

On the Matter of Authority in Almeida Garrett's *Frei Luís de Sousa*

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BECAUSE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS of ancient and mediaeval texts rarely exist, Lachmannian textual criticism concentrated on trying to reconstruct not the text as it left the hands of its author, but the exemplar at the start of the transmission process: the archetype. Although the archetype is frequently lost, its past existence can be detected through the interpretation of stemmatically relevant common errors and lacunae. Such inductive reasoning is not generally necessary in the case of modern texts for which we frequently have original autograph manuscripts. However, rather than having to reconstruct an archetype, the textual critic is faced with a new problem: he has a need to assess the autograph tradition in order to select its best textual form. Since many witnesses are autographic or idiographic in nature, textual scholars refer to the authority of document emerged as a means to decide which witness takes precedent over which. Authority, however, is a polysemic concept, and textual scholars apply it differently in different contexts. Debates about authority thus evolve around ways of assessing the superiority of one document over another in terms of a criterion other than authenticity.

In this article I will consider the matter of authority by looking at the extant versions of a play by a Portuguese Romantic author, Almeida Garrett. In doing so, I acknowledge the ways each one of these versions is authorized according to Siegfried Scheibe's proposal (Scheibe 1995) which holds that from the editor's perspective (which is different from that of the writer) no form of authority is historically superior to another form. I want to suggest however that at the end of his life Garrett adopted a point of view similar to that of an editor after he tried, but failed to control over the transmission and circulation of his work. I further suggest that this failure occurred because no surviving witness, autograph or ideograph, has preeminence over any other. Textual resistance to authorial control is in my view however not only an aspect of the

case at hand, but a universal condition of all texts and textual traditions. Then I put forward the hypothesis that, even in modern literature, an autograph or an ideograph is never straightforwardly a *text*, nor is it an unproblematic actualization of authorial intention. The creation of Garrett's archive was quite possibly a consequence of the resistance texts offer to authorial control. Because all authorized versions in the archive seemingly stand on an equal footing, I will touch upon Peter Shillingsburg's view that authority is no more than an editorial decision-making tool when it is governed by a critical identification of the source of authority (Shillingsburg 1996). With this in mind, I will end by briefly describing some strategic options for the critical edition of Garrett's work which is currently in preparation.

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Almeida Garrett (1799–1854) is one of the major figures in Portuguese Romanticism. His historical play *Frei Luís de Sousa* (*Friar Luis de Sousa*) was published in August 1844, ten years before he died. Set at the end of the sixteenth century when Portugal belonged to the Kingdom of Spain, the play is divided into three acts. Act I introduces the audience to the political situation of the country and to the noble family around which the plot evolves: after the death of his first husband, John, who had died in the battle of Ksar El Kebir (1578), Magdalen married Manuel de Sousa; the couple have a child, Maria, who at the start of the play is thirteen. In the second act, however, Magdalen's first husband, who everyone believe to be dead, reappears disguised as a pilgrim. In the third act, the effects of John's return become overwhelmingly apparent: Magdalen and Manuel decide to take orders and they both enter a Dominican convent; while their daughter's death, who was suffering from tuberculosis, is precipitated by these events.

The degree of success and popularity of *Frei Luís de Sousa* can be measured by the large number of editions that were published over the years, especially after 1895, the year in which the play became part of mandatory reading list in Portuguese high schools (Sousa 1993, 195), as well as the numerous translations that were made in Spanish, French, English, Catalan, Bulgarian, Czech, Italian,

Swedish, Konkani and German.¹ Published in Frankfurt in 1847, the first translation ever of Garrett's play was made by the Dane Count W. von Lückner, who at the time was living in Lisbon as Minister of Denmark. This translation served as the basis for a staging of the play at the Hoftheater in Dresden within a few years after its premiere in Portugal in a private theatre. According to Gerd Moser, the German composer Mendelssohn saw the Dresden performance and asked Friedrich von Schack, who had previously translated two other works by Garrett, to write a libretto with the title *Manuel de Sousa* based on Garrett's play. But Mendelssohn's death, so Moser says, prevented the composer from carrying out his intention. While this is further evidence of the play's reputation, the facts do not stack up. Since Mendelssohn's had died in 1847, he could not have seen the German premiere which did not take place, according to the *Dresdner Anzeiger*, until the following year (Moser 1939, 87; see Buescu 1991–1992, 242–43).

