LITERARY EDITING OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH DRAMA

by

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Abstract (not to exceed 200 words - any continuation sheets must contain the author's full name and full title of the thesis):

This thesis explores how literary editing for the dramatic publication was developed in seventeenth-century England. Chapter 1 discusses how the humanist scholars embraced the concept of textual editing and put it into practice about a half century after the invention of the press. Chapter 2 addresses the development of the concept of literary editing in seventeenth-century England by investigating the editorial arguments preserved in the paratextual matter. Chapter 3 explores Jonsonian convention of textual editing which was established in imitation of classical textual editing of the humanist scholars and which eventually furnished a model for dramatic editing to the later editors who were to be commissioned to reproduce play texts for a reading public. Chapter 4 looks at Thomas Middleton's *The Mayor of Quinborough* published by Herringman in 1661 which signals the restoration of the Jonsonian editorial convention. Chapter 5 will attempt to identify the printer of the play and considers the division of the editorial work between the editor and the printer. Chapter 6 addresses the reflection of the Jonsonian textual editing in the 1664 Killigrew folio and assesses its establishment of literary editing of seventeenth-century English drama as a herald of the 1709 Shakespeare edition by Nicholas Rowe.

Contents

Introduction   1

Introduction

The publication of Shakespeare has a history of four hundred and seventeen years, and there is rich scholarship on the history of editing Shakespeare. It has been accepted that the publicised editorship of Nicholas Rowe in the 1709 Shakespeare collection marked 'the birth of Editing'.[1] Random Cloud, who named the seventeenth century the 'pre-Editorial era', considered that the emergence of Rowe's edition in 1709 cannot be accounted for by the cumulative publications of Shakespeare's texts in the preceding century. He attributed 'the urge to edit' to 'the profound transformation of English culture in the 18th century, which was typified by its fascination with Taste, Propriety, and Criticism as preceptors to art.'[2] While suggesting a possibility that Rowe inherited his editorial method of providing dramatis personae lists from the First Folio of Shakespeare, which made him 'the vehicle for carrying into the twentieth century a schema that derives from Ben Jonson by way of Ralph Crane', Barbara Mowat considered him a pioneer of scholarly editing of Shakespeare in terms of introducing conflation of quarto and folio texts.[3] In the introduction to *The Works of Mr. William Shakespeare Edited by Nicholas Rowe, 1709*, Peter Holland states that 'the works of Jacob Tonson as printer and Nicholas Rowe as editor moved the whole history of editing Shakespeare onto an entirely new plane.'[4] What made Rowe's edition a landmark in the history of editing Shakespeare were the publicising of the editor's name and his voiced editorial principles. Some of the editorial principles which Rowe adopted are described both in the dedicatory epistle and the ensuing account of 'the Life, &c. of Mr. William Shakespeare.'[5] He represents his editorial procedure as the process of correcting textual

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[1] Random Cloud, '"The very names of the Persons": Editing and the Invention of Dramatick Character', in *Staging the Renaissance: Reinterpretations of Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama*, ed. by David Scott Kastan and Peter Stallybrass (New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 88-96 (p. 94).
[2] Cloud, pp. 94-95.
[3] Barbara A. Mowat, 'Nicholas Rowe and the Twentieth-Century Shakespeare Text', in *Shakespeare and Cultural Traditions*, ed., by Tetsuo Kishi, Roger Pringle and Stanley Wells (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), pp. 314-22. Thomas L. Berger claims that in the text of Q2 *Othello* (1630), conflation of Q1 and F1 had taken place. Thomas L. Berger, 'The Second Quarto of *Othello* and the Question of Textual "Authority"', *Analytical & Enumerative Bibliography* 2(1988), 141-59.
[4] Peter Holland, 'Introduction' in *The Works of Mr. William Shakespeare Edited by Nicholas Rowe, 1709*, 6vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1999), I, p. vii.
[5] *The Works of Mr. William Shakespeare, Revis'd and Corrected, with an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author. By N. Rowe, Esq* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1709). Further references to this edition will be made by its short-title *Shakespeare by Rowe*.

errors which had been introduced in former editions. On the premise that the texts could not be restored to 'the Exactness of the Author's Original Manuscripts' which had been lost, Rowe sought the standards of textual correctness from his collation of 'several Editions.'[6] He also states that he supplied 'many lines, (in *Hamlet* one whole scene)' absent in 'some of the Editions, especially the last' from others.[7] 'Some Account of the Life, &c. of Mr. William Shakespeare' also gives glimpses of Rowe's intimate knowledge of previous Shakespearean studies pursued by his predecessor dramatists such as John Dryden and William Davenant. While quoting Dryden who reduced the inconsistencies of *Pericles* to a chronological issue, Rowe confutes it by attributing the play's irregularities to collaboration between Shakespeare and another playwright.[8]

The editorial principles and the textual analysis articulated by the editor made a clear distinction between the seventeenth-century Shakespeare editions and the 1709 collection. The name of the editor, Nicholas Rowe, printed on the title page of the 1709 Shakespeare collection distanced Shakespeare one step further into the past, functioning as a historical filter through which the author's name was presented as a charismatic cultural icon and the text as the vehicle of the authorial intention. It was the presentational manner of Rowe's edition that defined the functions of Shakespeare's editor and represented the editing of Shakespeare as the collective editorial practices. However, such editorial practices as described by Rowe in the prefatory matter in his edition had long existed without being denominated. My thesis is going to explore how literary editing for dramatic publication was developed in seventeenth-century England to anticipate the arrival of the 'Editorial' era marked by Rowe's Shakespeare.

Unvoiced editorial principles and silent editorial practices in the preceding Shakespearean editions have made Rowe's editorship in Shakespeare look probably more revolutionary than it was. Scholarship on the history of editing exclusively within the Shakespeare canon has also made it appear as if there is 'discontinuity' of editing between the previous editions of Shakespeare and Rowe's of 1709.[9] In 1937, Matthew W. Black and

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[6] *Shakespeare by Rowe*, A2$^{\text{r-v}}$.
[7] *Shakespeare by Rowe*, A2$^{\text{v}}$.
[8] *Shakespeare by Rowe*, a4$^{\text{r}}$.
[9] Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.

Matthias A. Shaaber compiled the exhaustive data of textual changes made by editors of the Shakespeare Folios of 1632, 1663/4 and 1685.[10] But their research was confined within the three Shakespeare folios which were printed at different places at different times, and published by different publishers who worked on their editions independently of each other. While the data represent the working methods of the editors, and they clearly indicate that their treatment of the text surpassed the bounds of normal textual correction, Black and Shaaber admitted that their data did not help to determine the identities of the editors.[11] Unidentified editors of the seventeenth century who paved the way for the glory of Nicholas Rowe have been out of the limelight, and most of the twentieth-century scholarship on the editing of Shakespeare addressed the eighteenth-century named editors' works.[12] Andrew Murphy's *Shakespeare in Print* (2003) explored Shakespeare editions from the sixteenth century to the twenty-first century in terms of whole publishing milieu as well as editorial history.[13] Sonia Massai's *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (2007) focused on editorial practices adopted at printing shops which had dealt with early Shakespeare texts from 1597 to 1685.[14] However, the focus of their studies is equally on Shakespeare's texts, which have been transmitted through editors and publishers' hands, and the makers of the printed text, their editorial habit and their business networks have not received much attention. Anonymous editing in a certain text may well have discouraged scholars to investigate 'who this editor was, and who set him to work,'[15] but most of the printed texts provide us with publishers' names who witnessed the editing of the texts. The unnamed editors must have

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[10] Matthew W. Black and Matthias A. Shaaber, *Shakespeare's Seventeenth-Century Editors* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1937)

[11] Black and Shaaber, p. 25.

[12] Margareta De Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Simon Jarvis, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Shakespearian Textual Criticism and Representations of Scholarly Labour, 1725-1765* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Peter Martin, *Edmond Malone, Shakespearean Scholar: A Literary Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): Peter Seary, *Lewis Theobald and the Editing of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Arthur Sherbo, *The Achievement of George Stevens* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990);Arthur Sherbo, *The Birth of Shakespeare Studies: Commentators from Rowe (1709) to Boswell-Malone (1821)* (East Lansing: Colleagues, 1986); Marcus Walsh, *Shakespeare, Milton and Eighteenth-Century Literary Editing: The Beginnings of Interpretive Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[13] Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[14] See 9 above.

[15] Black and Shaaber, p.25.

been in association with the identified publishers.

The editor, Nicholas Rowe was also invited by the publisher, Jacob Tonson to prepare Shakespeare's works for publication.[16] Jacob Tonson was one of the most frequent business associates of Henry Herringman towards the end of the seventeenth century and practically his successor. Herringman published the greatest number of the works of Restoration dramatists such as John Dryden, Robert Howard and Thomas Killigrew. The three Restoration dramatists all worked with the King's Company and started their dramatic careers[17] with revising pre-Restoration plays for the Restoration stage and editing them for publication. Although they were deprived of theatrical experience during the Interregnum, they studied the printed texts of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and John Fletcher and analysed their structures in the light of dramatic principles formulated by ancient writers such as Aristotle and Horace.[18] Killigrew began providing the King's Men with his plays for staging as an amateur playwright in 1637. After he went into exile in the Continent during the Interregnum, he began to write his plays purely for literary pleasure. As closet plays his dramatic works of the time were originally designed to be read and not to be acted. His collected works published in 1664 had undergone elaborate editorial procedures, being provided with dramatis personae lists and scene locators. The collection seems to have represented an inheritance of Jonsonian textual practice and heralded the 1709 Shakespeare collection edited by Rowe. Indeed, Rowe was an inheritor of the dramatic and editorial tradition which had been passed down to and established by the Restoration dramatic textualists. Massai aptly states that 'the editorial tradition ushered in by Rowe at the beginning of the eighteenth century did not rise out of a textual and bibliographical vacuum',[19] and yet the development of editorial practices in dramatic texts may not be as discontinuous as that in the Shakespearean publications.

The present study aims at exploring the developing art of play editing in the

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[16] Andrew Murphy, 'The Birth of the Editor', in *A Concise Companion to Shakespeare and the Text*, ed. by Andrew Murphy (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), pp.93-108 (p. 94).

[17] Robert D. Hume, 'Securing a Property: Plays on the London Stage 1660-5', in *Poetry and Drama, 1570-1700: Essays in Honour of Harold F. Brooks*, ed. by Anthony Coleman and Anthony Hammond (London: Methuen, 1981), pp. 165-67.

[18] John Dryden, *An Essay of Dramatick Poesie* (London: Henry Herringman, 1668).

[19] Massai, p. 3.

seventeenth century and filling the discontinuous history of editorial practices represented by the Shakespeare publication. Before setting out on a journey to the seventeenth-century editorial world, I will trace the formation of the concept and practice of editing in the humanistic labour for the restoration of the classical text in the late Renaissance. It is this period when collective editorial procedures started to be conceptualised and verbalised in scholarly discourse between humanists. Chapter 1 explores how the humanist scholar-editors embraced the concept of textual editing and put it into practice half a century after the invention of the printing press, and how they developed the argument over the standards of textual correction. The investigation into the origins of the concept and practice of editing will provide a basic framework to observe the development of play editing in the seventeenth century. Chapter 2 addresses how seventeenth-century English literati understood the concept of editing. I will explore the terms as associated with the concept of editing used in the paratext of the dramatic publications particularly within the Moseley canon. Humphrey Moseley is one of the major contributors to the establishment of 'the plays' status as literature'.[20] He published most of his editions of the drama in the Interregnum when the plays were prohibited from being staged. Moseley is also a predecessor of the two most significant booksellers, Henry Herringman and Jacob Tonson, who played leading parts in shaping the canon of early modern poetry and drama during the Restoration period. Moseley attracted to his circle most prominent royalist writers such as Richard Brome, William Cartwright, John Denham, James Howell, James Shirley, Thomas Stanley, and Robert Stapylton. Eight of thirty-five contributors to the Beaumont and Fletcher folio published by Moseley in 1647 were known as 'sons of Ben', the inheritors of Jonson's principle that play texts should be represented as literature. Jonson followed the humanist convention of textual editing adopted in classical Greek and Latin dramatic texts. Chapter 3 discusses the Jonsonian textual practice and Jonsonian textualists such as Ralph Crane who prepared some Shakespeare folio texts and James Shirley who is believed to have edited the Beaumont and Fletcher folio. This chapter especially explores how musical directions were treated when the play text was transmitted from performance to publication.

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[20] Maureen Bell, 'Booksellers without an Author, 1627-1685', in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp 260-85.

Thomas Middleton's play *Hengist, King of Kent, or The Mayor of Queenborough* written in about 1619 was mounted by the King's Men throughout the Jacobean and Caroline eras until the theatre closure in 1642, and two different versions of the play are extant in manuscript and in print. The existence of both the manuscript and print versions of the play permits of comparison of the texts before and after the theatrical revisions and literary editing. In Chapter 4, I will investigate this play as a test case which gives us a glimpse of the developing technology of play editing by means of which plays were transmitted from the theatre to the reader's mind. The play was entered into the Stationers' Register twice, first by Humphrey Moseley in 1646 and secondly by Henry Herringman in 1660/1. The double entries of the play appear to be indicative of the relationship between the two stationers, and the printed text published by Herringman in 1661 preserves traces of literary editing by a hand which seems to have familiarised himself with Jonsonian textual practice. Although the editor of the play has been unnamed, an investigation into Herringman's publications and his business associates throws light on the editorial culture which had been established within the Herringman coterie. Although previous studies have not attempted to identify the printer of *The Mayor of Quinborough*, doing so is indispensable for discovering the division of the editorial work between the editor and the printer. By examining the stationers' networks Chapter 5 attempts to identify the printer of the play and to explore the editorial and compositorial practice of his printing house.

The identity of the printer of Q *The Mayor of Quinborough* will provide a clue for considering the editorial milieu in which the play was produced. Chapter 6 addresses such plays as were produced in the same editorial milieu as Q *The Mayor of Quinborough* and describes the editorial practices which were adopted in the editions and which were to be inherited by Nicholas Rowe and other seventeenth-century Shakespearean editors. This thesis aims at demonstrating that such editorial principles as voiced by Nicholas Rowe in the first literary edition of Shakespeare had been conceived and practiced by unnamed seventeenth-century editors, and showing the continuity of literary editorial practices between seventeenth-century English dramatic publication and the emergence of nominal editorship in the eighteenth century.

Chapter 1

'The Concept and Practice of Editing in the Late Renaissance: Labours of Humanist

Scholars and the Rebirth of the Classical Text'[1]

It was not until the eighteenth century that scholarly editions of Shakespeare began to be published under nominal editorship and that the term 'editor' came into use in English, but the practice of editing was already adopted in play publication in the seventeenth century. In his prefatory epistle to the Beaumont and Fletcher folio (1647), Humphrey Moseley states that 'This Volume being now so compleate and finish'd, that the Reader must expect no future Alterations.'[2] This sentence suggesting that the edition had undergone thorough emendation can be taken as an advertisement of the quality of correctness and readability of the edition. When the volume saw the second edition in 1679, the booksellers advertise the fact that the edition was corrected by the authors' friend who also had been 'a Spectator' of most plays.[3] The descriptions of the editor's close friendship with the authors and of the editor's knowledge about the performance of the plays suggest his understanding of authorial intention and his ability to reproduce the play texts as they were performed on the stage. The editorial principles employed in play publication had been fully developed by humanistic textual scholarship in the fifteenth and sixteenth century along with the spread of the printing press in Europe. In her *Theatre of the Book* (2000), Julie Peter Stones reports that some scholar-editors in the sixteenth century undertook dramatic editing and that 'principles of textual editing (or at least its claims) filtered into ordinary dramatic publication'.[4] Although the final destination of my research is to explore the formation process of play editing and the elevation of the status of drama to literature in seventeenth-century England, in order to know how the principles of dramatic editing were established, it is necessary to investigate the origins of the concept and practice of editing. In this chapter, I will discuss how the humanist scholars embraced the concept of textual editing and put it into practice about a half century

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[1] Part of this chapter was published as Mariko Nagase, 'The Concept and Practice of Editing in the Late Renaissance: The Labours of Humanist Scholars and Rebirth of the Classical Text', in *Birmingham Journal of Literature and Language*, 3 (2010), 13-21.

[2] Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Comedies and Tragedies* (London, 1647), A4v.

[3] Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Fifty Comedies and Tragedies* (London, 1679), sig. . A1r.

[4] Julie Stone Peters, *The Theatre of the Book, 1480-1880: Print, Text, and Performance in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 131.

after the invention of the printing press. Sonia Massai has directly addressed their editorial achievements in her *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor*,[5] but here I localise discussion on humanist scholars' conceptualisation of editing. This will be brought to light by an investigation into the origin of the modern English term 'edit' and the editorial terminology employed by Erasmian scholars.

It has been pointed out that in a few decades after the advent of printing, printing houses became cultural and academic centres where knowledge was brought to be published. While writers and scholars were attracted to the town presses, many of those who had engaged in manuscript book production turned printers. They were scribes, rubricators, illuminators, letter writers, binders, booksellers, notaries, clerks, and every kind of craftsmen who had previously been involved with book production.[6] Elizabeth Eisenstein states that 'a remarkable amount of innovative work in both scholarly and scientific fields was done outside academic centers in the early-modern era.'[7] She also quotes an episode to demonstrate that the printing houses could serve approximately the same purpose in book production as universities in the Renaissance period. When Peter Ramus, a French humanist, stayed in Basel, he 'was drawn toward the presses rather than toward the academic centers'. In his "Panegyrique de Bâle" (1571), Ramus gave his highest praise to 'the firms of Amerbach, Froben, Bischoff, Petri, Isingrin, Oporinus *et al*' while still expressing his admiration for the university and academic institutions.[8]

In the Renaissance period, both humanist scholars at university and scholar printers aimed at reproducing the 'accurate' and 'standardized' text of classical works. Although Eisenstein regards 'standardization' of the text as a quality automatically brought by print, the quality was in fact produced by the stationers' endeavour as Adrian Johns contends.[9] Johns describes the qualities that Eisenstein assumes print can endow on texts, 'standardization',

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[5] Massai, *Shakespeare* (2007), pp. 41-68.

[6] Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), pp. 13-26; Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communication and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979; repr. 1982), p. 56; Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 37, p. 67.

[7] Eisenstein, p. 76.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Eisenstein, pp. 80-107; Johns, pp. 10-20.

'dissemination', and 'fixity', as 'transitive' ones on the ground that those qualities exist 'only inasmuch as [they are] recognized and acted upon by people' (p. 19). It may be true that the printing technologies helped systematization of procedures for standardising the text, and that the quality of standardisation was subject to the printers' knowledge and motivation. In this sense, it can be stated that the quality of standardisation has been partly improved by the advancement of the printers' knowledge and techniques. Therefore, inasmuch as the enhancement of the quality of standardization of the text was one of the goals pursued by book producers both in manuscript and in print, Hirsch and Eisenstein may be right in thinking that 'medieval university faculties "attempted to achieve what the presses succeeded later in doing"' (Eisenstein, p.80).

However, as seen from the fact that many of the early printers had engaged in manuscript book production, the book trade had been well established in town by the late fifteenth century. In his *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, Harold Love remarks 'the development of an educational book trade' was encouraged by medieval universities. Their collections of manuscripts were initially copied by students for their own use, and after lay stationers came to serve the universities, a large amount of copies of 'a university text' on order began to be made at town scriptoria.[10] Vespasiano da Bisticci, 'the famous book seller and owner of a scriptorium in Florence', employed forty-five scribes in order to produce in twenty-two months the entire library that Cosimo de Medici had ordered.[11]   In a letter, Janus Pannonius reported to a friend that 'it was possible to obtain in Florence as many books as were desired, simply by sending money to Vespasiano', just when the forty-two line Bible was being printed (1453-55).[12] Since the early printers produced their books on the model of their antecedents, the first printed books could hardly be distinguished from manuscript books, and the scribes supplied the manuscript title pages for the printers.[13]

It has also been pointed out that the manuscript book producers had fulfilled much

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[10] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 37.

[11] Myron P. Gilmore, Introduction, *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates*, by Vespasiano, trans. by William George and Emily Waters (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p . xii.; Hirsch, p. 14.

[12] Hirsch, p.14.

[13] S. H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, 3rd edn, rev. by James Morgan (New York: Penguin Books, 1974; repr. 1979), p. 22.

the same purposes as the printers. Eisenstein writes:

> Some manuscript bookdealers, to be sure, had rather similar functions before the advent of printing. That Italian humanists were grateful to Vespasiano da Bisticci for many of the same services that were later rendered by Aldus Manutius had already been noted.[14]

Love explains the functions scribal publication served.

> Publication in our strong sense is usually equated with the provision of large numbers of copies, and some kinds of scribal publication do fulfil this criterion. Prior to the invention of print there had been entrepreneurial stationers who functioned in a way similar to modern print publisher - obtaining texts, arranging for them to be copied in whatever numbers were needed, and supplying them to public bookshops. In the great cities of the ancient world, *bibliopolae* duplicated texts in scriptoria where slaves copied simultaneously from dictation. In the late middle ages scriptoria producing prayer books, bibles and books of hours developed elaborate routines through which sections of a book could be worked on successively by scribes, artists and illuminators.[15]

In addition, some prosperous manuscript book shops such as Vespasiano's are known to have provided 'a center for the meeting of learned men'.[16] This tradition was to be inherited by the printing houses in later years. Nevertheless, however similar the functions between the two technological divisions of book producers, the manuscript books were too costly for the majority of people, and the book dealers could only satisfy the demand from wealthier readers. Hirsch suggests that 'increased literacy created the pressures which led to

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[14] Eisenstein, p. 57
[15] Love, p. 37
[16] Gilmore, p. xiii.

experiments to multiply manuscripts mechanically' (p. 14).

'Literacy' which used to be limited to the Anglo-Norman nobility, 'began to percolate to other classes of society and was widespread by the end of the thirteenth century'.[17] Increase in demand for literature put spurs to development of scribal publication. The expansion of readership contributed to creating the social conditions for the invention of printing to be welcomed. In addition to this, Hirsch raises the general readers' economic developments and the literature craftsmen's technical progress as the factors to bring the success of the invention of printing (pp. 14-15).

The necessity for the means of earning a living and the absence of regulations had attracted a huge number of people to the new business of printing 'by the time [its] potential was partly or fully understood'.[18] The pioneer printers had provided soil favourable for printed book production in town when the later scholar printers left university. Since the term 'printer' was not yet established, the early printers called themselves 'scribes', 'based on the notion that they were in fact the successors of the *scriptor*, or *scriba*, the producer of books'.[19] According to Hirsch, 'examples of the use of *scriptor* for *impressor* are found in various incunables' (p. 19). Eisenstein amplifies the terms by stating 'the use of term *scriptor* for *impressor* by printers showed that they considered themselves the successors not of stationers but of copyists' (p. 57). She uses the term 'stationer' to mean 'bookseller' since some scribes had their own shops and engaged in book trade. However, even the meaning of the term 'stationer' seems not to have been firmly fixed as 'bookseller'. In fact, the word 'stationer' was also occasionally used to mean 'copyist'.[20]

At the two university towns of England, Oxford and Cambridge, one who engaged in the book trade was called 'stationarius' as early as the thirteenth century, and by the fourteenth century the word seems to have been being used in York and London according to their historical documents.[21] The Stationers' Company was developed from the two predecessors,

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[17] L. D. Reynolds, and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968; repr. 1991), p. 111.
[18] Hirsch, pp. 18-19.
[19] Hirsch, p. 19.
[20] *OED* 1.c.
[21] Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403-1959* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1960), pp. 21-22.

Brotherhood of Manuscripts Producers and Brotherhood of the Craft of Writers of Text-Letters. The former was formed by the scriveners and illuminators by 1357, and the Scriveners' Company became independent in 1373 by the petition of the scriveners who specialised in legal documents. The latter petitioned that two Wardens elected respectively from 'lymners' and 'text-writers' should supervise the work of the members 'in the interest both of the City and of the law-abiding members of the fellowship' in 1403.[22] The fact that the predecessors of the stationers were called 'manuscripts producers', 'writers of text-letters', and 'scriveners' suggests that the term 'stationer' originally meant the craftsmen who owned their shops. Taking into account the derivation of the word 'stationer' and the fact that the guilds of scriveners were the ancestors of the Stationers' Company, it seems quite reasonable that the early printers identified themselves as successors of 'scribes'.

Although the scribes attached to manuscript scriptoria and those who engaged in printing produced much the same commodities, the milieus of their workshops must have been contrastive. Eisenstein states:

> A most interesting study might be devoted to a comparison of the talents mobilized by early printers with those previously employed by stationers or manuscript book dealers. Of equal interest would be a comparison of the occupational culture of Peter Schoeffer, printer, with that of Peter Schoeffer, scribe. The two seem to work in contrasting milieu, subject to different pressures and aiming at different goals. Unlike the shift from stationer to publisher, the shift from scribe to printer represented a genuine occupational mutation. Although Shoeffer was the first to make the leap, many others took the same route before the century's end.[23]

Since the employment of machinery differentiated the occupations of the printer and scribe, their difference has been clear enough to lead us to the assumption that they belonged to two different periods and cultures. Eisenstein, who describes printing technology as an agent of

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[22] Blagden, p. 22.
[23] Eisenstein, p. 57.

change, seems especially fascinated by the contrast between the two names of occupations that Peter Schoeffer experienced. I am more interested in how the principles of book production held by the scribes, were applied to the printed book production. Scribe-turned printers must have been fully aware of how the manuscript books had been produced in the previous period, and the early printers who called themselves 'scribes' also more or less knew what had taken place in earlier scriptoria. Humanist scholar printers were, of course, conversant with the notions of classical scholarship, and with what practices had been adopted in the attempt of establishing the 'accurate' text by lay scholars and clergymen.

Reynolds and Wilson report that the classical texts had been corrupted by scribal intervention by the fifteenth century. In the processes of copying the text, the scribes often allegorized Vergil, moralised Ovid, and annotated the writings of satirists. Even their glosses and comment are 'rarely in keeping with the original intention'.[24] The late Renaissance period was to see continuous correction of the corrupted documents as Hirsch describes:

> The preparation of correct copies of the same text was an established concept well before the 1440's [sic]. We know documents from the late XIIIth century which hold stationers at Bologna and Paris responsible for the accuracy of manuscripts copied from texts deposited with them; we read about copying by dictation, especially for legal texts. Humanists collected manuscripts and prepared copies for their own use and that of friends, insisting on editorial precision (which occasionally led them to make mistaken corrections)'.[25]

OED presents the records that show that the verb 'edit' came into use in the modern sense after the role of 'editor' had been firmly established.[26] The modern sense of the verb 'edit' in OED is defined as **'to prepare an edition of (a literary work or works by an earlier author), and

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[24] Reynolds and Wilson, p. 111.
[25] Hirsch, p. 13.
[26] The noun 'editor' appears several decades earlier than the verb 'edit' in the quotations printed in OED.

'to prepare, set in order for publication (literary material which is wholly or in part the work of others)'. The word 'prepare' refers to the collective procedures which include various practices for perfecting the text for publication. In the introduction to his edition of *Richard III* in the Oxford series, John Jowett describes 'editing' as a series of practices which entail 'establishing the most authoritative source text', and 'making certain kinds of alteration to the text on the basis that this document, from the view point of the modern reader, is obfuscatory, misleading, or wrong'. These 'alterations include correction of error, modernization of Elizabethan spelling, stabilization of stage directions, and so on'.[27] Each of the editorial practices described by Jowett can be generally categorized as and roughly called 'editing', but this term 'editing' itself cannot be defined by only one of those subdivided tasks.

It was not until the late eighteenth century that the verb 'edit' started to be used in the modern sense. But scholarly editing has a long history going back to the third century BC when literary studies began to be undertaken at the Museum in Alexandria.[28] After eighteen centuries of accumulated textual scholarship, the enhanced interest in antiquities, especially in the restoration of classical texts in the Renaissance, in conjunction with the surging tide of humanism, encouraged scholars such as Johann Amerbach (d. 1513) and Desiderius Erasmus (d. 1536) to channel their efforts into establishing the theory of textual criticism.

According to Anthony Grafton, the subdivided tasks comprehended in the modern term 'editing' had already been conceptualised as the editorial principles by Politian in the fifteenth century, the latter being developed by the school of Italian textual critics led by Pier Verroti. Their editorial principles prescribed the establishment of an archetype from which all the extant manuscripts of a work derived, the collation of textual variants, and their recording in an edition.[29] The ideal process of preparing an edition of the classical text formulated by the Italian scholars is equated with the modern sense of the term "editing." However, a term having the same meaning as that by which we designate modern editorial practices collectively did not exist in the early-modern period or, more broadly, in the

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[27] John Jowett, ed. *The Tragedy of King Richard III* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000), p.127.

[28] L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 5-16.

[29] Anthony Grafton, 'Joseph Scaliger's Edition of Catullus (1577) and the Traditions of Textual Criticism in the Renaissance', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 38 (1975), 155-181(p. 162).

Renaissance.

The English word 'edit' is derived from a Latin verb 'edere' which means 'to give out', hence 'to publish' and 'to give birth or produce'. The correspondence between the two concepts, 'to publish' and 'to give birth', is recognised in *The Correspondence of Erasmus*. An image of new birth is employed when Erasmus describes the preparation or publication of his edition of St. Jerome's *Opera Omnia*. Some examples are given in a letter in which Erasmus makes a petition in 1515 for permission to use Domenico Grimani's library to accomplish his editorial works. He describes his editorial tasks as exhausting as they almost killed him while Jerome was given 'a new life'.[30] In Allen's Latin edition of Erasmus's letters, the text appears as 'Mihi certe tantum hic laboris exhaustum est vt parum abfuerit quin ipse immorerer, dum studeo vt ille *renascatur*'.[31] The Latin verb *renascore*, which means 'to be born again', is the term which Erasmus uses most frequently in order to describe either the preparation of his editorial works for publication or of their publication itself. When he describes his editorial labour as the focal point of the narrative of St Jerome's resurrection, Erasmus regards the rebirth of the works of Jerome as something brought about by the practice of editing. He repeatedly emphasises that he risked his life to restore the works of Jerome. R. A. B. Mynors and S. F. S. Thomson translate his words into: 'I have borne in this such a burden of toil that one could almost say I had killed myself in my efforts to give Jerome a new lease of life'.[32] In the original Latin, the last part of the text appears as 'sedulo adnitor ut Hieronymus renascatur' (*Opus Epistolarum* 89), the literal translation of which can be rendered as 'I struggle hard so that Jerome will be reborn'. While Mynors and Thomson's translation emphasises Erasmus's consciousness of his editorial initiative to give rebirth to the works of Jerome,[33] Erasmus himself seems to have considered the restoration of the ancient text as a spontaneous phenomenon produced by his selfless act of editing. These descriptions

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[30] *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, trans. by R. A. B. Mynors and D. F. S. Thomson, 12vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), III, 97. Further references to this series are given after quotations in the text.

[31] *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* ed. by P. S. Allen, 2nd edn, 12vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press), II, 77. Further references to this series are given after quotations in the text.

[32] *The Correspondence*, III, 108. The original Latin text appears as 'Tantum hic laboris exantlatum est, vt parum abfuerit quin meipsum enecarim, dum sedulo adnitor vt Hieronymus renascatur' (*Opus Epistolarum*, II, 89).

[33] For the discussion about Erasmus's proprietary editorship and production of 'true meaning', see Massai, pp. 45-49.

of Erasmus's editorial labour as bringing the ancient text back to life confirm that the act of editing was equated with the restoration of the classics.

The restoration of the classics, however, was not to be completed over the desk of the editor. Erasmus finds the rebirth of Jerome's works in both printing and the publication of the text. He writes, 'a great printing shop is now in full activity; St Jerome is printing (or rather, being reborn) in most elegant type'.[34] The Latin word translated as 'printing' is *excuditur* which means 'to be moulded'. Therefore, what Erasmus compared to the rebirth of Jerome is the process in which the text was given a new shape of type. In the same letter, he also writes that by preparing the works of St Jerome he aims to 'see the whole of St Jerome virtually reborn' (*Correspondence*, III, 96). Again, 'reborn' is translated from *renasceretur*, an inflection of *renascore*,[35] but, here, the 'rebirth' of Jerome's works is presented as the purpose of editing. Thus, Erasmus's editing of the classical text always presupposes both its printing and its publication. When he states, 'I had long been working [. . .] towards this one purpose, that we might see the whole of St Jerome virtually reborn' (*Correspondence*, III, 96), he envisages the complete works of Jerome being published. Erasmus's purpose of editing, which he described in the above-mentioned letter, is the publication of his editorial works. Consequently, Erasmus finds the rebirth of St Jerome in the publication of his edition. In another letter, he describes the publication of his own work as its 'birth'. When his compilation of adages with his commentary saw the third edition in 1515, Erasmus wrote, 'My *Adagia* [. . .] is now coming to birth for the third time' (*Correspondence*, III, 47). Here the word *nascitur*, which means simply 'to be born', is used to refer to publication of the work (*Opus Epistolarum*, II, 36). Thus, the term *renascore* was used metaphorically to refer to the phenomenon of publication as if the ancient works had been reborn and brought into the world. In addition, it connoted the restoration of the original text, which was believed to be made possible by editing.

The Latin verb which Erasmus and his contemporaries usually use to refer to the act of publication is 'edere'. With reference to the publication of his third edition of *Adagia*,

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[34] *Correspondence*, III, 97. 'Feruet ingens officina, *excuditur* elegantissimis formulis diuus Hieronymus, imo *renascitur*' in *Opus Epistolarum*, II, 77.
[35] *Opus Epistolarum*, II, 76.

Erasmus writes, 'I have published, besides many other things, a corrected edition of my *Chiliades*', which appears in Latin as 'Edidimus praeter alia permulta Chiliadum opus a nobis emendatum'.[36] 'Edidimus' is first-person plural in the perfect tense of *edere*, and literally means 'we have published'. In most cases *edere* is used to refer to a plain fact of publication, that is, the act of sending a literary work into the world. But, in one case, interestingly, Erasmus uses this term to imply that publication must ensue from editing and printing. Describing the publication of his edition of the New Testament, he writes, 'The New Testament has been rushed into print rather than published', which is translated from the Latin text, 'Novum Testamentum *praecipitatum* est verius quam *aeditum*.'[37] This indicates that the New Testament was thrown into press without receiving proper care. In this context, 'aeditum', a passive perfect participle of *edere* connotes an 'editorial' process precedent to printing. Thus, it can be stated that the act of *edere* entails 'editing' followed by publication. This assertion can be supported by Bruce Metzger's translation of the phrase concerned into 'precipitated rather than edited' in his *The Text of the New Testament*.[38]

Mynors and Thomson, the translators of Erasmus's correspondence, unify the translation of *edere* into 'publish' and never use the modern term 'edit', whereas Barbara Halporn, who translates the correspondence of Johann Amerbach, unconventionally employs 'edit' to translate *edere*. Amerbach was a humanist printer who had started the project of publication of the works of St Jerome before Erasmus arrived in Basel. In a letter of 1492, Johan Heynlin, who taught Amerbach at Paris, encourages him by saying that book makers should stand in higher esteem than the highly praised manufacturers of weapons. Heynlin refers to those who produce books salutary to Christian faith as 'qui libros Christianae religioni utiles atque necessarios edunt, component, scribunt uel imprimunt'.[39] The four verbs employed by Heynlin, 'edunt, component, scribunt uel imprimunt' refer to a series of book production processes. Traditionally, *edere* should be translated as 'publish'. However,

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[36] *Correspondence*, III, 98; *Opus Epistolarum*, II, 78. The title of the second edition is *Adagiorum chiliades*.

[37] *Correspondence*, III, 273; *Opus Epistolarum*, II, 226.

[38] Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restolation*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). Further references to this monograph are given after quotations in the text.

[39] *Die Amerbachkorrezpondenz*, ed. by Alfred Hartmann and Beat R. Jenny, 10 vols (Basel: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1942-95), I, 31.

Halporn translates the phrase starting from 'qui' as 'those who *edit*, *compose*, *copy*, or *print* the books necessary and useful to the Christian faith'. Why does she use the modern English term 'edit' even though the Latin counterpart of the modern sense of "edit" did not exist in a strict sense in the Renaissance?[40] The answer to this question will emerge from an investigation into how the meanings of the four verbs 'edunt', 'component', 'scribunt', and 'imprimunt' refer to book production practices. For this purpose, a clear understanding of Heynlin's letter's main purport will help to elucidate what he means by each word. From the beginning to the end of this letter, Heynlin discusses the nature and mission of the printer, and praises the thorough editorial care given to the books printed by Amerbach. Referring to the circumstances behind the publication of the works of St Ambrose, he writes:

> By your industry you have succeeded in bringing together exemplars of almost all of his books gathered from far distant places. Because your characteristic integrity allows you to let nothing leave your hands that is not scrupulously emended, organized, polished, and worked out, you now ask me to see to it that those exemplars, which individually are written without break and without any divisions placed between, are divided into chapters and prefaced with summaries for each book and chapter. In this way their ideas and purpose may be explained and thus they may become less difficult and more intelligible to the reader.[41]

Evidently Heynlin's subject dwells on the work of the consortium of book producers, composed of editors and printers who prepare the ancient works for publication. Without this context, one might take the sense of 'component' as the act of authorship, that is, 'to compose'

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[40] Some English–Latin dictionaries give 'corrigere' as a translation of 'edit'.

[41] Barbara C. Halporn, trans. *The Correspondence of Johann Amerbach: Early Printing in Its Social Context* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), p. 313. The original text appears as following. 'Effecisti diligentia tua, ut fere cunctorum ipsius librorum exemplaria a longe distantibus regionibus ad te fuerint congregate. Postulas nunc a me (quia pro tua consuetudine ac decentia nihil tum, ordinatum, elaboratum atque perfectum), postulas, inquam, ut eadem exemplaria (quoniam singular pene constinuatim et absque distinction interposita conscripta sint) ego per capitula distinguere et quibsuis libris ac capitulis argument, quibus sententia et effectus eorum explanetur, anteponere curem, quo sic minus taediosa et magis intelligibilia lectoribus reddantur. Quod priusquam me facturum spondeam, pauca pro tanti doctoris honore interlibabo.' *Die Amerbachkorrezpondenz*, I, 32

one's own literary work. Here, however, the word 'component' denominates a practice in the editorial process. In terms of the editorial process of the ancient text, *componere* means the act of collecting scattered fragments of exemplars and of bringing them together into a whole in right order. In the quoted passage of Heynlin's letter, Amerbach is said to have collected the fragments of exemplars of St Ambrose's works and joined them systematically to compose a complete edition. The tasks of inserting a space between words, dividing the mass of writing into chapters, and adding prefaced summaries also shape the practice of *componere*. It can be said that *componere* refers to the act of joining the fragments of the ancient writings and conferring a structure upon them.

After 'component', Heynlin moves on to the next stage of book production. Both 'scribunt' and 'imprimunt' refer to a form of publication. *Scribere*, following editorial operations, is the duplicating process by the hands of scribes. *Imprimere* means 'to print'. However, early printers called themselves 'scribes', since they conceptualised themselves as the successors of *scriptor* or *scriba*, whose profession was to duplicate the text to produce books.[42] The juxtaposition of the two words 'scribunt' and 'imprimunt' in Heynlin's letter highlights the coexistence of scribal publication and print publication, and his respect for the predecessor of the printer. Here, the problem of the translation of the word *edere* invites further consideration. Since Heynlin refers to the two forms of publication by 'scribunt' and 'imprimunt', he must have implied more meaning by the word of 'edunt' than the simple act of publication. Furthermore, if Heynlin intentionally listed the four verbs in the order of their appearance, he might also have understood by *edere* an editorial concept or another editorial procedure which cannot be described by the word 'componere'. As stated above, the act of *edere* entails the practice of editing, followed by publication. It also presupposes the restoration of the ancient works which was thought to be realised by editorial labour. Halporn employs the English word 'edit' to translate 'edunt', probably with the purpose of expressing the idea concerning the restoration of the classical texts, which the modern sense of the word 'publish' does not convey. Thus, it seems safe to conclude from above that *edere* can refer to the idea of restoring the classical texts, or in another word, *renascore*.

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[42] Hirsch, p. 19.

To restore the classical texts meant to bring them back to their original form. Erasmus was convinced that his editorial procedures could restore the works of Jerome to their original condition. However, despite his confidence, the manuscripts he collated and corrected were later scribal copies and therefore left no vestige of the texts produced by Jerome himself. Erasmus's method of reconstructing the original was 'either to conjecture from corruptions of different kinds what the author wrote, or guess the original reading on the basis of such fragments and vestiges of the shapes of the script as may survive'.[43] Erasmus surmises that incapable scribes omitted from their transcripts the passages that they could not read or understand and interpolated text, which has made it impossible to separate the authorial text from the scribal contamination (*Correspondence*, III, 260). The errors appearing in the scribal manuscripts were to be corrected only by experts with a wide range of functional vocabulary in Greek. With their proficiency in ancient languages, the editors of Jerome's *Opera omnia* tried to reconstruct the originally intended meaning of the text from the 'vestiges of the shapes of the script' which must have been at some remove from the first recorded text (*Correspondence*, III, 261). The actual editorial practices on the works of Jerome involved the challenging task of extracting authorial intention embedded in the scribal errors.

According to Henri-Jean Martin, in most cases, Jerome did not write his works but dictated to scriveners.[44] If the author had never written his composition in his own hand, where could his original intention be located? In order to answer this question, the definition of the act of writing as the act of authorship becomes an important consideration. By the time Jerome was born, the act of authorship had come to be referred to by two different terms, *scribere* and *dictare*. *Scribere* was used to mean 'both the mechanical act of writing and the act of composition'. *Dictare*, which originally referred to the act of dictation, meant 'to compose' and came to supersede '*scribere* as the standard synonym for composition'.[45] In short, the act of dictation was recognised as literary composition. This development of the

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[43] *Correspondence*, III, 261. The original text appears as: 'Atqui super haec longe difficillimum est aut ex varie deprauatis *quid ab authore positum fuerit* coniicere, aut ex qualibuscunque figurarum fragmentis ac vestigiis *primam diuinare lectionem*' in *Opus Epistolarum*, II, 216.

[44] Henri-Jean Martin, *The History and Power of Writing*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 111.

[45] Paul Saenger, 'Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society', *Viator*, 13 (1982), 367-414 (p. 380).

meaning of *dictare* seems to have been brought by the predominance of oral composition of literary works. Authors in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages often composed their work orally and dictated it to their scribes. In this mechanism of oral composition, the author can be named dictator, and the scribe writer.

However, when the ancient authors set about composition, conventionally they begin with invocation and maintain that they compose with the help of divine power. The most typical example can be found in the opening invocation of Homer's *Odyssey,* 'Tell me, O Muse, of the man of many devices who wandered full many ways after he had sacked the sacred citadel of Troy'.[46] Here, the author represents himself as communicator of the story of Odysseus which is told by Muse, the true author. When the technology of writing had been developed and dictation was introduced into literary composition, the author began to be represented as scribe who records the divine words. Paul Saenger sheds light on 'the transformation of the author from dictator to writer' depicted in medieval illuminations.

> From the ninth to the twelfth century and to a lesser degree in the thirteenth century, authors were customarily shown dictating their works. God as the true author of Holy Scripture was depicted whispering to Old Testament prophets and dictating to the evangelists serving as secretaries taking down the spoken word. The church fathers of antiquity and the early Middle Ages, Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Gregory the Great, Sulpicius Serverus, and Rabanus Maurus, were drawn either as scribes recording divine dictation or as authors in their own right dictating to secretaries.[47]

What is emphasised through the images of dictation depicted in the medieval illuminations is the concept that the word is given by God or absolute being to human beings. Mark Vessey analyses how the figure of author playing the part of prophet who communicated the words of God was identified as scribe by theologians of antiquity and the early Middle Ages, quoting

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[46] Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. by A. T. Murray (London: Heinemann, 1919; repr. 1966), p. 3.
[47] Saenger, p.388.

Cassiodorus and Jerome.[48] Cassiodorus defines prophesy as 'the divine breath (aspiratio divina)' and as 'an outstandingly splendid and truthful form of utterance [. . .] composed not by man's will but poured forth by divine inspiration'(Vessey, pp. 80-81). Vessey discusses Cassiodorus's comments on the following verse of the Psalms.

> Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum; dico ego opera mea regi. Lingua mea calamus scribae velociter scribentis.

> My heart has belched forth a good word: I speak my works to the kings. My tongue is the pen of a scribe that writeth swiftly. (p. 82)

What attracts Vessey's attention is the phrase 'opusculum prophetae' that Cassiodorus uses to explain 'opera mea' in the Psalms. The word 'opusculum' means a small 'literary work' in later Latin, but it does not refer to a manuscript or 'a product of mechanical writing'. According to Cassiodorus's definition, it denotes the psalmist's presentation of 'the fine texture of this psalm through his voice's ministry (ministerio suae vocis)' or 'his making the divine words resound by the organ of his tongue as if he were penning them'. Vessey rephrases 'opusculum' as the 'work of mind inspired by God' (p. 83). The tasks shared by the psalmist and a scribe are listening to the dictator, that is God or the human author, and reproducing his work faithfully. What the psalmist and a scribe offer is pure physical labour without their own 'volition'. Cassiodorus explains that 'he [the psalmist] compared his tongue to a scribe's pen; it will faithfully express the words of the Holy Spirit as a pen depicts on paper the motion of our thought' (Vessey, p.83).

Interestingly, Cassiodorus writes his commentary under the influence of Jerome and 'it is Jerome [. . .] who defines the prophet's works as literary art'. Jerome asserts that the psalmist 'who is about to sing praises to the Lord dedicates to him his song and little work and, in place of the Muses of the pagans, invokes him at the outset whom he intends to praise'

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[48] Mark Vessey, 'From *Cursus* to *Dictus*: Figures of Writing in Western Late Antiquity (Agustine, Jerome, Cassiodorus, Bede)', in *European Literary Careers: The Author from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. by Patrick Cheney and Frederick A. De Armas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), pp. 47-103 (pp. 80-92). Further references to this paper are given after quotations in the text.

(Vessey, p.84). As shown in the commentaries by Cassiodorus and Jerome, in their times the author was always identified as the dictator. The psalmist's aim of invoking divine guidance is to sanctify his own composition and present it as the words of God. The author of the Psalms is the psalmist, however, when he composes his works by invoking divine spirit, he turns from author to copyist. Transformation of author from dictator to 'writer' is happening in the metaphor which compares the author's tongue to a scribe's pen. While being determined to follow the attitude of the psalmist, Jerome conceives 'the Holy Spirit' to be the medium that helps inscribe his words in the hearts of his listeners: 'Therefore I should also prepare my tongue as if it were a stylus or a pen, so that by means of it the Holy Spirit may write in the hearts of those who hear me with their ears' (Vessey, p. 85). What Jerome recognises in the relation among God, author and a scribe's pen corresponds to the concept of the Holy Trinity. From Jerome's point of view, when the author composes his works, his mind is inspired by the Holy Spirit of God. Although the author's act of dictating his work is interpreted as the first stage of transmission of God's words, the text is conceived to be intact since the mediator which gives utterance to the words of God with the instrument of the human author's tongue is the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit transmits the words not only from God to the human author but also through the author's tongue to his scribe and then his readers. As long as the Holy Spirit mediates the transmission of the authorial text, the 'original' text is preserved. Since the author's original text preserves the words dictated by God, it is supposed to present the perfect state of the text.

Jerome's view supports the idea that in late antiquity 'literary composition is the work of a mind, not a hand, and of a mind guided by a higher power, hence no longer simply the author's own' (Vessey, p. 63). Here, to go back to the earlier question of where we can find the authorial intention of Jerome's works, it seems safe to answer that the authorial intention is located in the mind of the author composing his works. Although the humanist scholars such as Amerbach and Erasmus do not seem to have believed that God is the true author of the works of Jerome, their idealised 'original' text of Jerome presupposes its immaculate, flawless, perfect state. According to Mynors and Thomson's translation, Erasmus's purpose in preparing the works of Jerome for publication is to reconstruct 'what

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the author wrote (quid ab authore positum fuerit)' or 'the original reading (primam lectionem)'.[49] Strictly speaking, 'quid ab authore postium fuerit' is translated verbatim as 'what has been put by the author'. 'Postium' is a passive perfect participle of '*ponere*'. *Ponere* means 'to put' and entails the act of speaking. This suggests Erasmus's awareness of the possibility that Jerome did not write his composition in his own hand. 'Quid ab authore postium fuerit' can be translated as 'what has been spoken by the author'. That is, he intends to restore the perfect 'original' text as has been composed and spoken by the author. It seems reasonable to argue that the authorial text existed primarily when it was spoken by the author and recorded by a scribe, whilst bearing in mind that the author's spoken words were not always recorded correctly by his scribe.

As mentioned above, the exemplars which had come to Erasmus's hand did not retain Jerome's original text, but rather survived as 'not so much corrupted as virtually destroyed and defaced' because of the abuse of the text by illiterate scribes. Further, Erasmus states that he considered amending the works of Jerome due to 'this insufferable ill-treatment of so eminent a doctor of the church' (*Correspondence*, III, p. 260). One persuasive argument might be that Erasmus's editorial labours were motivated by the absence of the exemplars retaining the original text. Even so, there seems to be a discrepancy between Erasmus's awareness that Jerome's original words had never been written in his own hand and his professed efforts to restore the original; for it was impossible to bring back the original text which had been lost to documentation. What came to his hand was the most corrupt text, at the opposite pole to the idealised original text. Despite this fact, as Erasmus himself acknowledges, it was the corrupt text which provoked him to think about the original, which must have been free from scribal errors. Behind 'the vestiges of the shapes of the script as may survive' he assumes the perfect text composed in Jerome's mind. In order to realise his ideal, Erasmus had to start reconstructing the works of Jerome by removing the errors of the exemplars.

In fact, the terms which humanist scholars most frequently employed to refer to one of the procedures of preparing an edition describe the correction process of textual errors: they are either derivatives or etymologies of the verbs *emendare*, *castigare*, *repurgare*, and

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[49] See note 40 above.

corrigere. As indicated by the apparent meaning of *emendare*, all four words presuppose the existence of errors when used in reference to the editorial process. The word *emendare* consists of *ex* meaning 'out of' and *mendum* meaning 'an error', hence *emendare* refers to the act of getting rid of errors. *Castigare* meaning 'to correct', is derived from the adjective *castus* which connotes 'morally pure', 'unpolluted' and 'spotless'. *Repurgare* is formed by two parts: *re* signifies in trope 'a restoration of a thing to its original condition', and *purgare* means 'to clean' and 'to purify'. Therefore, *repurgare* stands for 'cleaning', and hence removing something 'for the sake of cleaning'. *Corrigere* meaning 'to correct', is composed of *conr* which derives from *cum* signifying 'to bring together', and of *regere*, which denotes 'to keep from going wrong'.[50] In a letter written in about September 1514, Maarten van Dorp, professional editor, theologian, humanist scholar at the University of Louvain, admires Erasmus's emendation of Jerome's letters.[51] He writes, 'I hear you have purged (*repurgasse*) St Jerome's letters of the errors (*mendis*) in which they abounded hitherto, killed off (*iugulasse*) the spurious pieces (*adulteria*) with your critical dagger (*obelis*), and thrown light (*elucidasse*) upon the dark places (*obscura*)'.[52] *Iugulare* means 'to cut the throat' and hence 'to kill'. Here, Dorp describes Erasmus's editorial labours in the metaphor of eliminating evils to represent the process of correcting the textual errors. Erasmus's description of his editorial tasks also starts and ends with his efforts to amend the text so that it will make sense to the reader, and to annotate the complex passages 'which [bring] even the erudite reader to a stop' (*Correspondence*, III, 108). The documented concept and practices of scholarly editing in the Renaissance bring to light the fact that editorial correction was regarded as restoring the text's original meaning, while scribal errors were considered as depriving the text of its sense.

The editorial terminology employed by Dorp suggests that scholarly editing in the Renaissance means reproducing the error-free text of the ancient works. Lisa Jardine states some 'castigators' were so conscious about their expertise that they sometimes left their

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[50] *Lewis and Short's Latin-English Lexicon* in *Perseus Digital Library*
<http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/PERSEUS/Reference/lewisandshort.html > [accessed 20 November 2008]
[51] On Maarten van Dorp as 'castigator'and his association with Erasmus's circle, see Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 99-127.
[52] *Correspondence*, III, 21; *Opvs Epistolarvm*, II, 14.

signature to indicate the part for which they were responsible.[53] Gerard Geldenhauer 'signs off' emending the first book of *De inventione dialectica* (1515) with his name and an epigram. Jardine recognises the distinction between the first book and the others in 'assiduousness' of textual correction. What the arduousness of Geldenhauer's textual correction and his signature indicate is the fact that editorship had been fully established among the Renaissance humanist scholars.[54]

While establishing editorship in publication of the classical text, Erasmian humanists developed the argument over the standards of textual correction. Dorp throws a question at Erasmus about the fundamentals of textual correctness, giving him a warning against his revision of the Vulgate.

> I understand that you have also revised (*castigasse*) the New Testament and written notes (*annotasse*) on over a thousand passages, to the great profit of theologians. [. . .] But what sort of an operation this is, to correct (castigare) the Scriptures, and in particular to correct the Latin copies by means of the Greek, requires careful thought. [. . .] Now I differ from you on this question of truth and integrity, and claim that these are qualities of the Vulgate edition that we have in common use. For it is not reasonable that whole church, which has always used this edition and still both approves and uses it, should for all these centuries have been wrong. Nor is it probable that all those holy Fathers should have been deceived, and all those saintly men who relied on this version when deciding the most difficult questions in general councils, defending and expounding the faith, and publishing canons to which even kings submitted their civil power. [. . .] In any case, do you believe the Greek copies to be freer from error (emendaciores) than the Latin? [. . .] And how can you be sure you have lighted on correct (castigata) copies, assuming that in fact you have found several, however readily I may grant that the Greeks may possess some copies which are correct

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[53] Jardine, pp. 103-111. Further references to her monograph are given after quotations in the text.
[54] On Erasmus's proprietary editorship, see Massai, *Shakespeare* (2007), pp. 41-55.

(castigata)?[55]

The argument of Dorp's letter can be reduced to three questions: one is concerned with how to discern a correct text from an error when the text makes sense in itself, another with the possibility that Erasmus's textual alteration to the Vulgate can deny the orthodox Christian faith on which the Church has based its dogmas, and the other with whether there is evidence to judge the Greek texts preserve the Scriptures more correctly than the Vulgate. In fact, Erasmus's revision of the Vulgate involves emendation of readings of the text which make sense in their own right and defies the traditional reading.[56] As Dorp gives a warning, both the concept and practice of textual correction presuppose that the text has been erroneously transmitted. Therefore, Erasmus's publication of the 'corrected' Vulgate means his defiance against the original Vulgate, hence the whole organization of the Christian Church. Dorp also presents the fact that the history of Christianity had relied on the text of the Vulgate since the Church Fathers. This suggests that the denial of the original Vulgate would lead to the refusal of the history of Christianity which Erasmus himself was sitting on. Thus, Erasmus's critical attitude towards the accuracy of the Vulgate text seems to Dorp to mean his giving up his faith which is supposed to be sustained by the text.

In the Christian Church where only an interpretation of a verse decides its orthodoxy or heresy, Erasmus's 'correction' of the Scripture and his Pelagian annotations were sufficient to make him the target of thundering criticism among both his Catholic and Protestant opponents (Coogan, p. 25-51). In his 'correction' of the Vulgate, Erasmus rejects the traditional reading of 'original sin'. In Romans 5. 12, the Douay-Rheims Bible based on the Vulgate text reads, 'Wherefore as by one man sin entered into this world and by sin death; and so death passed upon all men, in whom all have sinned'.[57] This is interpreted as 'death rules every man because of the original sin inherited from Adam' (Coogan, p. 32). What received

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[55] *Correspondence*, III, 20-21; *Opvs Epistolarvm*, II, 14-15.

[56] The dispute over Erasmus's correction of the Vulgate between Erasmus and his contemporary theologians is discussed in Robert Coogan, *Erasmus, Lee and the Correction of the Vulgate: The Shaking of the Foundations*, (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1992). Further references to this monograph are given after quotations in the text.

[57] Romans 5. 12.

Erasmus's attention is the part 'in whom' where the Greek text appears as 'εφ ω'.[58] The Greek text is translated as 'in quo' which means 'in whom' in the Vulgate, but Erasmus renders it into 'quatenus' which means 'because' in his Latin annotation.[59] Erasmus's emendation is translated into English in *Paraphrase in Romans* (1540) in which the text appears as 'Wherefore, as by one man synne entred in the world, and death by the meanes of sinne, even so death also went over all men, in so muche as all manne sinned' (Coogan, p. 32). As clearly indicated by this English translation, the alteration to the Latin text from 'in quo' to 'quatenus' changed the meaning of 'original sin' from the mythological doom of human beings brought by the fall of Adam to a human activity depending on free will. Put another way, Erasmus's emendation puts emphasis on free will by which men choose to sin whereas the idea that sin and death belong to nature given by God to men as Adam's descendants weighs in the reading of the Vulgate. Erasmus's emendation of the text was regarded as being based on heretical Pelagian anthropocentric theology which stressed that men could choose to be sinless by their own will and denied the doctrine of original sin.[60]

Thus, Erasmus's project of revising the original Vulgate was to bring the antagonism between Christian faith and humanistic criticism into sharp relief. Although Dorp fears that Erasmus's project of correcting the Scripture threatens the authority of the Church, and shakes the foundation of the Christian world, his objection to Erasmus's project nevertheless is not based on the evidence that the original Vulgate presents the most correct text but on his faith in the edition. The motive power of humanism was doubt of the authenticity of the classical text. In other words, the humanist editors' correction of the ancient text aimed at establishing the authentic text substantiated by the hard evidence of indisputable fact. What aroused doubt in Erasmus's mind about the authenticity of the Vulgate edition was the Church Fathers' quotation from the other versions which did not agree with the Vulgate text, the words in the Vulgate which have been wrongly translated from Greek, and the existence of textual variants

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[58] *Textus Receptus* (1550 / 1894) in *The Unbound Bible* <http: //unbound.biola.edu> [accessed 26 November 2008]

[59] Erasmus's Latin translation appears as 'Propterea, quemadmodum per unum hominem peccatum in mundum introiit,ac per peccatum mors, et sic in omnes homines mors pervasit, quaetenus omnes peccaverunt', in Coogan, p. 32.

