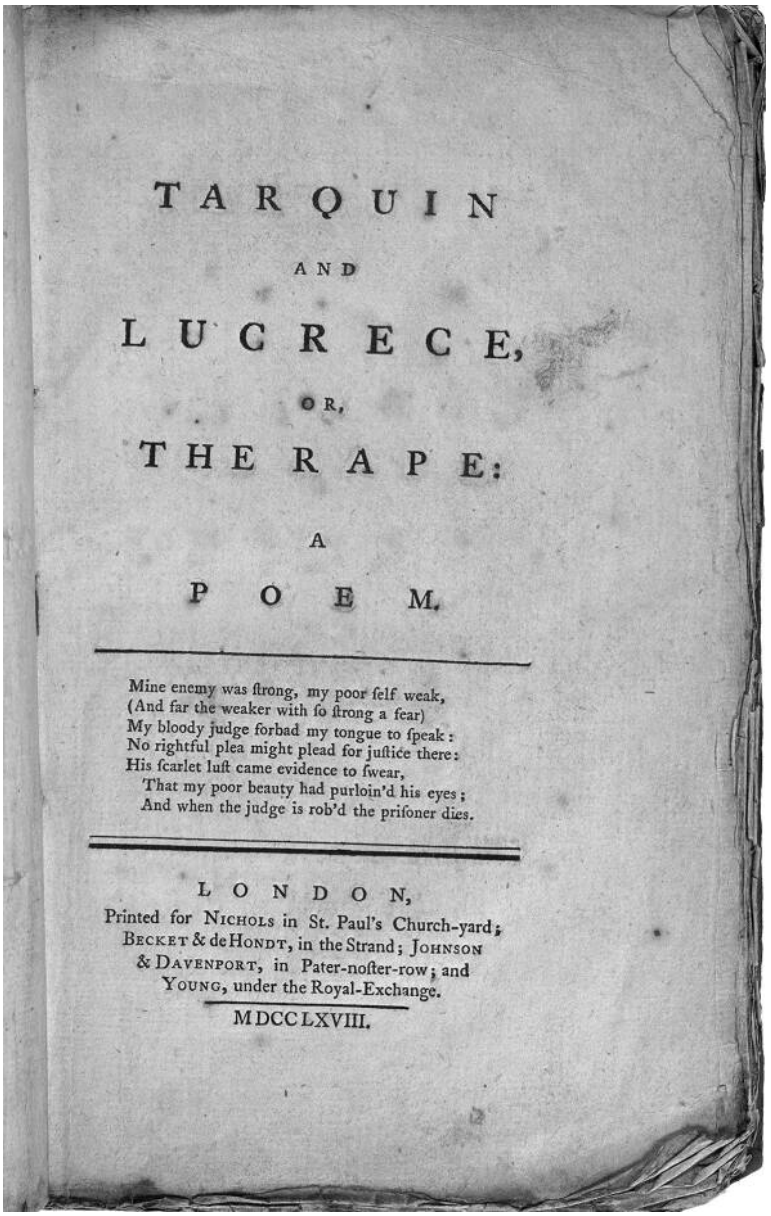
59. William Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespear's Plays* (London, 1817), 348.
60. Stationers' Company Archives, *Liber B*, 306v, entry for 9 May 1594.

of being filled "with ecstasy, intense delight, or sensuous pleasure" (OED 4b). This latter meaning is activated by the poem itself, in a simile used to describe Tarquin's internal conflict as he gazes at the sleeping Lucrece. His lustful blood is in uproar, rebelling in mutiny against the restraint of his moral will, and Tarquin's veins are transformed into pillaging slaves: "[i]n bloody death and ravishment delighting."[61] Here both meanings of "ravishment" are present, although the balance alters as we read across the line. The initial sense of the word is to condemn the "fell exploits" of the slaves, but the final "delighting" changes that reading, forcing "ravishment" to accommodate both destruction and the "intense delight" felt by the slaves. This latter meaning is thus present to some degree in the pattern of "ravish" (or ravished, ravisher, ravishment) that appears across the poem, which promotes a term that encapsulates the poem's grim central tension between destruction and pleasure. The change of title between the manuscript's "the Ravyshement of Lucrece" to the printed quarto's "Lucrece," with "The Rape of Lucrece" in the running titles, was a possibly authorial precursor to the kinds of moral anxiety and editorial flattening Sasha Roberts has found in the interventions of the later edition published by Roger Jackson in 1616.[62]

It was that Jackson edition, the poem's sixth, that first included the word "rape" on the poem's title-page, where it remained until Gildon removed it. But the politics of the rape are brought most starkly into focus by a fascinating edition of 1768, which survives in a single copy now in the Folger Library and which gave the poem the alternative title of "The Rape" (figure 6). Here there was an unusually direct reason for the forceful wording: the poem was offered in a pointed dedication to the libertine Frederick Calvert, Baron Baltimore, who in 1768 was at the center of a public scandal after being tried for rape. At the time, the title and dedication directed readers to understand Shakespeare's poem as a comment on the trial (Calvert becomes Tarquin, and his accuser the milliner Sarah Woodcock becomes Lucrece), to the point that this edition seems to invert our traditional assumptions about text and paratext. That is, the new title and dedication are really the point of this edition; many readers may not have read much more of the poem than the stanza that was quoted on the title-page, in which Lucrece tearfully explains to her husband what has

61. Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems*, 275.