The first adaptation of Garrett's text dates from 1891 when an opera by the Portuguese composer Francisco Gazul based on the play had its first of two performances at the Lisbon Theatre of S. Carlos under the title *Fra Luigi di Souza: drama lirico in quatri atti*. As customary in Portugal at the time, the opera was written in Italian and performed by Italian singers (Sousa 1993; Carvalho 1993, 112, 360). In the twentieth century, *Frei Luís de Sousa* was also adapted for the screen on two occasions: first in a 1950 film by the prolific

¹ The following is a tentative bibliography of translations. Bulgarian — by Daniela Dimitrova Petrova (Sófia: Svetulka 44, 2002); Catalan — by Gabriel de la St. Sampol (Barcelona: Institut del Teatre, 1997); Czech, by Marie Havlíková (Prague: Torst, 2011); English — by Edgar Prestage (London: Elkin Mathews, 1909); French — by Maxime Formont (Livourne: Giusti, 1904) and by Claude-Henri Frèches (Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, Centre Culturel Portugais, 1972); German — by W. von Lückner (Frankfurt a. M., 1847) and by Georg Winkler (Wien: Braumüller, 1899); Konkani — by Śántārāma Ananta Hedo (Gōya: Jāga Prakāśana, 1977); Italian — by Giovenale Vegezzi-Ruscalla (Torino, Tip. Speirani e Tortone, 1852); Spanish — by D. Emilio Olloqui (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1859), by Luis López-Ballesteros and Manuel Paso, the title *Después del Combate* (Madrid: Florencio Fiscowich Editor, 1890); by anonymous (Madrid-Buenos Aires: Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, 193–); by José Andrés Vázquez and Antonio Rodríguez de León (Cádiz: Escélicer, 1942); by Iolanda Ogando (Madrid: Asociación de Directores de Escena de España, 2003); Swedish — by Marianne Sandels and Teresa Duarte Ferreira (Malmö: Ariel, 1999).

director António Lopes Ribeiro and more recently in 2001 in a film directed by João Botelho. Although these adaptations are not the focus of this article, they demonstrate the extent to which Garrett's play had a life well beyond the control of the author.

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The main textual witnesses of *Frei Luís de Sousa* are four manuscripts, which are kept at the University of Coimbra (three in the University General Library, one at the Sala Ferreira Lima), and the first printed edition (Lima 1948, 3–4).

D: an autograph draft;

C: a fair copy;

P: a set of sheets with the parts of the actors who performed in the premiere transcribed;

I: a copy submitted to the theatre censors' board (as is attested by the board's wax seal on the front page);

E: the first printed edition, published in Garrett's lifetime in two seemingly different issues and states (Garrett 1844a; Garrett 1844b).

C, *P* and *I* are copies annotated by the author; the preparation of *E* was probably supervised by Garrett himself.

The collation of one sentence ("Eu tenho fe n'este escapulario preto", ["I have faith in this black scapular"]) [Garrett 1844a, 126] offers a tentative chronological sequence that indicates that *C* supplied the text for *I* and *E*. The cancellation in the fair copy was carried through in the censors' copy and the first edition:

D: Eu tenho fe n'este escapulario preto

P: Eu tenho fe n'este escapulario preto

C: Eu tenho fe n'este escapulario ~~preto~~

I: Eu tenho fe n'este escapulario

E: Eu tenho fe n'este escapulario

Closer analysis further suggests that the original, unrevised text of the fair copy (to be designated *C1*) was used for *P*, and that the revised text (designated *C2*) was copied in *I* and used for setting the text of *E*. I believe, however, that this hypothetical sequence is not totally consistent with the writing process. A look at the very first words of the play will make this apparent.