[60] Coogan reports that although Erasmus censured Pelagianism as heresy, he 'defended a central Pelagian tenet citing as one of his authorities, a pseudo-Jerome, who was (apparently, without Erasmus' knowing it) Pelagius himself' (p. 26); *DNB*, 'Pelagius'.

among the copies of the Vulgate itself (*Correspondence*, III, 134-135). These are the facts given by Erasmus in an answer to Dorp's question of standards of the correctness of the text. Indeed the original Vulgate edition had been the authorised Scripture in the Christian world; however, it was not the standardized text among so many different versions. What Erasmus attempted to achieve in the publication of his revised Vulgate was the standardization of the holy Scripture.

In the late Renaissance, standardization of the classical text seems to have come to be regarded as being founded on scientific textual correction. Joseph Scaliger made an attempt to standardize the ancient chronology in the publication of *Opus Novum de Emendatione Temporum* (1583). According to Grafton, both the 'humanistic' and 'systematic' traditions of approach to chronology already had a long history when Scaliger set about his work.[61] The 'humanistic' tradition was founded on the efforts of the editors of the ancient works to 'explicate the ancients' references to dates and calendars', and on the 'systematic' tradition on calculation of the ancient calendars systems of astronomers and geographers (*Defenders*, p. 107). Although Scaliger's *De Emendatione* is compiled in the 'systematic' approach, his earlier notes indicate that he started his work on chronology with determining the etymology of the name of the month and comparing variants in the records of a calendar that appear in histories.

Scaliger's 'systematic' approach drew on his predecessors and classical astronomy.[62] The method of applying the data of eclipses to the ancient texts to know the exact day of a historical event had been firmly established when Scaliger set out to compile his chronology. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Heinrich Bünting, whose work was based on Copernicus's, describes an advantage of using the records of eclipses as 'quantitative certainty' because 'they reveal chronological intervals with absolute precision' (Grafton: 'Eclipses', p. 215). 'The revival of astronomy and related fields that took place in the Holy Roman Empire from the fifteenth century onwards', Grafton continues, 'had rested on efforts

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[61] Grafton devotes the fourth chapter to 'Scaliger's Chronology: Philology, Astronomy, World History' in Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in and Age of Science, 1450-1800*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 104-144. Further references to this monograph are given after quotations in the text.

[62] Anthony Grafton, 'Some Uses of Eclipses in Early Modern Chronology', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64.2 (2003), 213-229. Further references to this paper are given after quotations in the text.

to combine scientific with philological studies' ('Eclipses', p. 221) In his *Astronomicum Caesareum* (1540) which gives explanation of the Ptolemaic universe, Petrus Apianus affirms that the knowledge of eclipses can correct 'the imprecision of normal histories': 'Only knowledge of eclipses can amend this great evil and restore it to a better state. By eclipses, after all, all events can be fixed to precise years, before Christ no less than after him' ('Eclipses', p. 222). What Grafton has brought to light is the fact that the data of eclipses were presented by scholars as a 'hard core of indisputable fact' or 'irrefutable evidence' to correct an erroneous record of history. In brief, scientific knowledge provided a standard of correctness for a historical record.

Scaliger's view of textual correction is reflected in the title of his chronology, *Opus Novum de Emendatione Temporum*. He attaches more importance to textual correction than to textual criticism which treats textual variants discovered by collation of the classical texts. He describes production of 'Various Readings, Old Readings, Miscellanies' as 'the sort of the self-advertising philologians of today', while stating that 'the expounding and textual correction of entire authors' are fruitful for him and his colleagues.[63] What the term 'correction' justifies lies in the act of 'improvement' of the classical literature which should be passed on to the future generations. In the preface to *De Emendatione*, Scaliger hopes that his editorial work will be read by the future generation ('posteris ut sit, optamus'). For this purpose, he struggled to 'restore the past' (vetus redder) and published his work. [64] Scaliger compares prospective reprints of his editorial work to human offspring who inherit qualities and physical features of their parents, and suggests that his work is free from such corruptions as will be transmitted to ensuing editions. He states if he and his colleagues could endure the judgement of their contemporary readers, their edition would make progress.[65] It is not clear whether Scaliger points to the moment his chronology was published or the one he finished his compilation of the work as his edition's birth point. But he seems to mean that his editorial work will improve as it is accepted by the reader. This image of transformation of Scaliger's

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[63] *Autobiography of Joseph Scalisger*, trans. by George W. Robinson, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), p. 32.
[64] Iosephi Scaligeri, *Opus de Emendatione Temporum*, (Coloniae Allobrogum: Typis Roverianis, 1629), a2^r.
[65] See note 61 above. The Latin text appears as 'si iudicis huius aeui stemus, melius erat, ne natum quidem fuisse, insignem ad deformitatem puerum'.

editorial work reminds us about the concept of rebirth of Erasmus's Jerome. In publication of his emendation of chronology, Scaliger describes the acceptance of his editorial work by the reader as the ultimate purpose of the restoration of the classical text. He wishes to pass his work on to future generations after the endurance of the criticism of his contemporaries. It can be said that Scaliger's goal of emendation of the classical work and its publication was to widely disseminate his edition so that his editorial work would become a standard edition of ancient chronology.

As can be observed from above, although a term equivalent with the modern English term 'edit' did not exist in early modern Europe, the concept and practice of editing had been fully established among the humanist scholars in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The encounter with variant texts of the classical works encouraged textual scholars to conceive the notion of a single archetype. The task of correcting scribal errors led to the attempt to restore authorial intentions. The author who presented the words of God was considered the only possibly perfect form of textual transmission. Even though the work was thought to be inspired by God, the editor's point of reference was, therefore, always the author. Besides, the standardization of scientific knowledge was based on humanistic studies, and the standardization of scientific knowledge promoted the establishment of textual editing in the Renaissance. Humanist scholars frequently discussed their editorial principles and scientific grounds on which to choose a more correct base text, and aimed at producing a standard edition to be passed on to future generations. It can be concluded that the editorial labours of the humanist scholars made the renaissance of classical works possible.

Chapter 2

'The Concept of Editing in Seventeenth-Century England'

The humanist editions of classical and contemporary literature published in Continental Europe had been distributed to the English book trade since the late fifteenth century when the English market started to depend on Continental printers for such books as used by scholars and students at schools and universities.[1] The advancement in editorial methods at the Continental presses must have been evident to the contemporary English literati. The publication of four editions of Thomas More's *Utopia* in Louvain, Paris and Basel between 1516 and 1518 indicates that the English author was deeply involved in the forefront of contemporary editorial activities in the Continent. Massai states that More's 'familiarity with Erasmus's editorial methods had a crucial impact on the printing and publication of vernacular texts in England.'[2] The increase in the number of English publications by More coincides with the rise in the publication in vernacular languages across Europe in the first half of the sixteenth century.[3] By this time, Continental intellectuals had started to publish defence of their own vernaculars and discuss their grammar and orthography.[4]

In the intellectual gravitation towards the standardisation in principles of writing and editing, the visual arrangement of the dramatic text such as the placement of speech prefixes, speeches and stage directions on the page had also come to be standardised by the end of the sixteenth century both in the Continent and in England.[5] The Continental textual scholars adopted the humanistic editorial systems in the publication of both classical and contemporary

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[1] The books were supplied by printers in Paris, Rouen, Antwerp, Cologne, Geneva, Venice, Basel, Strassburg, Zürich, Louvain, Wesel, Lyons, Florence and other cities. Edward Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade : Short Notices of All Printers, Stationers, Book-Binders, and Others Connected with It from the Issue of the First Dated Book in 1457 to the Incorporation of the Company of the Stationers in 1557* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1905; repr. Charleston: Biblio Life, 2009), pp.197-200; Hirsch, pp. 111-12.

[2] For Erasmus's and his collaborating editors' involvement in the publication of *Utopia*, and its impact on the print publication of vernacular texts in England, see Massai, *Shakespeare* (2007), pp. 49-58.

[3] STC records only 2 titles written in Latin by More among 13 published between 1510 and 1533, two years before his death. For the increase of publications in vernacular languages in Europe, see Hirsch, pp. 132-33.

[4] Hirsch, p. 133.

[5] Massai, *Shaespeare* (2007), pp. 59-60; T. H. Howard Hill, 'The Evolution of the Form of Plays in English During the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43 (1990), 112-45 (p. 143); Peters, *Theatre of the Book* (2000), p. 24.

dramas. It did not take long until the humanist editorial methods were introduced in the vernacular dramatic publication in England. The humanists' restoration of the classical literature also encouraged English writers to embrace classicism in their English writings which, on the other hand, contributed to the advancement of the vernacularism in England.[6] Thus, it was in the confluence of the vernacularism and classicism that humanistic editorial convention had been introduced into English dramatic texts in the early sixteenth century.[7]

Massai points out possible influences of Italian humanist textual convention of describing editorial issues such as the provenance of the copy-text of the edition on the early appearance of paratextual statements about editorial procedures printed in English plays of 1570s.[8] In the printer's address to the reader written by John Day for the 1570 edition of *The Tragedy of Ferrex and Porrex*, Massai locates a metaphor of the authors' dressing of a ravished maid for 'authorial annotation of the unauthorized version' of 1560, 'which was then indeed used by Day as copy for his edition'.[9] George Gascoigne's editorial awareness is demonstrated by his paratextual reference in *The Posies* of 1575 to his emendation of 'filthie phrases' and 'erronious places' of the 1573 edition of a miscellaneous collection of poems and English translations of two Italian plays by Ariosto – *Supposes* and *Jocasta*.[10] He also provides his translations of two plays with marginal annotations. Massai sheds light on his threefold role of 'author-editor-annotator' by quoting his note appended to *Jocasta* to explain his editorial treatment of the glosses in the margin.[11]

Massai's study also shows that the editorial discourse in the paratext of English printed drama started to appear more frequently under the names of printers such as John Wolfe and Richard Jones in the late sixteenth century.[12] Such paratextual discourse preserves evidential records of the development of the concept of editing for dramatic publication in

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[6] John Mulryan, 'Jonson's Classicism', in *The Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson*, ed. by Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 163-74; John Mulryan, 'Tradition and the Individual Talent: Shakespeare's and Jonson's Appropriation of the Classics', *Ben Jonson Journal*, 10 (2003), 117-37; Massai, *Shakespeare* (2007), p. 59.

[7] Massai, *Shakespeare* (2007), pp. 59-68.

[8] Massai, *Shakespeare* (2007), pp. 71-75.

[9] Massai, *Shakespeare* (2007), p. 73; Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, *The Tragidie of Ferrex and Porrex* (London: John Day, [1570]), sig. Aii^r.

[10] Massai, *Shakespeare* (2007), pp. 73-74; George Gascoigne, *The Posies* (London, 1575), sig. iv^r. The translations of two Italian plays occur at sigs Bii^r-Diii^v.

[11] Massai, *Shakespeare* (2007), p. 74; Gascoigne, *Posies* (1575), sig. Diii^v.

[12] Massai, *Shakespeare* (2007), pp. 74-87.

England. And such paratextual discourse on literary editing was developed by seventeenth-century English intellectuals including poets, playwrights and stationers.

This chapter aims at exploring the development of the concept of literary editing in seventeenth-century England by investigating the editorial arguments preserved in the paratextual matter. 'The paratext', in Gérard Genette's words, 'is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public'.[13] Furthermore, the paratext can direct the reader to receive the book in a particular frame as designed by its producers. For example, the paratext can become a space for the book to be represented as belonging to a particular genre.[14] As a genre indication reflects the book producers' editorial design, the book defined by the particular genre is assumed to have received appropriate editorial treatment. Ben Jonson, most notably, represented his printed plays as poetry. In order to offer his plays as such, Jonson introduced the humanist method of textual editing which had been developed in the Continent into his dramatic publications.[15] He also made an editorial claim about textual authenticity for the first time in the history of the dramatic publication.[16] The humanistic editorial pursuit of the accurate meaning of the author is reflected in the English playwright's 'philological interest in textual rectification'.[17]

The editorial design inscribed in the paratext can convey how the producers of the book conceive the concept of editing. What I address in this chapter is not the nature of the paratext itself, but the editorial concept documented in the paratexts of the seventeenth-century literary publications in England.[18] The concept of editing had been established partly through the exchange of both praise and criticism among members of literary communities on each other's publications in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their commentaries on the works of their own and other writers are often found in the prefatory matter such as addresses

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[13] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. By Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 1.

[14] Genette, *Paratexts* (1997), p. 11.

[15] For his imitation of the Continental humanist textual practice, see Chapter 3.

[16] The title page of *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1600) bears an advertisement note: '*AS IT WAS FIRST COMPOSED* by the AUTHOR B. I.'. John Jowett, 'Jonson's Authorization of Type in *Sejanus* and Other Early Quartos', *Studies in Bibliography* 44 (1991), 254-65 (p.256).

[17] Joseph Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 136.

[18] For close examination of the nature of the paratext, see Genette, *Paratexts* (1997), and most recently, Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, (eds.), *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

to the reader by the author or the publisher and commendatory verses.[19] The contributors of the commendatory verses to literary works were friends of the author or the publisher who often formed literary circles. Investigating the paratexts, especially commendatory verses, epistles dedicatory and addresses to the reader penned by the authors, the editors and the stationers of seventeenth-century England, I will also explore their terminology as associated with their actual editorial activities.

Ben Jonson was probably the first professional playwright to intend his stage plays to be published as literature. In his address 'To the Reader' prefaced to the quarto text (Q) of *Sejanus, His Fall* (1605), Jonson defends his edition from prospective censure of its failure to be classified as a 'true *Poëme*'.[20] The quality of being 'true' in regard to '*Poëme*' can be rephrased in Jonson's words into 'the ould state, and splendour of *Drammatick Poëmes*', which, the playwright believes, can be neither sustained 'in these our Times' nor accepted by 'such Auditors, as commonly Things are presented' (sig. ¶2^r). The true quality of '*Drammatick Poëmes*' belongs to the works of 'the *Auntients*' (sig. ¶2^r). Although Jonson ostensibly regrets to renounce his edition's claim to be a 'true *Poëme*', his pedantic confession of his failure to adopt 'the strict Lawes of *Time*' and to include 'a proper *Chorus*' in Q *Sejanus* accentuates his ambition to rank his work with the classical '*Drammatick Poëmes*'(sig. ¶2^r).[21] The quarto edition of *The Fountaine of Selfe-Love; or Cynthias Revels* (1601) does not include the author's address to the reader, but Jonson took an opportunity in its prologue to identify the play with '*his* Poesie; *which* (*he knowes*) *affoords*, | *Words above Action*: *matter*, *above wordes*'.[22] The distinction Jonson makes between common plays and his dramatic poetry arises from his elitist thinking about the creation of poetry. Quoting the elitist notion current among the contemporary learned that poetry is not for 'every man', Zachary Lesser shows that there was a tendency for some learned plays to target elite readers.[23] In fact, this

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[19]   The function of commendatory verse as commentary on the main text is discussed in Wayne A. Chandler, *Commendatory Verse and Authorship in the English Renaissance* (New York: Edwin Mellen, 2003).

[20]   Ben Jonson, *Sejanus, His Fall* (London, 1605), sig. ¶ 2^r. Further references to this play will be made by its short title *Sejenus*.

[21]   For the classical 'unity of time' and 'proper chorus', see Ben Jonson, *Sejanus, His Fall*, ed. By Philip J. Ayres (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 50.

[22]   Ben Jonson, *The Fountaine of Selfe-Love, or Cynthias Revels* (London, 1601), sig. B1^r. Further references to this play will be made by its short title, *Cynthias Revels*.

[23]   For a concise description of publicity prefaces with 'the elitist emphasis on wit and classicism', see Zachary Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

elitist concept of poetry and the contemporary playwrights' claim that their plays were poems were the driving forces in developing the concept and practice of textual editing in dramatic publication, and to elevate the status of contemporary English plays to literature.

In his epistle dedicatory to Prince Henry prefaced to *The Masque of Queenes* (1609), Jonson encourages the prince in the 'studies, that goe under the title of *Humanitie*', and refers to poetry as their fruit.[24] He continues to write:

> *Poetry*, my Lord, is not borne with every man; nor every day. And in her generall right, it is now my minute to thanke your Highnesse, who not only do honor her with your eare, but are curious to examine her with your eye, and inquire into her beauties, and strengthes. Where though it hath prov'd a worke of some difficulty to me, to retrive the particular *Authorities* (according to your gracious command, and a desire borne out of judgement) to those things, which I writ out of fulnesse, and memory of my former readings. (A3^v)

The passage indicates what qualifies Jonson's text as poetry and justifies his elitist thinking on the creation of poetry. He argues that poetry is produced through the study of 'particular Authorities'. From the marginal annotations of the quarto masque where he names ancient authors such as Horace, Homer, Ovid, Lucan, Theocritus, Martial, Claudian, Tibullus, Apuleius, Hesiod, Athenaeus and others, it is evident that these classical authors constitute part of his 'former readings'. Jonson's praises for the prince's 'favour to letters, and these gentler studies, that goe under the title of Humanitie' in the epistle dedicatory reinforce the playwright's view that classical studies are essential in understanding poetry (A3^r). According to Jonson, Henry's humanistic ability to 'examine' poetry and 'inquire into her beauties and strengthes' was cultivated by the studies of 'Humanitie', and was not to be acquired by 'every man' (A3^v).

Jonson expands the efficacy of reading 'the *Ancients*' and his elitist thinking on 'the power of liberall studies' in *Timber: or, Discoveries* (1640) whose title page advertises that the work was 'MADE UPON MEN | AND MATTER: AS THEY | have flow'd out of his daily

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Press, 2004), pp. 2-4.

[24] Ben Jonson, *The Masque of Queenes* (London, 1609), A3^r.

Read-|ings; or had their refluxe to his | peculiar Notion of the Times.'[25] In a paragraph encapsulated in the marginal Latin annotation: 'Non nimiùm creden-|dum anti-|quitati', the author writes, 'I know *Nothing* can conduce more to letters than to examine the writings of the *Ancients*' (M3[r]). What Jonson means by 'letters' can be construed as 'literature' or 'knowledge or learning' acquired through 'the reading and study of written texts'.[26] The 'knowledge or learning' acquired through 'the reading and study of written texts' is not superficial information obtained from a reiteration of a literal meaning of the text, but profound understanding of 'Truth' conveyed by the text (M3[r]). Jonson does not elucidate the meaning of the word 'Truth'. But he states that 'Truth lyes open to all; it is no mans severall', and that 'the Ancients' who 'made the way that went before us' opened 'the gates' to 'Truth' (M3[r]). He also refers to 'Truth' as the ultimate purpose of his study. Whilst he denies his desire 'to be equalled to' the ancient writers, he wishes 'to have my reason examin'd with theirs, and so much faith to be given them, or me as those shall evict' (M3[r]). He suggests that his 'reason' or 'the guiding principle of the mind'[27] were acquired by reading 'the Ancients' who 'have taught [him], and will ever' (M3[r]). Their 'reason' is the touchstone by which Jonson wants to have his own intellectual power judged, wishing 'so much faith to be given' the classical writings, or his own which embodies 'Truth' being led by 'the Ancients'. He continues, 'if I have any thing right, defend it as Truth's, not mine (save as it conduceth to a common good)' (M3[r]). Judging from the contrast made between 'Truth' and 'a common good' which Jonson allows to be attributed to him, the former is represented as absolute good. This interpretation is supported by the last line of the passage: 'Stand for *Truth*, and 'tis enough' (M3[r]). From the above, it can be concluded that Jonson calls his writing which represents 'Truth' under the guidance of the ancients, 'Poetry'.

Nevertheless, Jonson argues that poetry 'is not borne with every man; nor every day' although 'Truth lyes open to all; it is no mans severall'.[28] According to his logic, 'Truth' is contained in the writing of 'the Ancients'; therefore, as long as their writing is accessible to all the readers, the gates to 'Truth' are always open to them. However, the process of reaching

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[25] Ben Jonson, *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson: The Second Volume* (London, 1640), sig. M3[r].
[26] *OED*, 'letter', 5. a.
[27] *OED*, 'reason', 2. a.
[28] Jonson, *Masque of Queenes* (1609), sig. A3[v]; Jonson, *Workes: The Second Volume* (1640), sig. M3[r]

after 'Truth' needs to be accompanied by the study of the classics, which is not embraced by 'others original ignorance'.[29] The argument that the study of the classics is necessary to discover 'Truth' is where Jonson's elitist thinking starts to emerge. In Jonson's theory, although the gates to 'Truth' are open to all, whether they can discover it depends on their intellectual ability and labour. He writes on 'the power of liberall studies' or 'Science' in *Discoveries* as follows.

> There is a more secret *Cause:* and the power of the liberall studies lyes more hid, then that it can bee wrought out by profane wits. It is not every mans way to hit. They are men (I confesse) that set the *Caract*, and *Value* upon things, as they love them; but *Science* is not every mans *Mistresse.*[30]

This passage echoes Jonson's elitist thinking on the creation of poetry expressed in the epistle dedicatory to Prince Henry in *The Masque of Queenes*. 'The power of liberall studies' can be equated with knowledge obtained from the 'studies, that goe under the title of *Humanitie*'. His arguments on literary elitism are reduced to three strands. One is that 'the power of liberall studies' enables insight into 'Truth' woven into the classical writing. Another is that 'the power of liberall studies' permits recreating the 'Truth' in the form of poetry. A third is that both 'the power of liberall studies' and the ability to understand and produce poetry cannot be acquired by 'every man'.[31]

These interpretations of Jonson's notional statements about the relation between the study of the classics and the creation of poetry are supported by his own views on the requisites for the poet given in *Discoveries*. Defining the 'Poet' as the one 'that fayneth and formeth a fable, and writes things like the Truth', Jonson states that 'a goodness of natural wit' is required of the poet in order to 'powre out the Treasure of his minde'.[32] 'If his wit will not arrive soddainly at the dignitie of the Ancients', Jonson advises his readers to let him not 'offer, to turne it away from Study' but 'come to it againe upon better cogitation; try an other time, with labour' (R2^r). He suggests that the poet should take enough time to practice writing a verse in imitation of the best ancient writers 'to convert the substance, or Riches of an other

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[29] Jonson, *Masque of Queenes* (1609), sig. A3^v.
[30] Jonson, *Workes: The Second Volume* (1640), sig. M3^r
[31] Jonson, *Workes: The Second Volume* (1640), sig. M3^r; Jonson, *The Masque of Queenes*, A3^v.
[32] Jonson, *Workes: The Second Volume* (1640), sigs R1^{r-v}.

Poet, to his owne use' (R2ʳ). Jonson also describes the purpose of 'an exactness of Studie, and multiplicity of reading' requisite for the poet as 'to master the matter, and Stile, as to shew, hee knowes, how to handle, place, or dispose of either, with elegancie, when need shall bee' (R2ʳ). The 'substance, or Riches of an other *Poet*' which can be converted 'to his own use' are paraphrases of 'Truth' which is conveyed through the ancient writing to be recreated in the work of the poet. As shown by the varying descriptions of 'Truth' in *Discoveries*, its substance does not permit specific denomination. Even the word 'Truth' cannot be defined by particular words or phenomena. What Jonson calls 'Truth' to designate some substance which is conveyed across the classical writing and the contemporary poetry is transformable through 'the matter, and Stile' of 'a *Poeme*'.[33] It is the transformation of the 'Truth', according to Jonson, that the poet must realise in his writing with his skill he has acquired by the study of the classics (R1ᵛ).

If he can acquire the skill of recreating 'Truth' in his poetry 'in a year, or two', Jonson writes in *Discoveries*, 'it is well' (R2ʳ). He justifies the difficult and time-consuming process of the study of the classics and the creation of poetry. His conviction that 'things, wrote with labour, deserve to be so read, and will last their Age' (R2ʳ) filters into the passage that begins with 'Poetry, my Lord, is not borne with every man; nor every day' in the epistle of *The Masque of Queenes* (A3ᵛ). His elitist thinking on the creation of poetry is based on his confidence in the intellectual 'labour' which enables 'Science' to give the poet insight into the classical literature and recreate its essence in a form of poetry by translating it into his own words.[34] 'Science' can be defined as 'knowledge acquired by study',[35] here particularly the study of the classics, therefore the intellectual 'labour' means the process of acquiring the knowledge of the classical literature. Jonson suggests that the process of acquiring the knowledge cannot be completed by 'every man'. In *Discoveries*, he calls ones who write without the knowledge of the classical literature 'common Rymers' who 'powre forth Verses, such as they are, (*ex tempore*) but there never come[s] from them one Sense, worth the life of a Day' (R2ᵛ). Thus, what shapes Jonson's elitism in the creation of poetry is his conviction

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[33] Jonson, *Workes: The Second Volume* (1640), sig. R2ʳ.
[34] Jonson, *Workes: The Second Volume* (1640), sigs M3ʳ, R2ʳ.
[35] *OED*, 'science', 2. a.

that 'the comming up of good Poets' who have undergone the difficult process of the study of the classics is 'so thinne and rare among us' (R1^v-R2^r). Jonson's praise for Henry's 'favour to letters, and these gentler studies, that goe under the title of Humanitie' is concluded by the former's expectation that the prince will acquire the knowledge with which he 'will not onely justifie' Jonson's poetry but also 'decline the stiffeness of others originall ignorance, already arm'd to censure' the playwright's work.[36]

The concept of poetry as the re-creation of the essence of the classical literature was current among contemporary elite writers[37] and was to be inherited by a literary coterie of royalists who contributed to the publication of plays during the civil war and in the Interregnum period. In his commendatory verse to Jonson's *Sejanus*, George Chapman compares the author's 'Travaile' of recreating the 'spirits' of his classical sources in his own work to the jeweller's labour to collect 'Pearles and deare Stones, from richest shores and streames' and 'Cut, and adornd beyond their Native Merits'.[38] The text of Chapman's verse printed in the quarto text begins as follows.

> *So brings the wealth-contracting Ieweller*
>
> *Pearles and deare stones, from richest shores & streames,*
>
> *As thy accomplisht Travaile doth confer*
>
> *From skill-inriched soules, their wealthier Gems;*
>
> *So doth his hand enchase in ammeld Gould,*
>
> *Cut, and adornd beyond their Native Merits,*
>
> *His solid Flames, as thine hath here inrould*
>
> *In more then Goulden Verse, those betterd spirits;*
>
> *So he entreasures* Princes *Cabinets,*
>
> *As thy Wealth will their wished Libraries.* (¶3^r)

Analogising the 'skill-inriched soules', who provide the poet's sources, to the 'richest shores

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[36] Jonson, *The Masque of Queenes*, sig. A3^v.

[37] English imitations of classical genres are considered in Kathryn Anderson McEuen, *Classical Influence upon the Tribe of Ben: A Study of Classical Elements in the Non-Dramatic Poetry of Ben Jonson and His Circle* (New York: Octagon Books, 1939; repr. 1968).

[38] Chapman's commendatory verse was first printed in the 1605 quarto text, and reappeared under the title 'Upon Sujanus' as one of the nine poems prefixed to the 1616 works of Ben Jonson. Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), sigs ¶3^r-A1^v; Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sigs ¶4^v-¶5^v.

and streames', Chapman claims what Jonson extracts from his classical sources with his scholarly labour to be 'wealthier gems' than the 'Pearles and deare stones' collected by the jeweller. He continues to compare the process in which Jonson mould the 'spirits' of his classical sources into verse to that in which the jeweller cuts and adorns his gems sparkling like 'solid flames' making them superior to 'their Native Merits'. What is extolled here by Chapman is Jonson's literary skill in recreating the 'spirits' of the classical authors in his own play. In fact, Chapman never calls the work of Jonson a 'play'. He names it 'thy Wealth', 'thy worke', 'thy Poem', 'this Booke', 'his worke', and 'his Song'.[39] His intention to represent Jonson's play as a literary work is expressed most clearly in the last two lines of the quoted passage. Chapman presents his view that Jonson's work will not only be worth standing in the libraries of princes, but also enhance their quality. David Scott Kastan reports that the Bodleian Library's first catalogue made in 1605, the same year as Q *Sejanus* was published, records only three English titles and no plays among more than five thousand titles.[40] Kastan states that 'English literature had not yet even formed as a category of collection and organization' (p. 110). This fact shows how radical it was to present an English play as a re-creation of the classical literature, a literary work brought forth by the author's painstaking studies of ancient writers as early as 1605. However, this claim that the play is dramatic poetry encouraged the literary editing to filter into the vernacular dramatic publishing.

The process of recreating the classical literature depicted by Jonson and Chapman involves the act of translating the essence of the ancient writing into the author's own words. The translation of the 'bettered spirits', in Chapman's words, is equivalent with the process of moulding them into the shape of poetry. This process of creating the poetry by the English poet literally involves the act of translating classical writing from ancient languages into English. Both Jonson and Chapman are known as translators of the classical literature.[41] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the term 'literature' meant history, poetry, politics, religion and any literary culture, and in all these genres, translation played a central role as an

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[39] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), sigs ¶3ʳ, ¶4ʳ, A1ᵛ.
[40] David Scott Kastan, 'Humphrey Moseley and the Invention of English Literature', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron and others (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 105-24 (p. 110). The tree English writers recorded in the catalogue are Gower, Lydgate and Chaucer.
[41] For the difference in their views of translation practice, see McEuen, *Classical Influence*, p. xi.

agent in the development of 'religious and secular culture and of literary style'.[42] Bruce King states that 'translation was becoming an art' towards the end of the sixteenth century.[43] In his *Translation: An Elizabethan Art*, F. O. Matthiessen explains how the translators produced their works with their 'fertile and varied command of their own tongue', and how their translation 'has endured as a part of English literature'.[44] It can also be stated that English translators of the classical literature acted as mediators between the classicism and the vernacularism in the formation of English literature.

Recent studies on Renaissance translation theory have enabled analytical approaches to the transition of the text from one language to another.[45] The function of translator is similar to that of editor in the respect of reproducing a literary work of another writer. Susan Basnett and Andre Lefevere write,

> Translation is, of course, a rewriting of an original text. All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way. Rewriting is manipulation, undertaken in the service of power, and its positive aspect can help in the evolution of a literature and a society. Rewritings can introduce new concepts, new genres, new devices, [. . .] But rewriting can also repress innovation, distort and contain.[46]

Their descriptions of rewritings can directly be applied to the history of editing. Erasmus's conjectural emendation of Jerome's works, which I mentioned in the previous chapter, can be regarded as editorial manipulation of the original text in Basnett's and Lefevere's line of

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[42] Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century 1600-1660*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p.57.

[43] Bruce King, *Seventeenth-Century English Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1982), p. 36.

[44] F. O. Matthiessen, *Translation: An Elizabethan Art* (New York: Octagon Books, 1931; repr. 1965), pp. 230-31. Although the title of the book signals that it concerns the works of Elizabethan translators, two of them, John Florio and Philemon Holland continued to produce their works well into the Jacobean and Caroline periods.

[45] Susan Bassnett and Andre Lefevere, (eds.), *Translation, History and Culture* (London: Pinter, 1990); Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1995); Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 1995); Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Selene Scarsi, *Translating Women in Early Modern England: Gender in the Elizabethan Versions of Boiardo, Ariosto and Tasso* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

[46] Bassnett and Lefevere, p. xi.

argument.[47] The distortion of historical facts was also caused by the humanist historians' interpolative compilation of the Florentine history as observed by Stephanie H Jed.[48] It can be stated that the 'manipulation' of the original text has been performed under the cover of editorial justification.

In seventeenth-century England, the concept of editing had been formed partly through the act of translation. Matthiessen's study gives a cue to consider a paradox that early-modern English translators often departed from the original to translate the accurate meaning of the text into their own language. He argues that the translators' interpolation or alteration of the original is a contributing factor in the reception of their works as 'English' literature. He writes:

> The translator must either suppress his personality and produce a scholarly work, faultless, but without life; or, if he enters creatively into his work, he runs the almost certain risk of adding elements which the next generation will consider a clouding of the spirit of the original. The Elizabethan translators all sinned in this second way, and yet their work has endured as a part of English literature as no other group of translations has.[49]

To translate the original into the vernacular language can be rephrased as to recreate it into the shape of the English letters. When Matthiessen's ideal translator is expected to have an ability to translate 'the spirit of the original' into his vernacular without fault, his focal attention is directed to the accuracy of the text of the translated work. He also suggests that their departure from the original might be regarded as 'a clouding of the spirit of the original', although the departure itself has established 'part of English literature'. But what the English translators sought by interpolating the original text was, paradoxically, the way to convey 'the spirit of the original' in their vernacular.

Philemon Holland (1552-1637), known as 'the translator general', was active during the three reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles.[50] His first translation was Livy's *Romane*

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[47] For Erasmus's conjectural emendation of the works of St Jerome, see Chapter 1, p. 16.
[48] Stephanie H Jed, *Chaste Thinking: The Rape of Lucretia and the Birth of Humanism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), p. 18.
[49] Matthiessen, *Translation*, p. 231.
[50] For Philemon Holland's career, see Matthiessen, *Translation*, pp. 169-227

Historie and his last work was Xenophon's *Cyrupaedia*.[51] The former was printed by Adam Islip with the translator's epistle dedicatory to Elizabeth I in 1600. The latter was completed in 1621, and published by the publisher-bookseller Henry Holland, the translator's son, with Henry's epistle dedicatory to Charles I added in 1632.[52] In his address to the reader in *Romane Historie*, Holland explains his procedure for producing his English translation of the Latin work of the ancient historiographer. He states,

> I proposed unto my selfe in making him english, endevoring by conference especially of the select copies in Latin, yet not rejecting other translations (such as I had some little skill in) to come as neere as possibly I could, to the true meaning of the Author.[53]

Although the translator does not reveal which edition he used as his base text, his reference to 'the select copies of Latin' indicates that Holland's project of translating Livy started with selecting reliable copies of the original text. The basis on which he selected his copies is not mentioned. The account of his consultation of the different Latin copies and translations in other languages indicates that the text of the original historiography varied between those editions and that the translator was searching for the authorial intention by comparing them. The process of choosing the text across his copies and translating it involves conflation of different versions of the original Livy's *Romane Historie*. I apply the term conflation to Holland's practice of comparing the different editions in translating Livy because his consultation of the different texts must have reproduced parts from each of the 'select copies' and merged them in his own English translation. He conflated the different Latin texts as a result of his attempts to approach 'the true meaning of the Author' by examining verbal variants existing in his copies. The translator's pursuit for the authorial intention across the different editions and the translations in other European languages shares similarity of the humanist scholarly labour in reproducing 'the original reading' of the classical text as represented by Erasmus's editorial work.[54]

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[51] Matthiessen, *Translation*, p. 169. Philemon Holland (trans.), *The Romane Historie*, by T. Livius (London, 1600); Philemon Holland (trans.), *Cyrupaedia, or The Institution and Life of Cyrus King of Persians*, by Xenophon (London, 1632).

[52] Matthiessen, *Translation*, pp. 174-75.

[53] Holland, *Romane Historie* (1600), sig. A5ᵛ.

[54] See Chapter 1, p. 16.

Accordingly, Holland's work was not confined to slavish translation of the Latin original. Thus, for the purpose of conveying 'the true meaning of the Author' to the reader, he decided to include marginal annotations of his translation. In the preface to his translation of Suetonius' *The Historie of Twelve Caesars* (1606), he gives a brief account of the editorial principles of his translation. It reveals what editorial treatment the translator provided for his translation and his secondary sources to elucidate the meaning of the text.

> Thirdly, considering that brevitie is many times the mother of Obscuritie, may it please those among you, who are not so conversant in such concise writings, as admit not one word superfluous, to have recourse, for the clearing of some doubts unto the margin, as also to those briefe annotations, which for their sakes, out of mine owne readings, together with the select observations of Beroaldus, Sabellicus, Torrentius, and Casaubonus I have collected. Which also will ease them of many difficulties that his succinct style and termes, not elsewhere obvious, interlaced, may otherwise breed.[55]

His prime object in providing annotations in the margin was to produce an intelligible translation of the ancient author. The quoted passage documents his concern about the obscurity of the Latin curtness of his copies. His editorial treatments in producing his translation of Suetonius represent his struggle to fill the gap between the conciseness of Latin and English in which he had to expand the original text to clarify its meaning.[56] Holland made attempts not to leave any word of his translation unintelligible to the reader. It is his humanistic mind that is revealed by his exhaustive annotations provided for his own translated text. They include textual commentaries based on the work of humanist scholars such as 'Beroaldus, Sabellicus, Torrentius, and Casaubonus'.[57] The marginal notes in *Twelve Caesars* are intended to describe the context of translated passages and clarify difficult expressions such as classical allusions. Holland's purpose of using the work of humanist scholars was also to unravel the complexities of the original text. He did not merely quote the

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[55] Philemon Holland (trans.), *The Historie of Twelve Caesars, Emperours of Rome*, by C. Suetonius Tranquillus (London, 1606), sig. 4ʳ.

[56] For his translation convention, see Matthiessen, pp. 185-227.

[57] Beroaldus is probably Filipo Beroaldo, the younger who produced the first complete edition of *Annals* in 1515. John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, 3vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903-1908), II (1908), 108.

scholars in the marginal annotations but noted his interpretations made by consulting their work. The first priority of his scholarly labour in translating the classical literature was to make his translation accessible to the reader. Therefore, it may be safely concluded that he introduced the humanist convention of textual editing to his work of translation in his effort of reproducing the most comprehensible text.

As shown by Holland's scholarly attempts to reconstruct the author's original intention, the humanistic practices of translation contributed to forming the concept of editorship. The concept of editorship was developed by the people who were involved in the publication of literature, more precisely, who produced literary works with care for the reader. Readers were composed of the people of different social strata, of different generations, of different genders, and of different educational backgrounds. Although Philemon Holland himself was a scholar and was fully aware of the existence of academic and critical readers, his purpose of reproducing intelligible translations was to cultivate more general readers. He writes:

> The Title prefixed thereunto so universall as it is, to wit, *The Historie of the World,* or *Reports of Nature*, imported (no doubt) that he first penned it for the general good of mankind. Over and besides, the Argument ensuing full of variety, furnished with discourses of all matters, not appropriate to the learned only, but accomodat to the rude paisant of the countrey; fitted for the painful artisan in town and citie; pertinent to the bodily health of man, woman, and child; and in one word, suiting with all sorts of people living in a society and commonweal.[58]

Holland's purpose of publishing his translation can be regarded as political in the sense that he 'tried to influence public affairs through [his] writings'.[59] He confesses his desire 'to performe in some sort, that which is profitable to the most, namely, an english Historie of that C.[ommon] W.[ealth] which of all others (if I have any judgement) affourdeth most plenteous examples of devout zeale in their kind, of wisedome, pollicie, justice, valour, and all virtues

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[58] Philemon Holland (trans.), *The Historie of the World Commonly Called, The Naturall Historie of C. Plinius Secundus* (London, 1601), sigs A4^{r-v}.
[59] David Norbook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.1.

whatsoever'.[60] It is no exaggeration to state that his sustained effort to produce his own editions of the classics is a reflection of his zeal to appeal to his nation's ethical values. Thus, the concept of editing would never have come into being without the existence of the reader and politics of publication.

While Holland's practice of translation embodied the concept of editing with his zeal to win the general readers, his successors constructed the ideas as associated with editing in the eyes of critical readers. It was often the case that the translators and their critical readers belonged to the same literary circles and that they circulated their own works and exchanged praise and criticism.[61] *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*, written by James Howell, one of Jonson's disciples, affords a glimpse into how the poet exchanged his criticism and commendation with other writers.[62] Howell often included his poems in his letters with comments, and they reveal his ardent desire to enhance the aesthetic value of his literary works. One of his letters which he sent to Lord Herbert of Cherbery from Paris reports that he had his French translation of *Dodona's Grove* proofread by 'one of the Academie des beaux Esprits'.

> I Send here with *Dodonas Grove* couch'd in French, and in the newest French; for though the main version be mine, yet I got one of the *Academie des beaux Esprits* here to run it over, to correct and refine the Language, and reduce it to the most modern Dialect. (Iiiii2[r-v])

Howell, a linguist worthy of the name, is particularly concerned with refinement of the language of his poetry. Besides, this letter shows that the literary people had already attached much importance to editorial refinement such as correction and modernisation of the language to heighten literary value of their works by 1641 when Howell wrote this letter. Moreover, in his postscript 'To the Intelligent Reader', he describes his attempts to maintain consistency in orthography.

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[60] Holland, *The Romane Historie*, sig. A5[v]

[61] Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (eds.), *Literary Circles and Cultural Communities in Renaissance England* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), pp. 1-2; Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis, 1632-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 105; Tom Lockwood, '"The hazzard of grosse mistakes in ignorant Transcribers": A New Manuscript Text of Sir Robert Stapylton's *Musaeus on Loes of Hero and Leander*', *English Manuscript Studies*, 13 (2007), 250-69 (p. 250). Ted-Larry Pebworth, 'John Donne, Coterie Poetry, and the Text as Performance', *Studies in English Literature*, 29.1 (1989), 61-75 (p. 61).

[62] James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Elianae* (London, 1645).

Amongst other reasons which make the English Language so small extent, and put strangers out of conceit to learn it, one is, That we do not pronounce as we write, which proceeds from divers superfluous Letters, that occur in many of our words, which adds to the difficulty of the Language: Therefore the Author hath taken pains to retrench such redundant, unnecessary Letters in this Work (though the Printers hath not bin so carefull as he should have bin) as amongst multitudes of other words may appear in these few, done, some, come; Which though we, to whom the speech is connaturall, pronounce as monosyllables, yet when strangers com to read them, they are apt to make them dissillables, as do-ne, so-me, co-me; therefore such an e is superfluous. (Mmmmm 3^r)

These ideas generated from the authors' desire to improve the quality of their works reflect the contemporary elitist mode of classicism and the communication among the literary communities. Howell and his coterie also 'spent so much oyl in the communication of [their] studies by literall correspondence'.[63]

They also contributed commendatory verses to printed editions of their comrades' works; and their principles of translation are often represented in the prefatory matter. In his commendatory verses, Ben Jonson applauds Thomas May's translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia* for its artistic equivalence with its Latin original.

But who hath them interpreted, and brought

Lucans whole frame unto us, and so wrought,

As not the smallest joint, or gentlest word

In the great masse, or machine there is stirr'd?[64]

What he praises in his commendatory verses is the literal accuracy and the integrity of May's translation. The highest praise is derived from Jonson's perception that 'Lucan's whole frame' is reproduced by May's translation with no verbal infirmity. Here, Jonson does not question the innate difference between the two languages, Latin and English, as Holland suggests in his

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[63] James Howell, *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ* (London, 1655), sig. Dd3^r.
[64] Thomas May, trans., *Lucan's Pharsalia: or The Civill Warres of Rome, between Pompey the great, and Julius Caesar* (London, 1627), sig. a7^r.

preface to *Twelve Caesars,* but his praise of the perfection of May's translation appears to presuppose literal interchangeability between the two languages. Kathryn Anderson McEuen states that Jonson gave 'metaphrastic renditions, adhering faithfully' to the original Latin texts and that 'with but one exception the members of Jonson's coterie who made metrical renditions of classical poems followed his practice.'[65]

MacEuen believes that the only exception was James Howell, but his own translations and his continuous correction of his editions of *Dodona's Grove* invite a question about his nonconformity with Jonsonian literalism. MacEuen describes Howell's attitude towards translation as following:

> He felt that in any work of translation there might be a certain amount of servility, and this he did not care to show. He realized that since each language has its own idioms, to render them exactly is impossible.[66]

This description is a summary of Howell's comment on James Howard's translation of *Banished Virgin* included in the former's *Epistolae Ho-Elianae* (1645). The letter itself is dated 6 October 1632.[67] Howell's view summarised by McEuen reminds us of the struggle of Holland to bridge the gap between two different languages. Whilst Holland made diligent attempts to elucidate the obscurities of the original Latin text in English, Howell's attitude to translation itself appears dismissive in the letter to Howard. In the letter, Howell disparagingly compares translation to 'Wine drawn off the Lees, which fill'd in Flask, | Lose somewhat of their strength they had in Cask'.[68] However, Howell himself was a translator and published an English translation of Dentrologia's *Dodona's Grove, or the Vocall Forrest* (1640).[69] The translator published a corrected edition in 1644 with an advertisement on the title page: 'The second Edition more exact and perfect then | the former, with an Addition of two other Tracts:'.[70] Another two ensuing editions appeared in 1645 and 1649. All the four editions were printed by different printers probably because Howell was unsatisfied with the quality of

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[65] McEuen, *Classical Influence*, p. 1.
[66] McEuen, *Classical Influence*, p. 255.
[67] The date is provided by James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Elianae: Familiar Letters* (London, 1655), p. 270.
[68] James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Elianae: Familiar Letters* (London, 1645), sig. Fffff1^{r}.
[69] James Howell (trans.), *Dodona's Grove, or The Vocall Forrest* (London, 1640).
[70] James Howell (trans.), *Dodonas Grove, or The Vocal Forrest* (London, 1644).

composition at each press.[71] The last edition of 1649 bears an advertisement on the title page: 'The last EDITION | much more exact and perfect than the | former; with the Addition of two | other Tracts Reflecting | upon the Times:'.[72] The fact that Howell published three corrected editions of his translation with different printers shows his strong inclination to produce an accurate translation of Dentrologia's original text. Furthermore, in a letter addressed to Thomas Gwyn in *Epistolae Ho-Elianae*, Howell includes a Latin poem written by 'Marnierius a Valenciano' with Howell's own English translation.[73] He writes, 'the exactness of the translation, I believe will give you content' (Kk3^v). Unfortunately, Howell never explains the principles of translation he followed in translating *Dodona's Grove*. But his phraseology in advertising the translation and his literal translation of the Latin poem of Marnierius a Valenciano indicate that he conformed to Jonsonian literalism in producing English translation. It seems safe to state that the disapproving remark about translation was an oblique criticism individually directed against James Howard's translation of the Italian poem.

Thus, the intellectual activities of translation contributed to the establishment of English literature through recreating the classical literature in the vernacular language whilst they conduced to the development of textual editing in the vernacular publication. As shown above, the translators were poets and playwrights at the same time. This indicates that translations of different genres of the time were often produced by the same writers such as Jonson and his disciples. As a logical consequence, the concept of textual editing embraced in their works of translation was applied to their other writings including plays. Their ability to translate the classical authors was also regarded as indispensable for the creation of poetry. Jonson's claim that the re-creation of the classics is the poetry was inherited by his disciples called 'Sons of Ben'.[74] Jonson's presentational practice of representing his printed plays as poetry came to percolate through his 'sons' who were to live through the theatre closure caused by the civil war in 1642.

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[71] The first edition was printed by Thomas Badger for Humphrey Moseley in 1640. The second edition's printer appeared as 'R. D' and 'J. R.', or 'R. D.' and 'R. R.'. The third edition was produced by Thomas Warren. The second part was printed by William Hunt for Moseley in 1650.

[72] James Howell (trans.), *Ddona's Grove, or The Vocall Forest* (London, [1649]).

[73] James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Elianae: Familiar Letters* (London, 1645), sigs Kk3^{r-v}.

[74] For Jonson's literary circle, see McEuen, *Classical Influence*; Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (ed.), *Classic and Cavalier: Essays on Jonson and the Sons of Ben* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1982).

In his address 'TO THE READER' prefaced to the 1647 Beaumont and Fletcher folio, James Shirley asserts that the plays in the volume hold the most 'absolute' status of literature and refers to their works as 'Recreations'.[75]

> Poetry is the Child of Nature, which regulated and made beautifully by Art, presenteth the most Harmonious of all other compositions; among which (if we rightly consider) the Dramaticall is the most absolute, in regard of those transcendent Abilities, which should waite upon the Composer; who must have more then the instruction of Libraries which of it selfe is but a cold contemplative knowledge) there being required in him a Soule miraculously knowing, and conversing with all mankind, [. . .] And now Reader in this Tragecall Age where the theatre hath been so much out-acted, congratulate thy owne happinesse that in this silence of the Stage, thou hast a liberty to read these inimitable Playes. (A3^r)

According to his logic, the dramatic genre has the 'transcendent Abilities' which enable the omniscient 'Soule' inspired into the 'Composer' to 'convers[e] with all mankind' and thereby the author can 'express' all possibilities of human nature through dramatic dialogue. The notion that the dramatic works are poetry and that re-creation of classics is the supreme achievement in literature had been disseminated by 1647 when thirty-five writers including the publisher Humphrey Moseley contributed their commendatory verses to the Beaumont and Fletcher folio. Eight of the contributors are known as the 'sons of Ben',[76] and Jonson's epitaph for Beaumont is included. All of the contributors were linked with each other through their literary circles, but the one who had associations with the most of them was its publisher Humphrey Moseley. Stella P. Revard recognises the group of contributors of the commendatory verses to the folio of 1647 as Moseley's circle.[77] Indeed, they were the people who made attempts to enhance the status of English plays in print. They formed royalist literary circles in the Interregnum period and many of their works were published by Moseley.

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[75] Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Comedies and Tragedies* (London, 1647), sig. A3^r.

[76] They are Richard Brome, William Cartwright, Richard Corbet, Robert Herrick, James Howell, Richard Lovelace, Jasper Mayne and James Shirley. See McEuen, pp. 1-13, pp. 260-61.

[77] Stella P. Revard, 'Thomas Stanley and "A Register of Friends"', in *Literary Circles* (See Summers and Pebworth above), p. 151.

Humphrey Moseley is one of the major contributors to the establishment of 'the plays' status as literature'.[78] Moreover, and perhaps most tellingly, he published many of his editions of the drama in the interregnum period when the plays of his playbooks were banned from being staged. Paul Hammond identifies Moseley as a predecessor of the two most significant booksellers who played leading parts in shaping the cannon of early modern poetry and drama during the Restoration period, Henry Herringman and Jacob Tonson.[79] Among roughly thirty editions of plays published by Moseley, only four are provided with a publisher's epistle written by him. These works include Beaumont and Fletcher's *Comedies and Tragedies* (1647), William Cartwright's *Comedies, Tragi-comedies, with Other Poems* (1651), *The Tragedy of Alphonsus, Emperour of Germany* (1654), and Thomas Middleton's *Two New Plays* (1657).[80] The other thirteen volumes contain a preface or an epistle dedicatory signed by its author, or its translator, or its printer, or a third anonymous person who might have prepared the printer's copy.

In his epistle dedicatory 'To the Stationer' prefaced to Richard Brome's *Five New Plays* published by Moseley, Richard Marriot and Thomas Dring in 1653, Alexander Brome ostentatiously styles himself as editor. He writes, 'I've read these Poems o're,' and 'Pardon my want of skill, and Ile be Debtor | To him, that on perusal notes things better.'[81] Despite his self-professed editorship, Paulina Kewes indicates that 'Alexander Brome's "editorial activities" were confined to supplying the prefatory material and, probably, some of the information on the title pages of the respective plays, in particular their Latin mottoes.'[82] In terms of the concept of editing, his self-advertisement embodies nominal editorship. Although the term which refers to his self-professed role did not exist, Brome clearly understood his would-be position. His epistle dedicatory suggests that he knew such a role as editor existed,

[78] Bell, 'Booksellers', pp 260-85.
[79] Paul Hammond, 'The Restoration Poetic and Dramatic Canon', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by John Bernard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 388-409 (pp. 391-92).
[80] Moseley's prefaces and epistles dedicatory are included in John Curtis Reed, 'Humphrey Moseley, Publisher', *Proceedings and Papers* [Oxford Bibliographical Society] 5 vols (Oxford, 1928), II, pt. 2, 57-142 (pp. 73-103). The title page of *The Tragedy of Alphonsus* attributes the play to Geaorge Chapman. I am grateful to Dr Martin Wiggins for updating me on the authorship of this play.
[81] Richard Brome, *Five New Playes* (London, 1653), sig. A3^r.
[82] Paulina Kewes, '"Give Me the Sociable Pocket-Books...": Humphrey Moseley's Serial Publication of Octavo Play Collections', *Publishing History*, 38 (1995), 5-21 (pp. 8-9).

but it is not clear if he had understood the details about the contemporary textual editing.

The reverse is the case with Thomas May's *Two Tragedies* published by Moseley in 1654.[83] The text of the collected plays has been neatly edited in imitation of humanist editions of the classical drama. May employs massed entries and suppresses other theatrical directions. Speech prefixes are centred. In order to facilitate reading, necessary internal entries and exits are noted and an aside of Nero is marked in *Agrippina* (E1^r). Although such directions as describe the characters' actions are few, the deaths of the characters are noted in the right margin of the page. May's editorial practice as can be observed in the 1654 collection clearly indicates that he aimed at producing a book of literature. The author probably prepared his dramatic works for his patron's literary taste. But unlike Alexander Brome, he never boasts of his editorship. In his epistle dedicatory addressed to Sir Kenelm Digby, May acknowledged the prestige of publication of his plays under the patronage of the dedicatee. He writes:

> That it pleased you to cast an eye of favour upon these poor Plays has given
> me the boldnesse, not only to publish them (which I thought not to have
> done) but to shelter them, though most unworthy, under that name, to which
> for authority and approbation the richest pieces that this nation can boast,
> might be proud to flie. You are to learning what learning is to others a
> gracefull ornament; and known not only able to receive, but fit to make that
> which we call literature. (A2^r)

Here, May distinguished his plays from 'literature' and pretended to conform to a common bias that plays did not merit public exposure in print.

Although a number of editions of printed play texts have a preface suggesting that they were prepared by an 'editor', the number of such editions as had received actual editorial treatment is few and many of those edited plays have neither a preface nor an epistle dedicatory. Sixteen editions of plays out of twenty-eight were published by Moseley with a preface. Among the sixteen editions, only three prefaces reveal some indications of their editorial process in the transition from manuscript to print.

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[83] Thomas May, *Two Tragedies, viz. Cleopatra, Queen of AEgypt. And Agrippina Empress of Rome* (London, 1654), sig. A2^r.

This impasse will be broken by Moseley's prefaces to his other literary publications which reveal his deep-seated concern for tautologically expressed correctness and authenticity of the author's text. In one preface, he publicises his ownership to 'A Correct Copy' of Abraham Cowley's *The Mistresse, or Severall Copies of Love-Verses* (1647) 'written by the Authour himselfe'.[84] In Edmund Waller's *Poems, &c.* (1645), Moseley emphasises that the text appears 'in their pure originalls'.[85] Some prefaces to James Howell's works even suggest that Moseley occasionally worked with the author:

> It pleas'd the Author to send me these ensuing Letters as a supplement to the greater volume of *Epistolae Ho-Elinae*, where they could not be inserted than, because most of his papers, whence divers of these letters are deriv'd, were under sequestration: And thus much I had in Commission to deliver.[86]

The gist of Moseley's message in his prefaces is that he published the authoritative text set up from the author's original manuscripts. Moseley's publicity blurb clearly echoes the humanist editorial pursuit of the authorial intention embedded in scribal errors. The publisher's claim of his direct contact of the author's original manuscripts provides justification for the textual authority of his edition. Moseley's aim of claiming the authenticity of his edition was to attract the interest of intellectual buyers. John Curtis Reed writes that the prefaces written by Moseley for his publications are 'the only examples of his attempts at formal authorship'.[87] He continues, 'Moseley had a clear business aim in these compositions: he wanted to advertise the books, and he wanted to assert his own position as a critic and guardian of good literature – in other words, to advertise himself' (p. 69).

His self-advertisement as a literary critic appears in his address 'To the Reader' prefaced to Robert Heath's *Clarastella* (1650). Moseley writes:

> The gallantness and Ingenuity of the Gentlemen is so Eminent in every thing, that I could not imagine but that the meanest of his recreations, (for such was this) might carry much in it, worthy of the publick view: besides the approbation of some friends hath heightened my desire of publishing it; who

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[84] Abraham Cowley, *The Mistresse, or Severall Copies of Love-Verses* (London, 1647), sig. A2^r.
[85] Edmund Waller, *Poems &c.* (London, 1645), sig. A4^r.
[86] James Howell, *A New Volume of Letters* (London, 1647), sig. A8^v.
[87] Reed, 'Humphrey Moseley' (1928), p. 68.

(upon their revising of it) do assure mee, that it is a sweet piece of excellent fancie, and worthy to be called the Authours own issue.[88]

This preface shows an example of how Moseley made a critical judgement on his copies of literary works. Whilst acknowledging that Heath's poems merit 'public view', he judges the author's works published in the present edition to be the 'meanest of his recreations'. Moseley places himself in a position to evaluate the author's works by displaying his proprietorship of the publishing venture. The preface reveals that it was Moseley who decided to publish the poems without the author's knowledge (*2^r),[89] and that he commissioned unnamed literary figures to revise his copy. The most remarkable statement in his preface is concerned with his judgement on the quality of the revision. Here, Moseley confers the revised text the authorship to claim itself to be 'the Authours own issue'. What is indicated by Moseley's phrase, 'a sweet piece of excellent fancie, and worthy to be called the Authours issue,' is that the publisher placed the highest value on the work produced by the hand of the author. The fact that Heath, the author was not involved in the publication of his poems bring into relief that Moseley's prime concern was the authoritativeness of the text. Moseley's craving for the claim of the authoritativeness of the text is intensified the absence of the author.

Moseley's epistle to the Beaumont and Fletcher folio (1647) presents him as an editorial supervisor in the publication of the volume. He asserts, 'This Volume being now so compleate and finish'd, that the Reader must expect no future Alterations.'[90] The publisher's defensive statement echoes Erasmus's proprietorial desire to preserve his text intact.[91] The difference between Moseley and Erasmus is the fact that the former did not manipulate the text of his copy but commissioned accomplished writers to prepare the printer's copy. As indicated by his epistle to the 1647 folio, he undertook the task of correcting compositorial errors as he did in some of his other publications.[92] Moseley was in a position to declare that

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[88] Robert Heath, *Clarastella together with Poems occasional, Elegies, Epigrams, Satyrs* (London, 1650), sigs *2^{r-v}.