62. Roberts, *Reading Shakespeare's Poems*, 113–29. Roberts finds that the changes made to Q6 (1616) ultimately present "a more polite and moralistic poem" (120).



TARQUIN

AND

LUCRECE,

OR,

THE RAPE:

A

POEM.

Mine enemy was ſtrong, my poor ſelf weak,
(And far the weaker with ſo ſtrong a fear)
My bloody judge forbad my tongue to ſpeak:
No rightful plea might plead for juſtice there:
His ſcarlet luſt came evidence to ſwear,
That my poor beauty had purloin'd his eyes;
And when the judge is rob'd the priſoner dies.

LONDON,
Printed for NICHOLS in St. Paul's Church-yard;
BECKET & de HONDT, in the Strand; JOHNSON
& DAVENPORT, in Pater-noſter-row; and
YOUNG, under the Royal-Exchange.

MDCCLXVIII.

Figure 6: Title-page of 1768 edition that renamed Shakespeare's poem *Tarquin and Lucrece, or, The Rape*. Image of Folger Library PR2846 1768 Sh.Col. Credit: Folger digital image collection, no. 153827. Used under Creative Commons license CC BY-SA 4.0

happened.[63] The extract was chosen, seemingly, for the incredulity it conveyed at Calvert's acquittal in March of 1768.

> Mine enemy was strong, my poor self weak,
> (And far the weaker with so strong a fear)
> My bloody judge forbad my tongue to speak:
> No rightful plea might plead for justice there:
> His scarlet lust came evidence to swear,
> That my poor beauty had purloin'd his eyes;
> And when the judge is rob'd the prisoner dies.[64]

VI

Conclusion

The challenges currently facing the history of reading partly emerge from our historical moment. We are between epochs, and as the larger frameworks established by work in Digital Humanities become populated with increasingly particularized and copy-specific data, scholars will be able to move between the particular and the general in ever more nimble ways, discovering new research practices that cut across our existing critical categories and methodologies. Through its structure this essay has argued that paying attention to differing categories of scale can help us to understand how textual evidence changes depending on our view and what this might mean for the way in which we read a poem. Our direction of travel through these different horizons of reading is also important. The path I have traced here, from text to copy to edition and finally work, is guided by a bias for literary and editorial work, but it would equally be possible to follow *Lucrece* in other directions: toward the smaller, commonplace fragments of the poem found in early manuscript and printed miscellanies; into the libraries of early owners of the poem like John Rosewell, Robert Burton, or Frances Wolfreston; into the bookshops of the poem's publishers; across categories that set Shakespeare's work beside other early modern reworkings of the Lucretia story by figures like Thomas Heywood or Thomas Middleton; through auction catalogues that record the only surviving traces of copies of the poem that are now lost.

63. A contemporary review suggests as much when it argues that this edition would "never have appeared in its present form, if a *rape* had not been lately the subject of conversation." The review also flags the "impertinently" worded dedication to Calvert: *The Critical Review, Or, Annals of Literature*, ed. Tobias George Smollett, vol. 25 (1768), 228.

64. William Shakespeare, *Tarquin and Lucrece, or, The Rape* (1768), π2.

Where is the Corpus volume with which this essay began? It seems difficult to connect the material particularities of that book—its pencil strokes or stab-stitch holes—with the broader narratives enabled by thinking about the poem as a work. Certainly, one of the things that scaling outwards can seem to do is to take us further away from close reading and from individual copies of the poem. But if reading in more expansive ways serves in one sense to distance us from the particular copy, it also allows us to revisit those copies with a much richer sense of interpretive possibility. The historical gap between the copies of *Judith* and *Lucrece* in the Corpus volume takes on new significance when, using the *Shakespeare Census*, we can see just how unusual it is compared to other surviving versions of the poem; Gildon's alteration to the title becomes significant within the *longue durée* of the poem's editorial history and popularity.

Moving between these different ways of reading has potential to connect the particular and the general, and perhaps to challenge the traditional gulf in scholarship between the "grand narrative" approach and the microhistory. The compelling case study need no longer be an isolated curio because it can increasingly be set within an illuminating context, just as those who write broader narratives can punctuate the general with particular examples. But, at least for canonical authors like Shakespeare, large data does something else, too. The fact that we can so clearly establish the limits of the available textual material for *Lucrece* presents a new challenge to the case study. The heuristic of delighted archival discovery relies on a sense that we are continually excavating the unknown, bringing things to light. At some point that mode of scholarship, or at least a version of it which relies on the unattended copy, will evolve, or move elsewhere. How many more Milton First Folios are left?

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