Frei Luís de Sousa begins with a quotation. At the beginning of Act I, Magdalen reads out two lines of Luís de Camões' epic poem *Os Lusíadas* (*The Lusíads*) taken from the Third Canto, Stanza 120:

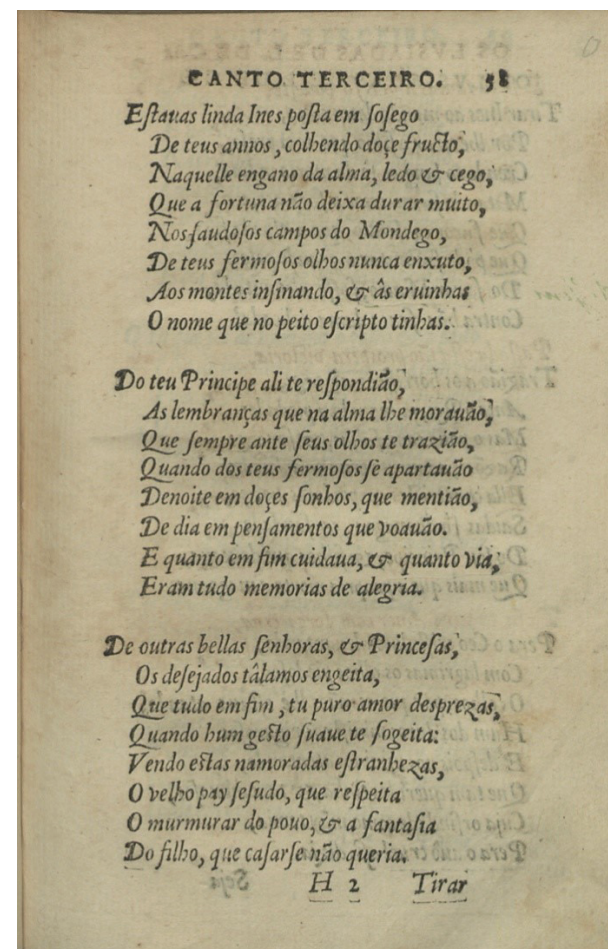


Fig. 1. Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, III, 120, of the editio princeps (<http://purl.pt/1/1/P121.html>)

Estavas linda Inês, posta em socego
 De teus annos, colhendo doce fructo,
 Naquelle engano da alma, ledô e cego
 Que a fortuna não deixa durar muito
 (Camões 1572, 58; see Figure 1)

[“The lovely Inês de Castro was living in tranquil retirement, enjoying the sweet fruits of life in that happy state of blind illusions that fortune never wills should endure for long” (Camões 2007, 97)]

In *C* and *I* the first line is misquoted, possibly because of the rhyme scheme and semantic contamination, as follows: “Naquele ingano d’alma ledô e quedo, | que a fortuna não deixa durar muito”. The *ABAB* rhyme scheme and the meaning of “socego” (“quiet”) presumably caused Garrett to read “quedo” (“still”) instead of “cego” (“blind”).² The error appears in the *C* draft (as well as in manuscript *I*), but it is important to note that it was the copyist of *C* who wrote “quedo”, which at a later point was corrected by Garrett in the margin to “cego” (Figure 2).

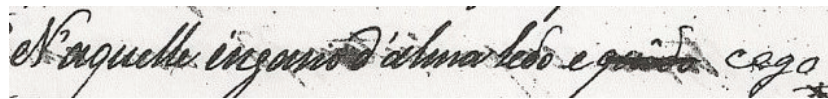


Fig. 2. *C*, p. 31: ‘N’aquele ingano d’alma ledô e quêdo cego’

As a consequence, *C* may contain even more than two writing stages; and, if this is so, *P*, *I* and *E* derive independently from it. Thus, whereas *P* was copied from the first version contained in *C*, *I* was probably transcribed from a second version in *C* and *E* may derive from a third version contained in *C*:

² Rodrigues Lapa (so far the plays’ only critical editor) was the first to suggest this interpretation. He also assumes that the fact that Garrett was ill and confined to bed when he wrote the draft may have influenced the misreading (Garrett 1943, 20).