[89] His absence from England at the time of the publication of the poems is suggested by prefaced commendatory verses signed by 'G. H.' (*3^r).

[90] Beaumont and Fletcher, *Comedies and Tragedies* (1647), sig. A4^v.

[91] For Erasmus's proprietary attitude towards his works, see Massai, *Shakespeare* (2007), p. 48.

[92] He writes, 'For litterall Errours commited by the Printer, 'tis the fashion to aske pardon, and as much in fashion to take no notice of him that asks it; but in this also I have done my endeavour' (A4^v). See the case of Madeleine de Scudery's *Artamenes* (1653) mentioned later in this chapter, p. 27.

the editorial tasks had been finished and that the edition was complete. Although Moseley asserted the accuracy of the folio text, his successors disavowed his claim. When the volume saw the second edition with a new preface signed by three booksellers, John Martyn, Henry Herringman, and Richard Mariot in 1679, they suggested that their edition should supersede Moseley's.

> And we were very opportunely informed of a Copy which an ingenious and worthy Gentleman had taken the pains (or rather the pleasure) to read over; wherein he had all along Corrected several faults (some very gross) which had crept in by the frequent imprinting of them. His Corrections were the more to be valued, because he had an intimacy with both our Authors, and had been a Spectator of most of them when they were Acted in their life-time.[93]

The emphasis on the close relationship between the corrector and the authors even highlights the authors' charismatic image and the preciousness of the authors' original text. It is also suggested that the corrector could reproduce the authorial intention in the plays by means of his knowledge of the actual stage. Here the concept of correctness is associated with the authors' original text again. What the epistles written by Moseley and his successors indicate is the publisher's awareness of their responsibility for giving witness to the editorial process of their publications.

The sense of the aesthetic value of literature seems to have been reflected in the enhancement of stability of the text in print.[94] Moseley blames his printing house for compositorial misprints, showing the pages where the errata occur in an epistle dedicatory to Madeleine de Scudery's *Artamenes* (1653).

> Some literal Errata the Printer is guilty of, especially in the First Part, where from pag. 26. to pag. 50. he hath misprinted Part II. (on the head of each page) for Part I. And the like in the second Part, pag. 154. 156. 162. 174. 184. 190. 192. 194. 206. on all which pages he hath set Part III. For Part

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[93] Beaumont and Fletcher, *Fifty Comedies and Tragedies* (1679), sig. A1[r].
[94] For the discussion about the attribute of fixity brought about by labours of book producers, see Johns, *The Nature of ths Book* (1998), pp. 36, 371-72, 378-79.

II. 'Tis the Printer's fault, and he ought to hear of it. And I tell you now of it, because we intend no second Impression; so that if you wave this Edition, you are like to have none.[95]

These lines reflect Moseley's concern about typographical faults appearing in the text, and suggest that it was Moseley's practice to write his Stationer's epistle after checking the printed volume with its copy-text. He might have also checked the proof-sheets of the Beaumont and Fletcher folio with its copy-text if what is expressed in his epistle was right.[96] Following the errata, Moseley advises the prospective buyers to procure a copy of the edition before their first impression goes out of stock. Although it might have been his collaborative agreement with Thomas Dring that motivated why he would not issue the second impression, this passage highlights the role of a bookseller's epistle as a publicity blurb.

In his discussion about the publishing strategy of Richard Bonian and Henry Walley, the publishers of *Historie of Troylus and Cressida* (1609), Zachary Lesser analyses the equivalence of a preface both as an advertisement and as a critical 'reading' of a play, exploring 'the contemporary reception of early modern drama'.[97] While considering the publishers were more interested in buyers than in readers of the book, Lesser interrogated specific publishers' readings of a trend of elitism and witticism of their time. Moseley was also one of those publishers who read the trend. In his prefaces, Moseley assumes an antagonistic posture toward 'commercialized culture' which corrupts the text by money, yet on the other hand, he vigorously kept pioneering a market for his publication of literary works.[98] In his preface to Milton's *Poems* (1645), his challenge to the learned reader is given as follows:

It is not any private respect of gain, Gentle Reader, for the slightest Pamphlet is now adayes more vendible then the Workes of learnedest men; but it is the love to our own Language that hath made me diligent to collect, and set forth such Peeces both in Prose and Vers, as may renew the wonted

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[95] Madeleine de Scudery, *Artamenes, or The Grand Cyrus* (London, 1653), unsigned second leaf ͮ.
[96] See note 92 above.
[97] Lesser, *Renaissance Drama* (2004), p. 4.
[98] The contradictions surrounding commercialized culture is discussed in Kathleen McLuskie, '"When the Bad Bleed": Renaissance Tragedy and Dramatic Form', in *Writing and the English Renaissance*, ed. by William Zunder and Suzanne Till (London: Longman, 1996), pp. 69-86.

honour and esteem of our English tongue: and it's the worth of these both English and Latin Poems, not the flourish of any prefixed economics that can invite thee to buy them. [. . .] Reader if thou art Eagled-eied to censure their worth, I am not fearful to expose them to thy exactest perusal.[99]

This preface clearly shows that Moseley aimed to attract a kind of reader who sought to achieve literary elitism. The contradiction in Moseley's policy of publication lies between his official posture of defying commercialism and his ulterior tactics of taking advantage of the trend for elitism and witticism to sell his books. Moseley, who had played 'pro-active roles in the presentation' of his publications,[100] was more aware of the elitist trend toward classicism and the reader's inclination for learned books than any other writer. The ambivalence of commodity production of art is discussed by Kathleen McLuskie. She writes:

Plays, together with the commercial trade in books, afforded an opportunity for the unlearned to appear learned, removing the controls on the trade in learning which a closed patronage system would have imposed.[101]

When his manuscript copies of plays were commodified under the status of book, Moseley rarely used the word 'play' for his dramatic publications but calls them 'poems', 'works', or 'recreation[s]'. He praises Thomas Middleton's *Two New Playes* (1657) as 'Excellent Poems'.

When these amongst others of Mr. Thomas Middleton's Excellent Poems, came to my hands, I was not a little confident but that his name would prove as great an Inducement for thee to Read, as me to Print them: Since those Issues of His Brain that have already seen the Sun, have by their worth gained themselves a free entertainment amongst all that are ingenious: And I am most certain, that these will no way lessen his Reputation, nor hinder his Admission to any Noble and Recreative Spirits. All that I require at thy hands, is to continue the Author in his deserved Esteem, and to accept of my

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[99] John Milton, *Poems* (London, 1645), sigs a3^r-a4^v.
[100] Chandler, p. 73.
[101] Kathleen McLuskie, 'The Poets' Royal Exchange: Patronage and Commerce in Early Modern Drama', in *The Yearbook or English Studies: Politics, Patronage and Literature in England, 1558-1658*, ed. by Andrew Gurr (Leeds: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1991), pp. 53-62.

<div align="center">Endeavors which have ever been to please thee.[102]</div>

Here, the publisher is purposefully trying to offer the plays which used to be acted in the theatre as 'Poems' to be read. Skilfully stimulating the learned reader's 'pretensions to being critics'[103], he maintains that their publication in print will not reduce the 'play's' value since his reader is expected to have been conversant with their stage. Moseley might have been mindful of an idea current among the contemporary theatre critics represented by Richard Baker who states, 'a Play read, hath not half the pleasure of a Play Acted.'[104] His target reader was partly the Caroline audience whom Martin Butler describes as pretentious 'critics of the acting'.[105] The publisher's verbal manipulation of shifting the one-time audience from the theatre to their own libraries was also a contributing factor to enhance the play's status to literature.

The term 'recreation' appears again in Moseley's preface to William Cartwright's octavo *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, with Other Poems*.

> The Book in your hand, were the Author living, should say nothing to the Reader: And here we but tell you, how we have us'd Him in publishing his Poems. You will do him wrong to call them his Works; they were his Recreation.[106]

Moseley's phraseology in this preface echoes that of Shirley in the 1647 folio who placed dramatic works above all genres of literature. He also repeats the same idea about poet as has been mulled over among Jonson's literary circle: 'though all Scholars are not Poets, every Poet must be a Scholar.'[107] This obviously reflects Jonson's elitist thinking about the creation of poetry: 'Poetry [. . .] is not borne with every man.'[108] It may be safe to state that Moseley learned the trends in contemporary literature while working among the literary communities, and capitalised on the latest mode of the time to captivate a reader or rather a buyer of the book. His prefaces and postscripts to his publications reflect the ideas as had been constructed

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[102] Thomas Middleton, *Two New Playes. VIZ. More Dissemblers besides Women. Women Beware Women* (London, 1657), sigs A3^{r-v}.
[103] Butler, *Theatre* (1984), p. 107.
[104] Richard Baker, *Theatrum Redivivum* (London, 1661), p.34.
[105] See note 103, above.
[106] William Cartwright, *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, with Other Poems* (London, 1651), sig. A3^{r}.
[107] Cartwright, sig. A4^{v}.
[108] See note 24 above.

in the communication among the literary circles and also contributed to constructing the ideas shared among the literary people.

Chapter 3

Jonsonian Textual Editing

The humanist concept and practice of textual editing were already adopted in the vernacular dramatic publication in the beginning of the seventeenth century. As shown in the previous chapters, the editorial attitude of humanists in reproducing classical texts had been defined by the scholarly endeavour of establishing a correct text and conveying the accurate meaning of an authorial text. The humanist scholars conceptualised the scientific correctness of the text and probed for the evidential standards for textual correction. In classical textual editing where the author's voice had been obscured by scribal errors, the task of extracting and reconstructing the authorial intention embedded in the errors were considered to be the editorial art of restoring the correct text. As has been observed in Chapter 1, the idealised original text presupposed its immaculate and perfect state in the late Renaissance, and the author therefore became the editor's point of reference.[1] Accordingly, when the author played the role of editor in the early modern print publishing, apart from typographical errors, the printed text may well have been received as perfectly authorial and correct. Authorial editing was believed to present authorial intentions, but on the other hand, it also imposed regulation on the reader's interpretation of the text. Ben Jonson is perhaps the most well-known early modern English dramatist who embraced humanist textual editing in his dramatic publications with the intention of regulating the way his text was received.[2] His proprietorship of his own text represented his attachment to the publication of the accurate text from authorial perspective, and immersed himself into constant textual editing of his own dramatic and non-dramatic works. Jonson developed his own method of play editing through a constant stream of editorial operations on his dramatic texts. This method was eventually passed on to his disciples and the next generations of editors.

In this chapter, I will address the Jonsonian convention of textual editing which was established by Jonson himself in imitation of classical textual editing of the humanist scholars

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[1] See Chapter 1, p. 23.
[2] John Jowett, '"Fall before this Booke": The 1605 Quarto of Sejanus', *Text*, 4 (1988), 279-95.

and which eventually furnished a model for dramatic editing to the later editors who were to be commissioned to reproduce play texts for a reading public. Comparing Jonson's textual habits in editing his dramatic texts with those of humanist editors of classical drama and non-dramatic literature published both in and outside England, I will argue that the humanist editorial method was current in scholarly publishing at the time, and that Jonson applied this method to his own works. This chapter will also demonstrate how the concept of editing embraced by the early modern English literati discussed in the previous chapter was embodied in play editing. Although Jonson's philosophy about 'dramatic poesie', as documented by the paratext in *Cynthia's Revels* and *Sejanus*, was inherited by his disciples called 'Sons of Ben' such as James Shirley, and his editorial practice was adopted by a scribe-editor, Ralph Crane, Jonson's editorial method did not see a linear development. Even Jonson himself was not consistent in preserving the humanist elements of editorial practice throughout the publication of his dramatic works. In preparing the printer's copy for the 1616 Folio, Jonson eliminated referential annotations which occur in the margins of some quarto plays. Investigation into the difference in the editorial practices between some of Jonson's quarto plays and the 1616 Folio will shed light on the development of Jonsonian textual convention from the adaptation of humanistic editorial practice of producing scholarly editions to the precursor of the modern play editing. Some of his early quartos represent Jonson's design for establishing academic drama for private study,[3] but the Folio plays demonstrate his intention to produce more accessible reading text for general readers. In the respect that Jonson incorporated theatrical elements such as marginal stage directions into his humanist editorial practices on the Folio play texts, it may well be safe to consider the 1616 works to be the confluence of Jonson's humanist textual practice and his stage-based textual convention. And the textual confluence of humanism and theatricality represented by Jonsonian textual practice came to stream in the dramatic publication of the seventeenth century. In this chapter I will also show how Jonsonian textual conventions filtered into the contemporary dramatic publication by examining Ralph Crane's textual practices represented by plays printed from his transcripts or those extant in manuscript. Some plays in

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[3] Jowett, 'The 1605 Quarto of *Sejanus*', p. 286.

Shakespeare's First Folio will demonstrate the process through which a theatrical script was transformed into reading material through Crane's editorial hand. Crane's textual habits may be most clearly illuminated by comparison of his transcript of John Fletcher's *Demetrius and Enanthe* and its printed version entitled *The Humorous Lieutenant* in the 1647 Beaumont and Fletcher Folio.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century when Jonson started publishing his stage plays in quarto, the humanistic method of producing scholarly editions of classical drama had been established in Continental Europe. Towards the late fifteenth century, humanist editions of ancient Greek and Latin dramatic works started to appear in print, and pedagogical dramas written by humanist scholars such as Jacob Wimpfeling (1450-1528) and Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522) were published after their experimental presentations on the stage.[4] It has been suggested that the design of the page of the 1616 Jonson Folio descended from the first editions of Plautus (Venice, 1472), Terence (Strassburg, 1470) and Aristophanes (Venice, 1498).[5] Common features to most of the humanist editions of ancient plays and humanist dramas are constituted by an argument and dramatis personae prefixed to the play (the latter not always being the case),[6] the text of the dialogue of each scene printed as a unit without such interruption as made by stage directions, and names of the characters who participate in the scene which are listed in its beginning. The format of the incunabula of classical dramas was modelled on the manuscript tradition.[7] And especially the layout of the printed text appears to have been designed in imitation of codices which were used by editors in preparation of the text for the press. In the 1489 Aldine edition of Aristophanes, for example, marginal annotations known as scholia are printed in the same position in the margins as they stand in medieval manuscripts.[8] On recto pages a vertical column in the right hand margin is

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[4] Peters, pp. 5-6.

[5] C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, ed., *Ben Jonson*, 10 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925-50), IX, 46. For the question about the chronology of the early editions of Terence, see Peters, p. 316, n. 22.

[6] However, Reuchlin's *Scenica Progymnasmata* (1498) contains neither an argument nor dramatis personae. Joannis Reuchlin, *Scenica Progymnasmata* (1498).

[7] Hirsch, p.1; Reynolds and Wilson, p. 157; for Aldine founts modelled on manuscript-styles, see Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), pp.130-41.

[8] Reynolds and Wilson, p. 157, Plates: VII-VIII; Aristophanes, *Comoediae Novem* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1489) < http://www.rarebookroom.org> [accessed 9 December 2010]; British Library, Harley MS 5725 < http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts> [accessed 9 December 2010]; British Library, Add MS 12182 < http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts> [accessed 9 December 2010].

devoted to the scholia which often at an end of a line thrusts into the left-hand side columns surrounding the main text of dialogue, and the other way round on verso pages. It has been accepted that Marcus Musurus (c. 1470-1517) undertook editorial tasks in the Aldine edition.[9] He is believed to have redacted the scholia across at least four manuscripts and combined them into the notes as printed in the 1489 works. Since this edition was produced as an educational material for conversational Attic Greek, as indicated in the introduction by Musurus, the editor appears to have devoted himself to restoring the correct text and indeed, according to Reynolds and Wilson, he succeeded in doing so in a number of passages.

To restore the correct text from scribal corruptions was a common purpose of traditional classical editing. The collection of eleven plays by Aristophanes, published in 1607, advertises its editors, Odoardus Bisetus and Aemilius Portus, and their editorial achievement on its title page both in Greek and Latin. Here I quote the Latin notes.

ARISTOPHANES

COMOEDIAE VNDECUM

CVM SCHOLIS ANTIUIS

Quae studio & opera Nobilis viri ODOARDI BISETI Carlæi sunt quamplurims locis

accurate emendate, & perpetuis novis Scholos illustrata. Ad quae etiam accessunt

eiusdem in duas po-steritores noui Commentary: operâ tamen & studio Doctissimiviri D.

Æmylÿ Francisci Porti[10]

The above notes advertise that the correct text is restored at as many places as possible by the scholarship of Bisetus in the edition, and that it includes ancient scholia coupled with new commentaries provided by the work and study of Portus. As stated in the advertisement, the edition is a genuinely scholarly folio edition. It provides an elaborate introduction which comprises a dedicatory epistle, a preface to the reader, analyses of the meter and the text, the biography of the author and the textual criticism particularly in defence of Aristophanes against Plutarch's strictures. Each play is preceded by a brief introduction, an argument and

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[9] Reynolds and Wilson, pp. 157-58; Lowry, p. 114.
[10] Aristophanes, *Comoediae Undecim* (Geneva, 1607).

dramatis personae. All these prefatory materials are provided both in Greek and Latin. Each page in which the text of dialogue and commentaries is set is divided into two columns and seven horizontal divisions being vertically marked at regular intervals by alphabets from A which is printed in the middle of the shorter edge at the top to G which is set at an interval from the bottom edge. The text is presented both in Greek and Latin in two parallel columns and followed by ancient scholia and humanists' exegeses. Act-and-scene divisions are marked in the Latin text. Each ancient scholium printed in Greek precedes later humanists' exegeses in Latin, and the book is designed for diachronic comparisons of the textual commentaries. The groundbreaking editorial practice of the volume as a harbinger of the modern editing of the classical drama was to name the sources of contemporary humanist commentaries. The reference to the sources indicates the editors' respect for authoritative scholarship and for objectivity even about the information provided by contemporary authorities. By indicating the sources of the exegeses, the editors distanced themselves from particular interpretations of the text and acted as presenter of the knowledge produced by others and sometimes by themselves.[11] What is manifested by the presentation of the 1607 Aristophanes collection may be the editorial attitude of seeking the objective truth. The editorial practices conducted on the edition demonstrate that in Continental Europe the knowledge of the scholarly editing had been applied to the dramatic publication and that the humanist method of dramatic editing had been fully established by the time the 1607 folio appeared in print. And Jonson was obviously conversant with the Continental humanist editorial method as indicated by the fact that he owned a copy of the 1607 edition.[12]

I do not imply that the 1607 Aristophanes collection was a direct influence on Jonson's editorial habits. But extant books from his library and his own editorial practice argue that he was steeped in the humanist textual scholarship and prepared to adopt its principles into his own dramatic and non-dramatic works. Mark Bland may be right that Jonson and his printer, William Stansby imitated the late sixteenth-century continental editions of classical authors in

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[11] Bisetus put his own name when he presented his own commentaries.
[12] David McPherson, *Ben Jonson's Library and Marginalia*, *Studies in Philosophy* 71 (1974), 25-26. Jonson's copy is possessed by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. His signature on its title page reads 'Su^{m} Ben: Jonsonij'.

deciding on the presentation of the 1616 folio.[13] However, Jonson's knowledge appears not to have been limited by his immediate models of the contemporary continental publications of classical drama. Besides, the fact that Jonson is not known to have owned any of the incunabula of classical drama does not mean that he did not know the continental editorial tradition which had been inherited by the later generations of humanist scholars, one of whom was indeed Jonson himself.

Jonson's humanistic mind was already manifested by the editorial presentation of his early quarto plays. All the quarto and folio plays produced under Jonson's editorial supervision contain dramatis personae and the quartos published in and after 1605 except for *Catiline, His Conspiracy* (1611) and *Epicoene, or the Silent Woman* (1620) are provided with 'The Argument'.[14] Act-and-scene divisions are marked in each edition except for *Sejanus: His Fall* (1605) and *Catiline*, both of which are provided only with act divisions. Whilst the preparation of the dramatis personae and the argument originated from the Alexandrian scribal practice, the textual convention of dividing acts and scenes is a humanist invention for the neo-classical presentation of the dramatic text. The textual convention of prefixing an argument of outlining the play's plot was established by the Alexandrian scholars who were commissioned to produce standardised editions of Greek authors. A number of arguments prefixed to ancient Greek plays have been attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium, but extant transcripts of those arguments were produced by other scribes. Therefore, even though Aristophanes' text had been transmitted, it must have received some revisions by scribal hands. However, the convention of providing an argument of a play had survived for more than nineteen centuries since the time of the Alexandrian scholars.[15] Most of the editions of classical drama published in sixteenth and seventeenth-century England and Continental Europe preface the play with 'Argument' and a list of characters. Aristophanes' *Hippeis* published in England in 1593 prints 'ΥΠΟΘΕΞΙΞ' (argument) set in an inverted pyramid shape followed by 'ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΝΑ' (Dramatis Personae) underneath in the

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[13] Mark Bland, 'William Stansby and the Production of *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson, 1615-16*', *Library*, 6th series, 20.1 (1998), 1-33.

[14] Jonson's editorial involvements in quarto plays are summarised by Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson* (2002), p. 142. Further references to the two plays will be made by their short titles, *Catiline* and *Epicoene*.

[15] Reynolds and Wilson, p. 14.

page.[16] Jasper Heywood's English translation of Seneca's *Troas* (1559) provides its argument crowned with the same title of the play preceding 'The speakers in this tragedie'.[17] Jonson adopted this convention when he published *Sejanus, His Fall* in 1605. In this play '*THE ARGUMENT*' occupies an entire page preceding '*The names of the Actors*'.[18] This was his first experiment to place the argument before the list of actors although he had made one of the actors in the induction of *The Fountaie of Selfe Love, or Cynthia's Revels* (1601) speak the argument of the play.[19] After *Sejanus*, in *Volpone, or the Foxe* (1607) and *The Alchemist* (1612), Jonson employed the method of producing an argument in an acrostic poem in which the initial letter of each verse forms the play's title. And in both plays the argument is unconventionally preceded by the dramatis personae. Acrostic poems are provided for each play after the Latin argument and before the Greek one in the 1607 edition of Aristophanes. It may be no coincidence that Jonson began adopting the poetic form of providing the argument in the year the Aristophanes collection was published. However, in preparing the folio plays published in 1616, Jonson did not take trouble to provide new arguments to such plays as had appeared in quarto without them.

Jonson's editorial attitude is also reflected by his marginal annotations printed both in quarto and folio plays and in some texts of entertainments and masques included in the 1616 folio. Marginal glosses or notes providing the sources of information referred to in speeches of the play texts are found in the quartos of *Cynthia's Revels* (1601), *Poetaster, or the Arraignment* (1602), and most notably *Sejanus* (1605) and they are preserved in the folio text of *Poetaster* and very thinly in F *Sejanus*.[20] In the induction of Q *Cynthia's Revels*, personified abstract nouns in the speeches of the third boy who gives the argument of the play are marked by asterisks and their personal names are given alongside the same line in the margins as marked by asterisks.[21] The same kind of marginal glosses occur at K3[v] and K4[r] of Q *Poetaster* which also contains referential notes of the sources of the quotations spoken by the characters. At 1.1, Ovid delivers Jonson's translation of his elegy 15 included in *All Ovids*

[16] Aristophanes, *Aristophanous Hippeis* (Oxoniæ, 1593), sig. A2[r].
[17] Lucius Anneus Seneca, *Troas*, trans. by Jasper Heywood ([London], 1559), sig. A6[v].
[18] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), sig. B1[r-v].
[19] Further references to this play will be made by its short title *Cynthia's Revels*.
[20] Henceforth, the distinction between the quarto and folio texts will be made by their initials Q and F.
[21] Jonson, *Cynthias Revels* (1601), sigs A2[v]-A3[r].

Elegies whose title page shows Christopher Marlowe's initials as the translator of the entire volume.[22] A referential note occurs in the right hand margin of A4^r of the quarto play, alongside the first two lines of the elegy. It gives the author's name, the volume number, the book's title and the elegy number over the three lines as following: 'Ovid. Lib. | I. Amo. | Ele. 15.' At the beginning of 3.1, where Horace refers to an Ode to Mecænas, Jonson provides the reference to the ode, 'Hor. Lib. I. | Sat.9' (D2^v). Jonson's source might have been the complete works of Horace published in Venice in 1584 since he is known to have owned a copy of the book.[23] When Virgil is requested by Caesar to read a passage from his book, Jonson quotes from the fourth book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, and leaves a note 'Vir. lib. 4. | Æneas' (K3^v). The above-mentioned glosses occur in the margins alongside of this passage, and they attest to Jonson's editorial intention to convey the correct meaning of the quoted text to the reader. The marginal glosses show that 'Venus Dardane *Nephew*' points to 'Iulus' (K3^r), that 'The Troian Prince' means 'Æneas', that 'Heavens great Dame' indicates 'Iuno' and that 'Giant Race' refers to 'Coeus, Enceladus, & c.' (K4^r).

The culmination of Jonson's humanistic editorial labour was reached in the publication of Q *Sejanus* (1605). Before investigating the nature of the quarto text, I will briefly describe the circumstances in which the play appeared in print as a carefully prepared scholarly edition. The play was first staged in 1603 by the King's Men probably at Court, and it was in 1604 that 'Ev. B.' witnessed 'the people's beastly rage' against the play at the Globe.[24] Jonson also describes the failure of its public staging as 'violence from our people' in his epistle dedicatory to Esmé Stuart prefaced to the folio text.[25] According to the playwright's address 'To the Readers' in the 1605 quarto, the stage version was written in collaboration with another playwright whose share in the play was excised in its revision for publication.[26] The 'tragedie of *Sejanus*' was entered in the Stationers' Register on 2 November 1604 by Edward

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[22] Ben Jonson, *Poetaster, or the Arraignment* (London, 1602), sigs A4^{r-v}; Christopher Marlowe, trans. *All Ovids Elegies: 3 Bookes* (London, [1602]), sigs B7^{r-v}.

[23] McPherson, p. 53.

[24] Ben Jonson, *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* (London, 1616), sigs Gg4^r, Oo3^v; Herford and Simpson, IX (1950), 190; Jonson, *Sejanus*, ed. by Ayres (1999), pp. 9, 68-69; Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), sig. A3^v; E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), III, 367, II, 210.

[25] Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sig. Gg5^r.

[26] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), sig. ¶ 2^v. Herford and Simpson conjecture that a possible collaborator was George Chapman, in II, 4-7. Their view is supported by R. P. Corballis, 'The "Second Pen" in the Stage Version of *Sejanus*', *Modern Philology*, 76 (1979), 273-277.

Blount who did not publish the play but transferred his right to the copy to Thomas Thorpe on 6 August 1605.[27] Q *Sejanus*, therefore, appeared after 6 August and probably before 27 November in 1605, the date of the imprisonment of the Earl of Northumberland to whom together with King James and seven other privy councillors, George Chapman paid tribute in his commendatory verse printed immediately after Jonson's preface.[28]

Blount's entry of *Sejanus* in the Stationers' Register in 1604 indicates that the play was intended to be published immediately after the failure of its public performance.[29] On the assumption that the printing of *Sejanus* preceded that of *Eastward Ho* at George Eld's press, Corballis has pointed out, 'the collection of copy and indeed the printing itself may have taken place before [the] date' of the assignment of the copy from Blount to Thorpe.[30] It is well within the bounds of possibility that Jonson set to work on revision of the stage version of *Sejanus* before he was incarcerated for his co-authorship of *Eastward Ho* in 1605.[31] But intertextual evidence across letters Jonson wrote in prison in 1605 and his preface to Q *Sejanus* suggests that censures Jonson received for *Eastward Ho* led him to develop a humanistic editorial plan of Q *Sejanus*. In a letter to the Earl of Salisbury, Jonson complains that his censurers are 'too witty in another mans Workes, and utter, some times, they^re owne malicious Meanings, under o^r Wordes.'[32] In another letter which Herford and Simpson conjecture is addressed to the Countess of Bedford, Jonson states that an unnamed collaborative play, probably *Eastward Ho* between him and Chapman is 'so mistaken, so misconstrued, so misapplied, as I do wonder whether their Ignorance, or Impudence be most,

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[27]   *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D.*, ed. by Edward Arber, 5 vols (London, 1875-1894), III, 273, 297.

[28]   Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), sig. A1^r. For the dating of the quarto's publication, see Corballis, 'The "Second Pen"', p. 274.

[29]   Corballiis denies the possibility that Blount's entry was a 'blocking' one as the play's failure on the stage probably reduced the risk of being pirated. See Corballis, 'The "Second Pen"', p. 274. For Blount's blocking entries in a later period, see E. A. J. Honigmann, *The Texts of 'Othello' and Shakespearian Revision* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 27.

[30]   Corballis, 'The "Second Pen"', p. 274. The possibility that the printing of Q *Eastward Ho* preceded that of Q *Sejanus* is pointed out by Thomas O. Calhoun and Thomas Gravell, 'Paper and Printing in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* (1605)', *PBSA*, 87 (1993), 13-64 (pp. 23-26).

[31]   For the incarceration of Jonson for the performance of *Eastward Ho*, see Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Drama* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991), pp. 171-79; Janet Clare, *'Art made tongu-tied by authority': Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Censorship* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990; repr. 1999), pp. 139-45.

[32]   Herford and Simpson, I, 195.

who are our adversaries.'[33] Their situation was so intractable that they were 'without examining, without hearing, or without any proofe, but malicious *Rumor*, hurried to bondage and fetters.'[34] It appears that this experience of incarceration made Jonson decide to present his textual sources in Q *Sejanus* to 'save' himself from 'those common Torturers, that bring all wit to the Rack: whose Noses are ever like Swine spoyling, and rooting up the *Muses* Gardens'.[35] Jonson described the censurers' manner of interpretation of *Eastward Ho* as 'common' because they were misled by 'malicious *Rumor*' and castigated the authors who were entrusted words of Muses by uttering 'they^{re} owne malicious Meanings, under o^r Wordes'. Thus, the intertextual evidence across the letters of Jonson and his preface to Q *Sejanus* indicates that the incarceration of Jonson and Chapman for *Eastward Ho* preceded Jonson's editorial engagement for the publication of Q *Sejanus*. Therefore, as Jowett conjectures, it was 'during or after his period in prison' that Jonson prepared the play for publication.[36]

Jonson's petitions for succour addressed to the Earl of Salisbury and to the Earl of Montgomery were written in prison after May 1605, the date of the creation of the two earldoms.[37] It is possible that he was still in prison when the right to a copy of *Sejanus* was transferred from Blount to Thorpe on 6 August 1605. Jonson was released by 9 October, the date on which he attended a party held by Robert Catesby, one of the principal conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot.[38] An extract from the lost Register of the Privy Council reports that Jonson was commissioned to seek conspirators on 7 November 1605, two days after the thwarted plot.[39] This warrant was issued to Jonson due to his close association with the Catholic conspirators. Thomas O. Calhoun and Thomas L. Gravell consider the possibility

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[33] Herford and Simpson, I, 197. Although the play for which Jonson and Chapman were imprisoned is not named in their extant letters, one of William Drummond's memoranda reports the incarceration of Jonson, Chapman and Marston for *Eastward Ho*. The credibility of the report is open to question as Marston appears to have escaped imprisonment. For a discussion about the identification of the play to which Jonson and Chapman referred in their letters, see Dutton, *Mastering the Revels*, pp. 172-73.

[34] Herford and Simpson, I, 198.

[35] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), sig. ¶ 2^v. Jowett also points out that 'Jonson's justification of his notes arises very directly out of his recent experiences', one of which was the incarceration for his co-authorship of *Eastward Ho* in 1605. Jowett, 'The 1605 Quarto of *Sejanus*', p. 287.

[36] Jowett, 'The 1605 Quarto of *Sejanus*', p. 280.

[37] Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, III, 254-55; Herford and Simpson, I, 192, 194-96, 199.

[38] Herford and Simpson, XI, 578; George Chapman, Ben Jonson and John Marston, *Eastward Ho*, ed. by R. W. Van Fossen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), p. 5.

[39] Herford and Simpson, I, 40-41.

that the Privy Council's summons served on Jonson for 'popperie and treason' Drummond reports in a note coincided with the issue of this warrant.[40]   They detect Jonson's misgivings in his swift dedication of 'patriotic epigrams to William Lord Mounteagle, the Catholic peer who uncovered the plot, and to others prominent at court, including Suffolk' within a few days of his unsuccessful mission.[41] The most important achievement of Calhoun and Gravell's study is to consider 'the selection of paper stock for *Sejanus* in light of the intense patriotism called for immediately after the Gunpowder episode'.[42] They report that the paper used in the printing of twenty of the twenty-four copies of Q *Sejanus* they examined was originally manufactured for the king's letterhead by John Hans Spilman, the only Englishman who held a royal patent for white paper.[43] The occurrence of the English royal paper in contemporary English printed books is unusual.[44] As French paper was forty percent less expensive than English one, Calhoun and Gravell write, 'few English publishers and printers chose to use English-made paper during the later Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods' (p. 21). The rarity of the occurrence of the English royal paper in English publications led the two scholars to infer that the choice of the paper was not made by either Eld or Thope but by Jonson with the purpose of reassuring the authorities of his loyalty to the king.[45] What their theory indicates is that the printing of Q *Sejanus* occurred sometime after the Gunpowder Plot.

In preparing the quarto text for the press, Jonson introduced pillars of notes which show textual sources and cross references printed in Latin abbreviations in the margin. His choice of presenting the play in English and the authors and titles of his Latin sources in Latin abbreviated forms divides the printed page of the quarto into two different textual levels. The English play which occupies the central space of a single column consists of fictive dialogues

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[40]   Calhoun and Gravell, 'Paper and Printing', p. 25; Herford and Simpson, I, 141. The note reads 'Northampton was his mortall enimie for brauling on a S[t] Georges day one of his attenders, he was called befor ye Coūcell for his Sejanus & accused both of popperie and treason by him.'
[41]   Calhoun and Gravell, 'Paper and Printing', p. 25; David Riggs, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 132; Herford and Simpson, I, 41.
[42]   Calhoun and Gravell, 'Paper and Printing', p. 26.
[43]   Calhoun and Gravell, 'Paper and Printing', p. 18.
[44]   Calhoun and Gravell, 'Paper and Printing', pp. 19-20. They quote Allan Stevenson's estimate that 'nine-tenths of the paper used in English printed books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was manufactured for them in Normandy and Brittany'. Allan Stevenson, *Observations on Paper as Evidence* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 1961), p. 2.
[45]   Calhoun and Gravell, 'Paper and Printing', p. 26.

Jonson composed on the basis of so-called nonfictional, historical writings.[46] In contrast to the fictivity of the dramatic text, the marginal Latin annotations document Jonson's actual reading. The differentiation in the page layout between the English play text and the Latin scholarly annotations connotes the dichotomy between the inevitable fictivity of the play and the humanistic realism of Jonson's private study.

In this context, it is safe to state that the marginal annotations document the making of the reading play, the knowledge of which was possessed only by the author. The marginal documentation of Jonson's reading is obviously unperformable and superfluous for monolingual, so-called 'general readers'.[47] His ostentatiously humanistic documentation of the textual sources for the dramatic text retains Jonson's voice as the author-editor of the quarto play. In the epistle 'To the Readers' of Q *Sejanus*, Jonson describes his purpose of providing marginal references as 'to shew my integrity in the Story' (¶2^v). Jonson's attempt to demonstrate the veracity of the story of his play may well be described as humanistic in the sense that he presents the evidential references to his source texts in the marginal space alongside of the dramatic dialogue. The marginal annotations are inserted by the author to witness to the historical authenticity of Jonson's text. The author's 'integrity in the Story' is supported by the factuality of his base texts which Jonson believes compile historical records; therefore, the notes in the quarto play are intended not to permit diverse interpretations of the text. As aptly expressed by John Jowett, Jonson's marginal notes represent 'the superimposed claims for accuracy' of his historiographic drama.[48]

The claim for accuracy itself was the core of humanist thoughts in producing and reproducing the text. Jonson did not only provide the marginal references to claim the documentary accuracy of the story of his play but also specify which editions he turned to for historical information to confirm that his sources were reliable. In the address 'To the Readers' in Q *Sejanus*, his source texts are referred to as '*Tacit. Lips.*in 4°. *Atwerp. Edit.*600. *Dio. Folio.Hen. Step* 92' and 'Sueton. Seneca. & c.'(¶2^v).[49] As indicated by the first two texts,

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[46] The 'tension between veracity and the fictivity of verse' in which the play is presented is considered by Jowett, 'The 1605 Quarto of *Sejanus*', pp. 285-86.

[47] For the differentiation between the general readers and the critical readers, see Chapter 2.

[48] Jowett, 'The 1605 Quarto of *Sejanus*', p. 285.

[49] For Jonosn's debt to each source and his departure from them, see Herford and Simpson, II, 11-16; Jonson, *Sejanus*, ed. by Ayres, pp. 10-16. Although Jonson denies using English translations of each source,

Jonson accessed the classical authors through humanist editions. The effect of the specific reference to the editions as the play's sources may be considered as twofold: evidential support of a denial of a possible interpretation of the play as a political allegory of contemporary events as has been exemplified by the incarceration of Jonson and Chapman for *Eastward Ho*; and an editorial declaration that the editions used as the base texts of the play present the most authoritative information. Jonson's discernment in his choice of books and his quotations from them is praised by Lucius Cary, the second Viscount Falkland as follows.

> So exact his Test,
>
> Of what was best in Bookes, as what books best,
>
> That had he joyn'd those notes his Labours tooke,
>
> From each most prais'd and praise-deserving Booke'.[50]

Indeed, Justus Lipsius's edition is considered to have provided the most authoritative text of the Roman history compiled by Tacitus.[51]

The announcement of the authoritative sources of the play is intended to show that his play is not a political allegory of the time but a historiographic drama. The implication of presenting the play as a historiographic drama is that the play *Sejanus* is based on the historical facts which have been recorded and conveyed by the medium of the text. The historical facts on which Jonson states his play is based are conveyed through three layers of editorial filtering. First, the historical events were documented in the records of domestic politics such as the *acta senatus* and the *acta diurna*.[52] Here, the bare facts were filtered through editorial intervention in the process of receiving the shape of text. Second, the historical records were rewritten and compiled in book forms by ancient authors such as Cornelius Tacitus and Dio Cassius. Third, such ancient historiographical writings were edited by the humanist scholars. Tacitus' *Annals* was edited by Justus Lipsius and published at

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his use of Richard Greneway's translation of Tacitus is pointed out by Ayres, pp. 14-16.

[50] *Jonsonus Virbius; or the Memorie of Ben Johnson* (London, 1638), sig. B2^v.

[51] Jonson, *Sejanus*, ed. by Ayres, p. 12.

[52] Miriam T. Griffin, *Nero: The End of a Dynasty* (London: Batsford, 1984; repr. Florence: Routledge, 2000), p. 235; Cornelius Tacitus, *The Annals and the Histories*, ed. by Moses Hadas (New York: Modern Library, 2003), pp. 88, 588.

Antwerp in 1600, and Dio's *Roman History* was edited and published by Henricus Stephanus (i.e. Henry Estienne) at Geneva in 1592.[53] Publication details are not specified for the rest such as 'Sueton. Seneca. & c.' Yet a copy of Laevinius Torrentius's edition of Suetonius' *Duodecim Caesares* produced in 1591 at the same press as Lipsius's Tacitus has survived from Jonson's Library, and his marked copy of *L. Annaei Senecae Philosophi Scripta quae extant* edited by Jan Gruter and Fraçois Juret is housed at the Glasgow University Library.[54] As clearly indicated by his marginal annotations of *Sejanus*, Jonson's principal source material was the fourth book of Lipsius's Tacitus, and for the final three years of Sejanus's life included in the lost fifth book of Lipsius, he turned to Estienne's Dio.[55]

Here I shall address Lipsius's influence over Jonson's editorial treatment of Q *Sejanus*. Justus Lipsius was one of the most eminent Flemish humanists at the turn of the seventeenth century.[56] Jonson is known to have been a devoted reader of Lipsius, and the latter's eight volumes of *Opera Omnia* posthumously published in 1614 and two different editions of *De Militia Romana* survive from the former's library.[57] Jonson's heavy reliance on Lipsius's reading of classical authors has been pointed out by Robert C. Evans,[58] and the composition of Q *Sejanus* is no exception. In Q *Sejanus*, terms and phrases referring to historical persons and events are marked by superscript alphabets, and their references are provided in the marginal space. Pillars of notes often dauntingly occupy the space and their presentation in the margins bear a resemblance to that of scholia in the above-mentioned incunabulum of

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[53] Cornelius Tacitus, *Opera Quæ Extant*, ed. by Justue Lipsius (Antwerp, 1600). A copy of the book possessed by Ghent University has been digitised by Google and is available online. Cassius Dio, *E Dione Exerptae Historiae*, ed. by Henricus Stephanus (Geneva, 1592). Bavarian State Library's copy has been digitised by Google and is available online.

[54] McPherson, p. 92. Caius Suetonius Tranquillus, *Duodesim Caesares*, ed. by Laevinius Torrentius (Antwerp 1591). A copy of the book held by Bibliothèque jésuite des Fontaines has been digitised and available online. That Jonson once owned the volume of collected essays of Seneca is not registered by either Herford and Simpson or McPherson. Jonson's markings in the book are examined by Robert C. Evans, *Habits of Mind: Evidence and Effects of Ben Jonson's Reading* (London: Associated University Presses, 1995), pp. 57-88.

[55] Herford and Simpson, II, p. 11; Jonson, *Sejanus*, ed. by Ayres, p. 10.

[56] On Justus Lipsius, see Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Anthony Grafton, 'Portrait of Justus Lipsius', *American Scholar*, 56 (1987), 382-90.

[57] Justus Lipsius, *Opera Omnia*, 8 vols (Antwerp, 1614); Justus Lipsius, *De Militia Romana Libri Quinque* (Antwerp, 1596); Justus Lipsius, *De Militia Romana Libri Quinque* (Antwerp, 1602). For detailed descriptions of the books, see McPherson, pp. 59-61.

[58] Robert C. Evans, 'Jonson, Lipsius, and the Latin Classics', in *New Perspectives on Ben Jonson*, ed. by James Hirsh (London: Associated University Presses, 1997), pp. 55-76.

Aristophanes. The swelling of Jonson's marginal notes has been attributed to his incorporation of Lipsius's annotations by Daniel Boughner.[59] Boughner consulted the 1607 and 1627 editions of Tacitus. He did not refer to the 1600 edition which Jonosn employed, and for which Lipsius's commentary was separately published as an individual volume.[60] That Jonson was using this volume is indicated by two marginal notes existing in Q *Sejanus*: note 'e' reading 'vid. Lip. *co-|ment. in* Tacit' at sig. C3[v]; and note 'c', '*Cons.* Lips. *com-|ment.* Tac.' at sig. N1[v].[61] Lipsius's commentary provides numerous cross-references to ancient authors, which exhibit a rich accumulation of his scholarship. Jonosn occasionally borrows Lipsius's annotations in the marginal notes of Q *Sejanus* without acknowledging the latter as the source of the information.[62] Notes 'g' and 'h' occurring over thirteen lines in the right margin of B1[r] reads, '[g] *De* Satrio | Secundo, & | [h] Pinnario | Natta. | Leg Ta-|cit. *Annal.* | *lib.* 4. pag. | 83. | *Et de* Sa-|trio. *cons.* | Senec. *cō-/sol. ad Mar-/ciam.*'[63] At page 83 of Lipsius's Tacitus, superscript number '73' is found on the left shoulder of the first word of 'Satrius Secundus, & Pinarius Natta, Sejani clientes' and its annotation at sig. o2[v] of the 1600 commentary provides a cross-reference reading '*Alterim mentio Seneca, in Consolatione ad Martiam* [sic] *huius Cremutij filiam*'.[64] The duplicated reference to Seneca's *De Consolatione ad Marciam* in Q *Sejanus* indicates that Jonson copied Lipsius's annotation. This referential note is reused in Q *Sejanus* to annotate Cremutius Cordus marked by superscript 'b' at sig. B2[v], reading '*De Cre-|mutio Cor-|do vid* Ta-|cit. *Annal.* | *lib.* 4. pag. | 83. 84. | Senec. *cō-|sol. ad Mar-|ciam.*'[65] Such borrowings from Lipsius appear at C4[v], G1[v] and G2[r].[66]

[59] Daniel Boughner, 'Jonson's Use of Lipsius in *Sejanus*', *MLN*, 73 (1958), 247-55.

[60] Justus Lipsius, *Ad Annales Cor. Taciti: Liber Commentarius* (Antwerp, 1600). A copy of the book held by Ghent University has been digitised by Google and is available online.

[61] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), sigs C3[v], N1[v]. Jonson's marginal notes in Q *Sejanus* are reproduced by Herford and Simpson, IV, pp. 472-86.

[62] The fact that Jonson quotes Lipsius's cross-references without acknowledgement has been pointed out by Boughner, p. 249.

[63] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), sig. B1[r].

[64] Lipsius, *Ad Annales* (1600), sig. o2[v].

[65] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), sig. B2[r].

[66] Boughner pp. 249, pp. 250-51, note 5. Note 'a' at sig. C4[v] in Q *Sejanus* refers to a different reading from Taictus by Dio and Zonaras: '*apud* | Dio-|nē, & Zo-|naram, *ali-|ter legitur*'. This information is provided by Lipsius who quotes a reading from Dio. See Lipsius, *Ad Annales* (1600), sig. n2[v]. Note 'a' at sig. G1[v] for 'Asinius Polio's writings' reads '*Septem | dec lib. Hist. | scripsit. vid.* | Suid. Suet.' See also Herford and Simpson, IV, p. 479. This note is copied from Lipsius, *Ad Annales* (1600), sig. o2[v], note 75 on 'Asinij Pollionis scripta': '*Qui XVII. libros Historiarum script. auctere Suida. Citat Suetonius, & alij.*' Note 'a' at sig. G2[v] in Q *Sejanus* is taken from Lipsius's note 77 for '*Egressus dein Senatu, vitam abstinentiâ finivit*' at sigs o2[v]-o3[r]. Jonosn's note 'b' at sig. G2[r] is an almost verbatim copy of Lipsius's note 79 at sig. o3[r].

The comparison between the quarto play's marginal notes and Lipsius's commentary confirms that Jonson utilised the latter's informative annotations and sometimes replicated them. This fact easily invites a suspicion that in more cases the playwright took his referential notes from Lipsius without taking the trouble to consult the original source texts. As Boughner has already pointed out, Jonson's note 'e' at sig. B3[r] corresponds with Lipsius's annotations provided for the first page of the fourth book of *Annals*.[67] Jonson is usually meticulous in giving full information about his sources such as book, chapter and page numbers; for example, a reference to Dio made in note 'b' at sig. B3[r] appears as 'Dio. *Rom.* | *hist. lib*. 57. | *pag*. 705. | 706'.[68] But the latter half of note 'e' at sig. B3[r] where Boughner believes Jonson combined Lipsius's annotations omits most of the details of the sources. It reads, 'Suet. Tib. Dion. *lib*. 57. & 58. Plin. et Senec'. The reference to 'Suet. Tib. | Dio *Hist*. | *Rom. lib*. | 57. 58' is repeated in note 'c' at sig. B4[v].[69] The absence of page numbers for the references permits doubt about Jonson's actual consultation of the original passages to which Lipsius referred. But Jonosn's reading of Suetonius, Dio, Pliny and Seneca is attested to by their reflection in the dramatic dialogues and the playwright's later references to them in the marginal notes.[70] Therefore, the lack of the detailed referential information cannot immediately be attributed to Jonson's failure to consult the original sources. A close look at the marginal note enables a more physical explanation. The note is printed at the bottom of a pillar of thick annotations in the right-hand margin at sig. B3[r] and it spills leftwards to be pushed into the space between the final line of the dialogue printed in the page and its signature 'B3'. Jonson managed to secure the room to locate the references in *Annals*, but for the rest, the lack of the space appears not to have permitted specification of chapters and

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[67] Boughner, 'Jonson's Use of Lipsius', p. 249. Boughner's quotation, 'B3[r] (n. d)' is a mistake for B3[r] (n. e). Although he states Jonson's referential note comes from Lipsius's three annotations 1, 6 and 7 in the 1607 and 1627 editions, the playwright consulted the Flemish scholar's notes numbered 1, 4, 5, 7, 8 and 10 in Lipsius, *Ad Annales* (1600), sig. n2[r]. The annotations are given for Tacitus, *Opera Quæ Extant* (1600), sig. K1[v].

[68] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1600), sig. B3[r].

[69] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1600), sig. B4[v].

[70] Suetonius's account of Tiberius's personality is reflected in Tiberius's rebuke for Haterius at sig. C2[r] in the quarto play. See below for further consideration of the passage. I also refer to Jonson's use of Dio below in this chapter. That Jonson read Pliny is corroborated by note 'a' at sig. I3[r], which is shown to be one of his sources of the epithet 'Night-ey'd Tiberius'. Another two references to Pliny's *Naturalis Historiae* made in note 'c' at sig. C1[r] and note 'c' at sig. C1[v] are both copied from Lipsius's note 10 in *Ad Annales* (1600), sig. n2[v]. Jonson's reading of Seneca's *De Consolatione ad Marciam* is attested by his reference to 'Great *Pompei's* Theatre' (C4[r]) which is quoted from chapter twenty-two of the book.

pages.

Note 'b' at sig. I3$^\text{v}$ shows 'Dio. | *Rom*. *Hist*. | *lib*. 58. *pag*. | 714' to be the source of Arruntius's description of Tiberius as 'the Ward | To his owne Vassal, a stale *Catamite*' in the play. The 'stale *Catamite*' refers to Sejanus 'Whome hee [Tiberius] (upon our low, and suffering neckes) | Hath rays'd, from excrement, to side the *Gods*, | And have his proper Sacrifice in *Rome*'.[71] Arruntius's speech refers to Sejanus's overgrowth in power under Tiberius's pretended patronage reported in Dio's *Romanae Historiae*.[72] As to Jonson's cross-reference to the speech in Q *Sejanus*, Boughner believed that the playwright gained the information from Lipsius's commentary on 'custoditurque domibus magistratuum' in Tacitus.[73] He states 'the reading in Tacitus is sufficient', considering Jonson's page specification of Dio's work to be 'a characteristic of the poet's turning from the reference in Lipsius to the text of Dio in order to nail down the pagination'.[74] Boughner appears to have interpreted 'custoditurque' as 'and protected', but the passage in Tacitus which Boughner related to Arruntius's speech about Sejanus's advancement, in fact, refers to the confinement of Junius Gallio at a magistrate's household under the command of Tiberius. Thus, for note 'b' for 'the Ward | To his owne Vassall, a stale *Catamite*' in the play, Jonson clearly did not depend on Lipsius's annotation for Gallio's detention. It is sheer coincidence that Lipsius's note for the passage refers the reader to '*Dio optimè libro* LVIII'.[75] What note 'b' indicates is not Jonson's pretence of quoting from Dio despite his actual source being Lipsius as suggested by Boughner, but the conversion of his main source from Lipsius's Tacitus to Estienne's Dio towards the final phase of the play. Independent references to Dio concentrate in the final scene of Act IV and in Act V. These are the scenes depicting the last years of Sjanus's life for which Jonson turned to the work of Dio. The marginal notes for those scenes in Q *Sejanus* show Jonson's intensive reading of the fifty-eighth chapter of the *Roman History*,

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[71] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1600), sig. I3$^\text{v}$.
[72] Dion Cassius, *The History of Dion Cassius*, 2 vols (London, 1704), R1$^\text{v}$-R2$^\text{r}$. This is the first English translation produced by Francis Manning from Xiphilin's Greek abridged version of Dio. I have consulted this as Henry Estienne's 1592 edition of Dio which Jonson used is also based on Xiphilin's work.
[73] Boughner, 'Jonson's Use of Lipsius', p. 251;Tacitus, *Opera Quæ Extant* (1600), sig. N3$^\text{r}$; Lipsius, *Ad Annales* (1600), sigs q3$^\text{v}$-q4$^\text{r}$.
[74] Boughner, 'Jonson's Use of Lipsius', p. 251.
[75] Lipsius, *Ad Annales* (1600), sig. q4$^\text{r}$.

especially from page 714 to 723.[76]

Boughner's study gives the impression that Jonson depended on Lipsius for most of the referential notes made in Q *Sejanus*. Evidently, some of the annotations of the play were directly taken from Lipsius's. But what the playwright's annotations imply is not that they represent merely blind duplications of Lipsius's but elements of humanistic study Jonson had pursued. The references of Jonson's marginal notes in the quarto text are set to appear in order of priority of his confidence in the information provided by the source texts. Note 'a' for Tiberius's speech to express his hatred of flattery and to reject Haterius's kneeling reads, '*De initio* | Tiberij | *Principatus* | *vid*. Tac. | *Ann. lib*. 1. | *pag*. 23. *lib*. | 4. *pag*. 75. *et* / Suet. Tib. | *cap*. 27. *De* | Haterio. | *vid*. Tacit. | *Ann. lib*. 1. *pag*. 6.'[77] At page twenty-three of the first book of *Annals*, there is a passage describing Tiberius's refusal of the cajoling title 'patris patriae' and of giving permission for the senate to vow obedience to his enactments.[78] In the right margin alongside of this passage, an Italicised rubric reads '*Tiberij simu-|lata mode-|stia*.' Page seventy-five of the fourth book presents a sentence depicting Tiberius's discomfort about the senate discussion being reduced into adulation.[79] Suetonius concurs with Tacitus in describing Tiberius's aversion for flattery, but the former has a tinge of anecdote rather than fact. The following is an English excerpt from chapter twenty-seven of Suetonius's *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*.

> He [Tiberius] was so great an Enemy to Flattery that he never admitted any Senator to his *Chair*, either to receive his Compliment, or even upon business of what Concern soever. One that had formerly been *Consul*, endeavouring to make his Peace with the Emperour for some Offence, upon his Knees, he [Tiberius] made such haste to avoid, that he fell down backward.[80]

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[76] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1600), sigs I3ᵛ-N2ʳ.
[77] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1600), sig. C2ʳ. See also Herford and Simpson, IV, p. 475.
[78] Tacitus, *Opera Quæ Extant* (1600), sig. C4ʳ. For an English translation of the passage, see Jonson, *Sejanus*, ed. by Ayres, p. 100.
[79] Tacitus, *Opera Quæ Extant* (1600), sig. K2ʳ.
[80] C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars: the First Emperors of Rome* (London, 1688), sig. O3ʳ. I quote from this edition as its English text presents closer meaning to Torrentius's version Jonson owned. See note 54 above.

In this passage the consul is unnamed, and Tiberius's fall to the ground on avoiding facing the consul who kneels down for apology is attributed to the emperor's disapproval of flattery. Tacitus identifies the consul as Haterius but his description about Tiberius's fall is slightly different from Suetonius's. *Annals* provides no link between the emperor's hatred of flattery and his fall to the ground. It explains that Tiberius fell to the ground either by chance or because he got entangled by Haterius's hands.[81] Jonson, who placed Tacitus first in the note of his sources, however, actually adopted Suetonius's description of the emperor's aversion for the consul's kneeling. The playwright provides Tiberius with a line addressed to Haterius: 'We not endure these flatteries; Let him stand'.[82] This indicates how Jonson wove Suetonius's anecdotal descriptions and more factual reports of Tacitus into dramatic dialogue.

The order of the appearance of the source materials listed in note 'a' for the above-quoted line of Tiberius represents Jonson's evaluation of his source texts which was made independently of their actual reflection in the play. As Tacitus states that he based his historiography on the historical records of domestic politics such as the *acta senatus* and the *acta diurna*, his reports of Tiberius's rejection of the title of 'patris patriae' and his prohibition of adulation at the senate provide stronger evidence for the emperor's inclination to professing fairness.[83] That in the note Jonson refers to two episodes of *Annals* which prove Tiberius's professed hatred of flattery indicates the playwright's aim of providing persuasive evidence for his characterisation of the emperor. However, the precedence of Tacitus over Suetonius in the note suggests that Jonson's priority in presenting his sources is not corresponding to the extent to which each source is reflected in the play. Note 'b' lists the second book of *Annals* and twenty-seventh and twenty-ninth chapters of Suetonius which describe Tiberius's personality. The note records the emperor's reproach about the use of an honorific epithet and title with which Haterius addresses Tiberius in the first act of the play (C2[r]). Although Tacitus reports that Tiberius severely reprimanded people who referred to his occupation as 'divine' and addressed him as 'Lord', Haterius's name is not mentioned in the passage and the target

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[81] The original Latin reading is: 'quia Tiberius casu, an manibus eius impeditus, prociderat'. Tacitus, *Opera Quæ Extant* (1600), sig. A3[v].
[82] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), sig. C2[r].
[83] See note 80 above.

of Tiberius's reproach is not identified.[84] Meanwhile, the two chapters of Suetonius's *Lives* describe Tiberius's antagonism towards Haterius. Its description about his aversion to hearing senators call him 'Dominus' and his occupation as 'sacred' corresponds with Tacitus. In chapter twenty-nine, as a refutation of Haterius's unquoted speech at the sanate, Suetonius presents Tiberius's own voice as following.

> a good Prince, one that designs the Welfare of his Country, in whose hands you have reposed such unlimited Power, should study to be serviceable, not only to the Senate, and Body of the Community, but even every private Persons Interest and Advantage as the Case shall require. Nor do I yet repent of such Words, for I always found, and still acknowledge you my good, just, and gracious Lords.[85]

Here, it will be useful to quote the dialogue between Haterius and Tiberius presented by Jonson in order to show its closer resemblance to the passage from Suetonius than to Tacitus which comes first in the list of the playwright's sources.