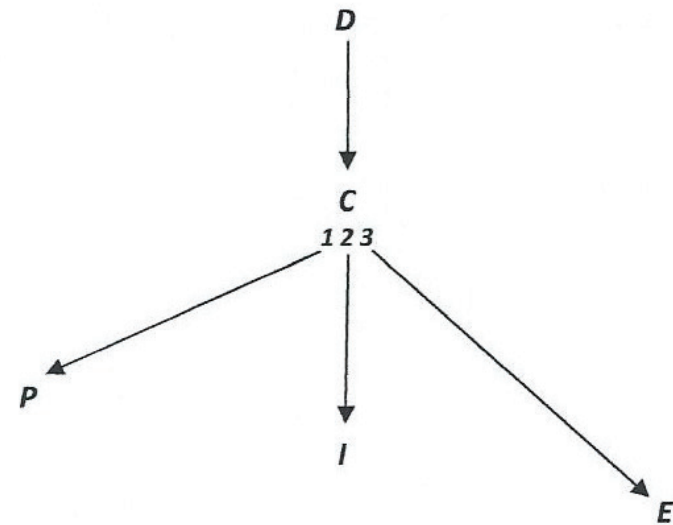


Fig. 3. Stemma of Almeida. Garrett’s *Frei Luís de Sousa*

C seems therefore to have the status of a “writing station”, which Garrett used first to write the parts of the actors before the premiere in July 1843; then he revised his play and had a copy made for the censors in September 1843; and finally it served as the basis from which the printed edition was set. Of all the extant manuscripts, *C* is the only one that contains all four authorial parts that appear in the printed edition: a preface by the publishers, actually written by Garrett; an address delivered at the Conservatoria Real (Royal Conservatory), the royal school of drama, in Lisbon on 6 May 1843 (Garrett 1844b, 3–22); the text itself; and a section with notes.³

More importantly, *C* also carries instructions for typesetting: it attempts to show the intended page design of the edition. The page which has the correction to the misquoted line contains an instance of this. At the top appears a header: “Luiz de Sousa”. Next to the body of the text, on the right, the typesetter is instructed as follows: “O nome das figuras | no meio — siga o | modelo do Alfageme” (“The name of the characters | in the middle — follow the | pattern of Alfageme”) (see Figure 4). As it happened, the header appeared

³ A fifth section contains a critical commentary by Rebelo da Silva on the play, which had originally been published in *Revista Universal Lisbonense*, 37, June 1st, and 41, June 29th, 1843.

differently in the edition (which used the first two words of the title on the left page and the following two on the right-hand page as a running header), but the character names were printed as per the instruction, following the format of 1842 edition of Garrett's play *O Alfageme de Santarém* (*The Swordmaker of Santarém*). Both the textual evidence and the annotations confirm that C is the "final authorial version" of *Frei Luís de Sousa*.⁴

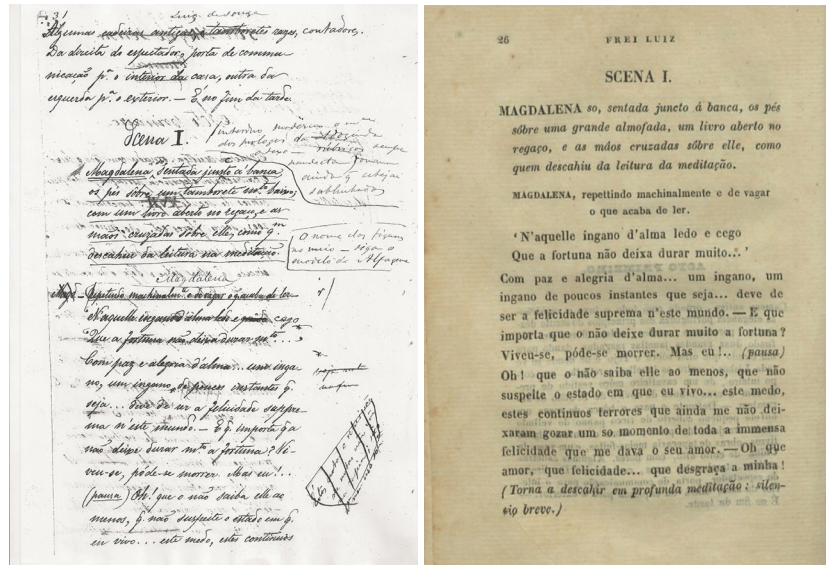


Fig. 4. The beginning of Act I, scene 1 in C (p. 31) and E (p. 26).

With this overview of the writing and transmission process of *Frei Luís de Sousa* in mind, I would like to turn to the question as to how the extant document witnesses are differently endowed with authority. Although this term is still used editorially to sustain the superiority of the author's last reading or the last version revised by the author (because it embodies his or her final intention), I will

⁴ Although Rodrigues Lapa was not aware of the existence of manuscript C, he realized it was likely that such a final manuscript had existed alongside D, I and E (see Garrett 1943, [I]).

follow Siegfried Scheibe's proposal and focus on "authority" without indicating any hierarchical preference for any version of the Garrett's play.

According to Scheibe, "authority" is a trait ascribed to the text as an entity written and willed by the author. Every version in the author's hand is authorized whereas versions transcribed by a third party are seen as authorized under specific conditions. In this case the most compelling requirement to be met is that the version by in the hand of a third party should be requested by the author and for the author. Such a situation may occur when a copyist is known to have been engaged by the author to produce other transcriptions of his or her work, when the copy contains authorial corrections, or when there is attested use of the copy by the author (Scheibe 1995, 172–77). In spite of the fact that we do not know the identity of the three copyists involved in producing the versions C, P and I (and a study, if preliminary, of the transcribers who worked for Garrett in the transmission of his works is lacking), these three manuscripts contain authorial interventions in the form of corrections and revisions (C), corrections and additions (P), and in a general comment on the textual reliability of the version (I). As I showed earlier, it is also clear that all three document witnesses were produced for the author's purpose: P served as the basis for the first performance of the play which was staged by Garrett himself; I was used to obtain approval by the censors' board; and C formed the "copy text" for the two scribal copies and for E, the first printed edition.

With regard to printing, Scheibe sees authority arising much in the same way as he sees copies by other hands: for a published edition to be authorized, it should be published at author's request. Furthermore, the authority in a published edition is more evident when it is shown that the author was involved in producing the setting copy (Scheibe 1995, 178–179). As far as *Frei Luís de Sousa* is concerned, this description fits both versions C and E of the play, former being the setting copy and the latter a printed edition instigated by the author.⁵

⁵ Garrett's authority is further indicated by the play's inclusion as volume 3 in the "works of J. B. de A. Garrett" (Garrett 1844b). In the first edition (Garrett 1844a), special dedication leaves signed by the author were tipped in at the front of the volumes.

Seen historically (i.e., from the editor's perspective), there is no hierarchical difference between any of the extant versions of Garrett's play and therefore there is no inferior or superior authority; from the author's point of view, however, according to Scheibe's theory, all versions before *E* are "discarded stages, transitional and no longer of interest" (Scheibe 1995, 175), as the one unrevised version has superseded previous textual phases. I would like to suggest that Garrett tries to conform to the image Scheibe gives of the authorial entity, but in the end he is closer to the position of the editor.

One can picture Garrett transferring his authorization from the *currente calamo* version of *D* to the successive layers of writing in *C* and then finally from *C3* to *E*. After the printed edition has appeared, an author has according to Scheibe occasion to criticize or even abrogate non-authorial interventions in his text, may comment on these interventions in disapproving terms "in conversations, letters, or diary entries" (Scheibe 1995: 180). In the case of Garrett, the condition of *E* as a final revised version is apparently supported by the author's personal copy of volume 3 of the *Theatro* (Garret 1844b), which was signed by Garrett in 1852, only two years before he died. Garrett sometimes used his personal copies to introduce changes. One such case is his novel *Viagens na minha terra* (*Travels in my Homeland*), whose post-print changes were introduced in the recent critical edition of this work (Garrett 2010). It so happens, however, that Garrett's copy of *Frei Luís de Sousa* does not contain any corrections. This absence could be interpreted as resulting from a surplus of authority emanating from *E*, the corollary of two years of intensive effort.