> HATERIUS Right mighty Lord.
>
> TIBERIUS We must make up our ears, 'gainst these assaults
>
> Of charming tongues; we pray you use no more
>
> These contumelies to us: Stile not us
>
> Or *Lord*, or *mighty*; who professe our selfe
>
> The servant of the *Senate*, and are proud
>
> T'enjoy them, our good, just, and favouring Lords.[86]

There are four correspondences between the dialogue in the play and Suetonius's narrative of Tiberius. The strained relation between Tiberius and Haterius depicted in Suetonius is reflected in terms of Tiberius's hatred of flattery and of honorific titles and epithets in the play.

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[84] Tacitus, *Opera Quæ Extant* (1600), sig. G1ᵛ.

[85] Suetonius, *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* (1688), sig. O3ᵛ.

[86] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), sig. C2ʳ.

Jonson has dramatised Tiberius's rebuke for the senators' use of honorific terms for the emperor which is reported by both Suetonius and Tactitus. Tiberius's identity of himself as 'The servant of the Senate' in the play is taken from the emperor's wish to be 'serviceable' which is expressed in Suetonius. The last epithets in which Tiberius addresses senators exactly correspond with Suetonius's description. Taking these into consideration, it may be safe to conclude that Jonson based the dialogue on Suetonius's account of Tiberius's personality. As far as the passage of the dialogue is concerned, Jonson's debt to Suetonius is larger than to Tacitus. If Jonson had noted his source materials in order of his debt, Suetonius would have been placed first in both notes 'a' and 'b' at C2^r.

In fact, Lipsius's Tacitus is placed first in all but five of the marginal notes documenting cross-references.[87] From the book's strong presence in Jonson's marginal annotations as well as his specification of the edition in the preface, it is self-evident that Jonson had an intention to present *Annals* as the primary base text of his play. As previously mentioned, Jonson also used Estienne's Dio for the part included in the lost book of Lipsius's *Annals*. In the address 'To the Reader', after providing publication details of these editions, Jonson refers to other sources as '*Sueto. Seneca.* & c.' without specifying the editions he used.[88] The presence of the detailed descriptions of the two editions and their absence for the rest of his sources make a clear distinction between the former's primacy and the latter's supplementary positions. Jonson's presentation of the source texts in the preface gives an impression that he wove episodic information gleaned from the secondary sources into the dramatic framework established from the two main base texts.

In the process of producing reading plays, Jonson prioritised the elimination of theatricality from printed texts. He employed the system of massed entries, by means of which he listed names of all characters at the beginning of each scene in which they appeared on the stage and reduced the number of separate entry directions for each character. Scarce existence of exits and musical directions is also characteristic of both Jonson's quarto plays especially after 1602 and the 1616 folio plays. Instead of omitting theatrical directions from his printed plays, Jonson began to introduce marginal annotations and directions to describe

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[87] Note b at sig. F2^r; Note a at sig. G4^v; The first note at sig. H1^r; Note a at sig. I2^r; Note e at sig. L1^r.
[88] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), sig. ¶2^v.

the context of the dialogue or the scene for the convenience of the reader.

Jonson first adopted the classical convention of massed entries in the quarto editions of *Cynthia's Revels* (1601) and *Poetaster* (1602) on the model of humanist editions of classical Greek and Latin comedies.[89] Massed entries are lists of the names of characters provided at the beginning of each scene in which they appear. They are not accompanied by the verb 'Enter'. That Jonson removed the word in the process of grouping the characters' names at the beginning of each scene is demonstrated by the omission of the verb from the massed entries of the 1616 folio texts of *Every Man in His Humour* (*EMI*) and *Every Man out of His Humour* (*EMO*), both copy-texts of which Jonson prepared from the quarto editions which retain entry directions preceded by the word 'Enter'.[90] In Q *EMI*, a stage direction at the beginning of 1.1 reads '*Enter Lorenzo di Pazzi Senior, Musco*', and a separate entry for Stephano reading '*Enter Stephano*' is set twenty lines after the first direction.[91] In the counterpart of F *EMI*, the two entry directions of Q are combined at the head of the scene, and only the revised names of the characters are set without the accompaniment of 'Enter'. It reads 'KNO'WELL, BRAYNE-WORME, Mʳ STEPHEN'.[92] An exit direction for Musco in the first scene of Q is omitted from F.[93] An internal entry direction for 'a servingman' in 1.1 of Q is included in massed entries provided in the beginning of 1.2 in F.[94] The scene division of 1.2 in F *EMI*, in point of fact, occurs in the middle of 1.1 where the scene does not change on the stage. Jonson introduced the scene division for a purely textual reason. The new scene division with massed entries enabled the author-editor to omit the internal entrance for the 'servingman'. The massed entries for 1.2 read 'SERVANT, Mʳ. STEPHEN, KNO'WELL, | BRAYNE-WORME.'[95] All the characters but the servant enter the stage in the previous scene

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[89] Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels* (1601); Jonson, *Poetaster* (1602); Herford and Simpson, IX, 46; T. H. Howard-Hill, *Ralph Crane and Some Shakespeare First Folio Comedies* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972), p. 20.

[90] Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sigs A1ʳ-P4ᵛ; Ben Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour* (London, 1600); Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of His Humour* (London: [Adam Islip for] William Holme, 1600); Herford and Simpson, III, 295, 411. Although F *Every Man in His Humour* presents a substantially revised text, Herford and Simpson demonstrate that some errors in punctuation in the folio text descended from the quarto.

[91] Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour* (1600), sig. B1ʳ. Lorenzo di Pazzi Senior, Musco and Stephano in Q are given English names in F, respectively, Kno'well, Brayne-Worme and Mʳ Stephen.

[92] Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sig. A3ᵛ.

[93] Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour* (1600), sig. B1ʳ; Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sig. A3ᵛ.

[94] Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour* (1600), sig. B2ʳ; Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sig. A4ᵛ.

[95] Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sig. A4ᵛ.

and continue to act in 1.2. The replacement of the internal entrance of Q with the massed entries accompanied by the scene division in F clearly indicates Jonson's editorial aim of eliminating theatrical factors from the folio text.

Herford and Simpson consider that Jonson introduced 'the more frequent scene division' into F *EMI* in order to '[dispense] with the usage of marking exits and entrances'.[96] In fact, in F *EMI*, the scene division accompanied by massed entries is introduced at each entrance of a new character or new characters. In the counterpart of 1.4 of Q where Bobadilla's and Matheo's joining the party of Thorello and Giuliano is described by a stage direction, '*Enter Boba. and Matheo.*', the folio text presents massed entries reading 'MATTHEW, BOBADIL, DOWNE-RIGHT, KITELY' at the beginning of 2.2.[97] The ensuing scene division of 2.3 with massed entries in F is also provided to replace an entry direction for Cob in Q.[98] Such scene division with massed entries in F *EMI* as replace separate entry directions in Q occur at eighteen places.[99] As previously mentioned, Jonson already adopted the convention of massed entries as early as 1601 when he prepared the printer's copy for Q *Cynthia's Revels*.[100] There are five scenes in each of the first two acts in Q *Cynthia's Revels*, but an actual scene transition does not take place until the end of each act. Each scene division of the two acts simply replaces separate entrances of new characters. At 1.2 where Echo enters to join Mercury, instead of a more conventional entry found in a theatrical script such as 'Enter Echo', Jonson places the names of the two characters '*Echo, Mercury.*' although Mercury's entry is already noted in the beginning of 1.1, and he continues to act on the stage.[101] The massed entries at 1.3 reading '*Amorphus. Echo. Mercury.*' replaces a separate entrance of Amorphus.[102] At the beginning of 1.4 where Criticus and Asotus enter to join Amorphus, the massed entries read '*Criticus. Asotus. Amorphus.*' to dispense with an internal

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[96] Herford and Simpson, I, 360.
[97] Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour* (1600), sig. D2^r; Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sig. B5^r.
[98] Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sig. B5^v; Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour* (1600), sig. D2^v.
[99] The scenes are 1.2 (A4^v), 2.2 (B5^r), 2.3 (B5^v), 3.2 (C5^r), 3.4 (D1^r), 3.7 (D4^r), 4.2 (D5^r), 4.3 (D6^v), 4.7 (E3^r), 4.8 (E4^v), 4.9 (E6^r), 4.10 (F1^r), 4.11 (F2^r), 5.1 (F3^r), 5.2 (F3^v), 5.3 (F3^v), 5.4 (F5^r) and 5.5 (F5^r). I exclude 1.5 (B2^r) as the scene division does not replace an internal entrance marked during the dialogue of other characters. Although 1.5 in F occurs in the middle of 1.3 in the quarto text, the stage is cleared before the appearance of Bobadill on the stage.
[100] See note 93 above.
[101] Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels* (1601), sig. B3^r.
[102] Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels* (1601), sig. B4^v.

entrance of the two characters.[103] In the beginning of 1.5, a list of five characters '*Cos. Prosaites. Criticus. Amorphus. Asotus.*' is provided, and what Jonson replaces with the massed entries is an entry direction for Cos and Prosaites.[104]

Regardless of actual change of scenes, in Q *Cynthia's Revels* massed entries are introduced to substitute for internal entrances until the third act. In Act IV there are four separate entrances marked in the middle of the scenes. At 4.3, an entry direction for Anaides which reads 'Enter *Anaides*' is noted 106 lines after his exit and immediately before Amorphus' remark, 'How now *Anaides*?'.[105] Although his name is included in the massed entries for 4.3, Jonson appears to have recognised the necessity of noting Anaides' return to the stage. His re-entrance is also noted in the folio text of the play. The bare entry direction of the quarto text is rephrased into a more literary kind of relative clause modifying the name of Anaides '*Who is return'd from seeking his page*'.[106] Another internal entrance for Asotus, Moria and Morus is marked 128 lines after their exit in the same scene in Q. It reads 'Enter *Asot. Mor. Morus.*'[107] Their return to the stage is also indicated in the folio text by a marginal annotation reading '*Asotus returnes with Moria, and Morus.*'[108] At 4.4, an entrance of Asotus who exits with Morus and Argurion at the end of the previous scene is marked by a stage direction 'Enter *Asotus*' which is followed by Amorphus' remark 'How now *Asotus*? how do's the Lady?' [*sic*].[109] It is only 32 lines after the beginning of 4.4 that the separate entry direction for Asotus occurs and it might well have been included in the massed entries set in the beginning of the scene if Jonson had dismissed his exit marked one line earlier and his absence during the ensuing thirty two lines in Q. In the counterpart in the folio text which has omitted all the exit directions existing in Q, that Asotus and Morus make their exit supporting sick Argurion between them is indicated only by the last seven lines of the dialogue of 4.3.[110] There is not such exit direction for the three characters as the quarto text preserves at the end of the scene in F. In addition, the folio text omits both the internal entrance for Asotus and the

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103 Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels* (1601), sig. C1^v.
104 Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels* (1601), sig. C4^r.
105 Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels* (1601), sig. H4^r.
106 Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sig. T6^v.
107 Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels* (1601), sig. H4^v.
108 Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sig. V1^r.
109 Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels* (1601), sig. I2^r.
110 Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sig. V1^v.

inclusion of his name in the massed entries for 4.4.

Observed from the convention of massed entries which Jonson adopted throughout the folio plays, the name of such characters as make their exit in one scene and return to the stage in the middle of the next, are usually included in the massed entries at the beginning of the scene in which they return to the stage. For example, in F *EMI*, Mr Stephen who exits after the first 32 lines of the dialogue in 1.2 re-enters 11 lines after the beginning of the next scene. Although his actual entrance to the stage takes place later than that of Edward Kno'well and Brayne-worme, his name is listed alongside theirs at the beginning of 1.3.[111] In *Poetaster*, Horace's name occurs in the massed entries for 4.7 in both quarto and folio texts, but he exits at the end of the previous scene and does not enter to deliver his lines until 27 lines after the beginning of the scene where in fact the stage is cleared and a new scene division has been introduced by modern editions of the play.[112] Judging from the above, Jonson probably missed including Asotus' name in the massed entries for 4.4 in F after he excised the direction for his separate entry from the copy-text set up from the quarto text. Such inadvertent omission in the massed entries recurs in 4.5 of the folio text. Morus, who exits with Asotus and Argurion at the end of 4.3 re-enters the stage halfway through 4.5. His entrance is marked by an internal stage direction reading '*Enter Morus*' in Q instead of being included in the massed entries at the head of the scene.[113] In the counterpart in the folio text, the separate entry direction for Morus has been removed, but his name is not included in the massed entries for 4.5.

Such separate entry directions do not exist in Q *Poetaster* which was published one year after Q *Cynthia's Revels*, but both texts preserve internal directions for the characters' exits and indications to mark the end of each act such as '*Finis Actus Primi*'.[114] It was Q *Sejanus* in which Jonson developed the system of massed entries in order to completely exclude internal stage directions for both entrance and exit. The play is divided into five acts. The text of each act is subdivided by a row of massed entries at each point where a new

[111] Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sigs A4ᵛ, A6ʳ.
[112] *Poetaster* (1602), sigs I1ᵛ-I2ʳ; Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sigs Dd6ᵛ-Ee1ʳ. For the creation of the new scene division on Horace's return to the stage at 4.7, see Ben Jonson, *Poetaster*, ed. by Tom Cain (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 202.
[113] Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels* (1601), sigs I2ᵛ, I3ᵛ.
[114] Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels* (1601), sig. C4ᵛ; Jonson, *Poetaster* (1602), sig. B4ᵛ.

character joins in the dialogue. There are no numerical indications of scene division. Each row of massed entries is centred in the column with a blank line both above and below it.[115] The textual function of massed entries is to clarify who is on the stage and who engages in the following dialogue. Instead of marking exits of the characters, Jonson chose to remove their names from the massed entries set at the head of the next block of the dialogue. Close to the end of Act I, after Drusus strikes Sejanus and leaves the stage with Arruntius and others, Sejanus delivers a soliloquy. Instead of the exit of the other characters, Jonson has placed the name of Sejanus alone in the centre to indicate that he is the only one left on the stage (Q: C4^v). The scene of Drusus' strike on Sejanus headed 'SEIANVS.&c.', in the quarto, is followed by Sejanus' soliloquy headed 'SEIANVS.' (C4^v).

Jonson's editorial intention to eliminate theatricality from his quarto plays is corroborated by the absence of other theatrical directions in Q *Sejanus*. There are no such directions as refer to properties. Independent musical directions are placed only at the end of each act.[116] The phrase of each direction is uniformed as 'MV. CHORVS.'.[117] In the folio text, the direction is rephrased as 'CHORUS—*Of Musicians.*'.[118] The rewording of the direction in F clearly shows that each indication of a chorus is not merely a stage direction for interval music but part of the textual display of Jonson's imitation of the ancient Greek drama. The absence of the actual lines of the chorus raises a possibility that it was not performed on the stage and that only the stage direction of the chorus at the end of each act was included in the printed texts. This is supported by the playwright's confession of his failure to include 'a proper *Chorus*' in his address 'To the Reader' in Q *Sejanus* (¶2^r). Although Jonson announces his regret about the lack of 'a proper *Chorus*', the textual indication of the chorus of musicians suggests that Jonson intended to present his printed play in imitation of the classical format of drama. Therefore, it can be concluded that the inclusion of the directions for the chorus in *Sejanus* was made for a literary purpose. The scarcity of stage directions for

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[115] For blank lines which appear above and below entry directions, see Charleton Hinman, 'The Printing and Proofing', in *The Norton Facsimile, The First Folio of Shakespeare, Based on Folios in the Folger Shakespeare Library Collection*, 2nd edn (New York: Norton, 1996), pp. xv-xxii (p. xvi).

[116] Both Q and F *Sejanus* preserve two other musical directions incorporated into descriptive directions (Q: K3^v, K4^r; F: Mm6^r, Mm6^v). They will be referred to later in this chapter.

[117] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), sigs C4^{v,} E3^v, H2^r, K1^r.

[118] Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sigs Ii1^r, Kk1^r, Ll4^r, Mm4^r.

offstage sound effects and properties in other quarto plays published under Jonson's editorial supervision may well also be attributed to Jonson's textual convention of eliminating theatricality in producing a reading play.

The system of massed entries Jonson established in Q *Sejanus* continued to be adopted in the quarto texts of *Volpone* (1607) and *The Alchemist* (1612), and in his 1616 Folio works. As has been observed, the system of massed entries was employed to remove theatrical elements such as separate entry directions from the play texts. But in the folio plays, Jonson restored such internal stage directions as describe visual elements of the plays in the margin of the page. They include internal entries and descriptions of the manner in which the characters listed in the beginning of the scene enter the stage. In the folio text of *Sejanus*, a marginal annotation reading 'They passe over the stage' is printed alongside the massed entries of 'SEIANVS, SATRIVS, TERENTIVS, &c.'.[119] Where the quarto text provides the entries of 'SEIANVS. &c.', the folio text details all the characters who deliver their lines in the scene: 'SEIANVS, DRVSVS, ARRVNTIVS, &c.'.[120] In the right hand margin alongside the entries of the folio text, Jonson added an annotation, 'He enters, followd with clients' (Ii1[r]). The personal pronoun 'He' refers to Sejanus who begins to deliver his line, 'There is your bill, and yours; Bring you your man: | I haue mou'd for you, too, LATIARIS' (Ii1[r]). It is Sejanus and his 'clients' who enter the stage to join Drusus and Arruntius who has remained on the stage from the previous scene.[121] The characters named in the massed entries are only those who speak their parts in the scene. Sejanus's clients including Latiaris, who enter the stage with their patron but are not given their own speaking parts, are indicated by '&c.' (F: Ii1[r]).

At the beginning of Act III, the names of the characters are arranged in different order between Q and F. In the quarto text, the massed entries are set in the order of their entrance to the stage.[122] The text is set as following.

ACTVS TERTIVS.

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[119] Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sig. Hh2[v].
[120] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), sig. C4[v]; Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sig. Ii1[r].
[121] The word 'client' means 'a plebeian under the patronage of a patrician, in this relation called a patron (patronus), who was bound, in return for certain services, to protect his client's life and interests' (*OED*, 1). The services of Sejanus' clients are described by Silius at the first scene (F: Hh1[r]; Q: B1[r-v]).
[122] Jonson, *Sejanus*, ed. by Ayres, p. 140.

THE SENATE.

PRAECONES. LICTORES.

VARRO. SEIANVS. LATIARIS.

COTTA. AFER.

GALLVS. LEPIDVS. ARRVNTIVS. (Q: E3^v)

The characters' names were probably set as they stood in the text Jonson and his co-author produced with the stage in mind although the entrance of the last three would have been marked separately in the playbook. It is inferred that Jonson simply deleted the word 'Enter' from each of the entry directions in preparing the printer's copy of the quarto. In the corresponding part of the folio text, the names of the characters are rearranged in the order of their speech. The text is printed as following.

Act III.

THE SENATE.

SEIANVS, VARRO, LATIARIS.

COTTA, AFER.

GALLVS, LEPIDVS, ARRVNTIVS.

PRÆCONES, LICTORES. (F: Kk1^r).

Latiaris, Cotta and Lepidus are mutes, and the entries do not include Sabinus who enters with Gallus, Lepidus and Arruntius with the news of Drusus' death.[123] In terms of the order of the massed entries of the first scene of Act III in both the texts, it can be stated that the entries of Q derived from the theatrical script and that those of F were based on the reading of the text.

Such entries occur at Act V again. When the senate meet in Tiberius' absence, the entries of the quarto text are printed in the order of the appearance of the characters on the stage: 'THE SENATE | PRAECONES. LICTORES. | REGVLVS. SEIANVS. TRIO. | HATERIVS. SANQVINVS, COTTA. | POMPONIVS. LATIARIS. | LEPIDVS. ARRVNTIVS.' (L4^v). Jonson

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[123] Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sigs Kk1^{r-v}.

rearranged the characters' names mostly in the order of their speech in the counterpart of F. Haterius and Trio, the first two speakers' names appear in the order of their speech, but Cotta's and Sanquinius' names are reversed (F: Nn4ʳ). As Cotta refers to Regulus' presence in his speech addressed to Sejanus, the consul's and the patrician's names follow Cotta's in the entries although Regulus does not speak until he declares the meeting open 45 lines after the beginning of the scene. Sejanus does not deliver his line until 153 lines after his entrance. Latiaris's and Pomponius' names occur in the entries in the reverse order of their speeches. Apart from the absence of the speeches of Lepidus and the 'lictores', the last four entries are arranged in the order of their speech. Therefore the massed entries of the folio text are set in the following order: 'THE SENATE. | HATERIVS, TRIO, SANQVINIVS, | COTTA, REGVLVS, SEIANVS, | POMPONIVS, LATIARIS, | LEPIDVS, ARRVNTIVS, | PRÆCONES, LICTORES.' (Nn4ʳ). The theory that Jonson rearranged the massed entries in F in the order of the characters' speeches is also supported by the first entries of Act I in the play. Whilst Q's entries provide the names of the characters in the order of their appearance on the stage (B1ʳ), the folio text groups them in the exact order of their speech except for the occurrence of Eudemus' name (Gg6ᵛ). Despite the entry of his name in the beginning of the first act in both Q and F, his presence is not referred to until 178 lines after the play begins (Q: B3ᵛ; F: Hh2ᵛ), and his first speech is not delivered until 263 lines after the initial massed entries (Q: B4ᵛ;F: Hh3ᵛ). Considering the precedence of his name to Haterius' in the entries especially in the quarto text whose massed entries are arranged in the order of the characters' entrance to the stage, 'EVDEMVS' is an error for 'DRVSVS' who walks past on the stage being attended by Haterius. The prince's entrance to the stage is indicated by a marginal annotation in the folio text: 'Drusus passeth by' (Hh1ᵛ). The annotation is placed in the left hand margin alongside Sabinus' line, 'Stand by, lord DRVSVS.', which is followed by Haterius' caution to the bystanders on the stage, 'Th'Emp'rours son, give place.' (Hh1ᵛ).

When Silius appears in the first senate, the quarto text of *Sejanus* provides entries of 'SILIVS, &c.' (E4ʳ). In the counterpart of the folio text, the entries are replaced with 'SILIVS, SENATE.' (Kk1ᵛ). The ensuing entries of 'TIBERIVS. &c.' are revised as 'TIBERIVS, SENATE.' (Kk1ᵛ). The next entries of 'NERO. DRVSVS. *iu*.' occur immediately before Tiberius' speech

addressed to the two princes in the quarto text (E4^v). Instead of removing the speech prefix for Tiberius, Jonson added the emperor's name at the head of the entries to precede Nero's and Drusus junior's names in F (Kk2^r). Where Cordus appears in the senate with his two accusers, Satrius and Natta, the quarto text provides the entries of the three (F4^v). The corresponding entries in F include the 'praecones' at the head to replace their speech prefix of Q. The entries of F read 'PRÆCO, CORDVS, SATRIVS, NATTA.' (Kk5^v). The revisions of the massed entries in the folio text of *Sejanus* show that Jonson intended to be more explicit about the participants in each scene, and that he consistently adopted the practice of placing the name of the first speaker in the following dialogue or soliloquy at the head of the entries. Jonson's treatment of the massed entries is consistent throughout the folio plays. The names of the characters are set in the order of their speeches printed in the text, and the initial entry replaces the speech prefix of the first speaker of the ensuing dialogue. These textual practices of rearranging the massed entries were already adopted in the quarto text of *Volpone*.

The convention of massed entries Jonson employed in his dramatic publications on the model of the Continental humanist editions of the classical drama came to be adopted, if not consistently, in some later editions or transcripts of contemporary plays. Among them were the first quartos of Shakespeare's *Othello* (1622) and John Webster's *The Tragedy of the Duchesse of Malfy* (1623), the 1623 Shakespeare folio texts of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *The Winters Tale*, *The First Part of Henry the Fourth* and *The Second Part of Henry IV*, and the Malone Manuscript of *A Game at Chess* probably transcribed in 1625.[124] In 1920s, Crompton Rhodes and Dover Wilson considered the massed entries which appear in the above-mentioned plays of Shakespeare's first folio (1623) to be signs that they were taken from the playhouse plots and that the texts were assembled from the actors' parts.[125] Refuting this theory of 'assembled texts', in 1931, R. C. Bald pointed out

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[124] W. W. Greg, *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1942), pp. 70, 109, 116, 129, 136-37, 141, 151. 175-76; Howard-Hill, *Ralph Crane* (1972), p. 21; William Shakespeare, *The Tragoedy of Othello, the Moore of Venice* (London, 1622), sig. C1^v; John Webster, *The Tragedy of the Duchesse of Malfy* (London, 1623); William Shakespeare, *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (London 1623) sigs B4^v-E6^v, Aa1^r-Cc2^r; Thomas Middleton, *A Game at Chess*, ed. by T. H. Howard-Hill and others, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. ix.
[125] Crompton Raymond Rhodes, *Shakespeare's First Folio* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1923), p. 96; Dover Wilson, 'The Task of Heminge and Condell', in *Studies in the First Folio Written for the Shakespeare Association* (London: Milford, 1924), p. 72.

that the massed entries employed in Q *The Duchesse of Malfy* were imitations of 'Ben Jonson's neo-classical' textual practice.[126] In support of Bald, W. W. Greg wrote that the presence of massed entries in the Shakespeare folio plays indicate 'a tendency that a scribe might systematize under the influence of the neo-classical drama of the Continent.'[127] He views that the 1616 folio, 'the first important collection of the works of an English dramatist,' in which Jonson adopted the foreign convention, would have become a model to be looked to 'by a scribe or editor working with a literary rather than a theatrical end in view' (p. 137). The notable scribe-editor, who imitated Jonson's massed entries in preparing printer's copies of plays, is Ralph Crane.[128] Crane's involvement with post-Jonsonian texts had been discussed since 1920s, and T. H. Howard-Hill consolidated in 1972 that Crane introduced massed entries into the Shakespeare folio texts of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *The Winter's Tale*, the Malone Manuscript of *A Game at Chess* and the first quarto of *The Duchesse of Malfy*.[129] Relying on Howard-Hill's study on Crane's textual practices, E. A. J. Honigmann claims that F *Othello* and F *2 Henry IV* were also set up from Crane's copy-texts in his *The Texts of 'Othello' and Shakespearian Revision*.[130]

My purpose in addressing Crane's textual practices here is not to recapitulate the preceding studies of Howard-Hill and Honigmann, but to investigate how a Jonsonian textual convention was adopted by Crane in transcription of dramatic texts and what kind of textual tendencies are represented by such plays as have been edited under the influence of Jonsonian textualism. All but three massed entries appearing in Shakespeare's first folio have the directional term 'Enter' at their beginning, and little doubt has been cast on the recognition that massed entries are stage directions for entrances and that the format of listing characters' names resulted from 'omitting "Enter" placed at the beginning of initial directions'.[131] As

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[126] R. C. Bald, '"Assembled" Texts', *The Library*, 12 (1931), 243-48.
[127] Greg, *Editorial Problem*, p. 137.
[128] For a detailed analysis of Crane's editorial practices in his dramatic transcripts, see T. H. Howard-Hill, 'Shakespeare's Earliest Editor, Ralph Crane', *Shakespeare Survey*, 44 (1992), 113-29.
[129] Howard-Hill, *Ralph Crane* (1972), pp. 21, 112-13, 118, 129-30, 139.
[130] Honigmann, *The Texts of 'Othello'*, pp. 59-76.
[131] W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio: The Bibliographical and Textual History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), p. 158. Bald also states that the initial word 'Enter' has been omitted from massed entries of *The Duchess of Malfy* by Webster himself. See 'Assembled', p. 245. The massed entries unaccompanied by the directional term 'Enter' occur at 1.1 and 5.3 of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and at 3.2 of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in Shakespeare, *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (1623) sigs, B4^v, C6^v, E1^r.

already mentioned above, the massed entries in Q *Sejanus* are set in the order of each character's entrance to the stage. The arrangement of the entries itself indicates that Jonson copied them from such text as had been designed for the stage, and combined internal entrances with the ones placed at the beginning of each scene, deleting the initial word 'Enter' from each entry direction. He rearranged these massed entries of Q *Sejanus* in the order of each character's speech in the folio text. It can be stated that Jonson's editing of the massed entries in the folio plays distanced his dramatic texts from the theatrical space and contributed to recreating them in the shape of literary work. In this light, the massed entries are remains of the stage directions for the characters' entrances to the stage. What has been removed from the stage directions to form massed entries are the theatrical elements such as the directional term 'Enter', the order of each character's entrance to the actual stage and the appropriate timing of each separate entrance. Therefore, in terms of their functions, Jonson's massed entries are not stage directions. They are neither onstage directions for actors to enter the stage nor offstage ones for any other theatre personnel to prepare costumes and properties.

If massed entries are not stage directions in respect of their functions, they can be described as a list of characters' names prefixed to each scene. They serve the reader as a reduced version of dramatis personae or an index to each scene. This is supported by 'an apologeticall Dialogue' post-fixed to *Poetaster* in the 1616 folio. Jonson writes in 'TO THE READER' preceding the dialogue that it 'was only once spoken upon the stage, and all the answer I ever gave, to sundry impotent libells then cast out (and some yet remayning) against me, and this Play'.[132] The dialogue is spoken by three people whose names are listed at its beginning in the same format as other massed entries in Jonson's folio plays: 'NASVTVS, POLYPOSVS, AVTHOR' (F: Ff6ᵛ). Nasutus and Polyposus initiate the dialogue, and Author does not enter and deliver his line until nine lines after the entry of his name with the other two. A piece of evidence which supports my view that the massed entries are reduced dramatis personae for each scene occurs immediately before the list of the three characters' names. The heading of the massed entries for the apologetic dialogue reads, 'The Persons' (F: Ff6ᵛ). It is obvious that the heading, 'The Persons' is a contracted form of 'The Persons of the

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[132] Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sig. Ff6ᵛ.

Play', the very wording of which is used to designate the dramatis personae prefixed to all the folio plays except for *Every Man out of His Humour*.[133] The massed entries for the apologetic dialogue in F *Poetaster* are also arranged in the order of the characters' speeches, and the first entry of the list, 'NASVTVS' is substituted for his speech prefix. The transition from stage direction to massed entries as reduced dramatis personae is also observed in the revision of the entry direction for three children in the induction of F *Cynthia's Revels*. The dialogue of the induction is preceded by a note informing the participants: 'BY THREE OF THE CHILDREN.' (Q1[r]). The counterpart of the quarto text reads 'Enter three of the *Children*.'.[134]

Jonson established the system of massed entries in the attempt of regulating the textual format to present his plays as reading texts. He aimed at eliminating theatricality from his plays by incorporating separate later entries into a group of massed entries at the beginning of each scene. The functions of the massed entries are to inform the reader of the names of the characters who participate in the following scene, and to dispense with interruptions of the main text of dialogue caused by separate stage directions in the middle of the scene. Viewed in this light, Crane did not slavishly follow the convention of massed entries established by Jonson. Although Howard-Hill states that Crane 'did not properly understand the correct use of the convention', it is possible that Crane departed from Jonson's system to reproduce more favourable text for his literary taste.[135] He introduced massed entries along with each new scene where the stage was cleared instead of bringing a new scene division at each point where a new character or characters joined in the dialogue. In *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in the 1623 folio, Crane used the massed entries from beginning to end and excluded other internal stage directions except for exits and only one internal entrance for fairies at 5.5 in *The Merry Wives*.[136] All the massed entries but three retain the directional term 'Enter'. At 1.1 and 5.3 of *Two Gentleman of Verona* and at 3.2 of *Merry Wives of Windsor*, the massed entries appear as '*Valentine: Protheus, and Speed.*', '*Siuia, Out-lawes.*', and '*Mist. Page, Robin, Ford, Page, Shallow,*

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[133] The eight plays' dramatis personae in the 1616 folio are headed with 'The Persons of the Play'. They occur at Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sigs A2[v], P6[v], Z5[v], Gg6[r], Pp2[v], Xx6[v], Eee2[v], Kkk5[v]. Only in *Every Man out of His Humour*, the dramatis personae are titled 'The Names of the Actors' (G2[v]).
[134] Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels* (1601), sig. A2[r].
[135] Howard-Hill, *Ralph Crane* (1972), p. 21.
[136] The entry direction for fairies occurs at Shakespeare, *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (1623) sig. E6[r].

Slender, Host, Euans, Caius' respectively.[137] Crane's massed entries are not arranged in the order of the characters' speeches. This is probably because he placed the entries in the order of their occurrence in his copy. Howard-Hill has rejected Greg's view that 'Crane copied a playhouse manuscript because the massed entrances supply, after their fashion, corrected entries for all the characters of the play.'[138] The fact that the massed entries are arranged in the order of each character's entrance to the stage indicates that Crane's copy was written with the stage in mind. Copies of the plays written for the stage do not only refer to playbooks but also to any drafts produced with the intention of staging the text in the end. Such drafts include authorial 'foul papers'.[139]

Scholars have not concurred on the provenance of Crane's copy of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and F *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Pointing out that the folio text of *Two Gentlemen of Verona* preserves numerous textual irregularities which, he believes, would have been removed from the playbook, Clifford Leech asserts that the copy-text of *Two Gentlemen of Verona* was transcribed from 'in all probability Shakespeare's "foul papers"'.[140] His view is supported by Howard-Hill.[141] Howard-Hill is inclined to attribute the absence of stage directions for music and properties in *The Two Gentlemen* and *The Merry Wives* to authorial foul papers, maintaining the folio text lacks 'any sure indications that Crane copied the prompt-book' (pp. 113-119).[142] His hypothesis is refuted by Gary Taylor who ascribes the absence of directions for music and properties in the two plays to Crane's editorial intervention.[143] I will return to Crane's editorial practice of eliminating theatrical directions

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[137] See note 133 above.
[138] Howard-Hill, *Ralph Crane*, p. 113; Greg, *Shakespeare First Folio* (1955), pp. 217-18.
[139] I use the words 'foul papers' to mean an author's first draft of a play as a whole in support of Greg's interpretation. For interpretations of the words 'foul papers', see Greg, *Editorial Problem* (1954), pp. 27-32; Greg, *Shakespeare First Folio* (1955), p. 107; Paul Werstine, 'Narratives About Printed Shakespeare Texts: "Foul Papers" and "Bad Quartos"', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41 (1990), 65-86.
[140] Clifford Leech (ed.), *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, by William Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1969; repr. Surrey: Nelson, 1997), pp. xxxi-xxxii. William C. Carroll, the editor of the third Arden edition of the play agrees with Leech on the point that Crane's copy of *The Two Gentlemen* was not a theatrical script, but he considers 'that Crane's copy was not "foul papers"' on the basis that the folio text does not represent such indications of 'foul papers' as variable speech prefixes. William C. Carroll (ed.), *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* by William Shakespeare (London: Black, 2004), p. 125.
[141] Howard-Hill, *Ralph Crane* (1972), p. 113.
[142] Howard-Hill, *Ralph Crane* (1972), p. 119.
[143] Gary Taylor, ''Swounds Revisited: Theatrical, Editorial, and Literary Expurgation', in *Shakespeare Reshaped, 1606-1623*, by Gary Taylor and John Jowett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 84.

for music and properties later in this chapter. Taylor has detected the traces of such expurgation of profanity from the folio text of the two plays as was required of all stage performances after 1606. In 1606, the 'Acte to Restraine Abuses of Players' was passed by an English Parliament to prohibit an actor from speaking 'the holy Name of God or of Christ Jesus, or of the Holy Ghoste or the Trinitie' on the stage.[144] It applied to all stage performances including revivals after 27 May 1606.[145] Taylor has demonstrated that profanity was completely expurgated from Shakespeare's post-1606 plays printed from Crane transcripts, and that oaths existing in Q *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1602) are removed from the folio version.[146] Indicating the dates of the revivals of the play at Court after 1606, he suggests that profanity was expurgated from the play on a Court revival.[147] On the basis that the expurgation of profanity in the folio text of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is attributed to the revival of the play after 1606, Taylor extrapolates that the total absence of profanity in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* resulted from revision in the playbook for a post-1606 revival (pp. 83-84). Although Taylor's argument that Crane's copy of the two plays derived from theatrical scripts revised for post-1606 revivals is based on corroborative evidence provided by the textual variance between Q and F *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and on the analogy of 'pattern of expurgation' in other plays of Shakespeare (p. 83), it does not counter the attribution of the textual irregularities preserved in *The Two Gentlemen* to the foul papers made by Clifford Leech.

Leech may be correct in considering that the textual irregularities of *The Two Gentlemen* descended from the foul papers. But the presence of the textual irregularities in the play does not necessarily mean that its copy-text was transcribed from the foul papers which

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[144] Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, IV, 338-39.

[145] The expurgation of profanity from Shakespeare's plays is examined by Taylor, ''Swounds Revisited' (1993), pp. 51-106.

[146] Taylor, ''Swounds Revisited', pp. 79-81.

[147] Taylor, ''Swounds Revisited', p. 83. For the court revival of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in 1638, see Joseph Quincy Adams (ed.), *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels* (New Haven: Harvard University Press, 1917), p. 77. Taylor writes that the play was possibly revived in 1613. As to F *Merry Wives*, David Crane, the New Cambridge Shakespeare editor of the play suggests a hypothesis that the copy-text was transcribed from authorial foul papers which had been used in an early private performance and had been expurgated in compliance with the 1606 act. Giorgio Melchiori, the editor of the New Arden Shakespeare, supports his view. David Crane (ed.), *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, by William Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997; repr. 2010), pp. 167-69; Giorgio Melchiori (ed.), *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, by William Shakespeare (London: Thomson Learning, 2000), pp. 54-55.

were preserved separately from the company's playbook. It is possible that the foul papers were used as playbook without scribal intervention to regulate the text in making a fair copy. William B. Long's study indicates that 'some of the supposed intermediary steps of play-production (most notably, a requisite scribal "fair copy") did not exist.'[148] If the foul papers of the play were used as playbook in the theatre, and Crane transcribed the playbook to prepare the printer's copy for *The Two Gentlemen*, both the presence of the irregularities and the absence of profanity from the folio play can be explained. This is one possible explanation for the two seemingly contradictory textual phenomena in one text − the unregulated inconsistencies and the traces of regulated expurgation of profanity. Another explanation is also possible. If a fair copy of the play was made despite Long's analysis of the extant play manuscripts, which might not apply to other plays whose manuscripts have not survived, a scribe who produced a fair copy from the foul papers of *The Two Gentlemen* for the company left the textual inconsistencies untouched just as Crane himself did not regulate them. It is difficult to identify the provenance of the copy-text Crane used to prepare the printer's copy for *The Two Gentlemen* in the folio as there are no such earlier texts extant as can provide a means to know what alterations were made to the folio text by comparison. But what is clear about the folio text of the play is that Crane's copy was designed to be staged and that the scribe edited the text to be read in preparing the printer's copy.

As far as the folio texts of the two plays, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* are concerned, Crane appears to have employed the system of massed entries with the intention to eliminate theatrical directions especially for music and properties to produce the reading play texts. As a refutation of Howard-Hill's argument that the absence of directions for music and properties in the two folio comedies is attributed to the authorial foul papers, Gary Taylor states that Crane's editorial expurgation of those stage directions from the copy of the two plays is 'virtually certain, given the presence of such directions in all good quartos set from Shakespeare's foul papers'.[149] In other words, even if

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[148] William B. Long, 'Stage-Directions: A Misinterpreted Factor in Determining Textual Provenance', *TEXT*, 2 (1985), 121-37 (p. 128). For his closer investigation into extant play manuscripts, see William B. Long, '"A bed / for woodstock": A Warning for the Unwary', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 2 (1985), 91-118

[149] Taylor, ''Swounds Revisited', p. 84.

Crane had transcribed the plays from the foul papers, such stage directions for music and properties as occur in Shakespeare's quarto plays printed from the author's foul papers, would have been preserved in the text if the scribe had not deleted them. In fact, Crane's textual practice of eliminating stage directions for music and properties can be observed in other plays of the Shakespeare folio.

Four of Shakespeare's plays printed in the first folio are notable for their scantiness of theatrical stage directions, and they belong to a group of five folio comedies for which Ralph Crane, a professional scribe of the King's Men, prepared printer's copies from either playbooks, authorial foul papers or a transcript made from them.[150] The five plays which are believed to have been set up from Crane's transcripts are *The Tempest*, which preserves detailed stage directions unlike the other four, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Measure for Measure*, and *The Winter's Tale*. In *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *Measure for Measure*, musical directions are completely absent. Even in *The Tempest* which indicates the employment of more music than any other plays of Shakespeare, and which probably preserves scribal literary elaboration of the directions' phrasing,[151] many of such stage directions for music and noises as would have been found in a playbook are omitted. In a playbook are often found inserted stage directions for offstage sound specifying its timing.[152] All in all, the stage directions of the folio text of *The Tempest* provide explanatory descriptions of sound and music which must have been produced or played offstage; however, musical directions as inserted by an annotator to point to the timing of the sound are sparse. At 1.2 where Ariel enters leading Ferdinand, the stage direction reads, 'Enter Ferdinand and Ariel, invisible playing and singing'.[153] If the instrument Ariel played on his entrance was a lute, as Stephen Orgel conjectures,[154] he no doubt sang with an accompaniment of offstage music. But no separate directions for music are given to the two spots where Ariel sings. In the same way, no direction for a musical accompaniment is given

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[150] T. H. Howard-Hill, *Ralph Crane*, pp. 69-103.
[151] John Jowett, 'New Created Creatures: Ralph Crane and the Stage Directions in *The Tempest*', *Shakespeare Survey* 36 (1983), 107-20.
[152] Long, 'Stage Directions', p. 126.
[153] William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, in *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (1623), A3^r (p. 5).
[154] William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. by Stephen Orgel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987; repr. 2008), p. 121.

to the songs sung by spirits at 4.1 where the direction appears as 'They sing' (B1^v [p. 14]). One direction at 5.1 appears as 'Ariel sings, and helps to attire him' without a reference to offstage music (B3^r [p. 17]). When reapers 'joyne with the Nimphes, in a gracefull dance' at 4.1 (B2^r [p. 15]), they certainly danced to music in performance; yet no direction for a musical accompaniment is retained in the text. Of course, the descriptive stage directions for singing and dancing might imply music by convention, but what I emphasize is the lack of such directions for music as occur independently of the descriptive directions, usually in the margin where a bookkeeper would have added to ensure the proper timing.[155]

Besides, many of the entrances made by Ariel and other spirits which were supposedly marked by music in performance are left without musical directions. In some Shakespeare plays, music is employed to mark the entrances of spirits or to represent the effects of divine or magical power beyond human knowledge. Pericles hears 'Most heavenly Musicke' when Diana appears to him in a dream.[156] The 'rough and | Wofull Musick' is used by Cerimon to revive Thaisa who has been dead for many hours (E4^r). In *Cymbeline*, music marks each entrance of apparitions of Posthumus' parents and brothers.[157] Similarly in *The Tempest*, two stage directions at 2.1 show that Ariel enters with music: 'Enter Ariell playing solemne Musicke' (A4^r [p. 7]); 'Enter Ariell with Musicke and Song' (A4^v [p. 8]). Two directions at 3.3 also convey that in performance music was used to mark Prospero's 'invisible' entrance, his employment of magic, and the entrance of spirits. One reads 'Solemne and strange Musicke: and Prosper[o] on the top (invi-|sible:) Enter severall strange shapes, bringing in a Banket; | and dance about it with gentle actions of salutations, and inviting the King, & c. to eate, they depart', and another 'He vanishes in Thunder: then (to soft Muicke.) Enter the shapes againe, and daunce' (with mockes and mowes) and carrying out the Table' (B1^r [p. 13]). At 4.1, the entry directions of Iris, Juno, and Ceres follow 'Soft musick' (B1^v [p. 14]), and at 5.1, 'Solemne musicke' marks the entrance of Ariel leading Alonzo, Gonzalo, Sebastian, Anthonio, Adrian, and Francisco (B2^v [p. 16]). Nevertheless, many entry directions for Ariel and the other spirits occur in the text without indications of

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[155]   See note 153 above.
[156]   William Shakespeare, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (London: Gosson, 1609), sig. I1^v.
[157]   William Shakespeare, *The Tragedie of Cymbeline*, in *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (1623), sig. bbb3^r (p. 393).

music. It is difficult to think that music or other sound effects were not used to mark those entries in performance, and a playbook of the play had probably been provided with theatrical annotations for some sound effects to accompany the entrances of the spirits. The absence of the traces of theatrical annotations shown above was once ascribed to Crane's editorial practice by Greg, who believed that the copy-text of the play was a playbook, but more recently has been recognised as a shred of evidence to support the hypothesis that the manuscript Crane used for preparing the copy-text of *The Tempest* for F was authorial foul papers.[158] While the wording of the directions may well be attributed to Crane as Jowett has pointed out ('New Created Creatures', p. 110), the directions for sound effects preserved in *The Tempest* may well derive from the author himself. The explanation for the lack of theatrical annotations in the text depends on the provenance of its copy-text. Adducing several traits of Crane's recast in transcribing stage directions, Jowett shows that the scribe occasionally 'omitted, reworded or added words and phrases' ('New Created Creatures', pp. 109-110).

One Folio play attests that on occasion Crane omitted theatrical annotations in transcribing stage directions from a playbook. The Folio text of *2 Henry IV* is believed by some to have been set up from Crane's transcript either of a theatrical script or another scribal manuscript of the theatrical script.[159] The text is deprived of all but two sound directions which must have existed in the playbook. One entry direction associated with the employment of music occurs in 2. 4, reading 'Enter Musique',[160] and the other one appears in the final scene of Henry V's coronation accompanying the entrance of the King with his train: 'The Trumpets sound. Enter King Henrie the Fifth, Brothers, Lord Chiefe Justice' (^{x}gg7^r). These two references associated with music and an offstage sound effect appears to have been retained because they are incorporated in entry directions. Jowett has pointed out that F *2 Henry IV* preserves 'no stage directions which do not involve an entry or exit', and that the scribe refined his copy-text 'in a "literary" manner' by removing '"theatrical" apparatus'.[161]

[158] Greg, *Shakespeare First Folio*, p. 420; T. H. Howard-Hill, *Ralph Crane*, p. 108-109; Jowett, 'New Created Creatures', p. 115.

[159] René Weis (ed.), *Henry IV, Part 2* by William Shakespeare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 93-99; Honigmann, *The Texts of 'Othello'*, pp. 165-68.

[160] Shakespeare, *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (1623) sig. g5^v.

[161] John Jowett, 'Cuts and Casting: Author and Book-Keeper in the Folio Text of "2 Henry IV"', *AUMLA*,

The directions for an offstage shout at 4.1, 'Alarum' at 4.2, and the first 'Trumpets' at the beginning of 5. 5 are found only in the 1600 quarto text (Q) which is thought to have been printed from authorial foul papers.[162] Besides, although no musical direction occurs, music is obviously anticipated in both F and Q at 4. 3 in which dying Henry IV makes a request not to make noise 'Unlesse some dull and favourable hand | Will whisper Musicke to my wearie Spirit', and Warwick orders that music should be played 'in the other Room' (F, [x]gg4[v]; Q, H3[v]). Silence's songs throughout 5.3 were also probably sung to accompaniments, but there are no directions either for songs or for music. However, the playbook at two or three removes from F probably retained these stage directions for music and offstage sound effects including those preserved in Q which are attributed to the author's own hand. If this was the case, why are most of the sound directions absent from F *2 Henry IV*? Even if they disagree over the provenance of the scribe's copy-text, scholars have concurred that Crane removed the theatrical directions for music and noises in transcribing his copy-text to reproduce the text of more literary kind.[163]

Crane's suppression of stage directions for music in his transcripts of the folio plays may safely be attributed to his intention of eliminating theatrical elements from the dramatic texts. It may be no exaggeration to state that the elimination of theatricality from the play texts represented the textual transition of the plays from public space of the theatre to private space of the reader's mind. The scribe clearly discriminated between such stage directions for music and properties as directed towards offstage theatre personnel and those which provide literary descriptions of both aural and visual elements of the plays. The former became the targets of his expurgation. What is needed to be emphasised here is the fact that Crane did not always leave out musical directions from his dramatic transcripts. He chose to preserve some musical directions when he considered them necessary although his decision of which directions to be included seems to have been made arbitrarily. In the text of *The Tempest*, he appears to have incorporated some such musical directions as he judged to be important into

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72 (1989), 275-95 (p. 283).
[162] William Shakespeare, *The Second Part of Henrie the Fourth* (London, 1600), sigs. G3[r], G3[v], K4[r]. For the act-and-scene divisions, I follow the folio text.
[163] Eleanor Prosser, *Shakespeare's Anonymous Editors: Scribe and Compositor in the Folio Text of 2 Henry IV* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981), pp. 19-50; Gary Taylor, ''Swounds Revisited', pp. 65-69.

entry directions or descriptive directions for actions on the stage.

Similar musical directions are found in his transcript of John Fletcher's *Demetrius and Enanthe* presented to Sir Kenelm Digby on 27 November 1625 by Crane.[164] The printed version of the play is also extant as *The Humorous Lieutenant* included in the 1647 Beaumont and Fletcher Folio.[165] According to the manuscript's transcript produced by Margaret McLaren and F. P. Wilson in the Malone Society Reprints, a musical direction occurs at 4.3 in the right margin of the page numbered eighty-eight. The stage direction and its surrounding text appear as follows.

Ant.　besure you make it powerfull enough

Mag.　'pray doubt not:　　　　　　　　　*— He seems to Coniure: sweete*

Now (Sir) 'tis full: and whosoever drincks this　　*Musick is heard, and an*

shall violently doate upon your Person,　　　　　*Antick of little Fayeries*

and never sleepe, nor eate unsatisfied.　　　　　*enter, & dance about ye Bowle,*

So many howres 'twill work, and work with violence, *and fling in things, & Ex^t.*

And those expird, 'tis don: you have my Art (Sir) (p. 88)

The scene depicts a magician invoking spirits to concoct an aphrodisiac to make Celia love Antigonus. In the counterpart of the folio version, a stage direction reads '*He Conjures.*', and two songs ensue after the magician's first line ''pray doubt not:' (Sss2^r). The first song is headed by 'A Song.' and sung by the magician, and the second song, 'The Answer.' is sung by the fairies whose appearance on the stage is informed only by Crane's stage direction. Cyrus Hoy considers that the folio text represents 'a transitional stage by which an author's original papers evolve into one' on the basis that most of the number of minor parts in their entry directions are specified whilst other details of stage directions are left incomplete.[166]

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[164]　John Fletcher, *Demetrius and Enanthe*, ed. by Margaret McLaren Cook and F. P. Wilson, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. v. See also facsimile of the scribe's dedicatory epistle to Digby reproduced in the book.

[165]　Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Humorous Lieutenant* in *Comedies and Tragedies* (1647), sigs Qqq1^r-Ttt2^r.

[166]　Cyrus Hoy (ed.), *The Humorous Lieutenant*, in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, 10 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966-96), V (1982), 289-440 (pp. 293-94).

Although the folio text has been cut for production, the readings between the folio and Crane's transcript correspond to each other except for thirteen textual variants in the main text of dialogue.[167] From this, Hoy infers that the folio text and manuscript descended from the same authorial papers (p. 296). His hypothesis is supported by the correspondence of the verse lineation between the two texts. Therefore, the direction for the magician's invocation in Crane's transcript, 'He seems to Conjure' is probably a rewording of the original, which would have read the same as the folio counterpart 'He Conjures' (Sss2^r). The ensuing description of music and fairies' dance is probably attributed to Crane's hand.

The absence of the two songs from Crane's transcript is interpreted by Philip Oxley to be a sign that 'Crane's copy was closer to the author's papers than was the printer's copy' for the folio version.[168] Although Oxley may be right in considering that Crane's copy was closer to an authorial manuscript than the copy-text of the folio play, the missing songs in the manuscript cannot necessarily be attributed to its closer relationship to the author's papers. Tiffany Stern shows that missing songs in printed plays often resulted from the theatrical convention of keeping songs on separate pieces of paper from the text of speeches.[169] In such printed plays, only a heading 'The Song' is preserved.[170] Such headings were probably left in the manuscripts to indicate the point at which each song was sung. The absence of the two songs from Crane's transcript indicates that the scribe could not access the text of the lyrics when he produced his presentation copy. There are two possible explanations for the inaccessibility of the lyrics to the scribe. One is that the songs were written on separate pieces of paper and being used by the company in performances. Another is that the lyrics on movable pieces of paper were kept separately and not found when the company provided Crane with a copy of the play. As they eventually found their way into the 1647 folio, the songs must have been kept by the company.

Although the songs were missing from Crane's copy, the scribe undoubtedly knew that they were sung at the point where he inserted the annotation of music and the fairies'

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[167] Hoy, p. 295.

[168] Philip Oxley (ed.), *A Critical Edition of John Fletcher's Humorous Lieutenant* (New York: Garland, 1987), p. 16.

[169] Tiffany Stern, 'Re-patching the Play', in *From Script to Stage in Early Modern England*, ed. by Peter Holland and Steven Orgel (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2004), pp. 151-77 (pp. 157-58).

[170] Stern, 'Re-patching the Play', p. 157.

ritualistic dance. He might have seen an actual performance of the play and described the fairies' actions in the stage direction on recollections of the staging, as R. C. Bald conjectures.[171] Bald states that the actions described in Crane's stage direction are implied by the lyrics of the songs (p. 77). But it is more probable that Crane knew about the songs because his copy contained their headings, 'A Song' and 'The Answer', which indicate where they should be sung just as some early printed plays which do not preserve the actual songs but their headings.[172] The headings of the two songs in Crane's copy were probably excluded by the scribe in transcribing the text as they served no function without the lyrics in the reading text.

It is immediately after the magician's line 'pray doubt not' that the magic ritual begins. The two songs occur between the line and his next speech: 'Now sir 'tis full, and whosoever drinckes this | Shall violently doat upon your person' (F: Sss2^r). The magician's lines across the two songs are written consecutively in Crane's transcript, and there is a textual void between the magician's first line and the next. It is in the space between the two lines that the magical aphrodisiac is concocted. Crane's insertion of the stage direction fills the textual void created by the two missing songs in the manuscript. In place of the songs, the scribe describes in the direction 'sweete Musick' and the fairies' dance around 'ye Bowle' into which they 'fling' materials to make the aphrodisiac. What is remarkable about this stage direction is that he actually added the description of music where the lyrics of the two songs were inaccessible.

Crane's practice of incorporating musical directions into descriptive directions for actions or entry directions as observed in his transcript of *Demetrius and Enanthe* and the 1623 folio texts of *The Tempest* and *2 Henry IV* might also be under the influence of Jonson's editorial convention. Whilst Jonson made attempts to eliminate theatricality from his quarto plays, he occasionally included annotations of music and other sound effects of the plays both in the margin and in the centre of the column in the folio. In the folio versions of *Cynthia's Revels* and *Poetaster*, Jonson added two annotations of 'sounding' at the beginning and the

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[171] R. C. Bald, *Bibliographical Studies in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938), p. 76.
[172] Stern, 'Re-patching the Play', p. 157.

end of the induction. They are placed in the centre of the column and read '*After the second sounding*' (Q1^r, Z6^r), and '*The third sounding*' (Q3^r, Z6^v) respectively.[173] In F *Cynthia's Revels*, other stage directions for sound effects concentrate in 5.3 and 5.4 which were added together with the preceding two scenes in the process of revision of the play.[174] The added four scenes constitute a satire on the court which has been inserted between 4.5 and 4.6 of the quarto text. Herford and Simpson consider that the four scenes existed in Jonson's manuscript when he first composed the play, but the playwright removed them from the version of the 1601 court performance from which the quarto text was set up (p. 17). If the added scenes in the folio were restored from the author's early draft as the two scholars believe, the marginal annotations of sound effects in 5.3 and 5.4 of the folio text would have existed in the manuscript as stage directions. If this is the case, it should be stated that the marginal annotations of sound effects were not newly added when the printer's copy of F *Cynthia's Revels* was prepared but restored with the rest of the scenes. When Jonson prepared the copy-text of the folio play, he had a choice whether or not to include those musical directions. He chose to include such annotations as '*A flourish.*', '*Music sounds.*' and '*A charge.*' in the margin.[175]

Except for 'a flourish', 'a charge' and 'shout',[176] Jonson provided annotations of sound effects with predicates or incorporated them into descriptive directions. Both the quarto and folio texts of *Sejanus* also include two descriptive notes of music. They occur in the scene of a 'libation rite' at the fifth act.[177] The massed entries for the scene in Q include 'Tvbicines. Tibicines.' preceding 'Praecones. | Flamen. Ministri. | Seianvs. Terentivs. Satrivs. &c.' (K3^v). 'Tubicines' and 'tibicines' occur again in abridged forms as speech prefixes embedded in the column, preceding a stage direction of their music. The text is printed as follows.

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[173] Two notes of exactly the same phrasing as F *Cynthia's Revels* and *Poetaster* occur at the beginning of the induction and immediately before the prologue's entry in F *Every Man out of His Humour*. They read, '*After the second sounding.*' and '*The third sounding.*' (G5^r). The counterpart of the quarto preserves a Latin direction for the former reading '*Inductio, sono secundo.*' (B1^r), and an English predicative one for the latter: '*Sound the third time.*' (C1^r).

[174] Herford and Simpson, IV, 17.

[175] Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sigs V6^{r-v}, X1^v-X3^v, X4^v-X6^r.

[176] The direction for 'shout' is preserved in both Q and F *Sejanus* (Q: M4^r; F: Oo1^r).

[177] Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), sigs K3^v-K4^r; Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sigs Mm6^{r-v}. For the 'libation rite', see Jonson, *Sejanus*, ed. by Ayres, p. 220.

PRAE. BE ALL PROFANE FAR HENCE; *Fly, fly far of:*

Be absent far; FAR HENCE BE ALL PROFANE.

TVB. TIB.   These sound, while the *Flamen* washeth.