On the whole, Garrett sought to control the authorial as well as the non-authorial textual functions in order to assert his ubiquity as the author. Apart from *D*, which is written in his hand, Garrett revised all other versions that are preserved; he performed the first public reading of the play at the Royal Drama School and again at a private noble house in 1843; he directed the premiere, and even played one of the parts when one of the actors had fallen ill; he prepared a document with specific instructions for the typography; he supplied the "Preface by the publishers" for *E*; and he orchestrated at least in part the reception of the play by writing numerous notes that clarify the text and preempt possible responses.

Unlike Wally, the character in the famous *Where's Wally?* children's books created by English illustrator Martin Handford, Garrett seems to be everywhere, invading the space normally occupied by transcribers, stage directors, actors, typesetters and publishers, textual scholars and archivists. Garrett's all-controlling presence appears to militate against the nature of text as defined by Hans Walter Gabler: "man-made as they are in their writing as in their reception and interpretation, *texts can always also be otherwise*" (Gabler 2012, 501). However, in spite of Garrett's efforts to control the text and the circulation of *Frei Luís de Sousa*, he failed: *C* is not without crucial mistakes; the text of *I* was not fully revised, as is indicated in a note;⁶ *P* contains valuable information regarding stage directions, but for only one of the characters; and even Garrett's own performance in the premiere was rather poor (Almeida 1925, 317). As to *E*, it is an undeniable fact that its production was carefully supervised by Garrett; once printed, it was checked for printing errors, which resulted in an errata slip with the following corrections:

[Page]	[line]		[should be]
7	2 e 3	Torwaldson	Torwaldsen
26	5	da meditação	na meditação
36	21	todos quantos	todos
41	13	prespicaz	perspicaz
95	7	olha	olhae
101	4	Qu	Que
162	11	Torwaldson	Torwaldsen
"	21	i rman	irman
224	7	oomposta	composta
225	<i>penult.</i>	Milton, e Klopsk	Milton e Klopstock

Table 1: Essential errors in *E*

⁶ "Ésta cópia foi, na maior parte, revista por mim; mas a pressa com que me exigem que a restitua não deixa fazer a revisão completa. Se algum dia se podêr fazer, porei aqui declaração d'isso para que se possa considerar este como verdadeiro authographo. Lx.a 28 de Setembro de 1843 Almeida Garrett" ["This copy was, mostly revised by myself; but the hurry in which they demand that I give it back doesn't allow me to make a full revision. If it can be done someday, I will write it down here so that this will be considered as a true autograph. Lisbon, 28th September 1843 Almeida Garrett."]

Unlike the principle referred to by Scheibe, this errata list does not contain “only serious textual mistakes rather than, say, the correction of a *nud* to *und*, since the author takes for granted that the reader will notice such errors” (Scheibe 1995: 188). The inclusion of trivial typographical mistakes suggests that there was a careful revision of the text, but the heading “Erros essenciais que se devem corrigir” (“Essential errors to be corrected”) points to the fact that *E* contains other printing errors as well (some of these result from misreading punctuation and *lectiones faciliores* that went unnoticed by the author). Despite a commitment to producing a sound text, faulty transcriptions and inadequate correction inevitably creep in to thwart the author.

This seems to leave us with *D*, the original autograph manuscript, as the only textual witness unmarred by incongruent scribal intervention, but even in *D* errors appear. Insofar as it lacks certain words, the manuscript reveals that there is a conflict between creation and transcription. An indication that Garrett was aware of this conflict is found in a note appended to his novel *O Arco de Sant’Anna* (*The Arch of Saint Anna*), a historical novel set in fourteenth-century Portugal. By making use of the device of the found manuscript to justify the authenticity of the narration, Garrett’s note both offers an articulation of the notion of authority (as per Scheibe’s definition) and allows us a spirited glimpse into how he saw editorial activity. At a particular point in the found manuscript reference is made to one of the characters as being *Homem quási parlamentar* (“almost a parliamentary man”). Commenting on this evident anachronism, Garrett writes:

Esta e outras alusões a coisas parlamentares, e semelhantes, não é possível que estivessem no texto da primitiva composição desta obra: talvez se introduziram nas cópias ultimamente feitas, por abelhudice dos amanuenses. O certo é que se não podiam agora tirar sem grande trabalho, e porventura desconcerto e menos perspicuidade para o estilo. Façam de conta que é uma edição “ad usum delphini”, em que, por ingano do compositor, se misturou com o velho texto clássico alguma nota hodierna e macarrónica. (Garrett 2004, 367)

[This and other allusions to parliamentary things, and similar in kind, it is not possible that they were in the text of the primal composition of this work: maybe they were introduced in the lastly

made copies, due to the amanuenses’ indiscretion. The truth is that they cannot be now removed without much effort, and without, perhaps, causing the style to be confused and less perspicuous. Imagine this is an “ad usum delphini” edition, in which, because of the typesetter’s mistake, there was a blend between the old classical text and some modern and broken note.]

The device of the “found” manuscript, much used in chivalry romances, served to establish authenticity (because the text being transmitted is said to be genuine) and authority (because the narrator — under the form of compiler, editor or translator — is said to have had access to the textual source) in works of fiction. Parodied in *Don Quixote*, the device was especially helpful in the Romantic historical novel as a playful detraction of narrative authority from authorial responsibility (Gaston 1991, 80, 92; Robertson 2003, 118). Garrett resorts here to the ambiguity which lies at the basis of the device: authority is assigned to a text the commentator says was not written by him, but he retains authority because, unlike the reader, he *knows* the manuscript. Since historical verisimilitude is a mandatory trait of the historical genre, the anachronism is an example of the liberty Garrett takes when speaking in a feigned voice, the paratextual note in question functioning as a form of self-defence (Abreu 1994; Vasconcelos 2003, 89–125; Robertson 2003, 123, 126).

The note also hints at Garrett’s awareness of the fact that textual authority and textual congruence do not necessarily overlap, thus foreseeing Scheibe’s *dictum*: “An authorized version is not a flawless version, for it may have more errors than an unauthorized version” (Scheibe 1995: 176). Since Scheibe advocates editing a text in its transmitted form, that is, both globally and in its details, only unambiguous textual flaws — i.e., where the text is deprived of sense in its own right or within a limited context — are subject to correction. Garrett seems at the same time to support and undermine this view on editing fundamentals for whereas he speaks against the risk of intervention, he also acknowledges that the text transmitted in the found manuscript has already been subject to non-authorial intervention.

But there is another aspect of Scheibe’s thinking about which Garrett’s note remains silent. The paratext gives no clue in fact as to the annotator’s position regarding the elimination of what looks like a fault in a textual version where there is a more convincing

word in another version. The annotator's silence results from the fact that only one found manuscript comes into play in *O Arco de Sant'Anna*. Nevertheless, if, apart from being a trait ascribed to document witnesses, authority can also be a trait ascribed to decisions, Garrett's position on this subject can perhaps be garnered from his decision of constituting a literary archive.

In 1852 Gomes de Amorim was given access to all of Garrett's papers when he was asked by the writer and his publisher to write a biography. The sorting out of his papers started then, first by Garrett himself and later, at the beginning of 1854, by Gomes de Amorim and Manuel José Gonçalves. According to Garrett's request, the papers were placed in cardboard drawers of sorts which he had made specially by a bookbinder (Amorim, I, 104 n 1). Amorim and Gonçalves completed the arrangement of the papers (but for the letters), and also the cataloguing of his books, a few months before Garrett's death.

Garrett had given careful directions in a manuscript that carries the title *Memorandum, estudos*, etc. On pages 200 and 201 of this document, he described how he wanted the papers to be classified (Amorim III, 593–94) into two categories: literary papers and scientific and official papers. After his passing, these categories were largely adopted by his son in law, Carlos Guimarães, in his catalogue of Garrett's papers, and also in Ferreira Lima's published inventory, which today still serves as the best descriptive instrument of Garrett's archive at the University Library of Coimbra. In Garrett's will, his papers, along with his published works, are left to his natural daughter, which indicates he knew that his archive was potentially financially valuable. Besides, the careful creation and preparation of this archive (embodying his active intention, be it in the selection of the papers, be it in ordering the boxes in which they were preserved) leaves us with an image of Garrett as someone who was deliberately preparing the way for textual scholars.⁷

⁷ A few days before he died, on 8 December 1854, Garrett destroyed some papers he did not want to leave behind for posterity (Lima 1948, I). With reference to the definition of "authority" given by the MLA (a "property attributed to texts [. . .] in order to indicate that they embody an author's active intention, at a given point in time, to choose a particular arrangement of words and punctuation" ["Guidelines"]), this would be an instance of "new authority" in that the archive undergoes a change in content owing to the author's revised intention.

In the case of *Frei Luís de Sousa*, as I pointed out earlier, the prominence of *E* is enforced through Garrett's personal copy of the play. However, such prominence is limited on two grounds. First, because every author is prevented by death further to correct or revise the text and accordingly final revised versions are not authorized *ad aeternum*, but only until the death of the author takes place.⁸ Second, it is further limited because when preserved in the archive all textual versions gain equal rank (Scheibe 1995, 180, 175). Such equality is undone when the scholar accepts the challenge addressed by the archive and makes his stand on the notion of text he or she endorses by selecting an authoritative source. As Peter Shillingsburg writes:

[I]f we are to speak of authoritative texts, it seems necessary to locate the authority that controls the text. Some think of the text as belonging to the reader. Some think the text is autonomous — once existing, becoming inviolably a thing in itself. Some think the text belongs to the social institution that includes publishers and editors as well as the author. And others think of the text as belonging solely to the author (Shillingsburg 1996, 12–13).

So among the document witnesses of *Frei Luís de Sousa*, there is *D* for those who associate texts with the original moment of genius and inspiration: the writing is produced at such speed that, as Lapa points out (see Garrett 1943, [III]), some words are lacking; for those who claim that the text of a play is first and foremost a stage text, there is *P*, which presents some stage directions absent in other witnesses; for those who think that the author's last intention lies in the last document before the corrupting effect of print sets in, there is *C*, which resembles a *dossier génétique* in a nutshell; for those who claim that the text belongs to a social instance that comprehends publishers, editors and author alike, there is *E*, the outcome of the cooperation between Garrett and the publishing house.

Because Rodrigues Lapa's critical edition of *Frei Luís de Sousa* in 1943 selected *E* as the basis for a reading version, the authority that controls the text seems to be the social institution — the publishers and typographers. But this impression is wrong. The reading text

⁸ For unlimited, perpetual authority, see the apology of *ne varietur* editions in Seixo et al. 2010.

in Lapa's edition lacks the publisher's Preface, the authorial notes, Garrett's Royal Conservatory lecture on his play (all published in the 1844 *editio princeps*) on the grounds that only the text of the play truly matters. Besides, although one feature of considerable importance in Lapa's edition is a critical apparatus that includes variant readings from *D* and *I* which were selected on the basis of criteria that are not explained. Furthermore, since the editor realized that some words were lacking in *D*, he amended some passages, turning the first draft into a more congruous text than it actually is. As a consequence, Lapa seems to ideally locate the authority that controls *Frei Luís de Sousa* on the author's last reading combined with the alleged superiority of text over paratext alongside strong editorial interventions. More than 70 years have passed since Lapa's edition came out and the new ongoing edition also seeks to couple a reading text based in Garrett's last version with an apparatus presenting genetic information.⁹ In the new edition there are three main differences vis-à-vis Lapa's: since Garrett's last version is seen as mostly coterminous with *E*, it is the social text (not only the text of the play, but all five sections of the 1844 book) that will play the role of reading version; the apparatus will include all substantive variants found in the manuscript versions; as to emendation, the editor will refrain from eliminating an apparent fault in a textual version only because a more convincing word is present in another version, a banal *emendation ope codicum* in Lapa's viewpoint). By keeping the integrity of each version the authority is more visibly placed in the archive.

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⁹ The new edition is part of the Almeida Garrett critical edition series directed by Ofélia Paiva Monteiro and published by Imprensa Nacional — Casa da Moeda.

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