FLA. We have bene faulty, but repent vs now;

And bring *pure Hands, pure Vestments ,*and *pure Minds*: (K3ᵛ)

The counterpart of the folio text omits the entries for the 'tubicines' and 'tibicines' and they are employed as the subject words of a description of their music in a marginal note taken from the quarto's direction. It reads, '*Tub. Tib.* Sound, while the *Flamen* washeth.' (Mm6ʳ). Another musical direction is incorporated into a very long description of the ritual. In the quarto text, it is placed in the centre of the column, following the entries of 'TVBICINES. TIBICINES.' (K4ʳ). The entries of 'TVBICINES. TIBICINES.' has been removed from F, and the descriptive direction has been moved to the margin with slight revisions in the folio text.[178] It reads:

> While they sound againe, the *Flamen* takes of the hony, with his finger, & tasts, then ministers to all the rest: so of the milk, in an earthen vessel, he deals about; which done, he sprinkleth, upon the altar, milke; then imposeth the hony, and kindleth his gummes, and after censing about the altar placeth thereon, into which they put severall branches of poppy, and the musique ceasing, proceed. (F: Mm6ᵛ)

The personal pronoun 'they' in the folio direction refers to '*Tub. Tib.*' in the previous direction; and the logical connection between the two marginal directions produces a narrative-like effect. Jonson's practice of incorporating musical directions into descriptive directions clearly distinguishes them from the stage directions of theatrical origins. In other words, such theatricality as usually born by stage directions for offstage sound effects has

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[178] In place of 'proceed' in F, Q's direction is concluded by 'say all,' preceding the line 'Accept our Offring, and be pleas'd great Goddesse' (K4ʳ).

been eliminated by their incorporation into descriptive directions.

Jonson began including marginal stage directions in the quarto text of *The Alchemist* published in 1612 when the author probably started to prepare the copy-text of his folio plays.[179] In the folio, he restored such internal stage directions as had been suppressed in the quarto plays and added annotations to describe visual elements of the stage in the margin. The convention of placing stage directions in the margin might be traced back to the academic scribal practice in the sixteenth century.[180] Whilst printing the stage directions in the margin, Jonson removed most of the Latin annotations he had included in his quarto plays, especially in *Sejanus*. The marginal directions printed in the margin of the folio appear to have been based on the actual staging and describe mostly the characters' actions to facilitate understanding the context of the dialogue. The addition of these directions has also been attributed to the author.[181]

In the margin alongside of massed entries of new participants, Jonson occasionally places a note 'To them'. The note indicates that the newcomers join the characters who have remained on the stage from the previous scene.[182] Its variant form, 'To the rest' is used at 2.2 (I4[r]), 2.3 (I5[r]), 2.5 (K4[r]) and 2.6 (K4[v]) of F *EMO* and also once in the fifth act of F *Sejanus* (Nn3[r]). Some marginal notes annotating massed entries describe the manner in which the newcomers enter the stage. At 1.5 in F *EMI*, a marginal note alongside of the entries of Bobadill, Tib and Matthew reads '*Bobad. is discovered lying on his bench.*' (B2[r]). This note is taken from the quarto counterpart direction: 'Bobadilla discovers himself: on a bench; to him Tib.' (C2[v]). Close to the end of the induction of F *EMO*, a note describing the manner of Carlo's entry appears in the margin alongside of his speech prefix preceded by the massed entries of himself and Buffone. It reads, 'He enters with a boy, and wine.' (H2[v]). This note is also taken from a stage direction in the quarto counterpart: '*Enter Carlo Boffone, with a Boy.*' (C1[v]). Next to the entry of Envie in the induction of F *Poetaster*, Jonson adds a marginal note

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[179] Herford and Simpson, IX, p.14.

[180] Howard-Hill, 'The Evolution of the Form of Plays', pp. 112, 124-26. A good example is the manuscript of *The Birth of Hercules* whose facsimiles are available in *The Birth of Hercules*, ed. by R. Warwick Bond and W. W. Greg, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911).

[181] Kevin J. Donovan, 'Jonson's Texts in the First Folio', in *Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio*, ed. by Jennifer Brady and W. H. Herendeen (Newawk: University of Delaware Press, 1991), p. 25.

[182] Herford and Simpson, IX, p. 46. For the note, see, for example, F *Every Man In His Humour*, at sigs B5[v], D6[v], E3[r], E6[r], F5[r].

reading '*Arising in the midst of the stage,*' (Z 6^r). There is no stage direction printed in the counterpart of the quote text (A2^r). At 4.9 in the folio version where the entries of Julia and Ovid are noted, a marginal note explains, '*She appeareth above, as at her chamber window.*' (Ee2^r). The counterpart of the quarto omits any description of the characters' blocking on the stage. The new characters' short-time appearance on the stage is indicated by a note '*They passe over the stage.*'. This note describes both their entry and exit. At his first appearance on the stage, Sejanus remains there only for the time required for performing nineteen lines of dialogue between him and Satrius (F: Hh2^v). Their names are listed at the beginning of the scene with the note which includes a description of their exit.

Bare exits in the quarto plays are occasionally replaced by descriptive marginal notes in the folio. When Cob makes a short appearance to deliver water to Thorello's house at 1.4 in the quarto text, a bare stage direction 'Exit.' occurs at the end of the former's speech (D2^v). In the counterpart of F, it is replaced by a descriptive note reading '*He passes by with his tankard.*' (B5^v). A similar note describing Regulus' exit occurs at the fifth act of F *Sejanus*. The note placed in the left margin alongside of his speech prefix reads 'The consul goes out.' (Mm5^v). His exit is furiously remarked by Macro's aside: 'Consul! death, and furies! | Gone now?' (Mm5^v). The reference to Regulus as 'the consul' in the marginal note is probably made to correspond with that of Marco's aside. The ensuing re-entrance and exit repeatedly made by the consul are also noted in the margin. The notes read, 'Returnes:', 'Goes out againe.' and 'Returnes.' (Mm6^r).

One of the marginal annotations of the actors' re-entries is made in the form of a relative clause. I have already mentioned that a bare entry direction for Anaides at 4.3 in Q *Cynthia's Revels* is replaced by the clause in the marginal note in the folio text. The text appears as following.

Who is return'd   A<small>MO</small>. How now, Anaides! What is it hath conjur'd up this distem-

From seeking his   perature in the circle of your face?

page.   A<small>NA</small>. S'blood, what have you to doe? A pox upo' your filthie travai-

What makes this annotation remarkable is the fact that it is printed alongside Amorphus' speech to modify the name of Anaides which is referred to in the speech. Here, the marginal annotation plays a role of narrative by intervening in the dialogue in the form of a relative clause. Whilst the entry direction for Anaides in Q responds to his exit marked 106 lines earlier, the exit has been removed from F and the reason for his absence from the stage is explained by the annotation on his return. Ovid's and Julia's re-entrances at 4.9 of F *Poetaster* are also described by narrative-like marginal notes. The two notes read, 'Shee calls him backe.' and 'He calls her backe' respectively (Ee3[r]).

Some of the marginal annotations in the folio plays specify addressees of the speeches. Three such notes occur at 3.1 of F *EMI* where the dialogue is complicated and exchanged by more than four characters. A note, 'To Master Stephen.' occurring next to the last two lines of Well-bred's speech indicates the change of the addressee of the speech. In the first part of the speech, Well-bred addresses Bobadill and Matthew by their names and the addressees are self-evident. The last part of the speech reads, 'I know not your name sir, but I shall be glad of any occasion, to render me more familiar to you' (C3[v]). Although the next speech of Stephen clarifies the addressee of Well-bred's last two lines, the preceding marginal note serves the reader's instant understanding of the context of the dialogue. Another note 'To Kno'well.' is set next to the speech prefix of Bobadill (C3[v]). The other one, 'To Master Stephen.' is printed in the right margin next to Matthew's line addressed to Stephen (C4[r]). This practice was to be adopted in *Comedies and Tragedies* of Thomas Killigrew (1664).

Jonson also includes descriptions of the actors' actions in the marginal annotations in the folio plays. Here, the characteristics of such descriptions are represented by the marginal notes of *Every Man In His Humour*, the copy-text of which was prepared probably last of all the folio plays in 1616.[184] At 1.3 of F *EMI*, Jonson adds a marginal note reading 'Knowell

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[183] See note 106 above.
[184] Robert S. Miola (trans.), *Every Man In His Humour* by Ben Jonson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 3; James A. Ridell, 'Jonson and Stansby and the Revisions of *Every Man In His Humour*', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 9 (1997), 81-91; Johann Gerritsen, 'Stansby and Jonson Produce a Folio: A Preliminary Account', *English Studies*, 40 (1959), 52-55.

laughes having read the letter' together with a line of onomatopoeia representing Edward Kno'well's laughter, 'Ha, ha, ha!' (A6^v). The note and the onomatopoeic words are inserted between Stephen's words of gratitude to Brayne-worme and the former's response to Edward Kno'well's laughing voice. The quarto counterpart where both the annotation and the onomatopoeic words are absent illuminates the function of the F-only text. Edward Kno'well, Mr Stephen and Brayne-Worme in F are given Italian names in Q, Lorenzo junior, Stephano and Musco, respectively. The quarto text appears as following:

> Step.   A thousand thankes, goof Musco.   *Exit*.
>
> What, I hope he laughs not at me; and he doe — (B4^v).

Stephano's speech is followed by fourteen lines of Lorenzo junior's speech which reveals the reason of his laughter, hence the ensuing line of Stephano: 'Oh, now I see who he laught at: he laught at some body in that letter.' (B4^v). What the quarto text lacks are nonverbal elements of the play. The F-only note describes such visual and aural elements of the play as are not conveyed by the actors' speeches. The verbalisation of the nonverbal elements of the play was intended to reconstruct the play integrally in the printed text.

One note describes the object of Bobadill's action performed during the dialogue between him and Matthew: 'Bobadill is making him ready all this while.' (B2^v). The note does not clarify what action is made on the stage but the purpose of the series of his movements. The purpose is revealed by Bobadill's speech at the end of the scene: 'We will have a bunch of redish, and salt, to tast our wine; and a pipe of tobacco, to close the orifice of the stomach: and then wee'll call upon yong WEL-BRED.' (B3^v). Some notes convey the manner in which the speech is delivered. A note reading 'Hee weepes.' indicates the point when Brayne-Worme disguised as Fits-Sword stars crying while delivering his speech (C2^v). Another note describes Stephen's silent gesture given during the dialogue between Edward Kno'well, Well-Bred and Matthew: 'Master Stephen answeres with shaking his head.' (D5^v). Bobdill's action is revealed by the note inserted next to the others' restraining words, 'Oh, good Captayne, hold, hold.' (D3^r).   The note reads, 'Bobadill beates him with a cudgell.'

(D3^r). Some of the marginal notes describing the stage actions are taken from stage directions of the quarto text. Two notes describing a fight between Downe-Right and Well-Bred at the end of 4.2 read: 'They all draw, and they of the house make out to part them.' and 'They offer to fight againe, and are parted.' (D6^v). The corresponding stage directions in the quarto text read, 'They all draw, enter Piso and some more of the house to part them, the women make a great crie.' and 'They offer to fight againe and are parted.' (H2^v). One internal entry made by Brayn-Worme in disguise is described by the annotation, 'He comes disguis'd like Justice Clements man.' (E5^r). This note is a rewording of a stage direction in Q: 'Enter Musco like the doctors man.' (I3^v).

Most of the marginal annotations in F are concerned with visual elements of the play and later insertions made by Jonson in preparing the text for publication. But from the fact that such descriptive notes as taken from the quarto texts, it is inferred that the marginal annotations in the folio plays are later documents of actual performances. The marginal notes serve a narrative function to facilitate the reader's instant understanding of the context of the dialogue. It can be stated that Jonson made literary attempts to reconstruct all the integral elements of his plays in the folio volume.

What he did not include in the marginal directions was often indicated by his use of punctuation. Asides are scarcely indicated by either stage directions or marginal annotations in Jonson's plays. Instead of making verbal descriptions, Jonson occasionally used parentheses to indicate asides in the dialogue. One such aside in parentheses occur at 3.1 of F *EMI*. The text is printed as follows.

(E. KN. Sure, he utters them then, by the grosse.) (C4^r).

Such use of parentheses is already found in Q *Sejanus*. Asides delivered by Arruntius and Lepidus are occasionally enclosed in parentheses in the last three acts (F1^{r-v}, I3^v-I4^v). Bracketed asides of Marco occur in the fifth act of the play (K2^v). These asides appear in parentheses also in F *Sejanus*. The practice of enclosing asides in parentheses was adopted by Crane in his transcript of *Demetrius and Enanthe*. Antigonus's asides in the dialogue between

him and Celia at 4.1 are consistently enclosed in parentheses. The text of his speeches is transcribed as follows.

> *Ant.* (I was never thus ratled)
>
> [. . .]
>
> *Ant.* (a devilish subtle Wench: but a rare spirit)
>
> [. . .]
>
> *Ant.* (She has found me out:)[185]

Likewise, Leucippe's aside at 4.5 is bracketed: '(now must I lye most confidently:)' (p. 97). Celia's aside is also distinguished by parentheses from her reply to Demetrius's question at 5.2:

> *Cel.* (monstrous jealous:
>
> have I liv'd at the rate of theis scornd Questions?)
>
> They seemd of good sort: Gentlemen: (p. 107).

Jonson's pursuit of intelligibility is also represented by his revision of the punctuation in the folio text of *EMI*. The speech is punctuated meaning by meaning in F whereas the counterpart of Q, pause by pause. In Q, punctuation marks most often coincide with the end of each verse, and they probably indicate a breathing point. In contrast, many more punctuation marks, especially commas and marks of exclamation, are introduced into the folio text. While frequent punctuation marks make it easier for the reader to grasp the text thought by thought, they make less distinct where to pause in verse lines. Pauses either in the middle of the speech or at its end are frequently marked by dashes in F, and at the end of the speech, dashes often point to the timing at which the next speaker cuts in. They sometimes indicate that the present speaker has more things to say, or pauses to choose appropriate words to express his thought. Marks of exclamation are used to put more expression into the text.

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[185] Fletcher, *Demetrius and Enanthe*, (Oxford, 1963), pp. 77-78.

They often appear in the middle of a sentence ignoring the syntax. For example, Edward Kno'well's speech at 4.7 reads, 'This is strange, and barbarouse! as euer I heard!' (E3^v). It can be stated that the folio text of *EMI* attached great importance to conveyance of the meaning of each phrase. None of the other folio plays has received as radical revision in punctuation as F *EMI.*

Jonsonian textual convention of play editing deployed in the 1616 folio did not see continuous development. The convention of eliminating theatricality from the reading dramatic text is mostly rejected by the Beaumont and Fletcher folio (1647). The provenance of the copy-text of twenty six plays of the thirty four included in the folio has been attributed to theatrical scripts by R. C. Bald.[186] The presence of stage directions for offstage business and theatrical notes of actual actor's names printed in the plays contributes to representing the volume as a commemoration of the theatre. Although Bald suggests that four plays, *The Spanish Curate*, *The Profetesse*, *The False One* and *The Maid in the Mill* are set up from Crane's transcript, the first two are believed to have been prepared as play books by the scribe (p. 113). Bald states that the other two plays were set up from private transcripts made by Crane (p.113), but I have been unable to detect signs of Crane's textual practice from the two plays except for the act-and-scene divisions.

The paucity of theatrical directions in *The False One* raises a possibility that such stage directions were suppressed by Crane. But a confused state of two limes of stage directions at 3.4 invites a doubt about the identity of the scribe. The text of the direction appears as follows.

Musicke, Song.

Enter Isis, and three Labourers.[187]

The entry direction is followed by the lyrics of the song. The entry direction for Isis and three labourers and the heading of the song are mistakenly transposed. This might be a compositorial error. However, there is another feature of the directions unusual with Crane.

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[186] Bald, *Bibliographical Studies*, pp. 103-109.
[187] Beaumont and Fletcher, *Comedies and Tragedies* (1647), sig. Rr3^r.

Crane does not precede a heading of a song with a direction for music in his other transcripts as already mentioned above.[188] There is an oddity also in *The Maid in the Mill*. At the end of 1.3, a distinctly printed stage direction reads, '*Six Chaires placed at the Arras.*' (A2^v). This kind of direction indicating offstage practice is completely absent from Crane's literary manuscripts of other plays. The presence of the direction for the six chairs strongly challenges Bold's view that the play was set from a private transcript made by Crane.

As shown in Chapter 2, James Shirley, often described as the editor of the 1647 folio, maintains that the Beaumont and Fletcher plays hold the most absolute status of literature and referred to their works as recreations.[189] This claim clearly shows that Shirley was influenced by Jonson's philosophy about the dramatic poetry and that he imitated his mentor's method of representing plays as literature in contributing his address to the reader to the 1647 Beaumont and Fletcher folio. In fact, Shirley was successful in doing so as 'the literary reputations of Beaumont and Fletcher in 1647 stood even higher than Shakespeare's had done in 1623.'[190] But contrary to Shirley's literary claim about the 1647 collection, the text of the folio plays shows few signs of literary editing. It may be no exaggeration to state that the stream of Jonsonian textual editing was virtually interrupted by the publication of the volume.

As has been observed in this chapter, Jonsonian practice of play editing originated from the playwright's study of the Continental humanist convention of textual editing. Experimenting in the practice of massed entries, Jonson eliminated theatrical elements from his early quartos. While doing so, the playwright succeeded in producing a scholarly quarto edition of *Sejanus* by imitating the humanistic annotating system employed in the 1600 commentary of Tacitus' *Annals* compiled by Justus Lipsius. Jonson's imitation of humanistic textual editing is based on his literary aspiration to produce reading plays comparable to classical literature. He continued to imitate the humanist convention of supplying an argument and an acrostic poem in Q *Volpone* (1607) and Q *Alchemist* (1612). In the latter, however, he started to restore internal stage directions, and in preparing the copy-text for the 1616 folio plays, Jonson established his method of documenting nonverbal elements of the plays in the

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[188] For Crane's practice of eliminating musical directions in Shakespeare folio plays, see pp. 97-100 above.
[189] Beaumont and Fletcher, *Comedies and Tragedies* (1647), sig. A3^r. For the reference to Shirley as the editor of the 1647 folio, see Reed, 'Humphrey Moseley', p. 67.
[190] Bald, *Bibliographical Studies*, p. 23.

margin. In doing so, he intended to produce more readable dramatic text in the style of literature. It can be stated that the 1616 folio edition displays the playwright's ambition to represent his plays as integral textual art. He integrated the humanist textual convention and his stage-based textual practice in the folio plays. Jonson's convention of play editing was inherited by Raph Crane. The scribe produced presentation copies of contemporary plays and the copy-text of several Shakespeare's plays for the 1623 folio under the influence of the Jonsonian textual convention. Although the stream of the Jonsonian textual practice was seemingly discontinued by the publication of the Beaumont and Fletcher folio in 1647, it was to be restored by the Restoration editors. The next chapter will investigate a quarto play published in 1661, which signals the restoration of Jonsonian textual editing.

Chapter 4

'The Textual Transmission from Performance to Publication as

Indicated by the Stage Directions of *The Mayor of Quinborough*'[1]

The stream of Jonsonian textual editing apparently interrupted by the publication of the Beaumont and Fletcher foilo (1647) was revived by Restoration intellectuals, especially those who belonged to a literary coterie led by Henry Herringman, the bookseller. Thomas Middleton's *The Mayor of Quinborough* published by Herringman in 1661 signals the restoration of the Jonsonian editorial convention and throws light on the period during which the early modern dramas had come to be accepted as literature. The quarto version (Q) of *The Mayor of Quinborough* preserves a variant reading of a play *Hengist, King of Kent, or the Mayor of Queenborough* (*c.* 1615-1620?), whose text is extant in two manuscripts. The Portland Manuscript (P) is owned by the University of Nottingham's Hallward Library (MS Pw V20). The text is reproduced by Grace Ioppolo in the Malone Society Reprints, *Hengist, King of Kent, or the Mayor of Queenborough* (2003). The Folger Shakespeare Library possesses the Lambard Manuscript ([L]; MS J.b.6), whose text is represented in R. C. Bald's edition, *Hengist, King of Kent; or the Mayor of Queenborough* (1938). The Lambard manuscript was the text used for *Hengist, King of Kent; or The Mayor of Quinborough*, edited by Grace Ioppolo in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* (2007).[2] The modern edition of the quarto text is produced by Howard Marchitello in the Globe Quartos series, where he occasionally interpolates lines of the manuscript version.[3]

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[1] Part of this chapter is included in Mariko Nagase, 'The Publication of *The Mayor of Quinborough* (1661) and the Printer's Identity', in *From Compositors to Collectors: Essays on Book-Trade History*, ed. by John Hinks and Matthew Day (London: British Library, 2012), pp. 3-26

[2] Thomas Middleton, *Hengist, King of Kent, or the Mayor of Queenborough*, ed., by Grace Ioppolo (Oxford: Malone Society Reprints, 2003); Thomas Middleton, *Hengist King of Kent; or the Mayor of Queenborough*, ed. by R. C. Bald (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938); Thomas Middleton, *Hengist, King of Kent; or The Mayor of Quinborough*, ed. by Grace Ioppolo, in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and others (Oxford, 2007). Further references to the two manuscripts will be made by their initials, 'P' and 'L', or 'MSS' when they need not be distinguished. I am grateful to Dr Martin Wiggins for sharing his exhaustive and most systematic analysis of the play, which is going to be published in one of the forthcoming volumes of Martin Wiggins, *British Drama: 1533-1642: A Catalogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012-).

[3] Thomas Middleton, *The Mayor of Queenborough; or, Hengist, King of Kent*, ed. by Howard Marchitello (New York: Routledge, 2004).

In this chapter, I will be arguing that Q *Mayor of Quinborough* is a record of theatrical revisions the play had undergone, and at the same time, of editorial procedures for producing the play as drama for the use of a reading public. The traces of theatrical revisions are detected in the text of the dialogue, and those of editorial procedures in stage directions. Whilst the theatrical revisions have introduced discontinuity of logic in the dialogue as shown below, the editing of the stage directions seems to have been aimed at eliminating theatricality from the play and at creating the integrity of the play as reading material. The discrepancy between the disintegrity of the text in the dialogue and the editorial care given to the stage directions gives a clue to how the text of the play had been transmitted from performance to publication. The existence of both the manuscript and print versions of the play permits of comparison of the texts before and after the theatrical revisions and literary editing. I will investigate this play as a test case which gives us a glimpse of the developing technology of play editing by means of which plays were transmitted from the theatre to the reader's mind.

The two manuscripts of the play are probably in different hands, but were evidently transcribed from the same theatrical script and share a general similarity of script.[4] Many of the stage directions preserved in P and L are attributable to theatrical annotations, and all of the directions agree between the two manuscripts except three entrances which exist only in L: 'Barbor & Taylor wthin' (Bald, p. 47 [21^v]); 'Enter Glouer Bu<tton:> Brazier' (23^r [Bald: p. 50]); 'Enter Cheater' (38^v [Bald, p. 83]). P preserves two theatrical notes referring to minor actor's real names: one of them is 'Brigs| Robrt St| Blackson' appearing six lines ahead of a dumb show (9^v [Ioppolo: p. 18]). Bald reports that L preserves traces of an enclosed stage direction at the corresponding part of the text although the right margin has been cropped by the binder (p. xxiv; p. 23 [10^r]). Another reference appears as 'Robb Briggs' pointing to Gentleman's speech in the beginning of 2. 3 in P (Ioppolo, p. 20 [11^r]); L also preserves the note 'Rob: Briggs' appearing in the right margin of the same line as the speech prefix of 'Gent:' which is marked by two cross-with-circle marks (11^v [Bald: p. 27]).[5] Only L preserves one more note 'Lor<des> | Black<son> | Bri<ggs>' six lines ahead of a dumb show

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[4] Bald's view that P is 'a transcript by the same hand as that of *L*, and has many features in common with it' (p. xxvi) is rejected by Peter Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, 5 vols (London: Mansell, 1980-93), I, pt. 2, 345. Ioppolo supports Beal (*Hengist*, p. ix).
[5] See Ioppolo, *Hengist*, p. ix. Bald, *Hengist,* pp. xxviii-xxix.

in which the 'Lordes' appear (Bald, p.69 [32^r]). The two scribes of P and L also faithfully copied down the sound directions such as 'Showte' (L, 2^r [Bald, p. 5]; cf. P, 2^r [Ioppolo, p. 3]) and 'Musique / Musick' (L, 2^v [Bald, p. 6]; cf. P, 2^v [Ioppolo, p. 4]) in the left margin where the company's book-keeper would have added them in the playbook for staging.[6] Theatrical annotators often inserted real names of the players in the margin pointing to their entrance or the speech heads of their roles, and stage directions for offstage sound in the left-hand margin of playbooks specifying its timing.[7] Besides the names of the minor actors and the offstage sound directions, Bald has pointed out that the bookkeeper made an insertion into two other directions: a reference to a wrong name of a character, 'Germanicus' for 'Germanus' at 1.1, and another to 'A Booke' as provision for a property at 3.2. The full directions read 'Musick Enter Certaine Muncks, Germanicus; Constantius being | one singing as at Procession' (Bald, p. 6 [L, 2^v]; cf. Ioppolo, p. 4 [P, 2^v]), and 'Enter Castiza A Booke: two Ladyes:' (Bald, p. 43 [L, 19^v]; Ioppolo, p. 34 [18^r]). It seems well within the bounds of reasonable conjecture that the error for 'Germanus' and the violation of syntax were introduced by somebody other than the author.[8] If either of the manuscripts was the playbook, those theatrical annotations would have to appear in a different hand from that of the rest of the text, but none of the stage directions was a later addition and all of them were copied down consistently in the same scribal hand as that of the rest in each manuscript. Moreover, there are 163 textual variants between the two manuscripts, of which 63 are obviously scribal errors. If either of the two manuscripts was the playbook or either text was transcribed from the other, it must preserve traces of alterations of the text made in the revision which introduced the 100 textual variants between the two texts. However, the two texts have left no traces of either omission or addition except for a few corrections made in a different hand from the scribe's in L,[9] and there seems no possibility that either of the texts was the playbook or that either text was transcribed from the other. The 100 textual variants between P and L are most likely to have been caused by minor revisions made in the original playbook in the interval between the transcription of P and that of L.

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[6] Bald, *Hengist*, p. xxix-xxx.
[7] Long, 'Stage Directions', p. 126.
[8] Bald, p. xxx.
[9] Bald, p. xxv.

The major portion of the text of P and L corresponds to each other, both of which include two sections marked by vertical lines in 3. 1 (L: 17^v [Bald: pp. 38-39]; P: 15^v-16^r [Ioppolo: p. 30]) and 5. 2 (L: 44^{r-v} [Bald: pp. 95-96]; P: 41^{r-v} [Ioppolo: pp. 79-80]). That vertical lines were conventionally used to mark the text for deletion is attested by those left in many extant manuscript plays. Most of the play manuscripts which preserve the vertical strokes marking the text for deletion are judged to have been playbooks or books that had been designed to meet the needs of the stage, whether or not they were actually performed.[10] In some plays such as *The Book of Sir Thomas More*, *Edmond Ironside or War Hath Made All Friends*, and *The Launching of the Mary*, many lines marked by vertical strokes are crossed off. The playbook of *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt* preserves such vertical lines drawn by the Master of the Revels, George Buc who censored the play for stage. One of them appears in the right-hand margin of the manuscript between the lines 385 to 403, a scene at the Dutch court which depicts the defiance of two guards against the Prince of Orange and includes some references to his deposition. Buc's comments left next to the vertical line clearly show that the line was drawn to mark the undesirable passage for deletion: 'I like not this: neither do I think y^t the pr. was thus disgracefully used besides he is to much presented. [her]. G. B.'.[11] In *The Poor Man's Comfort* which is extant both in manuscript and in print like *Hengist*, two lines in a passage marked by a vertical stroke in the manuscript are omitted from the 1655 printed edition.[12] Viewed in this light, the disappearance of the passages marked by vertical strokes from Q *The Mayor of Quinborough* clearly indicates that the marked passages were eventually cut from a later version of the play in accordance with the implicit instruction given by the vertical lines and that Q derives from the revised version. Besides, the correspondence of the two vertical lines between P and L suggests that the lines were also transcribed from their copy-text, which is undoubtedly a playbook; therefore, it seems safe to conclude that the passages marked by the vertical lines were cut in theatrical revision.

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[10] For the lists of manuscript plays classified according to their purposes, see W. W. Greg, *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses: Stage Plots, Actors' Parts, Prompt Books* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1931; repr. 1969), p. 191, pp. 237-369.

[11] John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt*, ed., T. H. Howard-Hill (Oxford: Malone Society Reprints, 1979), p.13.

[12] Robert Daborne, *The Poor Man's Comfort*, ed., by Kenneth Palmer (Oxford: Malone Society Reprints, 1955), p. 27; Robert Dauborne, *The Poor-Mans Comfort* (London: Rob[ert] Pollard, 1655), C3^v.

The two manuscripts contain 175 lines which do not exist in Q, and that 25 lines not in the manuscripts exist in Q.[13] Q omits two songs and twenty stage directions for music and noises out of the twenty-four standing in the manuscripts.[14] On the other hand, Q preserves fourteen stage directions describing the visual performance on the stage which are absent from the manuscripts. Besides, in Q, the spelling is standardised and the verse lines are correctly arranged probably as a result of compositorial intervention.[15] In the introduction to his edition of the Lambard Manuscript, R. C. Bald expresses his view that most of the stage directions for music and noises which do not exist in Q but in the two manuscripts are 'due to theatrical annotation', and that those describing the action in Q are 'more literary in type, and seem to be there to help a reader who has not actually seen the play on the stage' while recognising the possibility that they can be attributed to the author who might have written them 'as a guide to the producer' as Philip Massinger did in *Believe as You List*. He ascribes most of the 175 lines not in Q to theatrical cuts without giving analysis of the textual variance, and the absence of three passages from Q to censorship. As to the omission of the two songs from Q, Bald disproves that they were left out from the performance by pointing out the existence of the surrounding text which responds to music and a song. He suggests that the songs were kept on separate sheets of paper for the use of the singers when 'a fresh prompt-book was made', implying that Q descends from this new playbook. His hypothesis about the provenance of Q is as following.

> Q is most likely to have been set up from a private transcript which lacked such directions as a prompter would add, but which contained a number of others describing the action, for which the scribe of the private transcript was probably responsible, although it is possible that some of them may go back to the author's original directions. However, there is no doubt that this private transcript was based on a text used in the theatre, since it observes all

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[13] See Bald, *Hengist*, p. xxxi.

[14] For the variance of the stage directions for music and noises between Q and MSS, see Table 1.

[15] For the relineation of hemstiches in Q, see Grace Ioppolo, 'Revision, Manuscript Transmission and Scribal Practice in Middleton's *Hengist, King of Kent, or the Mayor of Queenborough*', *Critical Survey*, 7.3 (1995), 319-31 (p. 322).

the cuts made in performance, and shows traces of censorship, made possibly as late as the middle of Charles I's reign.[16]

On the other hand, Grace Ioppolo, who edited the Portland manuscript, pays more attention to the cuts occurring within the parts of female characters and interprets them as Middleton's intention to rework 'the characters of Castiza and Roxena in order to shift dramatic attention away from domestic, female tragedy and towards a martial, male tragedy'. Rejecting Bald's view that the intervention of censorship was behind the deletion of some passages, she ascribes most of the textual omissions in Q to authorial revision. While asserting that 'evidence for authorial revision in this quarto also exists', she fails to show any hard evidence for her contention and goes no further than stating her impression or, to be more precise, her intuition that 'Middleton appears to have redrawn the characters of Castiza and Roxena' and that the passages marked by the vertical lines for deletion signals 'Middleton's own cuts'. Ioppolo's assumption about Q's provenance and her logic of her conclusion is as follows.

> The quarto, then apparently descends from another manuscript, later than that used for the manuscripts' transcription and its literary characteristics suggest that this manuscript was especially prepared to serve as printer's copy. This manuscript was at some remove from a revised manuscript made by Middleton. The manuscript transmissions of *A Game at Chess* and *The Witch* demonstrates that Middleton himself was closely involved in the transmission of his texts for literary as well as theatrical audiences, and there is no reason to suggest that he did not attempt to fulfil this function in the case of this play.[17]

Furthermore, referring to the omission of the musical directions and the two songs, she writes,

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[16] Bald, *Hengist*, p. xxx-xxxiv; Philip Massinger, *Beleive as You List*, ed., by Charles J. Sisson (Oxford: Malone Society Reprints, 1927), p. 58, p. 70.
[17] Ioppolo, 'Revision', pp. 322-23.

'the appearance of the two songs in 1.1 and 4.2 in the manuscripts and not in the quarto probably suggests that the later version of the play was performed without music'.[18]

In my present study, discussing with the preceding studies of Bald and Ioppolo, I aim at exploring the textual transmission of Q *Mayor of Quinborough* as indicated by the internal and external evidence. The textual problems with regard to the provenance of Q may be reduced to the following four strands. (1) The two preceding studies share a view that the passages not in Q were cut from the text, and that Q derives from a later version of the play; nevertheless, a divergence in their contentions arises as to the cause of the textual omission. Although both Bald and Ioppolo regard the proposition that the quarto text presents a later version of the play as self-evident, I will review the textual variance between the manuscripts and Q to see if the MSS-only lines were really cut from Q and not added to the manuscript version. In so doing, I will also scrutinise whether the textual alteration is ascribed to authorial revision or to theatrical cuts. (2) The second question to be discussed will be the nature of the copy-text. Was it a private transcript made by one of the theatre personnel, perhaps an actor to meet the desire of their friends as Bald surmises, following Moseley's account of post-theatrical transcripts?[19] Was it a manuscript prepared by Middleton himself with its publication in mind as Ioppolo contends, following the interest in revision stimulated by Steven Urkowitz and the Oxford Shakespeare?[20] If either of them were right, how and by whom had the manuscript been preserved until it eventually passed into the hands of the publishers? What explanation would be possible if the copy-text was neither a private transcript nor an authorially edited script? (3) Third, I will scrutinise the text in Q surrounding the position of the omitted songs to see if they were sung in the actual performance, and to clarify the meaning of their absence from Q in terms of the transmission of the text. (4) The last question to be considered will be the absence of the twenty stage directions for music and noises and the presence of those describing the action in Q.

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[18] Ioppolo, 'Revision', p. 327.

[19] Bald, Introduction, p. xxxiv. The passage concerned appears in Moseley's forewords to Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Comedies and Tragedies* (London: Robinson and Moseley, 1647), A4r.

[20] Steven urkowits, *Shakespeare's Revision of "King Lear"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Gary Taylor and Michael Warren, ed., *The Division of the Kingdoms: Shakespeare's Two Versions of King Lear* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); Grace Ioppolo, *Revising Shakespeare* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

I will start my investigation with comparison of the corresponding parts between the manuscripts and Q to confirm that the lines appearing only in the former were cut from the latter text in a process of revision, and that the quarto text derives from a later version of the play. Whilst options as to the identity of the reviser of the play will be kept open, the manner of revision will be brought to light by the subsequent analysis of the textual variance. Collation of the manuscripts and Q reveals that the textual alteration produces syntactic discontinuity in some of the Q passages. In a dumb show at the end of 2.1 which depicts the murder of Constantius, the two versions of the play present the text as following.

> Enter Vortiger Devon: Stafford in
>
> private Conference: to them Enter ye murderers
>
> p^{r}senting ye head to Vortiger, *he* seems to express much
>
> sorrow, and before ye astonished Lords, makes
>
> officers lay hold on em;
>
> (Bald: pp. 23-24 [L: 10^v]; cf. Ioppolo: p. 18 [P: 10^r])

> Enter Vortiger, Devonshire and Stafford in Con-
>
> ference, to them the Villains presenting the head,
>
> he seems sorrowful, and in rage stabbs them both. (Q: C2^r)

> Better not to add emphases (if you are doing)
>
> Keep to the copy lineation if possible

As shown in the quotations, in Q, the second 'Enter' which refers to the separate entrance of the murderers ensuing that of Vortiger, Devon, and Stafford is omitted, and the 'murderers' are rephrased as 'Villains'. By the excision of 'Enter', the subject of the following participial construction, 'Villains' comes immediately after the original object of their entrance, 'to them' which, as a result, functions as the object of their presenting Constantius's head, and causes the deletion of its original object, 'to Vortiger'. By this alteration, the personal pronoun 'he',

which points to 'Vortiger' in the manuscripts, loses its antecedent in Q. What the presence of the pronoun 'he' and the absence of its antecedent 'Vortiger' in Q shows is a fact that the absent words and phrases in Q were cut from the text. Nevertheless, the alteration of the object to whom the murderers present Constantius's head and that in phrasing of the dumb show would not have affected its staging at all, but the purpose of the revision seems to have lied in shortening the descriptions of the show in text as much as possible within the limits of textual capacity to convey the stage action. The only difference in staging of the dumb show in Q arises from the absence of the 'officers' who are ordered to 'lay hold on' the murderers and take them in tow 'to execution' (Bald: p. 24 [L: 10^v]; cf. Ioppolo: p. 18 [P: 10^r]). That is, Vortiger's action of killing the two murderers saves the parts of the officers. There seem to be three possible explanations for this omission of the roles of the officers in Q. One is that minor actors for the officers were no longer available when the revised version was staged; another is that the length of the performance was intended to be reduced; and a third is that the reviser wanted to compress the three lines of the manuscripts which describe the detailed circumstances leading to the execution of the murderers into one of Q. Taking a close look at Q's counterparts of the text where the minor actors' real names appear in the manuscripts, none of the minor roles are omitted in the other parts of the text in Q; and it is obvious that some hired actors were able to play the small parts in performance of the later version. Therefore, the omissions of the officers' roles and of the detailed descriptions of the action have to be attributed either to theatrical revision for the purpose of shortening the running time of the performance or to literary revision with an aim of reducing the text of the dumb show.

Another antecedent to a pronoun in a line of Horsus, who is lost in wild fancies about incest, is present in the manuscripts but not in Q. Horsus's line at 3.1 in Q appears as 'May be some Son of mine, got by this woman too, | May match with their own Sisters' (E1^r). If 'Son of mine, got by this woman' was originally intended to be the subject of the sentence, the subsequent pronoun must not be 'their', but has to be 'his'. Three MSS-only lines ensuing 'May be som son of mine, got by this woman too;' in the corresponding part read 'Mans scattered Lust brings forth most strange events, | Ant twere but strictly thought on; how many

brothers | Wantonly got, though ignorance of their Births', and are immediately followed by 'May match with their owne sisters' (Bald, p. 40 [L, 18r]; cf. Ioppolo, p. 31 [P, 16r]). They clearly show that the antecedent to 'their' is 'brothers' preserved in the manuscript version. In Q, the presence of the pronoun 'their' indicates that its antecedent used to exist in the preceding line. It is within the bounds of possibility that the reviser removed the MSS-only lines with the intention of linking the previous line and the following one by pluralising 'Son', but forgot to do so.

A third pronoun pointing to an absent antecedent in Q appears in a part of Roxena who is wrapped in flames at 5.2.

> No way to scape? is this the end of glory? | Doubly beset with enemies
>
> wrath and fire: | It comes nearer, rivers and fountains fall, | It sucks
>
> away my breath, I cannot give | A curse to sin, and hear't out while I
>
> live. Help, help. (K1v-K2r)

Judging from the dramatic context, it is obvious that Roxena refers to fire by 'It'. However, her line lacks logical connection between the reference to fire and her helpless guilty feelings which are expressed immediately after the description of the destructive power of fire. Roxena's view that the destructive fire is the retribution for her 'dishonest Actions' is presented in three lines appearing only in the manuscripts. In the manuscript version, the following three lines are found between the second and third lines of the quoted part of Q.

> See for an arme of Lust, Ime now embracde
>
> Wth one that will destroy me, wheir I read
>
> The horror of dishonest actions
>
> (Bald, p. 96 [L, 44v]; cf. Ioppolo, p. 80 [P, 41v])

In the three lines of the manuscripts, Roxena compares 'an arm of Lust' with which she has been embraced to fire which ends her life after the brutal torture. Her realisation that the

brutal end of her glory is the consequence of her sinful life is indicated by her awareness of 'The horror of dishonest actions' reflected in fire. Fire which is physically burning Roxena, and the sense of sin which is mentally torturing her are designed to be linked as metaphysical necessity in her part. Throughout the play, the sense of sin is described as what cannot subsist without being backed up by belief in the absolute being, or in other words, religion. While the play puts forward the series of crimes caused by insatiable ambition and inconstancy of the main characters from Vortiger who professes, 'Religion | Was never friend of mine yet' (Q: B1^r) down to Roxena, an undercurrent of religiousness is represented by the presence of Constantius, Castiza, holy fathers, and monks. In the three MSS-only lines of Roxena's dying message is heard the reverberation of Constantius's warning against Vortiger's irreverence: 'Dare you receive Heavens light in at your Eye-lids | And offer violence to Religion? | Take heed, the very Beam let in to comfort you Maybe the fire to burn you' (A4^r). Roxena says she 'read[s] | The horror of dishonest actions' in fire. Considering this along with Constantius's prophetic line, the fire which burns Roxena can be interpreted as the Heaven's light which illuminates her sins. The three MSS-only lines depict Roxena's realisation of her own sins as what coincides with her punishment. Without the MSS-only lines, the last two lines of her part express no more than her fragmentary perceptions. But the linkage between fire and Roxena's sense of sin as described in the manuscript version gives a possible interpretation to her last lines: what suffocates Roxena is her hopeless sense of guilt as well as the merciless fire, hence she 'cannot give | A curse to sin'. Therefore, it seems reasonable to think that 'It' in the third and fourth lines of the first quotation of Roxena's part points to 'one that will destroy me, wheir I read | The horror of dishonest actions' which is not preserved in Q but in the manuscripts. To judge by the fact that the antecedents to the pronouns in the quoted passages exist only in the manuscripts, the MSS-only lines were cut from a text from which Q derives in a process of revision, and moreover, there seems to exist continuity of the text between the two versions.

The probability that Q derives from a later version of the play is more significantly increased by the presence of lines in Q which respond to those found only in the manuscripts. In a passage at 3.3 in which Hengist and townsmen exchange punning dialogues about the

latter's occupations and the Corporation of their town, the content of a question asked by Hengist on which Taylor makes a pun does not exist in Q. The manuscript text appears as following.

> Heng: Now s^r a good discoverye Come from yo^u
>
> That we may know ye inwardes of ye Buisnes

> Tayl: I will rip the linings to yor Lordshipp
>
>   And show what stuff tis made on, for ye Bodye
>
> Or Corporation
>
> (Bald: pp.49-50 [L: 22^v]; cf. Ioppolo: p. 40 [P: 20^v])

The absence of the second line of Hengist's part in Q leaves his speech incomplete since what Hengist wants to discover is 'ye inwards of [Taylor's] Buisnes'. It can be said that the focus of his speech is on the missing line. Besides, although Q does not contain the line 'That we may know ye inwardes of ye Buisnes' in its counterpart (E4^v), what 'linings' puns on is the word 'inwardes' in the missing line. Thus, the surrounding text of the dialogue in Q points to the invisible presence of the missing line. Whether by accident or not, the line was evidently removed from the quarto version.

Later in the same scene, 3.3, where Symon gives a very long speech after his winning the election to Mayor, more than ten lines present in the manuscripts disappear from Q. The MSS-only lines are the passage which gives humorous descriptions of four of the 'seven deadly sins' (Bald, pp. 54-55 [L, 25^r]; cf. Ioppolo, pp. 44-45 [P, 22^v-23^r]) and is followed by Symon's farcical promise to talk about 'Covetuousnes and Gluttony' when he comes 'out of [his] office' (Bald, pp. 54-55 [L, 25^r]; cf. Ioppolo, pp. 44-45 [P, 22^v-23^r]). His line in Q 'as for | Covetousness and Gluttony, I'le tell you more when I come | Out of my Office' also presupposes that he has already explained what other sins are. But its preceding line goes no further than referring to the names of the four sins: 'Now for the deadly sins, Pride, Sloth, Envy, Wrath' (F2^r). Q's omission of the jocular explanation about the four sins reduces the

126

Mayor's comic promise to a pointless one. In other words, the absence of the MSS-only lines from Q produces discontinuity of logic in Symon's humour, and this discontinuity in Q also seems to have been brought by excision of the text.

Another part showing lack of continuity of the text in Q occurs when Horsus informs Vortiger of the sequel to their rape of Castiza. Discontinuity of Horsus's speech appears between his report of Castiza's lamentation and that of her encounter with Lupus and Germanus, that is, between the second and third lines in the following quotation.

> I could have fasted out an Ember-week,
>
> And never thought of hunger, to have heard her;
>
> Then came your holy Lupus and Germanus. (F2^v-F3^r)

The first word of the last line 'Then' presupposes that the situation in which Castiza is found by Lupus and Germanus is described in the preceding lines. The missing lines are again provided by the manuscripts. Before Castiza ran into Lupus and Germanus,

> She fetchd three short turnes, I shall neere forgett em,
>
> Like an emprisoned larke that offers still
>
> Her wing at libertie and returnes checkt,
>
> Soe would her soule faine have bene gon, and even hung
>
> Flittering upon the barrs of poore mortallitye,
>
> Which ever as it offered, drove her backe againe
>
> (Bald, p. 56 [L, 26^r]; cf. Ioppolo, p. 46 [P, 23^v])

What the MSS-only lines clarify is that Castiza, having been overwhelmed by grief, seems to Horsus to have craved for death. Horsus describes her pain as so extreme that 'her soule [would] faine have been gon'. From Castiza's point of view, rape is depicted as a matter of soul deprivation. The lines absent from Q provide an idea which bridges the gap between Castiza's lamentation and her reliance on Lupus and Germanus. The violation of her chastity

means to her betrayal of her own faith since she has resolved to 'carry thought away as pure from man | As ever made a virgins name immortall' (Bald, p. 20 [L, 9^r]; cf. Ioppolo, p. 15 [P, 8^v]). Imploring Horsus not to violate herself, Castiza describes her chastity as inward light 'which must guide [her] to another world' (Q, E3^r). Put another way, to keep her own chastity has been her duty to the 'Heaven' where she wishes to belong (Bald, p. 19 [L, 8^v]; cf. Ioppolo, p. 15 [P, 8^r]), therefore, the violation of her chastity is identified with blasphemy against it. Castiza's lamentation is caused by her overwhelming sense of sin in which she feels the deprivation of her inward light. The encounter of Castiza who has lost the inward light with the two holy fathers is anchored to logical basis, for Lupus and Germanus are represented as 'lights | Of holyness and religion' according to Constantius (Bald, pp. 8-9 [L, 3^r]; cf. Ioppolo: p. 6 [P, 3^r]). After the death of Constantius whom Castiza adored and to whom she swore to save her virginity, Lupus and Germanus as well as Castiza are depicted as the only representatives of the play's undercurrent of religiousness. Under these circumstances, Castiza was destined to be found by the holy fathers as if they were the only anchorage of her soul to sustain herself. The ensuing word 'Then' is used to show the logical consequence of the preceding situation in which Castiza groaned under mortal agony of her soul. The word 'Then' links Castiza's suffering with her only consolation received from the two holy fathers. The quarto text which preserves the line depicting the outturn of Castiza's misery but not the foregoing passage representing her suffering itself indicates that the six MSS-only lines were excised from Q.

The examination of the corresponding parts between the manuscripts and Q shown above provides substantial evidence for the hypothesis that Q derives from a later version of the play. Then, the next question to be considered is the cause of the textual cuts in Q. I have already mentioned that the two vertical lines preserved in the manuscripts were drawn to mark the passages for cut in the playbook from which P and L descend. Taking into consideration the conventional use of the vertical strokes to mark the text for cut as observed in many extant theatrical scripts, it seems reasonable to surmise that the textual omissions in Q reflect theatrical revision. In fact, most of the major cuts of the text occur within the longest parts in the play including those of Roxena which are marked by the vertical lines. One of the two

parts marked for deletion in the manuscripts amounts to 25 lines of which 8 lines are cut in Q (Bald, pp. 38-39 [L, 17^r-17^v]; cf. Ioppolo, p.30 [P, 15^v-16^r]). The thesis of the first nine lines of this part at 3.1 consists in Roxena's complaints against man's insatiable desire for woman and their jealousness, and in her commiseration for common helpless lot of woman to be bound under the jealous man's control. Roxena blames Horsus for his jealousness by using her misandric line of argument, comparing jealous man to 'an insatiate thiefe, | That scarce beleives he has all, though he has stripd | The true man naked', and woman thwarted by man's jealousy to the man who is robbed of everything but 'the hard Cord that bindes him'. The removed passage is the ensuing eight lines in which Roxena censures Vortiger in the same line of argument of misandry. In fact, four lines of the cut passage reiterate the same idea of man's insatiety and cannot avoid giving an impression of redundancy. They read:

> Yet man ye only seed thats sowne in envy
>
> Whom Little would suffize as any Creature
>
> Either in food or pleasure; yet tis knowne
>
> What wold give ten enough Contents not one.
>
> (Bald, p. 39 [L, 17^v]; cf. Ioppolo, p. 30 [P, 15^v-16^r])

The quoted passage of the four lines is the nucleus of the removed eight lines, and is preceded and followed by two lines each which predict Vortiger's devious tactic of usurpation. What happens in the first seventeen lines of this part in the manuscripts is the sublimation of Roxena's resentment against the individuals' jealousness and mistrustfulness to that against the absurdity of man's domination over woman brought about by gender. The first nine lines in which Roxena blames Horsus's jealousness and the next eight lines which are intended to express her resentment at Vortiger's usurpative authority symmetrically develop her argument of misandry.

It is true that the passage of eight lines is neatly cut so that the omission would be 'extraneous to the flow of the action',[21] however, the textual omission 'extraneous to the flow

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[21] Ioppolo, 'Revision', p. 322.

of the action' does not necessarily mean that it preserves the continuity of logic. The flow of the action must have been a matter of the highest priority among theatrical concerns, and the continuity of logic, on the other hand, the author's prime concern in writing and reading the play. In the counterpart of Q which does not preserve the eight lines, Roxena's persuasion that Vortiger will fall from power as is the doom of all usurpers appears immediately after the first nine lines, yet it presupposes her preceding censure against Vortiger and her prediction of his abuse of authority and its consequent outrage against humanity. The text following the quoted four lines in the manuscripts reads:

> A strong diseasd Conceit, may tell strang tales to you
>
> And so abuse us both: take but th'opinion
>
> Of Common reason, and youle finde't impossible
>
> That yo^{u} shold loose me in this kings advancem^{t}
>
> Who hears a usurper, as he has ye Kingdome
>
> So shall he have my love by usurpation,
>
> The right shall be in thee still; my ascension
>
> To Dignitie is but to wafte ye upward
>
> And all usurpers have a falling sickness
>
> They Cannot keepe up long,
>
> (Bald, p. 39 [L, 17^{v}]; cf. Ioppolo, p. 30 [P, 16^{v}])

Roxena's advice for Horsus to 'take but the'opinion | Of Common reason' encourages stoic confrontation with predictable disgusting realities implied in the preceding lines. According to Roxena's argument, Vortiger, who takes advantage of the Saxons' services to rise in the world, and 'now has a great purchase' (Bald, p. 38 [L, 17^{v}]; cf. Ioppolo p. 30 [P, 15^{v}]) will soon be insatiable in desire again, then 'A strang[e] diseas[e]d Conceit' (Bald, p. 39 [L, 17^{v}]; cf. Ioppolo, p. 30 [P, 16^{v}]) springing from Vortiger's mind might toss around Roxena and Horsus. This is the reason why, in order for them not to be fooled by Vortiger's pervasion of authority, Roxena warns Horsus to 'take but th'opinion | Of Common reason' and revengefully

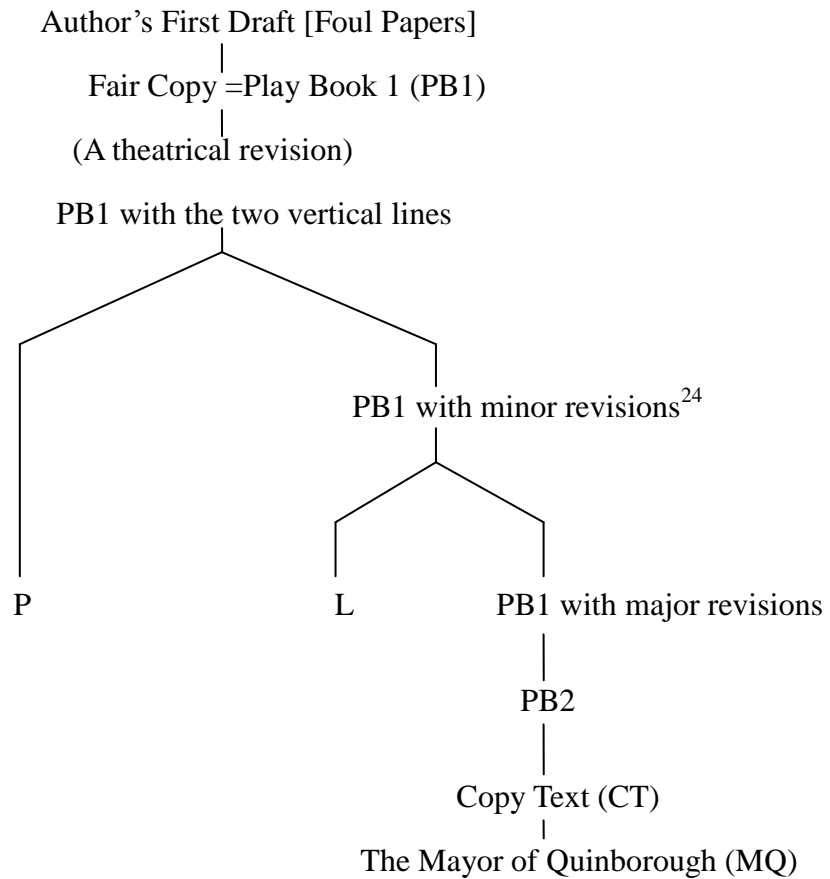capitalise on Vortiger's lasciviousness for their own advancement.

Seen in this light, the quarto text in which Roxena's warning to Horsus beginning with 'Take reasons advice' (D4[r]) occurs immediately after the first nine lines describing her commiseration for woman breaks the continuity of logic in her line of argument. The textual cut which introduces the discontinuity of logic of Roxena's argument cannot be attributed to literary revision made by the author for the purpose of reworking the play for reading. As the author of the play, Middleton must have synchronised his act of writing with his act of reading. If he had revised the play with a reader in mind, he would not have made such deletion of the text as would lead to split of logic, but such alteration as would maintain the textual logicality. Although Ioppolo asserts that the manuscripts and Q represent different, authoritative texts, and that neither of them is a better or inferior version,[22] in terms of logicality of the text in reading, the manuscript version presents a better text in the dialogue. Put another way, the quarto text is not improved by the cut in a literary sense since it is observed that any effort to maintain the logicality of the text was not made in revising. What is palpable in cutting the passage in Q is that great care was given to remove as many lines as possible without breaking the flow of action. Thus, the eight lines marked by vertical strokes were most probably deleted to serve a theatrical purpose. It seems almost impossible to assign the responsibility for this theatrical cut. It could have been anybody who had a detailed knowledge about theatrical business including Middleton himself. It is also possible that the part was cut in a rehearsal and that the vertical line was drawn in the playbook by the bookkeeper on the spot. What is elucidated by the foregoing discussion is that the textual cut of Roxena's part at 3. 1 (D4[r]) is theatrical in origin.

The other vertical stroke at 5.2 was probably dropped on the same occasion as the one at 3.1. The facts that both P and L preserve the two passages marked by the vertical lines and that both the manuscripts were transcribed from the same playbook clearly show that the lines had been drawn in the playbook before the transcription of each manuscript made at different times. Besides, both of the vertical lines appear in the parts of Roxena at 3.1 and 5.2 respectively. The passage marked for deletion at 5.2 in the manuscripts represents her

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[22] Ioppolo, 'Revision', p. 323.

delusion of unfairness brought by gender. She describes Horsus and Vortiger who stab each other to death and do not 'feele fires keener Torment' as 'happy men' in comparison with herself who has to undergo both the physical and mental tortures caused by fire and the sense of sin on top of 'a womans sufferings' (Bald, p. 95 [L, 44[r]]; Ioppolo, p. 80 [P, 41[r]]). The theme of woman's 'weakeness' used by Roxena as an excuse for her sin at 5.2 (Bald, p. 95 [L, 44[r]]; Ioppolo, p. 80 [P, 41[r]]) overlaps with her commiseration for common helpless lot of woman expressed to justify her disguise of being a virgin in the passage which contains the marked eight lines at 3.1. Seen in this light, the cut of the marked passage at 5.2 in Q reduces the redundancy of the thesis of gender problems already presented at 3.1. Comparison of the manuscripts' marked passages at 3.1 and 5.2 with the counterparts of Q reveals that both of the textual cuts were made extraneously to the flow of action within the parts of Roxena, with no repetitive arguments about either misandry or gender inequity left. If the two marked passages had been the only textual excisions from a revised version of the play, Ioppolo might be right in hypothesising that the character of Roxena was intended to be redrawn with a view to shifting 'dramatic attention away from domestic, female tragedy and towards a martial, male tragedy'.[23] However, the marked lines of her parts are only 20 among the 175 lines removed from Q, of which approximately 145 lines are assigned to male characters in the manuscripts. Besides, ambitiousness of Roxena's personality and her feministic stance are retained, untouched by the cut of the twenty lines; therefore, it seems difficult to support Ioppolo in her argument that the author revised the play to rework Roxena's character itself. Taking into consideration the conclusion that the textual cut of Roxena's part at 3.1 is theatrical in origin and the fact that both of the vertical lines marking the text for deletion occur within the two parts of Roxena at 3.1 and 5.2, it seems most probable that the decision to omit the passages was made during a rehearsal, and that after the scroll which contained Roxena's parts was worked on, the text concerned in the playbook was marked. The omission of the two parts of Roxena in Q which reflects the instruction of the vertical lines drawn in the playbook, from which the two manuscripts descend, indicates the possibility that a playbook behind the copy-text of Q derives from the same antecedent as the manuscripts.

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[23] See note 15 above.

Author's First Draft [Foul Papers]
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Fair Copy = Play Book 1 (PB1)
|
(A theatrical revision)

PB1 with the two vertical lines

PB1 with minor revisions[24]

P   L   PB1 with major revisions
|
PB2
|
Copy Text (CT)
|
The Mayor of Quinborough (MQ)

The theory that Q derives from a later version of the playbook from which the two manuscripts descend is supported by Bald's hypothesis that the alteration of the final scene of the quarto was the result of theatrical revision to remove a contradiction in terms of plot with *The Birth of Merlin*, which is likely to have come to be performed in conjunction with *The Mayor of Quinborogh*.[25]

The presence of the vertical lines marking the two passages for deletion and the absence of any other indications of deletion of the other 155 lines excised from Q in the manuscripts raise a question as to the dates of the play's revision and the transcription of P and L. The fact that the two vertical lines are the only signs of textual omission transcribed in the manuscripts seems to open two possibilities. One is that the transcription of P and L had been made before the play underwent its major revision, and another is that the transcription of each manuscript was made from an older playbook retained by the company after a new

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[24] See p. 118.
[25] Bald, *Hengist*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv. Bald thinks that the eleven lines added to the final scene in Q was not written by Middleton (p. xxxiv).

book for a revised version of the play had been produced. Bald and Ioppolo agree that the play was written between 1619 and 1620, judging from the earliest reference to the title of this play made by Sir George Buc in one of his cancelled playlists which include plays composed between 1615 and 1620, and which were inserted to make corrections in his *History of the Life and Reign of Richard III* dated 1619, and from the allusion within the play to 'a greate enormitie in woolle' (Bald, p. 17 [L, 7^v]; Ioppolo, 12 [P, 7^r]), a trade issue in England between 1616 and 1622.[26] There seems to be little room to add further discussion to the previous studies as regards the dates of composition of the play. On the basis of the hypothesis that the play was originally written in 1619-1620, it can be extrapolated that both the theatrical revision of the play and the transcription of the two manuscripts were made not earlier than 1619-1620.

Nevertheless, while Buc's inclusion of the play in his play-lists suggests possible dates of its composition, his naming of the play raises one question as to the date of the play's revision. He names the play '[Th]e Maior of Quinborough' with a later inserted alternative title 'or Hengist K. of Kent'[27] instead of the other way around as appears in the title-page of P. Ioppolo attributes the alteration of the title to Buc's profound knowledge of the play 'either because he had just licensed it or because he knew its performance history'; however, what seems more important about his naming of the play is that it is much the same as the title of the quarto version. Indeed it seems not to be unusual that some plays were better known by their alternative titles named after their comic characters such as the Mayor of Quinborough and the Humorous Lieutenant in Fletcher's *Demetrius and Enanthe*, and it is also possible that Buc remembered *Hengist* by its subtitle, but we cannot exclude a possibility that the play had undergone major revision for theatrical purpose and assumed a prototypal form of the quarto version with the reversed title 'The Mayor of Quinborough, or Hengist King of Kent' by the time Buc listed it in 1619-1620.[28] Among the plays listed in the same slip with '[Th]e Maior of Quinborough' are 'The Tragedy of Jeronimo' which is probably Thomas Kyd's *The*

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[26] Bald, *Hengist*, pp.xiii-xiv; Ioppolo, 'Revision', pp. 319-21.
[27] Frank Marcham, *The King's Office of the Revels, 1610-1622* (London, the author, 1925), pp. 10-11.
[28] Taking a broader range of dating the composition and revision of the play, Marcham also holds the view that 'Middleton's Hengist [*sic*] was given the new title when it was slightly varied at about 1615-1620' (p. 5).

Spanish Tragedy (c. 1589), and 'The Tragedy of Ham[let?] (1601?),[29] both of which were staged in Elizabethan times and years before Buc began his career as Master of the Revels.[30] Inclusion of some older plays with '[Th]e Maior of Quinborough' in the same list indicates that the plays were listed most likely to be considered for a court performance,[31] and it seems unlikely that Buc had just licensed *Hengist* for stage when he included the play in the list under the alternative title since the play had already undergone public performance before it was nominated for court performance. If the play '[Th]e Maior of Quinborough' was listed after it had been publicly staged, it is highly possible that the play had already undergone theatrical revision and had been given the new title by 1619-1620 when the list was made. Therefore, the dates of the play's composition should provisionally be restated as before 1619-1620.

The presumed dates of the two extant manuscripts of the play vary with scholars between 1620 and 1670. Frank Marcham dates the Portland Manuscript to about 1620.[32] Bald judges that P and L were written in the same scribe's hand 'belonging probably to the second quarter of the seventeenth century'.[33] Reconsidering Bald's view, Peter Beal concludes that the two manuscripts were transcribed in two different hands which are dated to 1650-1670.[34] Ioppolo agrees with Beal's view that the two hands in P and L cannot be identical, but dates them to the early 1640s, adding that they were prepared 'most likely following the 1641 request by the King's Men to the Lord Chamberlain to prevent the play from being printed'.[35] Although Ioppolo states that she dated the manuscripts after comparing them with 'many others extant from the 1610s to 1670s', would it be possible even for an established palaeographer to pin down the date of handwriting within a decade? In his *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden*, Anthony G. Petti warns against dating a manuscript more closely than within about thirty or forty years in the Renaissance when it has to be based on

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[29] Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, III, 395-97, 486-87.
[30] Marcham, pp. 10-11; E. K. Chambers, Review of *The Kin's Office of the Revels, 1610-1622*, by Frank Marcham, *Review of English Studies*, 1 (1925), 479-84 (p.481).
[31] That Buc had the plays in the lists under consideration for court performance has also been pointed out by Chambers, p. 484.
[32] Marcham, p. 6.
[33] Bald, *Hengist*, pp. xxv-xxvi.
[34] See note 2 above.
[35] Ioppolo, 'Revision', p. 321.

handwriting, 'where no evidence is available to provide a *terminus quo* or *terminus quem*'.[36] In the case of the two manuscripts of *Hengist*, their earliest possible dates can be estimated to be the dates of the play's composition, that is, before 1619-1620, or more broadly between 1615 and 1620,[37] and their latest possible date could be set at 1661 when the revised version of the play became available in print.

The detailed descriptions of the watermarks in the two manuscripts are given by Bald.

> On the first 21 sheets [of L] there is a watermark of three circles, one above the other, surmounted by a cross crosslet; in the uppermost circle is a crescent, in the second 6D above 6, and the lowest is empty. On the twenty-second sheet and the final half-sheet the watermark consists of three circles surmounted by a three-pointed crown, with a cross at each point and the central one surmounted by a ball; the upper circle contains a cross crosslet, the second the letters AO, and the third is empty.[38]

One mark in P also consists of 'three circles (the upper contains a cross crosslet, the second TC, the lowest A) surmounted by a three-pointed crown with a cross at each point'. Another is 'of similar design, but SR in the middle circle, and the lowest one is empty'.[39] While Ioppolo states that the watermarks in P and L appear in other manuscripts from 1640s and the following decade, Bald, drawing on the studies of Briquet and Edward Heawood, concludes that watermarks of the type appearing in the two manuscripts 'originated in Genoa but were widely imitated in France, and persisted throughout the seventeenth century'.[40] Briquet conjecturally dates a watermark of resemblance to the one on the first twenty-one sheets of L to 1598 in his *Les Filigranes* (I, no. 3246), and writes somewhere else that watermarks of the type 'were common between 1626 and 1643'.[41] The 'currency of a given mark (in identical

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[36] Anthony G. Petti, *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 33.

[37] See p. 135 above.
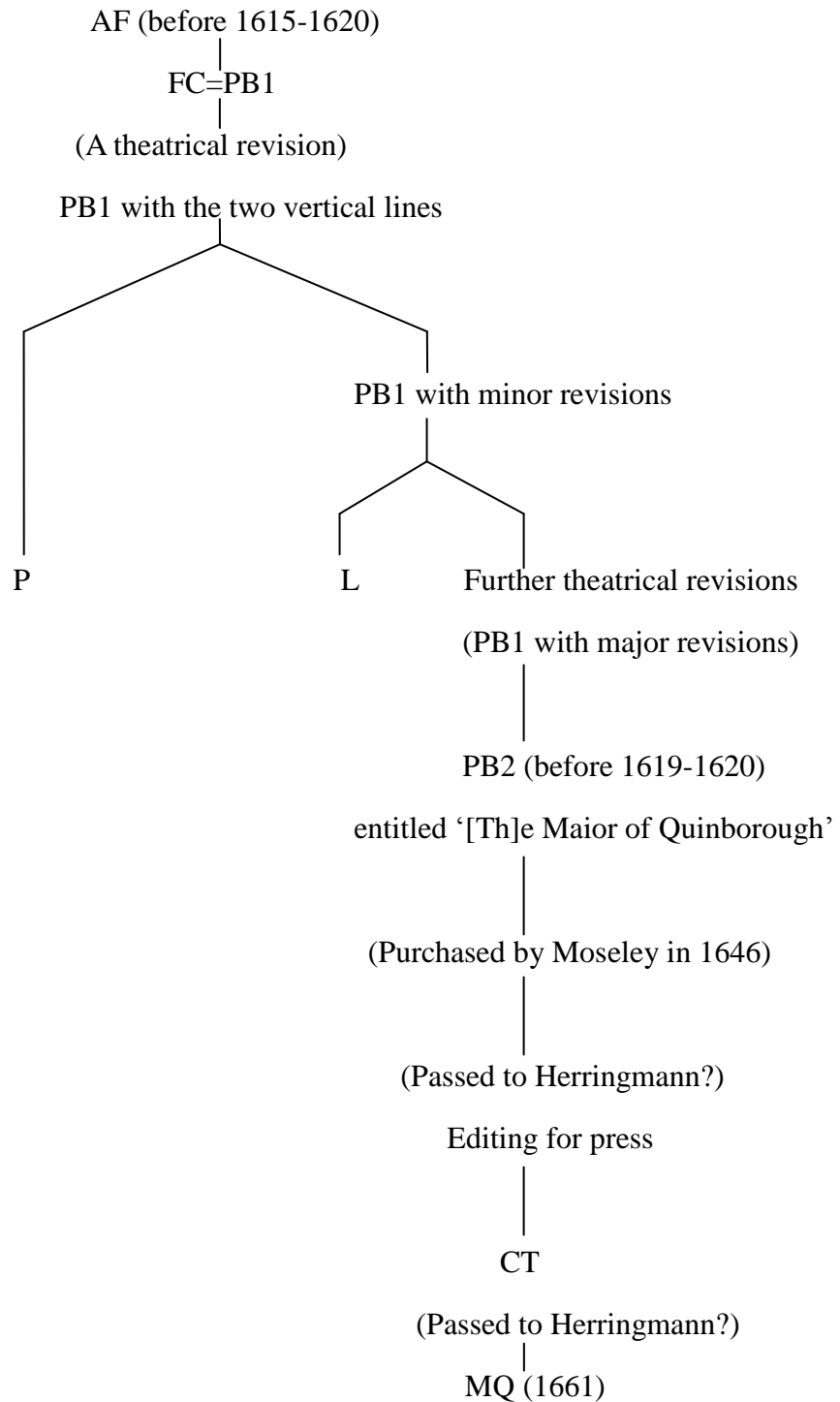
[38] Bald, *Hengist*, p. xxiv.

[39] Bald, *Hengist*, p. xxv.

[40] Bald, *Hengist*, p. xxiv.

[41] Bald, *Hengist*, p. xxiv; C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier des leur Apparition vers 1282 juqu'en 1600*, 4 vols (New York, Hacker Art Books, 1966), I, 281.

form)' of the time is estimated to have been thirty years.[42] If the watermarks Ioppolo found in the manuscripts of 1640s and the following decade are identical with those in the two manuscripts of *Hengist*, the paper-moulds used for producing the sheets of paper of P and L would have to be dated within about thirty years before or after either 1640 around which time the manuscripts with the watermarks found in P and L belong to, or 1660 by which time the play was not available in print. It is not difficult to infer that paper with the same watermarks found in P and L would have been prevalent in a broader range of time scale. Thus, even if the identical watermarks with those of P and L are found in the manuscripts of 1640s and 1650s, it cannot be judged that the two manuscripts are also from the same period of time. From the foregoing, the evidence of the watermarks of the two manuscripts indicates their possible dates to 1610-1690, and the evidence of their handwriting narrows the dates down to 1620-1670. Despite the difficulty of dating the manuscripts by examination of such pieces of bibliographical evidence as handwriting and watermarks, the lack of traces of deleting other text than the two passages marked by the vertical lines in both P and L, and Buc's substitution of the play's subtitle for its main title seems to afford a clue to possible dates of the two manuscripts and the play's revision. As already mentioned above, it is well within the bounds of possibility that the manuscript version represents an earlier state of the play than the one Buc named '[Th]e Maior of Quinborough', but that P and L had not necessarily been transcribed from the earlier playbook before Buc entered the play's new title in his list of the Revels Office. The two manuscripts could not be dated more narrowly than between 1619-1620, soon after the play was originally written by the author, and 1660 by which time the print version was not available. If a fresh playbook with the new title, '[Th]e Maior of Quinborough' had been made and already started to be used in performance, it seems probable enough that the manuscripts were copied from an older playbook which had been retained by the company.

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[42] Edward Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum, Paper Publication Society, 1950; repr. 1957), p. 31. See also Allan H. Stevenson, 'Watermarks are Twins', *Studies in Bibliography*, 4 (1951-52), 57-91.

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                    AF (before 1615-1620)
                            |
                         FC=PB1
                            |
                  (A theatrical revision)

               PB1 with the two vertical lines


                              PB1 with minor revisions


          P                L        Further theatrical revisions

                                    (PB1 with major revisions)
                                              |
                                    PB2 (before 1619-1620)

                                entitled '[Th]e Maior of Quinborough'
                                              |

                                  (Purchased by Moseley in 1646)
                                              |

                                    (Passed to Herringmann?)
                                       Editing for press
                                              |

                                              CT

                                    (Passed to Herringmann?)
                                              |
                                        MQ (1661)
```

      The play was entered into the Stationers' Register twice, on 4 September 1646 by Humphrey Robinson and Humphrey Moseley, and again on 13 February 1660/61 by Henry Herringman.[43] However, Robinson and Moseley only procured the right to a copy of the play

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[43] *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers: from 1640 – 1708 A.D.* ed. by G. E. Briscoe Eyre, 3 vols (London, [n. pub.]1913; New York: Peter Smith, 1950), I, 245, II, 288. Further references to this series will be made by a short-title form, *Worshipful Company of Stationers*.

and never published it. Why did the play have to be registered in 1646, and was not published after fifteen years? Pursuit of the questions how the play passed into the hands of the publishers and how they dealt with the play might give us a glimpse of the nature of Q's copy-text. Here, to get closer to the nature of the copy-text of Q, I will trace the circumstances in which the play was registered in 1646 and in 1660/61, and was finally published by Herringman in 1661. Robinson and Moseley registered a copy of *The Mayor of Quinborough* with forty-seven other plays, all of which belonged to the King's Men. Thirty-nine of them are included in the 1641 Lord Chamberlain's list, which records sixty plays of their repertoire that the company wanted to prevent being published without their consent.[44] It was 7 August 1641, two days after a plague closed the theatres, when the Chamberlain's warrant was issued.[45] The list shows that *The Mayor of Quinborough* had been performed by the King's Men at least until 1641, and most significantly that the players were determined to continue performing the play in the hope of reopening the theatre.

In fact, by 1641, the London theatre companies had suffered enough from financial difficulties because of the continual plague closures since 1636[46] to the extent that it would have come as no surprise if the King's Men had sold off their playbooks for publication. In 1636–1637, plague closed the theatres for nearly 17 months from 12 May 1636 to 2 October 1637 with a brief reopening for a week in February 1636/1637.[47] Although 'such closures

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[44] E. K. Chambers, 'Plays of the King's Men in 1641', in *Collections*, I, pts. 4-5, 398-99.

[45] After around 1609, the theatres were closed when the weekly number of plague deaths reached forty. John Tucker Murray, *English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642*, 2 vols (London: Constable, 1910), II, 174-75; G. E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage: Dramatic Companies and Players*, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941-68), II (1941; repr. 1966), 652-53, 661-62. When an order for closing the theatres was sent to the theatre companies on 5 August, one hundred deaths were already recorded. Bentley accounts for the reason for the delay of the closure (*Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, II, 666-67, 679). For a list of periods in which more than forty plague deaths were reported, see Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 92.

[46] Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), p. 3. Although Hotson asserts that a plague closed the theatres in 1635, there are no extant bills of mortality for the year except the one for the last two weeks of December which records no plague deaths. For the crucial reference to the theatre closure taken to have been 1635, see George F. Warner, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Allen's College of God's Gift at Dulwich* (London: Longmans, Green, 1881), p. 54. Bentley demonstrates that the theatre closure referred to in Dulwich papers was the one that occurred in May 1636 in Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, II, 659-60. For a table of 'the Christnings and Mortality for the Year 1635, and 1636', see John Bell, *Londons Remembrancer* (London, 1665), C1ʳ. The table is reproduced in Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, II, 669 .

[47] *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, 1623-1673*, ed. by Joseph Quincy Adams (New Haven: Harvard University Press, 1917), p. 65; *Collections*, I, pts. 4-5, 392; Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, II, p. 662.

meant an almost complete loss of company income and a small saving in expenditure on rent and wages', some companies were fortunate enough to be permitted to perform at Court,[48] and the King's Men must have come first on the list to receive royal patronage. On 17 May 1636, only five days after the announcement of closing the theatres, with the purpose of aiding the company's finance, a warrant was issued to the King's Men to grant them the privilege to accompany the King to Hampton Court on the summer progress, along with the permission for their provincial performance. Yet, no evidence has been found for their Court performances before 17 November.[49] G. E. Bentley suggests that the plans 'to have the players accompanying the court' were cancelled by the fear of infection which 'kept the King scurrying from Hampton Court, to Theobalds, to Oatlands, to Royston, to Bagshot, to Salisbury, to Bradford, to Oxford, to Southampton, in the summer of 1636'.[50] Minor players of the King's Company seem to have gone on tour to make up for the loss of their income after the theatre closure. The warrant listed 'W^m Pen, Thomas Hobbes, W^m Trig, W^m Patrick, Rich^d Baxter, Alexander Gough[,] W^m Hart & Rich^d Hanely together w^th Tenne or more thereabouts of their fellowes his Ma^ts Comaedians'. None of the eight named players was a shareholder of the company, and the inclusion of ten players who are not named allows for the need of the other actors for performances.[51] The records of their tours are found in provincial accounts. In August 1636, they travelled to Coventry and given 20s; the payment of another 5s to 'the kinges players' is recorded separately.[52] They received 10s at Windsor in 1636,[53]

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[48] Gurr, *Shakespeare Company*, p. 107. Chronological tables for their court performances are provided by Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, I (1941; repr. 1966).

[49] *Collections*, II, pt. 3, 378-79; Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, I, 49. For the records of performance at Hampton Court, see Adams, *Henry Herbert*, p. 75-76, and Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, I, 51.

[50] Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, I, p. 30.

[51] The 'Players Passe' is printed in *Collections*, II, pt. 3, 378-79; Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, I, 49-50. For a list of the sharers of the King's company in 1629-36, see Gurr, *Shakespearian Playing Companies*, pp. 434-35. For lists of the actors of the King's company between 1616 and 1642, see Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, I, 72-89. Andrew Gurr gives a detailed summary of circumstances of the King's company's travelling in Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company, 1594-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge Universitsy Press, 2004), pp. 54-69.

[52] *Records of Early English Drama, Coventry*, ed., by R. W. Ingram (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), p. 439. Further references to this series will be given by an abbreviated form of title, *REED*. Gurr gives a convenient list of King's Men's travelling records in *Shakespearian Playing Companies*, pp. 390-93.

[53] The record of Corporation Accounts is transcribed in Murray, II, 407. *REED, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire*, ed., by Alexander Johnston is forthcoming. Gurr consulted it at the *REED* office in Toronto. See *Shakespearian Playing Companies*, p. 393, pp. 162-63.

and they also went to Kendal and were paid £1 in 1636-37.[54]

From 17 November until 24 January 1636/37, fourteen performances at Hampton Court are recorded. From 31 January until 21 February 1636/37, they acted four plays at St James's Palace.[55] Andrew Gurr speculates that the annual income of the King's Men in 1626-42 ignoring the plague closures was £3,090 of which the total sum of £1,240 was paid as the sharers' dividends and wages for the other theatre personnel[56] and musicians. The sum of the annual rent for their two playhouses was £870; the amount of £320 was spent for plays per year, and £460 for clothing. The annual cost of candles is estimated to have been £130, and that of licences £60.[57] During the 1636-37 plague closure, they received royal aid amounting to £480 of which £240 were paid for their court performances. They performed 22 plays before the royal family in 1636-37 including the four acted at the Cockpit (Whitehall) before the plague closure. The rate of each performance was £10, but as to William Cartwright's *The Royal Slave* (1636) which was 'sent from Oxford', £30 were paid to the players for 'their paynes in studying and Acting the new play'.[58] It was 13 December 1636 when another warrant was issued at Hampton Court to the King's Men to command the players 'to assemble their company and keep themselves together near the Court', for which the King promised to grant them 'an allowance of 20*l.* per week', which commenced back from 1 November 1636 and continued until 24 January 1636/37.[59] The King's players stayed

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[54] *REED: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*, ed., by Audrey Douglas and Peter Greenfield (1986), p.213. The record says 'Paid William Chamber bye thapointment of mr Maior for the kinges plaiors'. William Chamber was 'a minor attendant' of the King's Men. See Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, II, 406. Although Bentley presents two items for the death of 'William Chamber' and says that 'the 1629 death item seems the more likely', the payment record of Chamberlains' Accounts shows that he was alive in 1636.

[55] For performances at Hampton Court and St James's Palace, see Adams, *Henry Herbert*, pp. 75-76; Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, I, 51-52; Kawachi, pp. 226-27. All these Court performances are recorded with the plays' titles, but the provincial records give no titles for the performances. It is possible that *The Mayor of Quinborough* was included in the plays taken on tour, but unfortunately, there is no evidence for its performance.

[56] Minor actors, apprentices, and 'many necessary theatrical functionaries' were basically reckoned as employees of the sharers of the company. See Gerald Eades Bentley, *The Profession of Player in Shakespeare's Time, 1590-1642* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p.26.

[57] Gurr, *Shakespeare Company*, p. 111.

[58] The warrant is printed in Peter Cunningham, *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court, in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I* (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1842), p. xxiv. It is reprinted with its endorsements of receipts in Ernst Law, *More about Shakespeare 'Forgeries'* (London: G. Bell, 1913), p. 71.

[59] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the reign of Chaeles I., 1636-1637*, ed., by John Bruce (London: Longmans, 1867), p. 228. Further references to this series will be made by a short-titile form,

at Hampton Court for 12 weeks; therefore, the allowances they received in total were £240. If, as it has been presumed, it was during this plague closure when five actors from the Queen Henrietta's company joined the King's Men with a deposit of shares, the company would have gained the stock between £250 and £400.[60] Counting the shares of the five new members, the sum that went over to the King's Men during the 1636-37 plague closure amounts to between £730 and £880. This amount was merely equivalent to the annual rent for their two theatres. The company's purse shrank by more than 70 percent of the average annual income. Despite the royal compensation for their loss, sixteen months of theatre closure were long enough to drive the players into deprivation. On 3 September 1637, three days after the weekly death toll fell to twenty-five, the Privy Council received the King's Men's petition for reopening their theatre.[61] The grant of their request is recorded in the Privy Council Register with the main thrust of their petition which interestingly describes the extent of the players' deprivation. Considering the company's expenditure for their rent, salary and cost of living, it must have been no exaggeration for the players to say that '[the] Players having, by reason of the [Infection] of the Plague in and neare London, been for a long time restrained and having now spent what they [had] got in many yeares before', were 'not able any longer to subsist [and] mainteine their families'.[62]

The plague closures that struck the players in 1640 and 1641 were not as long as the one they experienced in 1636-37; however, the repeated plague closures must have made the company's purse diminish and exhausted the actors. Although the weekly death toll rose to 41 on 23 July 1640, it was not until 11 September, the next day of the report of 105 weekly plague deaths, that a warrant was issued to order the players 'to shut up their Play houses'.[63] Plague death toll did not fall below forty for fourteen weeks until the week ending on 22 October. The week ending 29 October records 24 deaths, and the following week ending 5 November, 17.[64] It was only eight months after the reopening of the theatres when the weekly

Calendar, Domestic.

[60] See Hotson, pp. 31-35; Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, I, 56-57; Gurr, *Shakespeare Company*, p. 95.

[61] *Calendar, Domestic, 1637*, p. 403. For the death toll, See Bell, C2^r; Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, II, 670.

[62] *Collection*, I, pts. 4-5, p. 394.

[63] *Collection*, I, pts. 4-5, p. 395.

[64] Bell, C2^r; Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, II, 670.

toll of deaths went up to 42 on 15 July 1641.[65] The theatres were closed for four months from 5 August to sometime before 1 December when Sir Humphrey Mildmay saw a play.[66]

It was 7 August 1641, two days after the theatre companies received the plague prohibition of stage performance when the Lord Chamberlain issued the warrant of restriction on printing the King's Men's plays as has been mentioned above. The warrant included a list of a part of the King's Men's repertoire, which had not been printed before. According to the warrant, the King's Men seem to have feared lest the copies of their plays should be stolen and sent to the press. They complain that 'some Printers are about to Print and publish some of their Playes which hetherto they have beene usually restrained from by the Authority of the Lord Chamberlain'.[67] Indeed, the playing companies had frequently complained about their sufferance from piratical publication of their plays. This has been mentioned in prefatory matter of various dramatic publications[68] and confirmed by the records of the restricting orders issued by the Lord Chamberlain. One such previous case of piracy is indicated by a conjunction of three events: first, the 1619 Lord Chamberlain's injunction of restraint of printing of the King's Men's plays, second, the abortive attempt to publish a collection of Shakespeare's plays of which the extant Pavier quartos give us a glimpse, and third, Heminge and Condell's condemnation of 'diverse stolen, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of injurious impostors' in their preface to the First Folio of Shakespeare.[69] Although the 1619 warrant is not extant, a record of the Court of the Stationers' Company dated 3 May 1619 shows their decision under the instruction of the Lord Chamberlain that 'no playes that his Ma[tyes] players do play shalbe printed w[th]out the consent of some of them'.[70]

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[65] Bell, C2[v]; Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, II, 671.

[66] Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, II, 666-67, 679. An order for closing the theatres was sent to the theatre companies on 5 August when one hundred deaths were recorded. Bentley accounts for the reason for the delay of the closure.

[67] *Collections*, II, pt. 3, 398.

[68] See the author's preface 'To the Reader' in Thomas Heywood, *The Rape of Lucrece* (London: J. B[usby], 1608), A2[r]; Heminge and Condell's epistle 'To the Variety of Readers' in *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (London: Jaggard and Bount, 1623), A3[r]. Alfred Pollard infers that James Roberts, a printer of play bills, entered five of the Lord Chamberlain's Men's plays in the Stationers' Register to prevent the plays from piratical publication. Alfred W. Pollard, *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates and the Problem of the Transmission of his Text*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), pp. 43-44.

[69] *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies*, A3[r]

[70] Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing*

The Lord Chamberlain of 1619 was William Earl of Pembroke, brother and predecessor of Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery who also had to issue a warrant of restraint of printing the plays 'belonging to [the] King [and] Queenes servants the Players' in 1637.[71] He begins his letter addressed to 'the Company of Printers and Stationers' by quoting the precedent provided by his brother, William.

> Wheras complaint was heretofore presented to my Deare brother and predecessor by his Majesties servants the Players, that some of the Company of Printers and Stationers had procured, published and printed diverse of their books of Comædyes. Tragedyes Cronicle Historyes, and the like which they had (for the speciall service of his Majesties and for their own use) bought and provided at very Deare and high rates. By meanes wherof not onely they themselves had much prejudice, but the books much corruption to the injury and disgrace of the Authors, And thereupon the Masters and Wardens of the company of printers and stationers were advised by my Brother to take notice therof and to take Order for the stay of any further Impression of any of the Playes or Interludes of his Majesties servants without their consents.[72]

We do not know if the warrant quoted by Philip is the same as the one issued by William in 1619, however, since the successive Lords Chamberlain followed suit in preparing the text of their warrants of print restriction,[73] it seems safe to infer that the gist of the 1619 warrant is preserved in Philip's quotation.

1619 is the year in which the so-called Pavier quartos appeared. All the ten plays were printed by William Jaggard and published by Thomas Pavier in 1619, but none of them shows the former's name in their imprints, and even two of the six bearing Pavier's carry

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 40; *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987; repr. London: Norton, 1997), p. 36. William A. Jackson, *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1957), p. 110.

[71] *Collections*, II, pt. 3, 322, 384.

[72] *Collections*, II, pt. 3, 384.

[73] Compare the 1637 and 1641 warrants printed in *Collections*, II, pt. 3, 384, 398-99.

wrong dates. The consecutive signatures of three editions indicate the publishers' thwarted attempt to publish a collection of Shakespeare's plays.[74] Scholars have pointed out that the King's players having discovered Jaggard and Pavier's joint venture when they conceived their own project for compiling the First Folio of Shakespeare, petitioned the Lord Chamberlain to restrain printing their plays, hence the fake imprints and separate signatures of the remaining seven editions.[75] This traditional theory means that what the players wanted to forestall with the help of the Lord Chamberlain was the publication of the ten plays as a 'collection'. Even though the seven plays were printed with separate signatures and fake imprints, the publishers seem to have sold the ten plays as a bound set of collected works of Shakespeare.[76] If the traditional theory is right, to the King's Men, Jaggard and Pavier's carrying out of the publication of the collection must have seemed a contravention of the Lord Chamberlain's warrant and 'frauds and stealthes' in juxtaposition with the players' automatically legitimate publication of the First Foilo. Lukas Erne considers that Heminge and Condell felt a strong sense of rivalry with 'the 1619 Pavier colletion' because the collection seemed to them an impediment to a sale of the First Folio. Erne theorises that in order to claim the superiority of their own Folio collection of Shakespeare, Heminge and Condell criticised the Pavier quartos by labelling them as 'diverse stolen, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of injurious impostors'.[77]

Besides the publication of the Pavier quartos, the King's company seems to have been confronted with some other difficulties in 1619. The death of Queen Anne closed the theatre for eleven weeks from 2 March until 13 May, and Richard Burbage died on 13 March.[78] It was during the theatre closure that the King's Men began thinking about

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[74] On Pavier quatos Massai, Murphy, Erne.

[75] Peter W. M. Blayney, *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (Washington, D. C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1991), p. 4; Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2003), pp. 40-41; Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 256. See Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 106-35 for an alternative account of the context in which the 1619 warrant was issued. Massai considers that the warrant was not directed at Pavier but all the other stationers to prevent them from 'securing previously unpublished plays from their repertory' with a view to compiling the Folio collection of Shakespeare (p. 107). She theorises that the King's players availed themselves of the Pavier quartos to 'whet, rather than satisfy, readers' demand for a new collection of Shakespere's dramatic works' (pp. 107-8).

[76] Greg, *Bibliography*, III, 1107-8; Erne, p. 256.

[77] Erne, p. 256.

[78] Gurr, *Shakespearian Playing Comapanies*, p. 372; Suzanne Gossett, ed., *Philaster, or Love Lies*

compiling a Folio collection of Shakespeare's dramatic works.[79] Meanwhile, one of the King's Men's previously unpublished plays, *The Maid's Tragedy* was entered by in the Stationers' Register on 28 April 1619 by Richard Higgenbotham and Francis Constable.[80] Noting the closeness between the registration of the play and the issue of the Lord Chamberlain's warrant in time, E. A. J. Honigmann suggests the possibility that the warrant's target was not the Pavier whose collection comprised only reprinted editions. What attract his attention are four Beaumont and Fletcher plays and one Shakespeare's which were entered into the Stationers' Register seemingly 'as quietly as possible' without making any reference to their authors and the company which had staged them as if not to remind anyone of the Lord Chamberlain's warrant. They were *A King and No King*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *Philaster*, *Thierry and Theodoret*, and *Othello* which emerged in print in 1619 and thereafter. Besides, four of the five editions of the plays were superseded by better texts shortly afterwards.[81] Considering the absence of any complaints about the Walkley quartos, it seems difficult to demonstrate the hypothesis that the 1619 warrant was directed at them.

What is intriguing is that like the other two extant injunctions, the 1619 warrant was also issued during a period of closing of the theatre. The 1637 and 1641 warrants were issued during plague closure and suggest possibilities of unlicensed publication of plays. The 1637 warrant indicates that it was prepared under the complaint of the King and Queen's servants that some copies of their plays 'haveing beene lately stollen or gotten from them by indirect meanes' were 'attempted to bee printed [and] that some of them [were] at [the] Presse [and] ready to bee printed'.[82] It was 10 June 1637 when this warrant was issued. As it had been more than a year since the theatres were closed, the players' complaint appears to have been well founded. Actors who had been deprived of their livelihood might have thought about selling their books secretly to publishers and some might have translated the idea into action. Some thirteen months of plague closure seem long enough to create such compelling

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A-Bleeding, by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher (London: Methuen, 2009), p. 95.

[79] See note 76 above.

[80] *A Transcript*, ed. by Arber, III, 301.

[81] Honigmann, *Text of 'Othello'* (1996), p.27. Four of the five plays except *The Maid's Tragedy* were published by Thomas Walkley. Citing the fact that the Walkley's publications received no complaints, Suzanne Gossett takes a view that the Walkley quartos were published with the consent of the King's Men. Gosset, p. 96.

[82] *Collections*, II, pt. 3, 384.

circumstances to drive the unemployed to steal. Although this is a mere conjecture, it seems reasonable to think that what the players really meant by their complaint was that the theatre closure caused the iniquities they suffered.

The 1641 restraint cannot be viewed in the same light as the 1637 warrant. It is true that as in 1637, the warrant was issued during plague closure; however, the document is dated 7 August 1641, only two days after the announcement of prohibiting stage performance. As Bentley points out, 'it was shortly before the theatres were closed that the King's company sought protection for their plays'.[83] The petition is seemingly an attempt to prevent unlicensed play publication. But there is something suspicious about their complaint that 'some Printers [were] about to Print [and] publish some of their Playes' in exact timing with the closing of the theatre.[84] The question is whether the prevention of piratical publication of their plays is their real intention in making the petition. Indeed, as shown by the issue of the print restraint warrants during the theatre closure above, piratical publication of plays seems to have been a recurrent phenomenon in a period of closing of the theatre. Nevertheless, as of 7 August 1641, it must have been too early for the players to be driven to sell a stolen playbook out of deprivation. Probably the King's Men, judging from the increasing number of plague deaths, knew that the theatres would be closed soon, and then made a petition for restraint of printing their plays. In 1641, plague was not the only concern weighing on the players' mind. *The Stage-Players Complaint*, anonymously published in the same year, speaks for the London players about their pessimistic view of increase in power of Puritans in Parliament.[85] In the dialogue, Quick, which is the appellation of Andrew Cane, 'a famous comedian at the Fortune Theatre',[86] expresses his anxiety:

> Monopolers are down, Projectors are down, the High Commission Court is
> down, the Star-chamber is down, and (some think) Bishops will down; and
> why should we then that are far inferior to any of those not justly fear least

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[83] Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, I, 65.
[84] *Collections*, II, pt. 3, 398.
[85] *The Stage-Players Complaint* (London: Tho[mas] Bates, 1641)
[86] *Stage-Players*, pp. 7-8.

we should be down too?[87]

As described in the quoted passage, the fear of the theatre closure inevitably accompanied the reality of the Puritans' greater prominence in the House of Commons. When the increasing plague death toll convinced the players of the closing of the theatres, they must have feared that the Puritan Parliament took advantage of the opportunity to deprive them of their profession. Viewed in this light, the King's Men's 1641 petition for restraint of printing their plays can be interpreted to indicate the players' will not to abandon their profession and come back to the stage. It can be stated that the 1641 warrant implies that the King's Men appealed to the Lord Chamberlain for protection of the stage from the Puritans' attack.

The sixty plays in the list of the 1641 warrant were probably what the company wanted to keep them from being printed until the last moment. Leslie Hotson cites a document from a Chancery suit brought in 1655 by Theophilus Bird, an actor of the King's Men. Bird 'alleges that, when the company was dissolved on the suppression of playhouses in 1642, Bowyer, Pollard, and others of the company in London, in Bird's absence, "seized upon all the said apparel, hangings, books, and other goods. . . and sold and converted the same to their uses"'.[88] However, only two plays among the sixty in the warrant reached print around 1642. One is John Suckling's *The Discontented Colonell*. The play was entered on 5 April 1642 and published by Francis Egglesfield being undated.[89] If Bird is right and the King's Men relinquished right to their copies to publishers on the closing of their theatres, *The Discontented Colonell* must not have been included in the plays sold by the company since the play was entered in the Stationers' Registers before Henry Herbert made his last note in 1642: 'Here ended my allowance of plaies, for the war began in Aug. 1642'.[90] The other play is William Davenant's *The Unfortunate Lovers*, which was published with the title page saying 'Printed by R[ichard]. H[earne]. and are to be sold by Francis Coles at his Shop in the

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[87] *Stage-Players*, p.4.
[88] Hotson, p. 32.
[89] *Worshipful Company of Stationers*, I, 41; W. W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Drama to the Restoration*, 4 vols (London: Bibliographical Society, 1939-59), II (1951), 749-52. Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, V (1956; repr. 1967), 1207-9.
[90] Adams, *Henry Herbert*, p. 39.

Old-Bayley, Anno. Dom. 1643'.[91] There is no entry for this edition in the Stationers' Register; on 7 March 1645/6, the play was entered by Humphrey Moseley for the first time.[92] The printer, Richard Hearne printed another play of the King's Men's, *The Sophy* in 1642, and this was entered by Thomas Walkley on 6 August 1642.[93] *The Sophy* is the only play whose first entry was made in the Stationers' Register around the time of the closing of the theatres in 1642. *The Unfortunate Lovers* and *The Sophy* might have been included in the 'books' which the King's Men sold on the suppression of the stage in 1642, yet the evidence that the company's sharers 'seized upon' their 'books' and sold them on the closing of the theatres does not exist. The circumstances described above suggest that the King's Men did not take the 1642 order of suppression of the stage as Parliament's permanent decision. Indeed, some of the London companies do not seem to have accepted the ordinance as what would decide their destiny and kept their theatres open. Sir Humphrey Mildmay records in his diary that he saw a play twice during the war-time, on 21 August and 16 November 1643.[94] Although most of the King's Men joined the King's Army when the civil war broke out on 22 August 1642,[95] they did so to win back their right to tread the stage under the protection of the King again. Hotson discovers the fact that those players who joined the King's forces 'were occasionally called upon to act plays' at Oxford.[96]

Meanwhile, the actors of the private companies left in London published *The Actors Remonstrance, or Complaint* on 24 January 1643.[97] In this pamphlet, they deplore that they were 'left to live upon [. . .] the expence of [their] former gettings, to the great impoverishment and utter undoing of [them]selves, wives, children, and dependants' (p. 4). Even the housekeepers were 'enforced to pay the grand Land-lords rents, during this long Vacation out of their former gettings' which were, on the other hand, daily 'exhausted by the maintenance of themselves and families' (pp. 5-6). Although the impoverishment and the

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[91] William Davenant, *The Unfortunate Lovers* (London, 1643); Greg, *Bibliography*, II, 754-55; Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, III (1956; repr. 1967), 220-22.
[92] *Worshipful Company of Stationers*, I, 218.
[93] Greg, *Bibliography*, II, 752; *Worshipful Company of Stationers*, I, 49.
[94] Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, II, 680. For a detailed study of the stage after the 1642 suppression, see Hotson.
[95] James Wright, *Historia Histrionica*, (London: William Haws, 1699), B4[r-v]; Austin Woolrych, *Battles of the English Civil War* (London: Batsford, 1961), p. 34.
[96] Hotson, p. 8.
[97] *The Actors Remonstrance, or Complaint* (London: Edward Nickson, 1643)

dissolution of the company had discouraged their 'hopes of future recoverie', they conclude the pamphlet with the future promise 'never to admit into [their] six-penny-roomes those unwholesome inticing Harlots, that sit there merely to be taken up by Prentizes or Lawyers Clerks; nor any female of what degree sorever, except they come lawfully with their husbands, or neere allies' when they are reinstated in their previous position (pp.7-8). But the demolition of the Globe theatre in 1644 must have blasted the London players' vague hope of reopening their theatres. The other decisive blow was delivered by the defeat of the Royalist forces at Naseby on 14 June 1645.[98] This disastrous defeat seems to have convinced the players that there was no hope of retrieving the right to perform a play. *Perfect Occurrences* reports on 22 September 1645 that 'the Kings very players are come in, having left Oxford, and throwne themselves upon the mercy of the Parliament, they offer to take the Covenant, and (if they may be accepted) are willing to put themselves into their service'.[99] In March 1646, three months after the House of Commons 'proposed to the Lords, as one of the conditions of future peace with the King, that, to continue and confirm their suppression of the theatres, he sign an act "for the putting downe of stage-playes"',[100] the King's Men presented to the Lords a petition for the payment of 'the arrears of salary which had been owing to them, before the wars, from King Charles'.[101]

It was in this series of adverse circumstances that the King's Men decided to sell copies of their plays, and forty-eight plays of their repertoire were entered in the Stationers' Register by Robinson and Moseley on 4 September 1646 as already mentioned above. Among the forty-eight, twenty-nine plays appear in the Beaumont and Fletcher folio published by Robinson and Moseley in 1647.[102] It is obvious that for Robinson and Moseley, the first priority was the publication of the Beaumont and Fletcher folio, which seems to have been designed by the King's Men, their playwrights, and the royalist literati as a literary form of protest against the closure of the theatres.[103] Robinson and Moseley published another eight plays in the entry by 1652, but only one play published in 1655 shows Moseley's name only

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[98] Hotson, p. 19.
[99] *Perfect Occurrences*, 22 September 1645, Rr2ᵛ; Hotson quotes this passage in p. 19.
[100] Hotson, pp. 19-20; *Mercurius Civicus*, 3 December 1645, p. 1158.
[101] Hotson, p.20: he cites a record of the grant of their petition in the Journal of the House of Lords.
[102] *Worshipful Company of Stationers*, I, 244; Greg, *Bibliography*, III (year), 1013-21.
[103] See preliminaries in Beaumont and Fletcher.

on its title page.[104] Robinson and Moseley left nine plays in the entry unpublished, of which five including *The Mayor of Quinborough*, were published after Moseley's death by Henry Herringman.[105] Of the remaining four, one survives in manuscript but did not reach print until 1904.[106] The other three plays cannot be traced.[107]

Moseley died on 31 January 1660/61, and Henry Herringman, a bookseller in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange entered *The Mayor of Quinborough* in the Stationers' Register on 13 February 1660/61. We do not know when and how Moseley or his widow, Anne passed his copy of the play to Herringman since there is no record showing that the ownership of the right to the copy was transferred to the latter. Bald finds it odd that Humphrey Robinson and Anne Moseley described Kirkman's legitimate competition for publishing *Beggars Bush* as pirate in the title-page of their own 1661 quarto of the play while they overlooked Herringman's edition of *The Mayor of Quinborough*.[108] A similar case to *The Mayor of Quinborough* happened in the publication of Thomas Killigrew's *The Princess* in 1664. This play was among the forty-eight plays entered in the Stationers' Register by Robinson and Moseley on 4 September 1646, but never published by the stationers. It was Henry Herringman who first published this play in 1664.[109] There is no record which shows the assignment of the copy from Robinson and Moseley to Herringman, but the latter

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[104] Davenant's *Love and Honour* and William Cavendish's *The Country Captaine* and *The Varietie* appeared in 1649. James Shirley's five plays, *The Doubtful Heir*, *The Imposture*, *The Brothers*, *The Cardinal*, *The Sisters* were published in 1652. Lodowick Carlell's *The Passinate Lovers* was published by Moseley only in 1655.

[105] *Distresses*, *Fair Favourite*, *News from Plymouth* were included in *The Works of S^r William D'avenant* published by Henry Herringman in 1673. *The princess* was also published by Herringman in the collected works of Killigrew in 1664. *Spartan Ladies* and Burroughes's *The Fatall Friendship* are not traced. Arthur Wilson's *The Corporall* is also not traced, but a list of the characters and several scenes survive in manuscript. The manuscript preserving the title and the dramatis personae is held by Bodleian Library (Rawlinson Poet. 9A). For the information of this manuscript, see *British Literary Manuscripts from the Bodleian Library, Oxford: Series 1, The English Renaissance, c. 1500-c.1700* (Brighton: Harvester Microform, 1988), p. 2; Reed, 'Humphrey Moseley', p. 131; Greg, *Bibliography*, II, 978-79; Greg, *Dramatic Documents*, pp. 361-62. The first act and the beginning of the second are extant in the other manuscript housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Forster MS 638). I am grateful to Dr Martin Wiggins for the information about the two manuscripts of *The Coporall*. For Wilson's *The Swisser*, see note 71. John Curtis Reed provides a list of 'Books Entered or Advertised by Humphrey Moseley but not Issued by him' in 'Humphrey Moseley', pp. 119-24.

[106] Arthur Wilson's *The Swisser* was published under the editorship of A. Feuillerat in 1904.

[107] Burroughes's *The Fatall Friendship*, Lodowick Carllel's *Spartan Ladies*, and Arthur Wilson's *The Corporall* cannot be traced, but the title of *The Spartan Ladyes* appears in Moseley's advertising list at the back of Middleton's *Two New Playes* (London, Humphrey Moseley, 1657). As to *The Corporall*, see note 104 above.

[108] Bald, Introduction, p. xv.

[109] Greg, *Bibliography*, II, 923.

independently entered 'a booke or coppie conteyning nine plays' written by Thomas Killigrew on 24 October 1663. *The Princess* comes first on the list of the nine plays.[110] The entry itself was undoubtedly made for the collected works of Killigrew published by Herringman in 1664. The absence of the entry which shows the assignment of the copy of *The Princess* suggests a possibility of its informal transfer from Robinson and Moseley to Herringman. This is supported, if indirectly, by two pieces of evidence which are found in Killigrew's collected works.

In fact, besides the nine plays, the collected works includes two other plays not entered by Herringman. It was Andrew Crooke who entered *The Prisoners* on 2 April 1640 and *Claricilla* on 4 August 1640 and published them in one volume as '*The Prisoners and Claracilla. Two Tragae-Comedies*' in 1641.[111] These two plays appear in the 1664 collection published by Herringman with imprints which show Crooke's name as publisher. The imprints say, 'Printed by J. M. for Andrew Crook, at the Sign of the Green Dragon in St Pauls Church-yard.1663.',[112] yet in the 1664 reissue, Crooke's name is replaced by Herringman's. Greg includes in alternative explanations for the appearance and removal of Crooke's name, a possibility that the printer simply overlooked the publisher's name in the first issue. But the printer duly replaced the name of Thomas Cotes who printed the 1641 collection for Andrew Crooke with his own initials 'J. M.'. Furthermore, as Greg suggests, the separate signatures of *Claricilla* and *The Prisoners* in the 1664 collection seem to indicate that the inclusion of the two plays was an afterthought. It seems unlikely that in John Macock's press where Herringman's name had previously been printed in the imprints of the title page and of the special titles for all the nine plays, a compositor failed to replace Crooke's name while replacing the printer's name. What the presence of Crooke's name in the imprints of the two plays suggests is that Herringman and Crooke had planned to publish the Killigrew's collection jointly. Greg convincingly infers that 'some sort of joint publication was at first contemplated and that it was only after a portion of the edition had been issued that

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[110] *Worshipful Company of Stationers*, II, 331.
[111] *A Transcript of the Registers*, IV (1877), 478, 491; Thomas Killigrew, *The Prisoners and Claracilla* (London: Andrew Crooke, 1641); Greg, *Bibliography*, III, 1084-85.
[112] Thomas Killigrew, *Comedies, and Tragedies* (London, 1664), sigs a1^r, f4^r; Greg, *Bibliography*, II, 748-49.

Herringman acquired Crooke's interest', hence the removal of the latter's name from the reissue.[113] Taking into consideration the facts and circumstantial evidence mentioned above, the absence of the record to show the assignment of the copies of the two plays seems to indicate that Crooke's rights to the copies were privately transferred to Herringman. As far as the publication of the collected works of Killigrew is concerned, Herringman acquired the rights to the copies of the three plays, which had belonged to Moseley and Crooke without making formal entries in the Stationers' Register.

Moseley and Herringman seem to have worked more closely together soon after the latter took over the shop of John Holden in the New Exchange in 1653.[114] Moseley and Holden's names appeared together on the title-page of John Quarles's *Gods Love and Mans Unworthiness* as book-sellers in 1651.[115] They jointly entered a copy of '*Cassandra*, the whole ten bookes' on 7 January 1651/2 for the first time.[116] The book was duly published in 1652, but its title page bears Moseley's name only.[117] *Cassandra* must have been a popular book since it saw four editions by 1667, and the title page of *Cleopatra*, a joint publication of Moseley and Holden, advertises the book was 'Written Originally in French by the Fam'd Author of *Cassandra*'.[118] Holden's career was cut short by his death in 1652, but he and Moseley seem to have established a relationship of trust. They shared a common interest in publishing English translations of French literature, Christian writings, and vernacular poems and plays. Under the entry of 14 September 1652, Moseley is assigned the full right to the copies of *Cassandra* and *Cleopatra* from Holden's widow, Susanna.[119] Herringman succeeded not only Holden's shop but his whole business environment including his association with stationers.[120] William Miller discovers that 'Roger Boyle's romance,

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[113] Greg, *Bibliography*, III, 1086.

[114] Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1907), pp, 96-97, p. 100. William Miller also points out a possibility that Moseley's business association with Holden interested himself in Herringman, the young successor of Holden's shop. William Miller, 'Henry Herringman, Restoration Bookseller-Publisher,' *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 42. 4 (1948), 292-306 (pp. 299-300).

[115] John Quarles, *Gods Love and Mans Unworthiness* (London: John Stafford, 1651), Wing Q 131.

[116] *Worshipful Company of Stationers*, I, 388.

[117] Gaultier de Coste La Calprenède, *Cassandra* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1652).

[118] Gaultier de Coste La Calprenède, *Cleopatra* (Lonodn: Moseley and Holden, 1652).

[119] *Worshipful Company of Stationers*, I, 402.

[120] For instance, they used the same printer, Thomas Newcomb.

Parthenissa, published in 1655, bears identically printed title-pages with variant imprints, one carrying Herringman's name, the other, Moseley's'.[121] Herringman participated in Moseley and Thomas Dring's joint publication in 1657 for the two volumes.[122] They published two books in 1658 again, and one book in 1660.[123] Although it was only during Moseley's last years that Herringman started his business association with him, they seem to have become close friends. This is suggested by the dual entries for *The Princess* as discussed above, and those for *The Mayor of Quinborough*. Herringman's name is mentioned in Moseley's will and he left the younger bookseller 'Twenty shillings For a Ring'.[124] That Herringman enjoyed the fullest confidence of Moseley and his successors is indicated by his purchase of Moseley's 'most vendible copyrights – the poems of Cowley, Waller, Denham, Crashaw, Donne, and Suckling, and certain plays of Davenant and Jonson' in 1665 and 1667.[125] Observed from the close working relationship between the Moseleys and Herringman, and from the absence of any record of their complaint about Herringman's publication of *The Mayor of Quinborough*, it is safely inferred that the copy of the play was informally passed from the former to the latter.

From the background of the play's dual entries in the Stationers' Register, it may be assumed that the copy which Robinson and Moseley purchased from the King's Men lies behind the copy-text of the quarto published by Herringman. Moreover, judging from the evidence of the stage revision in the quarto text, a revised playbook seems to have been the copy or behind that purchased by Robinson and Moseley. Despite the signs of theatrical revision presented by the text, the quarto text seems not to have been set directly from the revised playbook. This is suggested by the textual variance occurring in the stage directions between the manuscripts and the quarto. As already mentioned above, in Q *Mayor of Quinborough*, many of the directions for music and noises appearing in the manuscripts are

[121] Miller, p. 300.
[122] The first and second volumes of Honoré d' Urfé, *Astrea* (London: Moseley, Dring, and Herringman, 1657).
[123] Olaus Magnus, *A Compendious History of the Goths, Swedes, & Vandals and Other Northern Nations* (London: Moseley, Sawbridge, Twiford, Dring, Place, and Haringman, 1658); The third volume of Honoré d' Urfé, *Astrea* (London: Moseley, Dring, and Herringman, 1658); Monsieur de Vaumorière, *The Grand Scipio* (London: Moseley, Dring, and Herringman, 1660)
[124] *Proceedings and Papers* II. pt. 2, 141.
[125] Miller, p. 300. *Worshipful Company of Stationers*, II, 341, 380-81.

omitted, whereas the directions for actions absent from the manuscripts are preserved and most entry directions occur at different lines from those in the manuscript counterparts. Comparative tables of the textual variance in the stage directions are given in the appendix. The list of the directions for music and noises is given in Table 1; four directions for noise are preserved in Q such as 'Shouts within' (1), 'Alarm and Skirmishes' (10), 'Florish' (12), and 'A shout within' (22). None of the musical directions in the manuscripts are found in Q; some of those accompanying entrances and exits are left out from the remaining part of the directions such as 2, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, and 21. Table 2 gives a list of the directions describing the visual performance in Q and the manuscript counterparts. Q's directions often give a detailed description of the situation and manner of the entrances and exits such as 'As he kisses her, Enter Vortiger and Gentleman' (1), 'Enter Vortiger and Horsus disguised' (2), 'Vort snatches her away' (3), 'Oliver is brought in' (4), whereas the counterparts of the manuscripts provide bare entrances and exits. The timing distribution of the entry directions presented in Table 3 shows that nearly a half of the entrances arranged several lines earlier are restored to their literal timing.

Scholars have already pointed out that among twenty-four directions for the offstage sound effects of the manuscripts, twenty are absent from the quarto and that the directions for the action in the quarto are more literary in type.[126] Bald ascribes the directions for the sound effects in the manuscripts to theatrical annotation. Since many of the stage directions for music and properties added by the bookkeeper for theatrical use are found in the left margins of extant playbooks, a paucity of those in printed plays has been frequently regarded as an indication that their copy-texts descend from authorial foul papers which did not receive theatrical annotations.

I have already discussed the textual convention of eliminating theatricality from the printed text in the process of producing a reading play in the previous chapter.[127] My discussion focused on Ralph Crane's practice of expurgating musical directions in preparing the printer's copy for the Shakespeare folio plays. Expurgation of stage directions for music

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[126] Bald, *Hengist*, pp. xxix-xxxi. Grace Ioppolo, 'Revision, manuscript transmission and scribal practice in Middleton's *Hengist, King of Kent, or, The Mayor of Quinborough,*' *Critical Survey*, 7.3 (1995), 319-31 (p. 323, p. 327).

[127] See Chapter 3, pp. 97-101.

and offstage sound effects is not idiosyncratic to Crane's procedure of preparing a literary transcript of a play. There seems to have been as much a tendency to discriminate between stage directions for theatrical use and those for the use of reading as the convention of massed entries in the textual tradition of dramatic publication. The classical dramatic convention of grouping characters' names at the beginning of each scene was adopted by some English playwrights such as John Lyly and Ben Jonson who were acquainted with ancient Greek and Latin dramatic works, and this tradition was inherited by so-called Jonsonian textualists as represented by Ralph Crane.[128] The quarto text of Lyly's *Endymion* (1591) behind which an authorially edited copy is thought to have lain, provides massed entries and sparse stage directions, and in addition, it omits songs and a dumb show which occur in the 1632 version published in a collection by Edward Blount.[129] David Bevington, the editor of the Revels Plays' edition, ascribes the omission of the dumb show to Lyly. While taking the view that 'the omission of the dumb show at II.iii.67.1-12 seems especially to underscore the literary nature of this text', he interprets the omission as the author's intention not to present the text as 'a record of theatrical performance.[130] There was certainly a tendency to eliminate theatricality from stage directions in conventional textual practice of reproducing a literary dramatic text. Although the differentiation between theatricality and literariness seems to have been made rather arbitrarily, the editor, whether he was an author or a scribe, seems to have eliminated those directions which are 'not necessary for sense in reading the play'.[131] Viewed in this light, the absence of the twenty stage directions for offstage sound effects in Q *Mayor of Quinborough* may well be attributed to editorial elimination in preparation of its copy text rather than to authorial foul papers of the play before it received theatrical annotations.

Here, to return to discussion with the two preceding studies of Bald and Ioppolo, both of them seem right in judging that the copy-text of the quarto was provided to suit the purpose of reading, and that it was the later version of the play. However, the quarto text itself provides counterevidence to Ioppolo's view that music was not employed in the later performance of the play. Besides, Bald's assumption is unconvincing on the point that the

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[128] Howard-Hill, p. 20. For Jonsonian textualists and their editorial practices, see Chapter 3.
[129] David Bevington, *Endymion*, by John Lyly (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 3.
[130] Bevington, p. 4.
[131] Bevington, p. 4.

theatrical scribe, whose transcript became Q's copy-text, failed to include in his presentation copy the two songs, one of which was sung on the stage, but absent from the company's revised playbook. Although the directions for music and the songs are omitted from the quarto text, as Bald himself points out, it retains some marks indicating that one song was undoubtedly sung in the actual performance. Horsus's aside: 'Music? Then I have done,' and Vortiger's acknowledgement of 'the sweetest Language | That ever [his] soul relished' as also in the MSS prove that music was employed in the actual performance.[132] Yet, the employment of music would be meaningless without a song in the context of the scene. The scene depicts the beginning of a banquet held by Hengist to welcome Vortiger. It is a welcome song that is sung here to entertain the king. The text appears as follows, in the two manuscripts.

HERSUS   [. . .] See now they find theire seates, what a false knott

Of amitye he tyes about her arme

W^{ch} rage must part, in marriage tis no wonder   — *Musique*

Knotts knitt wth kisses are oft broke with thunder

Musique then I haue don, I alwayes learne

To giue my betters place

VORTIGER   Wheirs Captaine Hersus

HERSUS   My Lord

VORTIGER   Sitt sitt weele haue a health anon

To all good services

HERSUS   Th'ar poore in these days

They had rather haue the Cup then the health my Lord

I sitt wrong now, he heares me not, and most

Great men are deafe on that side.

Song

If in musique were a power

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[132] Thomas Middleton, *The Mayor of Quinborough: A Comedy* (London, 1661), sig. G1r; Bald, Introduction, p. xxxiii.

> To breath a welcome to thy worth
>
> This should be ye rauishing howre
>
> To vent her spirits treasure forth;
>
> Welcom oh welcom, in that word alone
>
> Sheeld choose to dwell and draw all parts to one.

VORTIGER   My Lord of Kent I thank yo^{u} for this welcome

It Came vnthought of in y^{e} sweetest language

That ever my soule rellisd[133]

In Q, the stage direction for music, Hersus's response to Vortiger, 'My Lord' and the passage that begins with the song including the heading, and ends with the couplet seemingly assigned to Hersus do not exist. I have already set up a hypothesis that Q derives from a later version of the playbook from which the two manuscripts descend, which suggests the possibility that the two songs were cut in Q. But, one might suggest that the absent passage from Q is a later addition to the play which has been preserved in MSS. What deny this possibility are those remaining words that indicate the invisible existence of the song in the quarto text. It is no exaggeration to say that the music and song are indispensable for the flow of the surrounding dialogue because this is the scene in which Hengist has to express his 'welcome' in the 'sweetest language'. The art Hengist employs to show his highest respect for the king is the song whose message is that music itself tries its best to express the feeling of welcome. The last couplet depicts the music which tries to reside in the word 'welcome', and to send perfect welcome to Vortiger. Impressed by this song, Vortiger expresses his thankfulness by saying 'My Lord of Kent I thank yo^{u} for this welcome | It Came vnthought of in y^{e} sweetest language | That ever my soule rellisd'.

If this is the case, why do not the song and the couplet, which are the core of the passage, exist in the quarto? The answer to this question probably gives a hint about who spoke the last couplet. Songs were usually kept separate from a playbook since they were used by musicians on stage. Tiffany Stern gives several examples of printed plays which

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[133]   Bald, pp. 61-62. I cite from Bald's edition of the Lambard Manuscript since L preserves less scribal errors compared to P. Substantial textual variants will be noted when they occur in parts of citation.

contain only headings for songs in the text and the actual songs printed at their back pages.[134] The most interesting case she shows is Thomas Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece* (1608). The title page of this play advertises 'With the severall Songes in their apt places'.[135] That the publisher advertises that the book has its songs 'in their apt places' means that they had been kept separate from the surrounding text until the play was sent to the press. Nevertheless, the reality seems to have been contrary to the publisher's intention. Stern reports 'some of the songs are also gathered together in the back pages: the printer seems to have forgotten to distribute them through the play in time'.[136] Also in the first quarto of *The Shoemakers Holiday* (1600), songs are printed together between the publisher's preface and the prologue at the beginning of the play.[137] The lost song of Q *The Mayor of Quinborough* 'can be attributed to the fact that the words to the ditties were on other pieces of paper'.[138] If the lost song was kept on a separate piece of paper, the following couplet which is similarly absent from Q must have been written on the same sheet. In other words, the couplet was also assigned to the person who sings the song. This seems most reasonable since the couplet is the climax and the closing of the song at the same time. Although in her edition of *Hengist, King of Kent, or The Mayor of Queenborough* in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* (2007), Ioppolo assigns this couplet to Hersus, and the preceding song to a different singer, the speaker of the couplet, if it has no tune, has to be the same person who sings the song.[139]

Stern refers to the lost songs in Q *The Mayor of Quinborough* and the 'Willow song', which is absent from the 1622 quarto (Q1) of *Othello* as examples of 'separate' songs that 'easily go in and out of' plays.[140] Unlike the other cases Stern takes up to show the existence of separate song sheets, it has been disputed why the 'Willow song' is absent from Q1 *Othello*. In his *The Text of 'Othello' and Shakespearian Revision*, presenting his view that 'Q1 and F *Othello* are examples of textual instability, not of large-scale revision', E. A. J. Honigmann

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[134] Tiffany Stern's analysis of lost songs of the early editions clarifies the theatrical function of movable sheets of songs. Stern, 'Re-patching the Play,' pp. 157-58.

[135] Stern, p. 157; Thomas Heywood, *Rape of Lucrece* (London: J. B[usby], 1608))

[136] Stern, p. 157.

[137] Thomas Dekker, *The Shomakers Holiday, or the Gentle Craft* (London: Sims, 1600), A3^v-A4^r.

[138] Stern, p. 157.

[139] *Hengist, King of Kent, or The Mayor of Quinborough*, ed. by Grace Ioppolo, in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and others (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), p. 1473.

[140] Stern, p. 157.

attributes the absence of the 'Willow song' to the textual excision which he claims was applied to some passages of Q.[141] However, the surrounding text anticipates the lost song, and, as John Jowett argues, there is a possibility that the song was sung on stage.[142] What explanation is possible then, if a lost song does not affect the flow of dialogue in the surrounding text although it sends an undercurrent throughout the play? In MSS *Hengist*, after Vortiger's encounter with two lords in the first scene, Constantius, the eldest son of the late king enters as a monk singing with his comrades.

> *Musick*   *Enter Certaine Muncks, Germanus; Constantius being*
> *One singing as at Precession*

> *Song*   Boast not off high Birth or Blood,
>
>   To be great is to be good;
>
>   Holy and religious things
>
>   Those are vestures Fit for Kinges;
>
>   By how much Man in fame shines Cleerer
>
>   He to heauen shold draw the nearer,
>
>   He deserving best of praises
>
>   Whom vertue raises;
>
>   It is not state, it is not Birth;
>
>   Sing to the Temple him so holy
>
>   Sinn may Blush to thinke on Follye.[143]

In Q, this song is absent from the corresponding scene. Immediately after the stage direction for Constantius' entry: '*Enter Constantius* (*as a Monk, attended by other Monks*) | Vortiger

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[141] E. A. J. Honigmann, *The Text of 'Othello' and Shakespearian Revision* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 7-21.

[142] Desdemona's line referring to Barbary and 'song of willow' is left unsatisfactory without the song. John Jowett, 'The Year's Contributions to Shakespeare Studies', *Shakespeare Survey*, 50 (1997), 267-90 (p. 281).

[143] Bold, pp. 6-7.

stays him', Vortiger's lines start: 'Vessels of sanctity, be pleas'd a while [. . .]'.[144] Unlike the 'welcome song' in the banquet scene already discussed above, this religious song is not responded by the surrounding text. Although the song itself is not crucial in understanding the surrounding dialogue, its theme seems to reverberate throughout the play to the aspirations of Vortiger, Hengist, and his daughter Roxena as if it gives a warning against their self-destruction. In the manuscript version, the song is designed to be sung immediately after Vortiger's beginning soliloquy at 1.1 in striking contrast with his excessive ambition for the throne and his acute envy at royal birth. It is no exaggeration to say that his character is represented as the antithesis to the lessons of the song. 'Religion | Was never friend of [his] yet',[145] and he tries to 'use all means | To vex authority' from the king, 'and in all | Study what most may discontent his blood'.[146] Inseparability of the theme of the song and that of the play makes it seem impossible that the song was eliminated from the play and not sung in later performances. What is most likely is that this song was also kept on a separate sheet of paper for the use of musicians as in the case of the welcome song. The absence of the two songs from the quarto indicates that they were kept separate from the playbook when it was newly transcribed.

If, as Bald believes, one of the theatre personnel made a private transcript, which was used as the copy-text to set up the quarto, why did the scribe, who transcribed the playbook, leave the text without the songs? The scribe, one of the company personnel who were acquainted with the theatre business, must have known where the songs were kept and could have used them for his transcript. Bald cites Moseley's foreword to the Beaumont and Fletcher folio as supporting evidence for his hypothesis about the copy-text of the quarto.

> When these *Comedies* and *Tragedies* were presented on the stage,
>
> the *Actours* omitted some *Scenes* and *Passages* (with the
>
> *Authour's* consent) as occasion led them; and when private friends
>
> desir'd a Copy, they then (and justly too) transcribed what they

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[144] Middleton, *Mayor of Quinborough*, A3[v].
[145] Bald, p. 11; Middleton, *Mayor of Quinborough*, B1[r].
[146] Bald, pp. 11-12; Middleton. *Mayor of Quinborough*. B1[v].

Acted.[147]

This citation clearly shows that Bald assumes the copy text to be a kind of transcript which the company actors conventionally made for 'their private friends' according to the actual performance. If one of the actors really had provided a transcript of the play in accordance with the stage, he cannot have failed in including the songs which were sung in the performance even though they had been separated from the fresh playbook after the play's revision. Moseley's foreword to the folio contrarily offers counter evidence against Bald's assumption as it stands. If one of the actors who knew 'what they acted' on the stage had made a private transcript as Bald assumes, he must have transcribed the songs as they were performed. Moreover, one of the company personnel seems to have had no reason for removing most of the directions for sound effects, which certainly existed in the playbook.

The quarto text which contains signs that the later version of the play was performed with music and the song challenges Ioppolo's speculation, too. If the author himself prepared the printer's copy of the quarto, he would hardly have left the text without the direction for music and the song, which are so closely linked to the surrounding text. It is likely that neither a member of the company nor the author, either of whom could have incorporated the song in the text, prepared the copy-text of the quarto. Therefore, the copy-text of the quarto may have been provided by someone who was not able to access the song. It is possible that the copy-text of the quarto was prepared outside the theatre.

As stated above, Robinson and Moseley most likely purchased the revised playbook from the King's Men, and then immediately after Moseley's death, Herringman published the play. As described above, Moseley and Herringman were close business associates. Considering the circumstances that led to publication of the play, and the previous discussion, it is probable the copy-text of the quarto was prepared by either Moseley or Herringman, or a friend of the publishers. It can also be said that some of the textual differences arose in a transmission process from the booksellers to the press. The textual transmission process through which the play reached print can be observed by analysis of the transformation of the

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[147] Bald, Introduction, p. xxxiv.

stage directions from the manuscripts to the printed version. Table 1 shows textual variance of the directions for sound effects. All the directions for music are absent from the quarto as if it presented the text before receiving the theatrical annotations. But, the text preceding or following music and noises also differs between the manuscripts and the quarto. The textual difference seems to have arisen from emendation made to the copy-text of the printed version in order to eliminate the aspect of the play's theatricality.

A stage direction preceding the religious song at 1.1 appears in the manuscripts: 'Musique Enter certaine Muncks, Germanicus, Constantius being as one singing as <at> Precession' (P; L: 2v).[148] In the corresponding direction of the quarto, the text is transformed to 'Enter Constantius (as a Monck, attended by other Moncks) Vortiger stays him' (A3v). In the manuscripts, the most important function of the direction is to instruct the actors playing monks to enter the stage. The fact that Constantius is one of them is informed by a supplementary explanation. In contrast, the direction of the quarto, on the one hand, focuses on Constantius's entrance on the stage, with the description of the circumstances surrounding him between parentheses. On the other hand, this direction gives a panoramic view of the scene, by turning a reader's attention from Constantius entering the stage, to Vortiger awaiting his appearance. In actual performance, the actor playing Vortiger has already entered the stage, so there is no need of instruction for him in the playbook. The reason the description of Votiger was added in the quarto text is because the text was not designed for the stage but for a space where neither spectacle nor sound exists, that is, for reading. In addition, at the opening of 5.1, Symon's comrades, 'Glover fell monger & c: graz' in the manuscripts are rephrased by 'his Brethren' in the quarto, and 'Clark' is given the personal name 'Aminadab.'[149] In both the cases, the direction for music is omitted from the quarto.

Both in Q and the manuscripts, there are only three spots where the characters respond to offstage sound effects. Immediately before Vortiger warns Constantius to 'Hark afarr off still' at 1.1 (Bald, p. 8 [L, 3^r]; Ioppolo, p. 5 [P, 3^r]; Q, A4^r), the manuscripts has a direction for 'showte/ Showte within' (Bald, p. 7 [L, 3^r]; Ioppolo, p. 5 [P, 3^r]) whereas Q omits

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[148] The Portland Manuscript, The Lambard Manuscript, and the quarto version are henceforth designated by P, L, and Q respectively in parentheses.

[149] See Table 1. 21. below.

the direction. At 5.2 where Aurelius responds to some offstage sounds and says 'How now! the meaning of these sounds?' (Q, K2^r; Bald, p. 97 [L, 45^r]; Ioppolo, p. 81 [P, 42^r]), all the three texts have a stage direction indicating Hengist's entrance as a prisoner without any sign of sound effects. At 4.2 only in the manuscripts, as mentioned above, a musical direction helps to follow Horsus's remark on the music and bridges the gap between his asides, the text of a song, and Vortiger's words of acknowledgement for the welcome song. Although the direction for music and the song are altogether missing in the quarto text, they have a substantial function within the text to maintain the coherence of the series of dialogues in the manuscripts. Vortiger's line expressing his gratitude obviously responds to the song of welcome, and may be meaningless without this song. The song had probably been lost by the time the copy-text of the quarto was made from the copy purchased by Robinson and Moseley. However, if the purchased copy was the revised playbook, it must have contained the directions for music and other offstage sound effects.

Seen from the total absence of the directions for music and the emendation of the surrounding text, the directions for music may have been systematically removed from the copy-text of the quarto. Most likely, the person who deleted the directions for music did not pay attention to whether or not the directions were linked to the dialogue. He may have judged it unnecessary to include the directions employed only for the performance. The other internal evidence of textual omission supports this conjecture. Directions for the stage properties, or the stage set not directly connected with the dialogue, are also cut from the quarto text. The following quotations show three such examples.

> Enter Hengist | Hersus | Drums & |soldiers (P: 10v; L: 11v)
> Enter Hengist, Horsus, | Souldiers. (Q: C3r)

> Enter Heng: Hers: with | Drum and Collours soldiers | leading
> prisoners (P: 11r; L: 12 r)
> Enter Hengist and Horsus | with Prisoners. (Q: C3r)

> Enter Vort: Castiza two Ladyes | Roxena Devon: Stff: at one
>
> Doore Symon and his | bretheren at the other: (P: 24v; 27r)
>
> Enter Symon and all his Brethren, a Mace and Sword before |
>
> him, meeting Vortiger, Castiza, Hengist, Roxena, | Horsus, two
>
> Ladies. (Q: F4r)

The properties such as the drums and colours must have been brought to the stage by the soldiers and must have been spectacularly effective in the actual performance. However, the information about these properties conveyed through the text does not help a reader to understand the context. The order of the words in the first two directions indicates that 'Drum' or 'Drums' and 'Collours' were removed from Q and not added to the other. If Q's direction was an earlier one, and 'Drum'/'Drums' and 'Collours' were later additions, they would have been added after 'Soldiers' or 'Prisoners'. Similarly, the direction showing which door the actors use to enter the stage never affects readability of the play. The partial omission of the stage directions in the quarto may be a sign of an editorial process that excluded those which were of no use for a reader's comprehension. On the other hand, the names of the properties 'a Mace and Sword' added to the direction in the quarto text are mentioned in the Symon's jest to Vortiger: 'This gilded Scabberd to the Queen, this Dagger unto thee' (F4r). Whether the information about the properties was cut out or left in the text seems to depend on the presence of the text which refers to them. Symon's 'Hide' set in the play as an instrument to encompass the first land given to Hengist is continually referred to in the series of dialogues and remains in the direction 'Enter Symon with a Hide' (C3v). The direction for 'a Book' carried by Castiza, which was initially inserted by a bookkeeper in the playbook, is enclosed within parentheses in the quarto, and is mentioned by the first Lady: 'Books in womens hands are as much against the hair, methinks' (E1v).[150] It can be inferred that careful consideration was given to the relevance of the directions, including the information of the stage properties to the dialogues in the quarto.

What are contrastively scanty in the manuscripts and amplified in the quarto are the

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[150] The direction appears in the manuscripts: 'Enter Castiza A Booke: two Ladyes' (P: 17v; L: 19v). Bald points out, 'the words *A Booke* seem to be the prompter's curt insertion to make provision for a property that was to be brought on to the stage' on the grounds that the syntax is violated (p. xxx).

directions describing the silent actions in the performance. Table 2 records fourteen such directions in the quarto and their counterparts in the manuscripts. Most of the directions which appear only in the quarto, explain the actions on the stage, which are difficult for a reader to know instantly from the text. At I. 2. 169, Constantius kisses Castiza immediately after his line: 'I will do that for joy I never did | Nor ever will again' (B4^v).[151] In the manuscripts, which have no direction disclosing Constantius' action, a reader cannot recognise that this has occurred until Vortiger's remark: 'This way of kissing' which appears four lines after the actual action. The direction appearing at the same time as his action in the quarto, 'As he kisses her, | Enter Vortiger and | Gentlemen' (B4v), helps a reader who has not seen the stage to understand the context, by reproducing his speechless action in the text. In addition to Constantius' kiss to Castiza, what this direction tells is that 'Vortiger and Gentleman' witness the scene. From the sight of this scene ensues their dialogue,

> GENT.   My Lord, he's taken.
>
> VOR.   I am sorry for't, I like not that so well,
>
>   Th'are something too familiar for their time methinks,
>
>   [. . .] (B4^v)

Comparing Q's direction with the bare entry in the counterparts of the manuscripts, the first half of the former which describes Constantius' action is judged to have been added later. Although Bald suggests a possibility that some of the stage directions which describe the stage action in Q go back to the authorial manuscript, there is no reasonable explanation found for their absence in the manuscripts which descend from a playbook perhaps at one remove from the author's first draft.

In scenes where simple directions of entry and exit appear in the manuscripts, the quarto text presents a vivid picture of the manner in which the actors make an entrance or an exit. One direction in the manuscripts, 'Enter Oliver' (P: 35r; L: 37v), is modified to 'Oliver is brought in' (H4v)   in the quarto. The other one is modified from 'Exit Vortiger Castiza' (P: 19v; L: 21v) to 'Vortiger snatches her away' (E3r). Whereas the directions in the manuscripts

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[151] For act and scene divisions and line numbers of the quarto, I follow the Globe Quartos edition, Thomas Middleton, *The Mayor of Queenborogh; or, Hengist, King of Kent*, ed. by Howard Marchitello (New York: Routledge, 2004).

are intended for stage production, in which the audience can readily apprehend the context at a glance without the help of words, the modified stage directions in the quarto more explicitly describe what is going on on the stage for a reader who has not seen the performance. A reader cannot fail to perceive Oliver's arrest and Vortiger's abduction of Castiza from the stage directions of the quarto. They serve the function of keeping the dramatic flow of the scenes in the text and assist a reader in visualising the stage.

One of the most remarkable directions describing the visual stage effects in the quarto records a costume of the mayor of Quinborough. This costume of Symon, which is also referred to in Edmund Gayton's *Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixot* (1654), seems to have been one of the highlights of the subplot farce. Gayton makes this reference to Don Quixote's wardrobe:

> His Wardrobe not much exceeding the *Mayor of Quinboroughs*,
>
> though for the thrift lesse notorious. The Frugality of the
>
> Canvasse back to the Velvet fore-body, being not then known at
>
> *Madrid*, and so could not possibly arrive at the *Mancha*.[152]

Since *Pleasant Notes* was published seven years earlier than *The Mayor of Quinborough*, there was no way for Gayton to be able to describe Symon's costume other than to depend on the actual performance. Yet, the descriptions of the costume considerably overlap between *Pleasant Notes* and the quarto's marginal stage direction:

> He throws off | his Gown, dis-|covering his | doublet with | a
>
> satten fore-|part and a | Canvas back. (I2r)

This information is not indispensable for understanding the context of the play. In addition, despite the fact that the manuscripts have no direction in the counterpart, the text of the scene corresponds to that of the quarto. This suggests Symon's funny doublet had been employed in

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[152] Edmund Gayton, *Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixot*, London, [1654]. *Early English books, 1641-1700*. 1972: reel 415, (p. 2). For early allusions to the Mayor of Quinborough, see Bald, Introduction, p.xv.

the performance before the play underwent revision. Moreover, the actor playing Symon must have worn this doublet and the gown from the beginning of v. 1, where a direction for his costume would have been placed in the playbook. The absence of the direction in the manuscripts implies that the annotation on Symon's doublet was made to the actor's part and not to the playbook.[153] Seen from the textual evidence previously examined, the direction in the quarto was most probably inserted when the copy-text was made. If so, what purpose does it serve?

The direction describing Symon's costume documents the actual performance as much as Gayton's *Pleasant Notes* does. As stated above, the scene in which Symon discloses his doublet must have gained wide popularity among the audience. The point of the joke is presented only visually and is never expressed in the dialogue. If it were not for the direction, a reader would miss the best part of the scene. The direction, then, serves to preserve the visual impression of the joke by describing Symon's costume and his action. In other words, it is a later document of the action and the dramatic effect rather than the actual performance notes. The reason for the amplification of the stage directions describing the action and the visual stage effects in the quarto version can be explained by the assumption that the directions reflect the actual performance, not vice versa. If someone who had seen the performance prepared the copy-text fully aware of a reader who did not know the stage, he must have tried to include the visual information not expressed by the dialogue in the text.

Another sign indicating the editorial process involved in preparing the quarto text is a modification made to the point of timing where the entry directions appear. Many of the entry directions are anticipated by several lines in the manuscripts except for those appearing at the beginning of the acts and scenes. The discrepancy was resolved in the quarto, and all the directions except one appear with the proper timing. Table 3 represents the timing distribution of the entry directions of each text. The directions with the proper timing are indicated by zero, and the early directions by the number of lines preceding the actual entrance. The direction in

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[153] William B. Long conjectures that the properties brought by the actors noted in the stage directions 'might be transcribed onto the plot or onto the player's part.' William B. Long, '*John a Kent and John a Cumber*: An Elizabethan Playbook and Its Implications,' in *Shakespeare and Dramatic Tradition: in Honor of S. F. Johnson*. ed. by W. R. Elton and William B. Long (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989), pp. 125-43 (p. 136).

the manuscripts, 'Enter | 3. Graz | iers' (P; L: 5r), which appears three lines ahead of the first Grazier's part, is modified to 'Enter two Grasiers' (B1v) in the quarto and moved to just before his speech. Where in the manuscripts Hengist's entrance is noted alongside Gentleman's part (P: 10v; L: 11v), in the counterpart of the quarto, it is set after Vortiger's three lines of speech preceding Hengist's (C3r). Additionally, in the scene of Oliver's arrest, his entrance is anticipated by 6 lines in the manuscripts, while it appears at the proper timing in the quarto.

It must have been for the convenience of the performance that the entry directions were anticipated in the playbook.[154] According to Bald's transcript of the Lambard Manuscript, some of the entry directions appear in the previous folio to the one where the actual entrance occurs. Although fol. 11v begins with the Gentleman's speech, his entrance is noted at the end of fol. 11r. Fol. 12r has the direction 'Enter Symon | with a hide' at the bottom; yet, his entrance is made at about the fourth line of fol. 12v. At the bottom of fol. 21v, one direction, which is present only in the Lambard Manuscript, appears: 'Barbor & Tayor within,' whereas their lines are provided in the next folio. It is not necessary that the arrangement of linage in a folio corresponded between the actual playbook and the Lambard Manuscript, and in the playbook, the entry directions might have come only earlier than the proper timing in the same folio. Nevertheless, the directions appearing in the previous folio in the Lambard Manuscript demonstrate that the corresponding directions were intentionally anticipated in the playbook.

These anticipatory entries doubtlessly descended to the fresh playbook made after the play was revised. There seems no reason for the company to have moved the directions to the proper timing as long as the play was revised for performance. In fact, the modification in the quarto text not only made the anticipated directions of the manuscripts appear at the proper timing, but also brought one direction to earlier lines. The direction 'Enter Vortiger | and Horsus | disguised' (E2r) in the quarto comes two lines earlier than the corresponding direction of the manuscripts. The text appears as follows in the quarto:

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[154] W. W. Greg speculates that some of the entry directions were anticipated for the use of 'the prompter who needed warning of action ahead.' W. W. Greg, *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare: A Survey of the Foundations of the Text*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 38.

CASTIZA Though among lives elections, that of Virgin

I did speak noblest of; yet it has pleas'd the King

To send me a contented blessedness

In that of marriage, which I ever doubted; *Enter Vortiger*

I see the Kings affection was a true one, *and Horsus*

It lasts and holds out long, that's no mean vertue *disguised*

In a commanding man, though in great fear

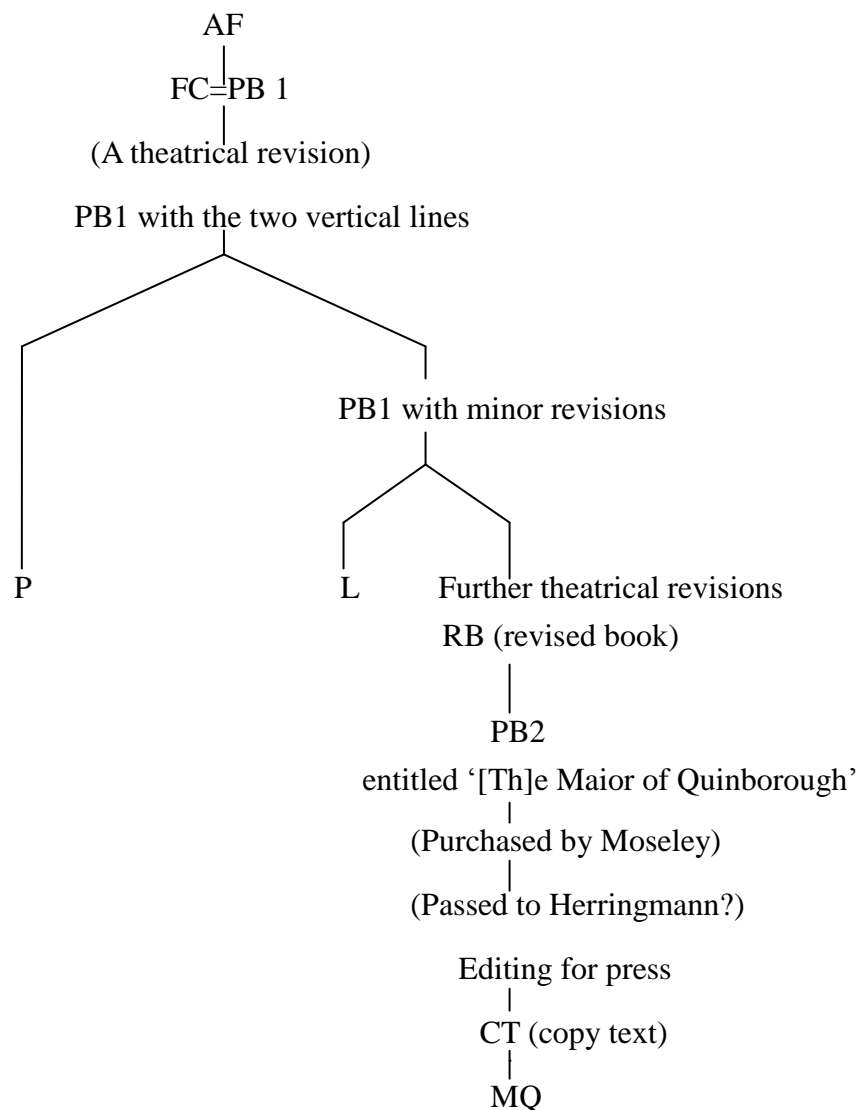At first I was enforc'd to venture it.

VORTIGER All's happy, clear and safe.

HORSUS The rest comes gently on. (E2r)

The space of the additional two lines provides an allowance for Vortiger and Horsus to eavesdrop on Castiza's soliloquy, and maintains the smooth flow of the text. Since Vortiger's first line in the scene responds to the last four lines of Castiza's monologue, his entrance has to be made early enough to catch them. The direction of the quarto is set to the appropriate timing in the context.

The only exception is a direction set two lines earlier than the proper timing in the quarto. The corresponding direction 'Enter Cheaters' appears in the manuscripts alongside Symon's address to the players: 'now sirs are you Comedians (?)' (P: 33v; L: 36v). This timing of the entrance perfectly coheres with the text, and the transfer of the direction seems to make no sense in the series of modifications to those of the quarto version. It seems likely, therefore, that the editor or a compositor moved the direction by mistake. In fact, the point at which the entry direction for the cheaters occurs is where the clerk[,] Aminadab exits following Symon's order to 'Call them' (H3^v). If the editor had inserted an exit direction alongside of Symon's line, 'Call them before my Worship', it is possible that a compositor overlooked it and took the entry direction for 'Cheaters' to where 'Exit' was supposed to be. If it was the editor who moved the entry direction two lines ahead, he might have had his attention caught by Symon's order 'Call them' and jumped to the wrong conclusion that it was

170

the sign for the cheater's entrance. Nevertheless, despite the existence of an exception, all the other adjustments to the timing of the entry directions suggest that the text was edited for reading before publication. It is when a play is conveyed only through the text that the stage directions have to be adjusted at the appropriate timing. It is, therefore, inferred that the adjustment in the entry directions for the proper timing was also made to serve a reader's instant understanding of the play's context.

As previously stated, the quarto text leaving the traces of theatrical cuts demonstrates that a revised playbook lies behind its copy-text. This fact supports the assumption that a copy of *The Mayor of Quinborough* purchased by Robinson and Moseley was a playbook which had been newly made after the theatrical revision.

<div align="center">

AF
|
FC=PB 1
|
(A theatrical revision)

PB1 with the two vertical lines

PB1 with minor revisions

P   L   Further theatrical revisions
RB (revised book)
|
PB2
entitled '[Th]e Maior of Quinborough'
|
(Purchased by Moseley)
|
(Passed to Herringmann?)

Editing for press
|
CT (copy text)
|
MQ

</div>

This revised playbook must have retained, for the most part, the same stage directions as those in the previous playbook, whose text is extant in the two manuscripts. The stage directions were most likely changed during the interval between Robinson and Moseley's purchase of the play and its publication by Herringman. The analysis of the stage directions suggests that the quarto text underwent editing in the modern sense.[155] The editing of the quarto text probably included the regulation of metres and the lineation of the verses in addition to the modification to the stage directions, while the contemporization of the spelling could be attributed to the compositor. The editor is unidentified, but he must have been familiar with the performance of the play in order to reproduce the silent actions in the stage directions. Considering the detailed descriptions of the scenes restored in the stage directions of Q alongside of long interval between 1642 when the London theatres were closed and 1661 when Q was published, the editing of the play might have been undertaken not long after the last performance of the play. The lack of the directions for music and noises in the quarto text may be due to the editor's decision to exclude the directions for theatrical purpose from the text for reading. On the other hand, the amplification of the directions describing the visual presentation of the performance and the adjustment to the appropriate timing of the entry directions indicate that the quarto text was set from a carefully edited copy-text for reading. Seen in this light, the textual variance occurring in the stage directions between the manuscripts and the quarto version of *The Mayor of Quinborough* shows a phase of the transmission process of the text from performance to publication, giving a glimpse of a period in which the art of play editing was being developed, as plays came to be accepted as literature.

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[155] Massai has pointed out the possibility of the intervention of annotating readers in preparation of the copy-texts of four of the Shakespeare's Folio plays, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *I Henry IV*, *Much Ado About Nothing* in *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor*, pp. 141-79.

Table 1

Stage directions for music and noises in the three texts

The Portland Manuscript, The Lambard Manuscript, and the quarto version are designated by P, L, and Q respectively. Most parts of the text accord between the two manuscripts (henceforth MSS). The text between angle brackets appears only in P, and one between square brackets only in L. The textual anomalies in MSS are shown in parentheses. Parentheses in Q are in the original.

	Text	SD	Fol./Sig.
1.	MSS	Showte	P; L: 2r
	Q	Shouts within;	A3r
2.	MSS	Musique Enter certaine Muncks,Germanicus,	
		Constantius being as one singing as <at>	
		Precession	P; L: 2v
	Q	Enter Constantius (as a Monck, attended by other	
		Moncks) Vortiger stays him.	A3v
3.	MSS	Showte within (P); showte (L)	P; L: 3r
	Q	No direction	A4r
4.	MSS	flourish	P; L: 4r
	Q	No direction	A4v
5.	MSS	flourish	P; L: 5r
	Q	No direction	B1r
6.	MSS	Musique Dumb show:	P; L: 5v

		Q	Dumb show.	B1v

7.	MSS	Musique Actus Secundus	P: 9r; L:9v
	Q	Act. 2. SCENA 1.	C1v

8.	MSS	Hoboys Dumb show	P: 9v; L:10v
	Q	Dumb show.	C2r

9.	MSS	Showte	P: 10v; L: 11r
	Q	No direction	C2v

10.	MSS	Alarums and Skirmish	P: 11r; L: 11v
	Q	Alarm and Skirmishes.	C3r

11.	MSS	showte [&] flourish	P: 13r; L: 14v
	Q	No direction	D1r

12.	MSS	flourish <Cornet> Enter Vort: Rox:	
		and attendance	P: 14r; L: 15r
	Q	Floriſh. Enter Vortiger, Roxena, & c.	D2r

13.	MSS	flourish Cornet<s> (& / Exe:)	P: 15r; L: 16v
	Q	No direction	D3r

14.	MSS	A noyes	P: 19v; L: 21v
	Q	No direction	E3v

15.	MSS	Musique Exeunt Omnes	P: 24v; L: 27v

174

	Q	Exit.	F3v
16.	MSS	Musique Exeunt king and Lordes	P: 25r; L: 27v
	Q	Exit cum sociis	F4r
17.	MSS	Hoboys the King and his traine mett by Hengist and	
		Hersus they salute and Exeunt; while the Banquet	
		is brought forth Musique plays, Enter Vort: Hers, Devo,	
		Stafford Castiza Roxe: and two Ladyes.	P: 25r; L: 27v
	Q	Enter Hengist, Horsus, Vortiger, Devonshire, Stafford,	
		Castiza, Roxena, Ladies	F4v
18.	MSS	Musique	P: 25v; L: 28r
	Q	No direction	G1r
19.	MSS	Musique Exeunt	P: 29r; L: 31v
	Q	Exeunt all but Horsus.	G3v
20.	MSS	Hoboyes Dumb show	P: 29r; L: 32r
	Q	Dumb show.	G4r
21.	MSS	Actus Quintus Scena Pra: Enter Symon: Clark	
		Glover fell monger & c: graz & Musique	P: 32r; L: 35r
	Q	Enter Symon and his Brethren, Aminadab	
		his Clerk.	H2v
22.	MSS	showt(t/e)	P: 34v; L: 37v
	Q	A shout within.	H4v

23.   MSS   florish: Exeunt: P: 43r; L: 46r

       Q   Exeunt omnes: K2v

24.   MSS   Musique   P: 43v; L: 46v

       Q   No counterpart

Table 2

Stage directions describing the visual performance in the quarto

	Text	SD	Fol./Sig.
1.	MSS	Enter Vort: & Gentle:	P: 8v; L: 9r
	Q	As he kisses her, Enter Vortiger and Gentlemen.	B4v
2.	MSS	Enter Vort: & Hersus	P: 18r; L: 20r
	Q	Enter Vortiger and Horsus disguised.	E2r
3.	MSS	Exit Vortiger Castiza	P: 19v; L: 21v
	Q	Vort. snatches her away.	E3r
4.	MSS	Enter Oliver	P: 35r; L: 37v
	Q	Oliver is brought in.	H4v
5.	MSS	No direction	P: 36r; L: 39r
	Q	They draw.	I1v
6.	MSS	No direction	P: 36r; L: 39r
	Q	They pick his pocket.	I1v
7.	MSS	No direction	P: 36v-37r; L: 39v
	Q	He throws off his Gown, discovering his doublet with a satten forepart and a Canvas back.	I2r
8.	MSS	Exit	P: 37v; L: 40r
	Q	Throws meal in his face, takes his purse, & Exit.	I2v

9.	MSS	Vort: [Vortiger] Hers: [Horsus] on the walls	P: 39r; L: 41v
	Q	Enter Aurelius and Uther with Soldiers,	
		(Vortiger and Hosus above.)	I4r
10.	MSS	No direction	P: 40r-40v; L: 43r
	Q	Stabs him.	K1r
11.	MSS	No direction	P: 40v-41r; L: 43v
	Q	They stab each other. Rox. enters in fear.	K1v
12.	MSS	No direction	P: 41v; L: 44v
	Q	Both stab, Hor. falls.	K1v
13.	MSS	No direction	P: 41v; L: 44v
	Q	She falls:	K2r
14.	MSS	falls	P: 41v; L: 44v
	Q	He falls.	K2r

Table 3

Timing distribution of the entry directions

The first row of digits represents the number of lines by which the entry directions are anticipated. Each column of figures indicates the number of the directions appearing at the designated point of timing. This table covers all the corresponding entry directions placed at the right of each text.

Text	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	(lines)
P	13	4	1	6	2	1	1	0	0	0	
L	14	4	2	5	1	0	1	1	0	0	
Q	26	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Chapter 5

The Printer's Identity of Q *The Mayor of Quinborough*[1]

Although previous studies have not attempted to identify the printer of *The Mayor of Quinborough*, doing so is indispensable for discovering the division of the editorial work between the editor and the printer. By examining the stationers' networks this chapter attempts to identify the printer of the play and to explore the editorial and compositorial practice of his printing house. Judging from the relationship between the two stationers, Moseley and Herringman addressed in Chapter 4, the copy of *The Mayor of Quinborough* was probably informally passed from the Moseleys to Herringman, and it was most likely a playbook which was in use until the theatres were closed in 1642. If this was the case, the literary editing of the play described above would have been conducted after the copy fell into Herringman's hands. If the play had been edited for publication while it was owned by Moseley, he would not have left it unpublished until he died. In fact, the text of Q *The Mayor of Quinborough* received the same kind of editorial treatment as other quarto plays published by Herringman in 1660s.[2] Nevertheless, the extent of the editor's work and that of the printer remains to be accounted for until the printer has been identified and his conventional practice investigated.

In the quarto text, the beginning of each scene and the 'Drammatis Personae' are ornamented by a row of florets (Figure 1). Each row did not exist as a block but was composed of individual florets.
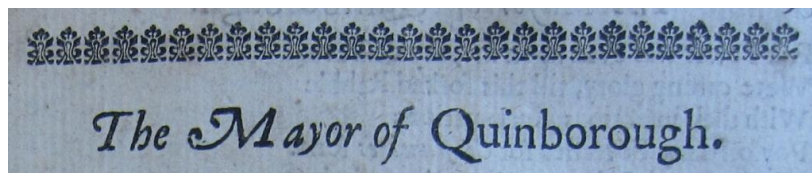
Fig. 1 Sig. A3^r of *The Mayor of Quinborough*, showing the row of florets, reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

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[1] This chapter is included in Nagase, 'The Publication' (2012). See note 1 in Chapter 4.
[2] For similarities in the editorial treatment between Q *The Mayor of Quinborough* and other Restoration plays published by Herringman, see Chapter 6.

It is clear from the photographic image that each floret does not stand in a straight line. Some of them protrude slightly upward and others downward. Each floret is between 4.5 and 5 mm in length and 3 mm in width. Each has a crown with a wick and a stem of 3 mm in length with a round head and a flat base of 1 mm in width. Each floret has an arc at both sides of a stem. The top end of each arc forms a lozenge-shaped leaf, and its bottom end a foot with turned-up toes. On the waist of each arc is a loop. Florets of exactly the same shape appear in more than eighteen books printed between 1659 and 1668 by John Macocke. Other contemporary printers seldom used the same type of ornamental device except Macocke's regular business partners such as John Streater and James Flesher. Rows of florets of the same type as those of Macocke's printings appear in two books, *A Letter Sent from General Monck* and *A Letter from a Captain of the Army*, both of which were printed by John Streater and John Macocke in collaboration in 1659.[3] They also appear at the beginning of Chapter 10 of *Orbis miraculum* printed in 1659, whose imprint carries Streater's name alone as its printer, and in *De laudibus legum Angliae* printed by Streater and Elizabeth Flesher, widow of James Flesher, and Henry Twyford in 1672.[4] James Flesher also used a row of the same florets in the first page of Richard Allestree's *A Sermon Preached before the King* in 1667.[5] The conventional practice of borrowing and lending ornamental stocks among early modern printers and the existence of duplicate castings and copies have often made it difficult to identify the owner of an ornament.[6] However, that the same ornamental device is concentrated in books printed by Macocke, and that its occurrence is also confined within books printed by those related to Macocke, indicate that in all probability John Macocke was the owner of the device. The occurrence of Macocke's device in books printed by others helps us trace the relationships between the printers and to detect silent shared printing of Macocke.

Macocke was appointed printer to the Parliament with John Streater in 1660, and to the House of Lords with Francis Tyton. By 1668, he ran one of the largest printing houses in

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[3] George Monck Albemarle, *A Letter Sent from General Monck* (London, 1659); *A Letter from a Captain of the Army* (London, 1659).

[4] Samuel Lee, *Orbis miraculum, or The Temple of Solomon* (London, 1659); John Fortescue, *De laudibus legum Angliae* (London, 1672).

[5] Richard Allestree, *A Sermon Preached before the King* (London, 1667).

[6] Adrian Weiss, 'Bibliographical Methods for Identifying Unknown Printers in Elizabethan/Jacobean Books', *Studies in Bibliography*, 44 (1991), 183-228 (p. 191).

London, holding three presses, three apprentices and ten workmen.[7] He was also one of the most frequent business associates of Henry Herringman. In the STC, there are more than twenty records of Macocke's name as printer for Herringman. Among them are Thomas Killigrew's *Comedies, and Tragedies* (1664) (Figure 2), Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, *The Voyages and*
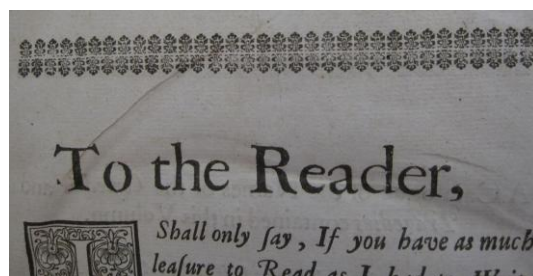

Fig. 2 Preface of Killigrew's *Comedies, and Tragedies*, sig. A0^r, printed by Macocke in 1664, reproduced by permission of Special Collections, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham

Fig. 3 Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, *The Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto* printed by Macocke in 1663, sig. A2^v, reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

Fig. 4 The Dedicatory Epistle of John Denham's *Poems and Translations with The Sophy*, sig. A2^r, printed by Macocke in 1668, reproduced by permission of Special Collections, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham

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[7] Plomer, *Dictionary*, p. 121.
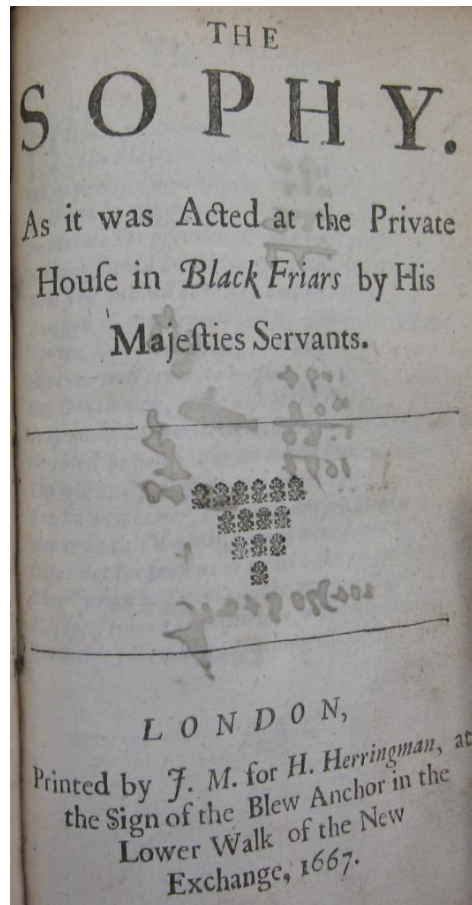
Fig. 5 Separate title-page for *The Sophy* in John Denham's *Poems and Translations with The Sophy*, sig. Aa1^r, printed by Macocke, reproduced by permission of Special Collections, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham

Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto (1663) (Figure 3), John Denham's *Poems and Translations with The Sophy* (1668) (Figures 4 and 5), John Dryden's adaptation of *The Tempest* (1676) and the second edition of the Beaumont and Fletcher folio (1679).[8] The conjunction of Macocke's device appearing in *The Mayor of Quinborough* and Herringman's name as its publisher considerably narrows down possible printers to one, John Macocke.

In order to confirm whether the play was printed by Macocke or not, I have examined five original copies of Q and other texts printed by Macocke for identical damaged types.[9] As far as I could distinguish, at least five distinctly damaged types are recurrent in the five copies of Q *The Mayor of Quinborough*. A damaged Roman uppercase 'A' appears as the

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[8] For Killigrew's collection, see p. 152, note 112 above. Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, *The Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto* (London, 1663); John Denham, *Poems and Translations with The Sophy* (London, 1668); John Dryden, *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island* (London, 1676); Beaumont and Fletcher, *Fifty Comedies and Tragedies* (1679).

[9] The copies are Special Collections, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham (Selbourne Collection PR 2714.M29), Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (Douce M 673 and Mal. 245(9)), and British Library (162.k.11 and 644.f.10).

first letter for 'Act' at each heading of 1.1, 2.1, 3.1, 3.3, 4.1, 5.2 (Figures 6 and 7).[10] An italic uppercase 'E' whose two horizontal bars are distorted by pressure is found at two places for 'Enter'.[11] An italic capital 'K' for 'Kent' with a fracture in the middle of the upper diagonal line appears twice.[12] An italic lowercase 'st' ligature with a crack in its long 's' occurs twice and an italic lowercase 'v' for three speech prefixes for Vortiger has a chink close to the root of its right-hand diagonal line.[13] Among these five, I have only found one
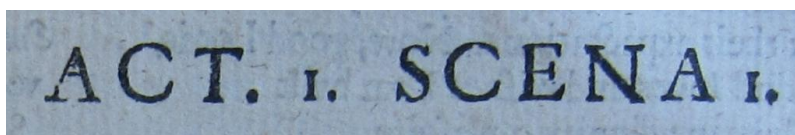
Fig. 6 Damaged type 'A' in the heading of 1.1 in *The Mayor of Quinborough*, sig. A3[r], reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
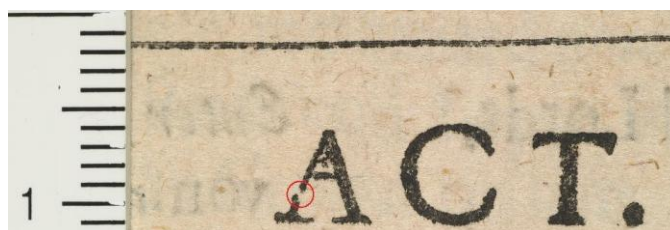
Fig. 7 Close up of damaged type 'A' of *Fig. 6*, reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

outside of *The Mayor of Quinborough*. The identical damaged Roman uppercase 'A' reappears once only in each of two books which carry Macocke's name or initials as their printer. One of them is Denham's *Poems and Translations with The Sophy*. The damaged type 'A' appears in an essay entitled 'The Destruction of Troy', which has an individual title-page with the imprint showing Macocke's initials as its printer and the year 1667, one year earlier than the publication of the whole volume.[14] The damaged 'A' is found in the head title prefaced to the main text (Figures 8 and 9).[15] The title reads 'The Destruction of Troy, An Essay on the Second BOOK of *Virgil's Æneis'*. The type is 5 mm in both length and width. Types of the same size and shape were used to set the headings of acts and scenes and an advertisement of

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[10] Middleton, *Mayor of Quinborough*, sigs A3[r], C1[v], D3[r], E3[v], F4[r], I4[r].
[11] It occurs at sigs C2[v], E3[v].
[12] Sigs H1[v], I3[r].
[13] The 'st' ligature occurs at sigs G1[r] and K1[v]; the lowercase 'v' appears at sigs B4[r], D3[r] and H1[v].
[14] See *Fig. 5* above.
[15] Denham, *Poems*, sig. C8[r].

the title-page of *The Mayor of Quinborough*. They also appear in headings, some of the head titles and occasionally separate title-pages for individual plays in the Killigrew collection. In the running titles of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto's *The Voyages and Adventures* the same fount is also used. From their limited uses it is inferred that the number of the same fount kept by Macocke was small. This is probably one of the reasons that the damaged type 'A' was not thrown away for six years and reappeared in 1667. The damaged type 'A' suffers a fracture in its left leg at 1mm above the foot. The abrasion of the surface of the type occurring in the 1667 text clearly shows that it had been in use during the past six years, but I have been unable to find the identical type in other publications printed after 1661 and before 1667.
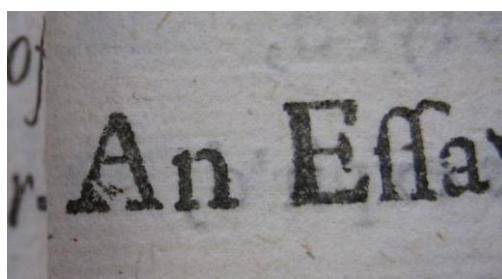
Fig. 8 Damaged type 'A' in the head title of 'Destruction of Troy' in John Denham's *Poems and Translations with The Sophy*, sig. C8ʳ, printed by Macocke in 1667, reproduced by permission of Special Collections, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham

When two images of the damaged type 'A' are juxtaposed (Figure 10) both the legs and feet of the one from the 1667 text look thicker, but this was caused by the ink's having blotted. A closer look reveals that the lines of the type are blurred by ink. Besides the fracture on the left leg, there are four other correspondences between the two images. The outer line of the left leg close to its root slightly falls inward probably because of some pressure. As a result, the inner side of the same part blisters. A chink at the left end of the bridge also corresponds in the two images. Its surrounding area has been abraded and the cleft has become wider in the 1667 text. The fractured area on the left leg has been buckled under the upward pressure. These correspondences of damage in the same fount 'A' across the two books printed at an interval of six years appear sufficient to confirm that the two letters are
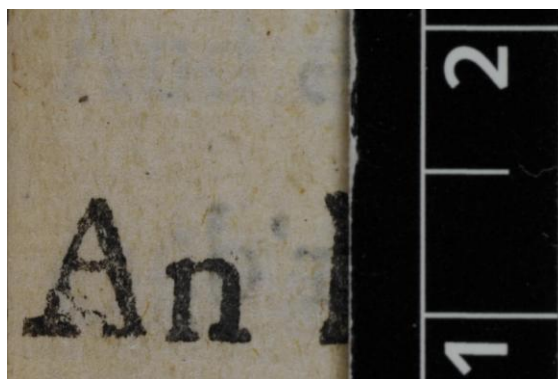
Fig. 9 Damaged type 'A' of Denham's *Poems and Translations with The Sophy*, British Library, C.131.b.17 (1), C8ʳ, reproduced by permission of the British Library
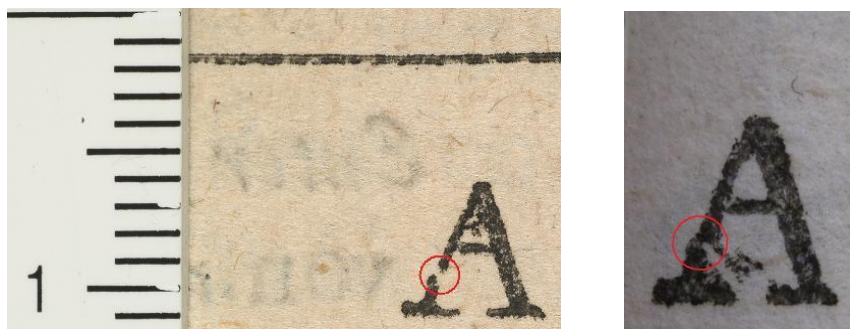

Fig. 10 Damaged type 'A' of *The Mayor of Quinborough* from *Fig. 6* and that of Denham's *Poems* from *Fig. 8*

printed from the identical damaged type.

The other book which carries the damaged type 'A' is William Hicks's *ΑΠΟΚΑ΄ΛΥΨΙΣ ΑΠΟΚΑ΄ΛΥΨΕΩΣ or The Revelation Revealed*, first published two years earlier than *The Mayor of Quinborough* (Figure 11).[16] Its imprint reads '*LONDON*, Printed by *J. Macock*, for *Daniel White*, and sold at his Shop at the Seven Stars in Sᵗ *Pauls* Churchyard, 1659'. The damaged type is used to set the first 'A' of a running title 'A Catalogue of divers Questions' at d3ᵛ, which is followed by 'In this Treatise Discussed' set in the facing page. Close examination of the type from an original copy of *The Revelation Revealed* at the British Library has led me to the conclusion that its damaged type 'A' was also set from the type identical with the one used both in *The Mayor of Quinborough* and in *Poems and Translations with The Sophy*. The damaged type 'A' in *The Revelation Revealed* is of the same size as the recurrent damaged type in the other two books.

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[16] William Hicks, *ΑΠΟΚΑ΄ΛΥΨΙΣ ΑΠΟΚΑ΄ΛΥΨΕΩΣ; or, The Revelation Revealed* (London, 1659).

Fig. 11 Damaged type 'A' from William Hicks, *ΑΠΟΚΑ΄ΛΥΨΙΣ ΑΠΟΚΑ΄ΛΥΨΕΩΣ or The Revelation Revealed*, sig. d3ᵛ, printed by Macocke in 1659, reproduced by permission of the British Library

Its left leg is fractured at 1 mm above the foot, and the distance between the upper end of the fracture and the root of the leg is a little longer than 3 mm. The lower part of the fractured leg has been buckled under the upward pressure. These physical characteristics correspond with those of the damaged 'A' in the other two books, but the distance between the upper end of the fracture and its junction with the bridge in the type of *The Revelation Revealed* is obviously shorter than that of the other 'A's. This has been caused by over-inking of the typeface which has made the bridge twice as thick as the others. The thickness of the right diagonal stroke of the damaged type 'A' used in *The Mayor of Quinborough* is about 0.6 mm, whereas that of *The Revelation Revealed* swells from 0.7 mm to 0.9 mm and reaches almost 1 mm at the junction with the foot. That the thickness varies in size from place to place in the right diagonal stroke and that its outline is uneven indicate that the ink oozed from the typeface. It is the oozing ink which makes the letter look thicker. If the blotted parts are discounted, the type is exactly the same size and shape as that in *The Mayor of Quinborough* and *Poems and Translations with The Sophy*, and also has a fracture on the same spot. It can be concluded that the damaged uppercase 'A' which occurs in Hicks's *The Revelation Revealed* was printed from the identical type as that used for printing *The Mayor of Quinborough* and *Poems and Translations with The Sophy*. The occurrence of the identical damaged type across the two books printed by Macocke clearly demonstrates that the type was owned by the printer at least between 1659 and 1667. The fact that the identical damaged type is recurrent in *The Mayor of Quinborough* confirms the theory that the play was printed by John Macocke, which has been proposed by the occurrence in the play of the same

ornaments as Macocke regularly used in 1660s and of the name of Henry Herringman, one of the most frequent business associates of Macocke as its publisher.

In addition to these facts pointing to Macocke as the printer of Q *The Mayor of Quinborough*, another piece of evidence supports the view that the quarto edition of the play was produced at Macocke's press. I have examined the paper used in the British Library's two copies of Q *The Mayor of Quinborough* and twelve printings produced at Macocke's press between 1659 and 1662.[17] The paper used to print the quarto shares common features with that found in four other printings produced by Macocke in 1661. All the leaves of paper in the two copies of the play have nine chain lines running at intervals of about 21 mm across the longer sides of a leaf. The distance from both the edges of the shorter sides of a leaf to the terminal chain lines is about half an interval of each chain line. Each sheet has a watermark of a pair of capital letters 'PH' in the middle of the longer edge at the side of the fold. They stand parallel to the chain lines with their heads pointing to the fore-edge and their feet close to the binding. 'P' is woven between the fourth and fifth chains and 'H' between the fifth and sixth from the top. The same watermark as that in *The Mayor of Quinborough* is found in the paper of the copies of Abraham Cowley's *A Proposition for the Advancement of Learning* (Figure 12), its reissue, *A Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy*, John Meriton's *Curse not the King* and Fabian Philipps's *Ligeancia lugens*.[18] The first three books were printed by John Macocke for Henry Herringman in 1661, and the same paper was used from beginning to end. Cowley's two editions are in octavo, and the paper is folded in half between the two letters. Each of the letters appears upside down on the top corner of a leaf. Philipps's *Ligeancia lugens* was printed by Macocke for Andrew Crooke in the same year, and the same watermark 'PH' appears only on signatures C2^{r-v} in the book. The rest of the

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[17] The twelve printings are following: William Hicks, *ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΕΩΣ or The Revelation Revealed* (London, 1659; British Library [BL] shelfmark 4453.g.9); *Hē Katēchēsis Tēs Christianikēs Thrēskeias Syntomōtera* (London, 1660; BL shelfmark RB.23.a.8593); *A Declaration* (London, 1660; BL shelfmark cup 21.g.43/22); *Mercurius publicus* (London, 1661; BL shelfmark G.3810); Cicero, *Marci Tullii Ciceronis epistolarum* (London, 1661; BL shelfmark RB.23.a.33890); Abraham Cowley, *A Proposition for the Advancement of Learning* (London, 1661; Petyt Library); Abraham Cowley, *A Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy* (London, 1661; BL shelfmark 536.d.19/4); John Gauden, *A Pillar of Gratitude* (London, 1661; BL shelfmark 4105.h.5); John Meriton, *Curse Not the King* (London, 1661; BL shelfmark 226.g.8); Fabian Philipps, *Ligeancia Lugens* (London, 1661; BL shelfmark 1379.c.8); Francis Fullwood, *The Grand Case of the Present Ministry* (London, 1662; BL shelfmarks 847.a.30 and 4106.a.19). I am grateful to Dr Hugh Adlington for his kind advice on the potentialities of paper identification.
[18] For locations of the copies consulted, see note 17 above.

leaves in the book bear different watermarks of complicated pictures. Judging from the fact that paper with different watermarks is used throughout the book except for signatures C2^{r-v}, the leaf is probably a cancel. The paper used for the cancel leaf was obviously picked up from remnants of a set of paper supplied for Macocke's press to print other books including the
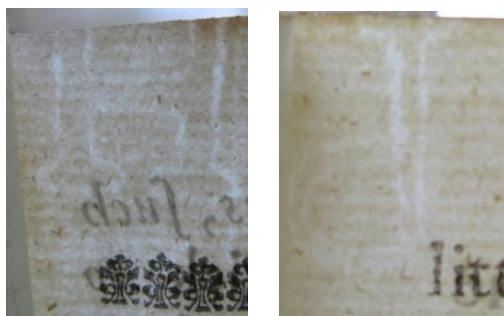

Fig. 12 Watermarks 'H' and 'P' from Abraham Cowley, *A Proposition for the Advancement of Learning* printed by Macocke and published by Herringman in 1661, sig. A2^r (left), and sig. C7^r (right), reproduced by permission of the Petyt Library, Skipton Town Council

above-mentioned three titles published by Herringman, one of which is *The Mayor of Quinborough*.[19]

Allan Stevenson's study of the paper sequences in early printed books demonstrates that a printer in general preferred to use up his first supply of the running paper during a run before proceeding to use the next stock.[20] In fact, Cowley's *A Proposition for the Advancement of Learning* and Meriton's *Curse not the King* were entered in the Stationers' Register by Herringman on 13 February 1661, the same day as *The Mayor of Quinborough*, and all three books were printed on the same paper and published in 1661.[21] Considered on the basis of Stevenson's theory, these facts indicate that Herringman's copies of the three books were brought to Macocke's press at one time and printed in sequence. Since the same paper is localised within the books published by Herringman in 1661, it was probably Herringman who bought a sufficient set of the same paper for his publications and commissioned Macocke to undertake the printing of them.[22] Thus, the fact that the paper

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[19] The two editions of Cowley's *A Proposition for the Advancement of Learning* are counted as one title.
[20] Allan Stevenson, *The Problem of the Missale Speciale* (London, 1967), pp. 71-99.
[21] *Transcript*, ed. by Briscoe Eyre, II, 288.
[22] For a possible paper supplier, see Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972), p. 142; John Bidwell, 'The Study of Paper as Evidence, Artefact, and Commodity', in *The Book Encompassed: Studies in Twentieth-Century Bibliography*, ed. by Peter Davison (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 69-82 (pp. 78-80).

used to print Q *The Mayor of Quinborough* was the same as other printings of Macocke's in 1661 supports the earlier conclusion that Macocke is the printer of Q *The Mayor of Quinborough*.

The printer's identity will prove an important clue in investigating his compositorial practice and what editorial work was assigned to him. If manuscript printer's copy for any printed books is extant, it can provide external evidence of the extent of compositorial intervention regularly made at Macocke's press. Unfortunately, any dramatic manuscripts used as the printer's copy for an extant early printed edition have not survived. But there is extant manuscript printer's copy for eleven editions of William Lilly's *Merlini Anglici Ephemeris* printed at Macocke's press from 1667 to 1677.[23] The copy was prepared by the author who left editorial directions for Macocke in printing the text. Although the editorial labour performed by the annotating reader of Q *Mayor of Quinborough* must have been different from Lilly's treatment of his almanacs, comparison between the printer's copy of Lilly's work and its printed text reveals the extent to which the author-editor was responsible for the editing of the text, and what alteration was made to the text at the discretion of the printer. If the patterns of the compositorial practices of Macocke's press are explained, they will give a clue to the extent of compositorial interference in editing Q *The Mayor of Quinborough*, and consequently to the nature of the copy-text of the quarto.

The manuscript of Lilly's work is written throughout in the same hand with a mixture of italics and secretary. Minor corrections were made throughout the text in the same author's hand, but he drew bolder lines to delete and rewrite. Different hands appear across the manuscript sheets, frequently using blacker ink to mark the beginning of a new page. They inserted a square bracket before each word which starts a new page, and put its page signature alongside in the left margin. The hands which are responsible for marking the page breaks are considered to be compositors' at Macocke's press. Basically, one compositor marked throughout one edition. In order to understand how the author-editor and the printer divided their editorial work in publication of Lilly's almanacs, I compared manuscript and print

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[23] The manuscript is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 241, fols 61^r-189^v. The existence of the manuscript has been repored by J. K. Moore, *Primary Materials Relating to Copy and Print in English Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1992), pp.45.

versions and investigated who took decisions about the following four compositorial issues: spelling; typeface; punctuation; and layout of the text.

Spelling

The author's spellings are standardised by compositors. Redundant letters of authorial spellings in the manuscript are removed in the printed editions. Where Lilly preferred to use 'wee', 'putt', 'penn', 'vppon', 'selfe' and 'harmfull' in his manuscript, the print counterparts present 'we', 'put', 'pen', 'upon', 'self' and 'harmful.' Contractions such as 'o^r', 'wth' and 'p[ro]oduced' are expanded into 'our', 'with' and 'produced'.[24]

Typeface

The choice of typeface appears to have been mostly entrusted to compositors but where the author intended particular letters to be printed in italics, compositors followed his direction. For the 1670 edition, Lilly presented Latin quotations and prophesies coupled with proper nouns in distinct italics, and for the 1674 edition, he underlined the words he wanted to have printed in italics.

Punctuation

In most cases compositors followed the authorial punctuation. They occasionally added commas to make the text more readable and replaced dashes with colons.

Layout of the text

Compositors faithfully followed the divisions of paragraphs in the manuscript in the printed editions. Lilly frequently gave instructions for the layout of the figures. On folio 73^r of

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[24] MS Ashmole 241, fols 94^v-107^r, *passim*; Lilly, *Merlini, passim*.

the manuscript copy for the 1668 edition, the author left a direction for a compositor. It reads 'hear place the figure of the Suns ingress with [a mark signifying another figure].' A similar direction appears at folios 74^r, 77^v, 82^v and 83^v. In a copy for the 1669 edition, Lilly wrote 'M^r Macock, if you find matter inough besides the figure, set it above' (Figure 13).[25]
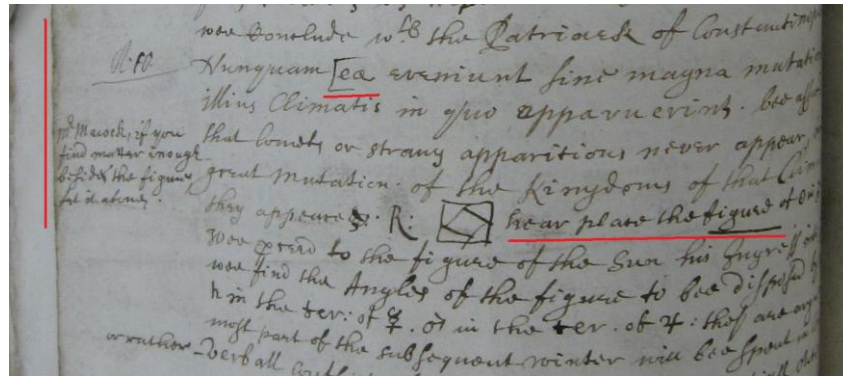

Fig. 13 Printer's copy of William Lilly's *Merlini Anglici ephemeris* for the 1669 edition, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 241, fol. 82^v, reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

One direction left on fol. 99^v suggests that Lilly was using the figures to fill in blank space to make his book look fuller. He wrote, 'M^r Macock, if you haue matter sufficient, you may leaue out what is marked to the end of this side – and this figure also'. Immediately after the author's epistle of his copy for the 1670 edition, Lilly asked Macocke to print an advertisement in the same edition. He stated, 'I desire you to print in this Advertisement as gracefully as you can it beeing for a widdow, besides the Elixar is of admirable Vertue' (fol. 95^v). Macocke printed the advertisement at the final page of the 1670 edition.

It is clear from the printer's copy for Lilly's almanacs that the compositors at Macocke's press followed the author's editorial directions as much as possible. The printer's copy conveys the author's editorial intention, but we cannot hear the printer's voice. On the whole, what the compositors altered in their manuscript copy of their own accord was restricted to spellings. In the light of the compositorial convention at Macocke's press, the spellings standardisation in *The Mayor of Quinborough* is probably attributable to the compositors, but ascribing responsibility for the verse relineation to them questionable.[26] In

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[25] MS Ashmole 241, fol. 82^v.

[26] The spelling standardization and the verse relineation in Q have been conjecturally attributed to compositorial intervention by Ioppolo. See Grace Ioppolo, 'Revision, Manuscript Transmission and Scribal Practice in Middleton's *Hengist, King of Kent, or The Mayor of Quinborough,*' *Critical Survey*, 7.3 (1995),

Lilly's almanacs, the paragraphs are set as they appear in the copy prepared by the author. If the copy-text of Q *The Mayor of Quinborough* was prepared by the editor who was concerned as much about the layout of the text as Lilly, the verse might well have been relineated by the editor and the compositors would have followed their copy. However, the setting of the layout of Lilly's text cannot be directly applied to that of *The Mayor of Quinborough* because the relineation of the verse is a different kind of editorial practice from the dividing of the paragraphs. The issue of the verse relineation will need to be considered in a broader framework of early modern dramatic publication. What can be inferred about the divisions of the editorial work in *The Mayor of Quinborough* from the compositorial convention at Macocke's press revealed by the printing of Lilly's almanacs is that all the textual alterations had been made by the time the printer's copy was prepared and that the appearance of the text, such as the spelling and the typeface except the relineation of the verse, was decided by the compositors at the press.

Starting from the observations of the textual variance between the manuscript and printed versions, this chapter has explored the editorial circumstances in which *The Mayor of Quinborough* reached print. In the attempt to investigate the extent of the textual editing of the play before and after it was sent to the press, non-textual pieces of evidence such as the ornamental device, the recurrent damaged type, the paper and the Stationers' Register's entries have led me through the networks of the stationers to the identity of the play's printer. The recurrent occurrence of the florets of exactly the same size and pattern across John Macocke's printings and *The Mayor of Quinborough* has pointed to a possible relation between the printer and the play. This has been strengthened by the fact that Macocke was one of the most frequent business associates of Herringman, the play's publisher. Bearing in mind the possibility that Macocke is the printer of the quarto, I have searched *The Mayor of Quinborough* and Macocke's printings for recurrent damaged types. The prime determinant in identifying the printer is only one broken type 'A', which occurs six times in Q *The Mayor of Quinborough* and once in each of the two printings of Macocke's, *Poems and Translations with The Sophy* and *The Revelation Revealed*. That the same paper used in *The Mayor of*

319-31 (p. 322).

Quinborough was also found in another two titles printed by Macocke for Herringman has supported the view that Macocke printed the play. The identification of the printer has enabled consideration of the conventional practice of the compositors at Macocke's press. The survival of the voluminous manuscript printer's copy of Lilly's *Merlini Anglici ephemeris* from Macocke's press has enabled comparison of it with the printed versions. The information derived from this comparison about the compositors' conventional practice at Macocke's press has provided an indicator of the extent of compositorial intervention in Q *The Mayor of Quinborough*. The clues to the central issues of the printing and publishing of that text have been provided by material aspects of the book such as the ornamental device, the recurrent damaged type, the paper and the Stationers' Register's entries. As if they were the footprints of the book-producers, the material pieces of evidence have indicated the paths they followed.

Chapter 6

The Restoration of Jonsonian Textualism:

Killigrew's *Claricilla* and *The Prisoners* in the 1664 Folio

Q *The Mayor of Quinborough* can be regarded as a test case of editorial events of the dramatic publication undertaken by literary figures in Herringman's coterie in 1660s. The fact that Q *Mayor of Quinborough* was published in 1661, within a year from the time the theatres were reopened is a matter of considerable significance in examining the necessary development or establishment of the art of play editing. On the other hand, the establishment of the printer's identity of the play as John Macocke in the previous chapter provides a clue to consider the editorial milieu in which Q *Mayor of Quinborough* was produced. As already mentioned, Herringman and Macocke produced several Restoration dramatic editions such as Thomas Killigrew's *Comedies and Tragedies* (1664), John Denham's *Poems and Translations with The Sophy* (1668), John Dryden's adaptation of *The Tempest* (1676) and the second edition of the Beaumont and Fletcher folio (1679).[1] The evidence that the copy-text of Q *Mayor of Quinborough* was prepared by an editor under the influence of Jonsonian textual convention invites consideration of a possibility that the other plays within the Herringman-Macocke canon also received similar editorial treatment. Indeed, all the dramatic editions produced by the two stationers preserve textual indications typical of the Jonsonian editorial practice. Besides, many of the plays within the Herringaman canon show some signs that the text was prepared under the influence of Jonsonian editorial convention. The most noticeable case is the 1664 folio collection of Killigrew. In this chapter, investigating the dramatic publication within the Herringman canon and the relationship between Herringman's circle and the King's Company in 1660s, I will establish a hypothesis that the art of play editing first established in the 1616 Jonson folio was revived by such professional writers of Herringman's coterie as were deprived of theatrical experience for nearly twenty years. I will especially examine the editing of Thomas Killigrew's two plays, *Claricilla* and *The Prisoners*

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[1] See Chapter 5.

in the 1664 folio. The text of the plays is also extant in the 1641 collection. The comparison of the two versions enables us to observe the editorial procedure the folio plays underwent.

It has been pointed out by Robert D. Hume that no professional playwrights appeared after the reopening of the theatre until 1668. John Dryden was the first playwright who exchanged contracts with the King's Company as late as May 1668. Those pre-Restoration playwrights who survived the Interregnum period no longer produced new plays after 1660, and the actors and audience had to wait for the arrival of a new generation of dramatists.[2] The first playwrights after the Restoration such as John Dryden and Robert Howard had already established their literary careers in poetry, and yet they had familiarised themselves more with books of pre-Restoration plays than the theatre. That reading was the only means of their contact with plays during the Interregnum period is hinted at several places in Dryden's *An Essay of Dramatick Poesie* (1668).[3] Dramatic verses were no longer heard but 'read' (p. 40). Under the name of 'Crites', Howard is made to express a view that 'much labour and long study is required' of 'good Poets' to imitate the ancient playwrights (p. 10), whilst on the assumption that 'Dramatic Poesie' needs to be an imitation of nature, Dryden, under the mask of 'Neander', describes Shakespeare as 'naturally learn'd' without the need for 'the spectacles of Books to read Nature' (p. 47). As Hume aptly states, 'competent playwrights' had to 'take time and practice to develop'.[4] Although the first post-Restoration playwrights had already built up their literary careers, they were completely novices at writing plays. In the preface to his *The Vindication of the Duke of Guise* (1683), Dryden writes his first attempt of composition of the play was made in 1660, but 'It was Damn'd in Private, by the Advice of some Friends to whom I shew'd it; who freely told me, that it was an Exellent Subject; but not so Artificially wrought, as they could have wish'd '.[5]

Things being as they were, the acting companies had to turn to pre-Restoration plays for scripts. The crucial issue is the source of the scripts. Who preserved those scripts of older plays of the King's Company? Did not the King's Men relinquish their right to the copies of

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[2] Hume, 'Securing a Property', (1981), pp. 156-72.
[3] Dryden, *Dramatick Poesie* (1668).
[4] Hume, p. 165.
[5] John Dryden, *The Vindication of the Duke of Guise* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1683). This is pointed out by James Anderson Winn, *John Dryden and His World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 116.

the plays in their repertoire? One document, the office book of Henry Herbert, the Master of the Revels, reveals to whom the King's Company turned for scripts of the plays. On 30 August 1660, Humphrey Moseley petitioned Herbert to protect the plays whose right belonged to him from being staged at any theatre without his consent.[6] As already shown in the previous chapters, Moseley was the most prominent publisher of plays in the interregnum period. With the financial aid from Humphrey Robinson, he purchased forty-eight plays from the King's Men in 1646 and occupied a central role in publishing and presenting the Beaumont and Fletcher folio (1647) as a literary protest of royalists against the closure of the theatres.[7] Moseley published 29 titles of dramatic works including 9 collections such as the Beaumont and Fletcher folio (1647), William Cavendish's *The Country Captaine and the Varietie* (1649), William Cartwright's *Comedies and Tragedies with other Poems* (1651), Richard Brome's *Five New Plays* (1653), James Shirley's *Six New Plays* (1653), Thomas May's *Two Tragedies* (1654), Philip Massinger's *Three New Playes* (1655), Lodowick Carlell's *Two New Playes* (1657), and Thomas Middleton's *Two New Plays* (1657). The records of the Stationers' Register also show that Moseley owned another 96 copies of plays which were not issued by him.[8] In the beginning of his letter, Moseley indicates that behind his petition was the scheme of the King's players to procure the scripts possessed by him. He states, 'Sir, I have beene very much solicited by the gentlemen actors of the Red Bull for a note under my hand to certifie unto your worsh[P]'. The 'gentlemen actors of the Red Bull' means the players of the King's Company who started their performance on 11 August 1660 at the Red Bull.[9] The King's Company was led by Thomas Killigrew and was carrying 'Mychaell Mohun, William Wintershall, Robert Shaterell, William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Walter Clunn, Charles Hart, and the rest' on its roster.[10] It is difficult to tell if the King's

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[6] Adams, *Henry Herbert*, p. 90

[7] See Chapter 4.

[8] Among the 96, 26 plays and Ben Jonson's 'workes ye 3[d] vol' were issued by other publishers, but 69 plays never reached print in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See Reed, pp. 119-131. Massinger's *The Bashful Lover*, *The Guardian*, and *A Very Woman* that Reed included in 'Books Entered or Advertised by Humphrey Moseley But Not Traced' appear in *Three New Playes* published by Moseley in 1655.

[9] Adams, p. 113, 116. That the King's Company was using the Red Bull until they moved to Gibbon's Tennis Court on 8 November 1660 was recorded by Herbert.

[10] Adams, p. 113. Theophilus Bird, Lacy, Baxter, William Shatterel, Duke [Marmaduke Watson], Hancock, Kynaston, Bateman, Blagden are also included in the roster printed in John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus* (London, 1708), p.2. See also William Van Lennep, Emmett L. Avery and Arthur H. Scouten, eds., *The London Stage, 1660-1800: A Calendar of Plays,* 5 pts (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press,

Company's approach to Moseley to supply play scripts was ever successful, because as far as extant records show, among 60 pre-Restoration plays the company staged from 1660 to 1662, the year in which new plays started to emerge on stage, only twenty had been published by Moseley.[11] If the period is limited to before Moseley's death on 31 January 1661, the number of Moseley's copies which were used by the King's Company decreases to 9 among the 39 plays mounted by the company. Interestingly, all but one play which were entered into the Stationers' Register by Moseley but not issued by him or not traced, were not on the record as having been mounted by the playing companies after the Restoration.[12] *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* entered by Moseley on 9 September 1653 was staged by the King's Company on 10 August 1661, about six months after the death of Moseley, but it is still possible that the acting company used a copy of the same title published by William Gilbertson in 1655.[13] Of course, the extant theatre records are incomplete, and it is impossible to gather statistics of Moseley's supplies for the King's Company. Nevertheless, the lack of record, in Moseley's lifetime, of any performance of those plays he entered in the Stationers' Register but never published, seemingly suggests his reluctance to supply his copies, many of which were yet to be published. Many of the plays Moseley entered into the Stationers' Register had never been published before, and therefore they were left with him in manuscript. Moseley was probably reluctant to relinquish his manuscript copies of the plays to the acting companies; for if he had handed them over to the players before publication, his gains would have been substantially discounted when compared with those brought by the publication of those plays. That Moseley intended to publish them is clearly indicated by his actual publication of 18 plays among from 80 to 90 plays entered on 9 September 1653 and on 29 June 1660.[14] Taking the

1965-68), I (1965), p. 19. Further references to this edition will be made by its abridged title '*London Stage*'.

[11] Adams, *Henry Herbert*, pp.116-18; *London Stage*, pp. 18-33, pp. 39-52. In a list entitled 'Plays Acted by the King's Company 1660-1662' in *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert* are included 59 pre-Restoration plays, but its recording starts from November in 1661. To the 59 have I added Thomas Jordan's *Love hath Found out his Eyes; or Distractions*, which was performed by the King's Company at the Red Bull in May 1660.

[12] For 'book entered or advertised by Moseley but not issued by him' and 'books entered or advertised by Moseley but not traced', see Reed, pp. 119-31. The plays which were entered into the Stationers' Register by Moseley but not published by him or not traced were never included in his advertising lists and catalogues.

[13] *London Stage*, p. 31.

[14] *Worshipful Company of Stationers*, pp. 428-29, pp. 268-71. See also Alfred Harbage, 'Elizabethan-Restoration Palimpsest', *Modern Language Review*, 35 (1949), 276-319 (p. 291).

above into consideration with the letter written by Moseley to Herbert in 1660, Moseley was not so liberal in providing his manuscript copies of pre-Restoration plays for the King's Company as he was with his support for their literary protest against the closing of the theatres in the publication of the Beaumont and Fletcher folio.

Therefore, it was probably after his death that some of his manuscript plays found their way into staging by the King's Company. Alfred Harbage's study in 1940 brought a fresh revelation that some of the plays in Moseley's list of 1653 passed into the possession of the King's Company and reappeared on stage under new authorship. On close examination of diction, turn of phrase, and plot development across the plays from before and after the Restoration, Harbage identified possible original authorship of the Restoration plays, and demonstrated that those pre-Restoration plays extant in manuscript in 1660s were perused and reworked by fledgling playwrights or adapted by actors, and staged and published under the authorship of the new generation.[15] He attributed the original sources of Dryden's *The Wild Gallant* and anonymous *The Mistaken Husband* to Richard Brome, Howard's *The Duke of Lerma* to John Ford, and *Henry the Second* and *King Edward the Third* both of which were included in the works of William Mountfort in 1720 and sometimes ascribed to John Bancroft, to the co-authorship of Shakespeare and Davenport and the latter's single authorship respectively. *The Wild Gallant* was the first play to be staged under Dryden's authorship by the King's Company in 1663. That its staging was a failure is mentioned in his preface to the 1669 edition of the play published by Henry Herringman. The most striking statement in the preface which appears to make excuses for the failure of the play is a disclosure of its authorship. Dryden writes, 'The Plot was not Originally my own: but so alter'd by me (whether for the better or worse, I know not) that, whoever the Author was, he could not challeng'd a Scene of it'.[16] Dryden's revelation of the original authorship of the play whose identity seems to have been unknown to the fledgling playwright raises the following four questions about the transmission of the text. Who obtained the original manuscript which probably did not bear its author's name and passed it to Dryden? Who was his supplier of the manuscript? What was the purpose in passing the old play to the new playwright? Lastly, how

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[15] See note 13 above.
[16] John Dryden, *The Wild Gallant* (London: Henry Herringman, 1669), A2$^{\text{v}}$.

did the new author alter the text? Clues to these questions are provided by prefaces to other two plays which met a similar fate to *The Wild Gallant* and their texts themselves, and when the investigation of the questions reveals the Restoration playwrights' bidirectional process of revising old plays – making them suit the contemporary staging, and providing literary annotations to reproduce intelligible texts, a new phase of the development of play editing will be brought to light.

The following quotations are from the prefaces to *The Mistaken Husband* (1675) and to Robert Howard's *The Great Favourite, or the Duke of Lerma* (1668).

This Play was left in Mr. Dryden's hands many years since: The Author of it was unknown to him, and return'd not to claim it; 'Tis therefore to be presum'd that he is dead. After Twelve years expectation, Mr. Dryden gave it to the Players, having upon perusal of it, found that it deserv'd a better Fate than to be buried in obscurity: I have heard him say, that finding a Scene wanting, he supply'd it; and many have affirmd that the stile of it is proper to the Subject, which is that the French call Basse Comedy.[17]

For the Subject, I came accidentally to write upon it; for a Gentleman brought a Play to the Kings Company, call'd, *The Duke of Lerma*; and by them I was desir'd to peruse it, and return my opinion, whether I thought it fit for the Stage; after I had read it, I acquainted them, that in my judgement it would not be of much use for such a design, since the contrivance, scarce would merit the name of a plot; and some of that, assisted by a disguise; and it ended abruptly: and on the Person of *Philip* the 3. there was fixt such a mean Character, and on the Daughter of the Duke of *Lerma*, such a vitious one, that I cou'd not but judge it unfit to be presented by any that had a respect, not only to Princes, but indeed to either Man or Woman; and about that time, being going into the Countrey, I was perswaded by Mr. Hart to make it my diversion there that so great a hint might not be lost, as the Duke

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17 *The Mistaken Husband* (London: Richard Bentley, 1675), A2[r].

of *Lerma* saving himself in his last extremity, by his unexpected disguise, which is as well in the true story as the old Plays; and besides that and the Names, my altering the most part of the Characters, and the whole design, made me uncapable to use much more; though perhaps written with higher Stile and Thoughts, then I cou'd attain to.[18]

One thing is clear about the case of Howard's play. It was the King's players who obtained the original manuscript of the play and passed it to Howard. His preface seemingly suggests that the Company had kept the manuscript since the 'Gentleman', perhaps its original author, brought it to them, but Harbage has pointed out that the source of Howard's play is *The Spanish Duke of Lerma* the title of which was entered in the Stationers' Register by Moseley under the authorship of Henry Shirley (*d.* 1627) on 9 September 1653.[19] However, despite the authorship provided by the 1653 Stationers' Register entry, Harbage asserts that the plot, the nature of the characters, the diction and the use of metaphor in *The Duke of Lerma* all point to John Ford (*d.* 1639-53?) as its original author.[20] Here I do not address the question of authorship of *The Spanish Duke of Lerma* but a possibility that the Restoration playwrights developed their art of play editing in the process of revising the old plays. If Harbage is right, we can establish a possible channel through which the source of Howard's *The Duke of Lerma* passed into the hands of the dramatist. It can be judged, in this case, that the King's Company successfully procured the manuscript from Moseley's successors to add the play to their repertoire, and requested Howard to revise it so it would fit in their stage. Since the actor who persuaded Howard to peruse and revise the play has been named as 'Mr. Hart' by the dramatist, a plausible channel through which pre-Restoration plays were obtained by the Restoration playwrights has been generalised from inadequate evidence. James Anderson Winn's account sounds plausible, although his hypothesis cannot be applied to every single case of revision of a pre-Restoration play conducted by the Restoration dramatists for the King's Company:

When Brome died in 1652, some of his plays apparently fell into the hands

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[18] Robert Howard, *The Great Favourite, or the Duke of Lerma* (London: Henry Herringman, 1668), A2[r-v].

[19] Harbage, 'Elizabethan-Restoration Palimpsest', p. 299. *Worshipful Company of Stationers*, I, p. 429.

[20] Harbage, 'Elizabethan-Restoration Palimpsest', pp.300-306

of the publisher Humphrey Moseley, who patiently saved a large collection of dramatic manuscripts during the Interregnum. With the Restoration, Moseley had an opportunity to peddle his wares; the actor Charles Hart, one of the shareholders in the King's Company, appears to have purchased some of his manuscripts and distributed them to several writers (including Howard and Dryden) for revision.[21]

Despite his confidence that 'That much of the story we may reconstruct', he fails to show any hard evidence for his assumptions that Charles Hart was the one responsible for the negotiations with Moseley and that it was always the players who obtained those old play scripts and distributed them to the playwrights. In addition, the preface written by Richard Bentley for the anonymous play, *The Mistaken Husband* presents another possible channel of transmission of pre-Restoration plays. In the case of *The Mistaken Husband*, it was Dryden, the playwright, who obtained its manuscript from an unknown source and after 'perusal', decided to revise the play for the King's Company. Bentley's preface does not reveal how the play came to Dryden's hands, but if he kept the manuscript for 'many years' as the publisher states, it seems well within the bounds of possibility that the dramatist purchased the script himself for his own study or that it was given by a friend to him.

The truth about the revision of pre-Restoration plays in the 1660s remains shrouded in mystery because the absence of the original source plays does not permit of comparison between the texts before and after the alteration. Nevertheless, certain characteristics shared by the three Restoration adaptations, *The Wild Gallant*, *The Mistaken Husband* and *The Duke of Lerma*, give us an illuminating insight into how the old texts were reworked. I have already stated that the Restoration dramatists' revision of the old plays was bidirectional. As clearly described in Howard's preface to *The Duke of Lerma*, the main purpose in revising the old source plays was to make them suit the contemporary staging. But in the process of revision for staging, those plays appear to have received copious annotations that describe visual elements of performance. In the printed texts of the three Restoration adaptations, stage directions specify an addressee of the speech, indicate asides, and describe the manner of the

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[21] Winn, p. 139.

characters' delivering the lines such as 'weepes' and 'whispers'. They also illustrate actions that cannot be perceived by dialogues and characters' emotions such as 'amazed' and 'eagerly'. I hypothesise that these illustrative stage directions were supplied by the Restoration dramatists for the convenience of the reader probably under the influence of the 1616 Jonson folio. To prove this, it is necessary to demonstrate that those stage directions were later additions before proceeding to examine their nature itself. But it is impossible to show that they were actually added without comparing the Restoration adaptations with the original pre-Restoration texts. Here to break this impasse, it will be useful to look at Thomas Killigrew's two plays, *Claricilla* and *The Prisoners*, which were first published by Andrew Crooke in 1641 and republished by Herringman in the Killigrew collection of 1664 with many additional stage directions. In the 1641 duodecimo collection (D), the two plays appear in the order of the reference to their titles in the title page for the whole volume, which reads '*The Prisoners and Claracilla, Two Tragae-Comedies*'.[22] They were rearranged in the reversed order in the 1664 folio (F): *Claricilla* is set after the other nine plays being followed by *The Prisoners*.[23]

　　The Prisoners was written in London according to the separate title page of the play in the 1664 folio.[24] Pointing out that the play marks itself 'as the first attempt', Harbage expresses his view that the play was written before Killigrew departed from England for Italy on 15 October 1635.[25] The individual title page of *Claricilla* in the 1664 folio shows that the play was written in Rome.[26] Harbage hypothesised that Killigrew wrote the play sometime in 1636.[27] It was between the winter and the spring of 1636 when Killigrew accompanied Walter Montagu in Italy.[28] That Killigrew had returned to England by the end of June in 1636 is attested by the documentation of his marriage to Cecilia Crofts on 29 June 1636, which he made in his family Bible.[29] The title page of the 1641 Killigrew collection, *The Prisoners and*

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[22]　Killigrew, *The Prisoners and Claracilla* (1641), sig. A1[r].
[23]　Killigrew, *Comedies,and Tragedies* (1664), sigs a1[r]-k4[v].
[24]　Killigrew, *Comedies,and Tragedies* (1664), sig. f4[r].
[25]　Alfred Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew, Cavalier Dramatist, 1612-83* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967), Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (1967), pp. 145, 60.
[26]　Killigrew, *Comedies,and Tragedies* (1664), sig. a1[r].
[27]　Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (1967), pp. 145, 159
[28]　Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (1967), pp. 59-65; *DNB*, 'Thomas Killigrew (1612-1683)'.
[29]　Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (1967), p. 65; *DNB*, 'Thomas Killigrew'.

Claracilla shows that the two plays were 'Presented at the *Phoenix* in *Drury-Lane*, by her Majesties Servants'.[30] As the public theatres were closed due to a plague for seventeen months in 1636-1637,[31] it is inferred that Killigrew's two plays were staged after the theatres were reopened in 1637. The late 1630s was a critical period for Queen Henrietta's Men. Christopher Beeston, the founder of the company, evicted it from the Cockpit (Phoenix) in 1637 after the long theatre closure.[32] The company was brought to Salisbury Court by Richard Heton.[33] After providing of his stock of Salisbury Court plays with the Queen's company, Heton started to purchase new plays. He employed Richard Brome until the playwright sold his play to William Beeston in 1639. After Brome's breach of their contract, James Shirley, Richard Lovelace and Richard Sharpe supplied plays to the Queen's company around 1639.[34] It was no coincidence that *Claricilla* was allowed to be staged in 1639, which has been demonstrated by N. W. Bawcutt's discovery.[35] Judging from the above-mentioned circumstances, *Claricilla* was probably sold to Heton and started to be staged by the Queen's company in the same as its licence. This also raises a possibility that the play was completed in 1639 although it might have been partly written in Rome in 1636.

The extant records of the Restoration stage show that *Claricilla* was revived by the King's Company on 1 December 1660 at Gibbon's Tennis Court, but the staging of *The Prisoners* is not traced after 1660.[36] It was in 1944 that the existence of a manuscript of *Claracilla* was reported by Frederick S. Boas.[37] The manuscript has been studied by William T. Reich, and the textual variants between the three texts – the manuscript, the duodecimo and the folio – are included in his critical edition of *Claricilla*.[38] The manuscript was held by the Castle Howard library until 1944, and now it is housed by the Houghton Library of Harvard

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[30] Killigrew, *The Prisoners and Claracilla* (1641). See Chapter 4.

[31] See Chapter 4; Although Harbage writes that the plague closure lasted eighteen months, the theatres were closed from 12 May 1636 to 2 October 1637. Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (1967), p. 172.

[32] Gurr, *Shakespearian Playing Companies* (1996), p.431.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] N. W. Bawcutt, *The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama: The Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels 1623-73* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 19, 204. The record of Claricilla's licence was taken from Jacob Henry Burn's 'notebook of manuscript and printed material, which he entitled *Collections towards Forming a History of the Now Obsolete Office of the Master of the Revels*'.

[36] *London Stage*, I (1965), p. 22; Adams, *Henry Herbert*, pp. 116-17.

[37] F. S. Boas, 'Killigrew's "Claracilla"', *TLS,* 18 March 1944, p. 144.

[38] William T. Reich (ed.), *Claracilla by Thomas Killigrew: A Critical Edition* (New York: Garland, 1980), pp. 182-237.

University (MS Thr 7).[39] Reich finds it impossible to discover the early history of the manuscript and the date of its acquisition by the Castle Howard Library (pp. 50-52). The title page of the manuscript play is reported to read 'CLARASILLA / A TRAGIC COMMEDY / THE SEANE SICILY / JUENE 1639 / THOMAS KILLIGREW'.[40] Boas recognises that the title page was produced by a different hand from a scribe who copied the rest of the manuscript from beginning to end in an Italian hand. The hand which produced the title page has been identified as Killigrew's by Reich (p. 52). He also recognises that 'the word "Clarasilla" written above the Actors Names (fol. 2 recto) is also Killigrew's hand' (p. 52). That the text of the manuscript was not copied by the author himself is corroborated by Boas's report that 'there are occasional short blanks, corruptions and corrections as if he were copying from an original which he sometimes found difficult to decipher, or even as if he were taking down the dialogue from dictation'. As the title page shows, the manuscript was transcribed in 1639, the year in which the play was licensed by Henry Herbert, and two years before the duodecimo edition appeared. The possibility that the play was completed in 1639 increases the probability that the extant manuscript was produced shortly after the completion of the play. However, Both Boas and Reich report that whilst the text of the manuscript shows a verbal similarity with the 1641 edition, it sometimes agrees with the 1664 folio version or provides a new reading.[41] Judging from the manuscript's characteristics reported by Boas, the manuscript text cannot be a lineal antecedent of either the 1641 duodecimo text or the 1664 folio version. This is supported by Reich.[42] The fact that the text of the manuscript occasionally coincides with the folio text whilst bearing a general similarity of text with the duodecimo might suggest that the manuscript reflects a revised version which derived from the same antecedent as the duodecimo and which was partly used to prepare the copy-text of the folio text.

Although the manuscript was produced two years earlier than the 1641 duodecimo collection, it is possible that the copy-text of D *Claracilla* was closer to the authorial draft

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[39] Reich, p. 48.
[40] Reich, p. 52. Boas's report is slightly different from Reich's : '*Clarasilla | A tragie Commidee | The Seane Sicily | Juene* 1639 | *Thomas Killigrew*'. See Boas, 'Killigrew's "Claracilla"', p. 144.
[41] The actual textual variants between the three texts are recorded by Reich, pp. 182-237.
[42] Reich, p. 58-59.

first produced by 1639. Both *Claracilla* and *The Prisoners* in the 1641 duodecimo volume preserve no signs of theatrical scripts such as the book-keeper's annotations of minor actors' real names, properties needed in the scene and music and noises which would appear independently of entries and exits in the left-hand margin of playbooks.[43] Stage directions in the duodecimo plays describe the actions on the stage at the exact points when they occur in the text. They often occur in the middle of a speech interrupting the lines. In D *Claracilla*, when Melintus makes an entrance during Silvander's speech responding to Titius's advice to flee from the enemy at the first act, the entry direction is inserted in the middle of the lines of Silvander. The text appears as follows.

> *Sil.*   Doe thou flie fond wretch and in thy fate
>
> [. . .]
>
> No, *Claracilla*'s cruell, I will not stirre
>
> A foote that leades from danger, nor vainely
>
> Attempt to escape the hand of heaven, unlesse
>
> I could hide me from his eyes too.
>
> > *Enter Melintus wounded.*
>
> What art thou that wear'st such death
>
> About thee? (D3[r])

The insertion of the stage directions in the speech of Silvander shows his ensuing lines to be a response to the entrance of injured Melintus. This sort of insertion of stage directions, to which the ensuing lines respond, is observed throughout the duodecimo plays. In the same scene as the quoted passage, the direction, '*He drawes his Sword*' is inserted in another speech of Silvander, being followed by the line, 'By this and my name, I command thee be my Priest' (D3[r]). In a scene in which Melintus reveals himself to Claracilla, immediately after the former says, 'And could I hope you would afford this way of cure, 'twould become health, to not be heald,' the inserted stage direction reads, '*She turnes away*' to which Melintus

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[43] For the signs of theatrical scripts, see Chapter 4, p.2.

responds by asking, 'Why doe you turne away' (D5[r]). At the very point when Melintus throws off his disguise, the text is presented as following.

> *Mel*. Are there no lines in all this misery
>
> That you can call to minde — nor the Print
>
> > *He pulls a patch from his eayes*.
>
> Of one joy which you set there.
>
> *Cla*. Oh yes there is.   *She leanes on him and weepes*. (D5[r])

This manner of presenting the text of speeches and stage directions in sequence is adopted from beginning to end in the duodecimo volume. In the beginning of 1.4 of *The Prisoners*, where Gallippus attempts to seduce Cecillia, the former's lines were interrupted by two stage directions explaining the context of the scene and Cecillia's reaction to the pirate's words.

> *Enter Gallipus, and Cecillia*
>
> *Gal.* Y'are very faire, let that remove your wonder,
>
> > *Gallippus has surprised her, and leads her in.*
>
> How we dare againe gaze upon that excellence,
>
> > *She frownes.*
>
> Why doe you frowne? (A7[r])

The first stage direction which interrupts Gallipus's speech explains why Gallipus and Cecillia appear in the scene alone. The present perfect tense '*has surprised*' shows that the ongoing scene is presented as a result of Gallipus's seizure of Cecillia which is supposed to happen offstage in the immediate past.[44] In terms of the order of events, the pirate's abduction of the princess is followed by the entrance of the two characters. But as long as the capture of Cecillia itself is interpreted to have occurred before Gallipus and Cecillia enter the

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[44] Here the verb 'surprise' means 'to capture, seize; to take possession of by force; to take prisoner' (*OED*, 2.b).

stage, the stage direction for the abduction is not necessary for the text designed for performance. It is evident to both the actors and the audience who have witnessed the scene in which Cecillia and her attendants are pursued by pirates that the appearance of the princess accompanied by Gallipus means her failure to escape. That Cecillia is captured by Gallipus would have been understood by their gestures in the actual performance. In addition, if the direction, '*Gallipus has surprised her, and leads in*' was a later document of an actual performance, it would appear before Gallipus's speech because the direction describes the context of Gallippus's and Cecillia's simultaneous entrance and its manner. In other words, the direction is a rewording of the entry direction for the two. The reiteration of the entry direction is removed from the folio version, where Gillipus's unwelcome pursuit of Lysimella is indicated by the addition of the word 'following' to the initial entry direction at 1.4: '*Enter* Gillippus, *following* Lysimmela'.[45] Nevertheless, the occurrence of the descriptive direction immediately after the first line of Gallipus in the D *The Prisoners* has more meaning than the mere rewording of the entry direction. A closer look at the text reveals a logical connection between the lines of Gallipus's speech and the inserted two stage directions. The pirate's first line of the scene, 'Y'are very faire, let that remove your wonder' indicates that Cecillia shows great distress on her face.[46] The ensuing direction, '*Gallipus has surprised her, and leads her in*' clarifies the reason for her distress and provides the proper context in which '*She frownes*' to the pirate's praises for her beauty. Therefore, it can be inferred that the stage direction inserted between the lines of speech serves as a narrative to explain the context of Gallipus's words and Cecillia's reaction to them. The other stage direction, '*She frownes*' is also inserted in the middle of Gallipus's speech to precede his line, 'Why doe you frowne'.

As clearly indicated by the text of the duodecimo plays, the speeches and the stage directions are presented in a logical order in terms of the flow of the play's story. It can be rephrased that the reader can visualise how the words and the actions are combined on the stage. As previously mentioned, the stage directions describing the silent actions on the stage in the duodecimo plays of Killigrew do not bear any signs of either later documents of a

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[45] Killigrew, *Comedies,and Tragedies* (1664), sig. g2^r. The two characters' names, 'Gallipus' and 'Cicillia' in the duodecimo text are changed to 'Gillipus' and 'Lysimella' respectively in the folio. For revisions made in the folio text of the two plays, see below.
[46] The 'wonder' means 'great distress or grief' (*OED*, 5.c.).

performance or actual theatrical notes. Besides, four pieces of commendatory verse prefixed with the 1641 volume are all dedicated to the author, Thomas Killigrew, and emphasise the worth of his plays as reading.[47] This demonstrates that the author was involved with the publication of the duodecimo edition and that the text presented in the volume was approved by the author. Judging from the above, I draw a tentative hypothesis that the duodecimo text of the two plays was set from the author's draft which did not receive theatrical annotations. The fact that the text is arranged in a logical order, and that many of the stage directions are inserted in the middle of the speeches to specify the timing of the actions, indicate that the author wrote the speeches and the stage directions in sequence. It seems well within the bounds of possibility that Killigrew's arrangement of the dramatic text reflects his reading, or in other words, his sources.

Killigrew is known to have been familiar with the contemporary French romance, but some of the English translations of the French works he refers to in his plays or he used as their sources were published, in fact, later than the composition dates of his plays.[48] There are no extant records to show whether Killigrew could already read French when he started writing plays. If he could, he would have used French editions. Considering the other possibility, Harbage suggests that Killigrew might have accessed the French works through oral translation or English translations published in manuscript (p. 152). Harbage infers that Killigrew had been familiar with Walter Montague's English translations of French works published in manuscript, well before they were sent to the press from the former's reference to an English translation of *The Accomplished Woman* probably by Montague at 2.2 of *The Parson's Wedding* written about 1641, fourteen years earlier than the first issue of Montague's translation in 1655.[49] According to Harbage, Killigrew used Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin's romance, *Ariana* as a source of his three plays, *Claracilla*, *The Prisoners*, and *The Princess: or, Love at First Sight* (pp. 152-59). Harbage's tabulation of parallels between *Ariana* and Killigrew's plays clearly shows that they resemble closely to one another in their themes and

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[47] Killigrew, *The Prisoners and Claracilla* (1641), sigs A2^r-A6^v.
[48] Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (1967), pp. 148-51. For the discussion about the influence of the French romance on Killigrew's stage directions, see below.
[49] Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (1967), p. 152. Although Harbage writes that Montague's translation of *The Accomplish'd Woman* appeared in print in 1652, there is no record of the 1652 edition in STC. STC records the editions of 1655 and 1671, noting the latter is the second edition.

plots (pp. 153-58). Besides, in *Claracilla*, Killigrew named the main male character Melitus after the hero of *Ariana*.[50] In naming the play *Claracilla* after its heroine, Killigrew followed the manner adopted by Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin who named his romance *Ariana* after its heroine.[51] The first English translation of *Ariana* appeared in print in 1636.[52] It seems too late for the 1636 edition to be used by Killigrew as a source of *The Prisoners* and *The Princess* if he had finished writing them by 1636 as Harbage conjectures.[53] Nevertheless, if the anonymous English translation of *Ariana* was the work of Walter Montague as Harbage speculates, it is possible that he had actually read his draft.[54] But with regard to *Claricilla* which was licensed to be staged in 1639, Killigrew could have accessed the 1636 English edition of *Ariana* when he was completing his plays. Even if the 1636 translation was not the work of Montague, and even if Killigrew did not use the edition, it would still be worth describing general characteristics of its text as they must reflect textual elements of the French romance, which might have had some influence over Killigrew's dramatic writing.

The 1636 edition is divided into two parts each of which is subdivided into eight books. The text of each book is divided into paragraphs. Each paragraph consists of narratives, both direct and indirect speeches, the text of letters and some verses composed by characters. There are no equivalent signs to quotation marks to indicate the beginning and the end of each direct speech. Each event in the story is described in the order of their occurrence, and direct speeches sometimes respond to characters' actions described in the narratives. A paragraph of Book 3 of Part I depicts Mercelin's thwarted rape of Ariana. When Ariana is purifying herself at a chamber of Diana's temple, Diana descends from heaven and tells her that she will send her a husband. Whilst Ariana expects Melintus to appear, it turns out to be Mercelin, whom she detests, that Diana has chosen for her husband. The text is presented as follows.

but when her sight was more confirm'd, and she knew him to be *Mercelin*,

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[50] Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (1967), p. 159.
[51] Ibid.
[52] *Ariana, In Two Parts* (London, 1636).
[53] Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (1967), p. 145.
[54] Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (1967), p. 152, p. 145. For Killigrew's attendance on Montague's travel to the Continent, see *DNB*, 'Thomas Killigrew.' Killigrew accompanied Montague on his travel to France and Italy in 1635-1636.

she then recover'd her senses, and having no respect to the Goddesse, she came out of the water, putting about her a great linnen cloth, and all wet as she was hid her selfe in the bed, so inwrapping her about, that shee could neither be seene nor touched. *Diana* ascended againe into heaven, and left that which remained, to be finished by *Mercelin*, [. . .] he aborded his Mistresse with these words: Why hide you your selfe from me, divine *Ariana*? I am not so terrible: None in the world besides you flyes from me; [. . .] The more *Mercelin* continued his discourse, the more did she hide her in bed: but he seeing his speeches were to no purpose, went on speaking for all that: Alas! *Ariana*, [. . .] give me but some hope to asswage the ardent affection that torments me. After that, laying him downe upon the bed, as dying for love, he said, Helpe me, faire *Ariana*, and give me my life: I [. . .] am brought to this point, but for adoring you with too much respect. But *Ariana* deafe to all those supplications, constrained him in the end to cry out, O gods! Oh *Cupids!* Ayd mee.[55]

The genre of the French romance can be positioned between drama and novel because of the extensive use of the direct speeches and the narratives. The speeches in the romance occasionally occupy a whole paragraph, and its copiousness constitutes a dramatic element of the romance. The function of the narratives is to join the speeches, making a logical connection between them. The narratives serve to relate the speeches and events in the order of their occurrence, explaining their context and timing. Their function occasionally coincides with that of literary stage directions of a play in describing the characters' unspoken actions on the stage. According to Paulina Kewes, 'the principal narrative sources of Restoration drama were romances, novels, and historical accounts.'[56] Considering the fact that Killigrew used the French romance as the source of *Claracilla*, *The Prisoners* and *The Princess*, his narrative-like stage directions observed throughout the duodecimo edition of the first two

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[55] *Ariana,* (London, 1636), G3^v.
[56] Paulina Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation: Writing for the Stage in England, 1660-1710* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), p. 76.

plays may well partly be attributed to the influence of the narratives of the romance.

Whilst Killigrew's literary interest is directly reflected in his method of writing the two plays of the 1640 duodecimo, their 1664 folio versions display the accomplishment of the art of play editing first established by Ben Jonson in his 1616 folio. Before investigating the editorial alterations made to the texts of the two plays in the Killigrew folio of 1664, I will briefly describe general characteristics of the folio edition. The volume contains eleven plays Killigrew wrote probably between 1635 and 1654.[57] The title page for the whole volume reads:

> COMEDIES, | AND | TRAGEDIES. | WRITTEN BY | Thomas Killigrew, | Page of Honour to King *CHARLES* the First. | AND | Groom of the Bed-Chamber to King | *CHARLES* the Second. | *LONDON*, | Printed for *Henry Herringman*, at the Sign of the *Anchor* in | the Lower Walk of the *New-Exchange*. 1664.[58]

The title page of the book follows the convention of naming collected works of plays 'Comedies and Tragedies' as has been adopted by preceding folio collections such as the Shakespeare folio of 1623 and the Beaumont and Fletcher folio of 1647. The inscription of the author's cavalier status as 'Page of Honour to King Charles the First' and 'Groom of the Bed-Chamber to King Charles the Second' indicates his royalist allegiance both in the Interregnum and in the Restoration. Zachary Lesser states that 'some indication of the author's elevated social status on the title page' is often found together with other literary characteristics such as 'continuous printing' in earlier printed plays.[59] The specification of Killigrew's status on the title page also suggests that the publication of the collected plays was intended to be a literary project.

On the opposite page is the engraving of Killigrew sitting at the desk above which

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[57] Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (1967), p. 145, p, 204, pp. 211-12, pp. 218-19; Killigrew, *Comedies, and Tragedies* (1664), sig. V2^r.

[58] Killigrew, *Comedies, and Tragedies* (1664), *1^r.

[59] For the indication of the social status of the author on the title page of printed plays, see Lesser, *Renaissance Drama*, p. 67.

hangs the portrait of Charles I. The engraving by William Faithorne (1616-1691) is based on an oil portrait painted by William Sheppard (*fl.* 1650-1660) in 1650.[60] Below the engraved portrait is a coat of arms with an inscription which reads 'Thomas Killigrew Page of Honour to King Charles the first Groom of the Bedchamber to King Charles the Second and his Ma[ties]: Resident with the Republique of Venice in the yeare 1650' ($\pi1^v$). That the frontispiece shows the portrait of Charles I and the year 1650, a year after the King's execution, suggests that the folio pays tributes to the memory of the late King while it celebrates the Restoration of Charles II. The Killigrews are known to have enjoyed royal patronage since the time of Sir Robert, Thomas's father.[61] The homage paid to Charles I may have arisen from Thomas's gratitude for the privilege the Killigrews had received. But it is more likely that his decision to state his service to the late King on both the title page and the frontispiece of the 1664 folio resulted from the grant of a yearly pension of £400 for his continued allegiance to Charles I, which was awarded under the favour of Charles II.[62] This is supported by the existence of a copy of the folio bearing the frontispiece from Charles II's library.[63] The copy was in all probability presented to the King by the author. The colophon of the title page for the whole volume shows the book-seller's name, his shop's address and the publication year of the book.

The main title page is followed by a blank verso and the author's address 'To the Reader' on $*2^r$. The address reads:

> To the Reader, | I Shall only say, If you have as much | leasure to Read as I had to Write these Plays, you may, as I did, find | a diversion; though I wish it you upon better terms then Twenty Years Banishment. | Yours, | THO. KILLIGREW. ($*2^r$)

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[60] Albert Wertheim, 'A New Light on the Dramatic Works of Thomas Killigrew', *Studies in Bibliography*, 24 (1971), 149-52 (pp. 149-50).

[61] J. P. Vander Motten, *Sir William Killigrew (1606-1695): His Life and Dramatic Works* (Gent: Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, 1980), pp. 11-60.

[62] For the pension Killigrew received after the Restoration for his former service to King Charles I, see Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (1967), p. 111.

[63] For Charles II's copy of the folio, see Greg, *A Bibliography*, III (1957), 1086. Greg doubts whether the frontispiece was included in all copies of the folio, reporting that its size is larger than many copies of the volume.

Despite its briefness, the author's statement prefaced to the collected plays demonstrates his approval of the canon presented by the book and confirms his involvement in its publication. The reference to his exile during the Interregnum reinforces his royalist allegiance which has already been expressed in the frontispiece and the title page. Neither dedicatory epistles nor commendatory verses are included in the volume. As I have already discussed in Chapter 2, the paratext of the dramatic publications has often presented the claim that their plays represent poetry. The claim located in the authors' epistles or the commendatory verses prefixed to the dramatic texts has played a role of a threshold between the stage on which the play texts were performed and the books in which those texts are presented to be read. The absence of the claim that the plays are worth reading or private study, suggests a possibility that it was unnecessary for Killigrew and the other editors of the 1664 folio to expressly represent the plays contained in the volume as literature. In fact, six plays among the eleven included in the folio were 'closet dramas' which were designed to be read and not to be acted.[64] The six plays are two parts of *Cicilia and Clorinda, or, Love in Arms*, two parts of *Thomaso, or, The Wanderer* and two parts of *Bellamira her Dream: or, The Love of Shadows*. As clearly expressed by Killigrew himself in the address 'To the Reader', the six plays in the folio were written in his exile for 'diversion', or more precisely, purely for the sake of his literary interest.[65] As far as the six closet drams are concerned, they were never written for the theatre but originally designed to be read as literature. As his original motivation to write the closet dramas was conterminous with the purpose of their publication in the folio, the author and the editors of the volume probably did not feel the need to claim the literary quality of the plays in the paratext.

What ensues after the author's address is 'A Catalogue of the Names of *Comedies* and *Tragedies* contained in the Volume' (*2^v). The catalogue details the titles of the plays, their genres and the scene locations for each play. Each play in the volume is provided with an individual title page. Each title page shows the title of the play, its genre, the scene locations, and the author's name. The author's name is often followed by the place of the play's composition. The name of the play's dedicatee precedes the colophon which reveals the

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[64] Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (1967), pp. 203-204.
[65] Killigrew, *Comedies, and Tragedies* (1664), sig. *2^r.

printer of each play as John Macocke. The separate title pages for the first nine plays show Henry Herringman as the book-seller, but those of the last two, *Claricilla* and *The Prisoners*, preserve the name of Andrew Crook with the address of his shop. The year 1663 is shown as the date of the printing of each play. The conventions of placing an individual title page for each play, and of specifying their genres and dedicatees in the publication of collected plays, were adopted by Ben Jonson in his 1616 folio for the first time. The influence of the Jonsonian editorial convention is also detected in other editorial arrangements in the Killigrew folio.[66] As observed in the plays included in the 1616 folio of Ben Jonson, the Killigrew folio provides dramatis personae together with the scene locations on the page precedent to the beginning of each play. The text of the dialogue is printed in a single column on the page in the Killigrew collection as in the 1616 Jonson folio. The most conspicuous influence of the Jonson folio on the Killigrew collection is found in the stage directions printed in the margins of the page.

Examining the elaborate stage directions in the two parts of *Bellamira her Dream*, Harbage denies the possibility that the stage directions are later additions to the plays in the revision for their publication in the folio.[67] He even writes, 'Killigrew was not the type of author who revises his work. Such revision as was necessary (in the spelling for instance) was probably left to the printer' (p. 217). As far as the two parts of *Bellamira her Dream* are concerned, the texts were published in the 1664 folio for the first time. The absence of the previous versions deprives us of a means to know about the textual transition of the plays. Without the previous versions of the plays which would have permitted comparison of textual variants of the texts, it is impossible to conclude whether or not any part of the text of the plays is an addition. As previously mentioned, including the two parts of *Bellamira her Dream*, six plays of the eleven contained in the 1664 folio were closet dramas which were not intended to be staged but to be read.

As to the remaining five, I have already stated that two of them, *Claricilla* and *The Prisoners* were staged probably in 1637, and that their pre-Restoration texts are extant in print

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[66] For the Jonsonian textualism, see Chapter 3.
[67] Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (1967), p. 217.

as a collection entitled '*The Prisoner and Claracilla. Two Tragæ-Comedies*'.[68] Harbage asserts that *The Princess* was also staged before the closing of the theatres in 1642 on the basis of Sumuel Pepys's comment on the play in 1661, 'the first time that it hath been acted since before the troubles'.[69] But as the play appeared in print in the 1664 folio for the first time, it is impossible to know to what extent the play was revised for publication. Judging from the internal evidence, Harbage and Greg concur that *The Parson's Wedding* was written to be staged before 1642, but there is no extant records to show that the play was performed. Its text was never printed before 1664. According to the separate title page in the 1664 volume, *The Pilgrim* was written in Paris in 1651 when the author had already started shifting his interest to closet dramas.[70] In spite of its late composition, Harbage points out that the play might have been 'for the strolling actors employed by Prince Charles in Paris' (p. 5). The 1664 text of the play is the only extant version. Therefore, among the eleven plays contained in the Killigrew folio of 1664, *Claricilla* and *The Prisoners* are the only two plays which underwent public performance and are preserved in two editions – the 1641 duodecimo and the 1664 folio, and which can show the editorial transition between the two versions. Especially if one text was set from the other, the comparison of the two versions enables the extraction of additions and omissions made to the later version of the text.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the two plays, *Claricilla* and *The Prisoners* were not entered in the Stationers' Register by Henry Herringman with the other nine plays printed in the folio on 24 October 1663.[71] In addition, their individual imprints in the first issue of the folio bear the name of Andrew Crooke as their publisher.[72] Andrew Crooke entered *The Prisoners* on 2 April 1640 and *Claricilla* on 4 August 1640 and published them in one volume as '*The Prisoners and Claracilla. Two Tragae-Comedies*' in 1641.[73] As previously discussed, the fact that the name of the publisher of the 1641 collection was printed in the imprints of

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[68] Killigrew, *The Prisoners and Claracilla* (1641).
[69] Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (1967), p. 172. However, I have been unable to locate the comment in *Pepys's Diary*. From the part of the comment quoted by Harbage, it is not clear if 'it' really indicates *The Princess*.
[70] Killigrew, *Comedies, and Tragedies* (1664), sig. Ll1^r; Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (1967), pp. 203-204.
[71] *Worshipful Company of Stationers*, II, 331.
[72] Killigrew, *Comedies, and Tragedies* (1664), sigs. a1^r, f4^r.
[73] See Chapter 4; *A Transcript of the Registers*, IV (1877), 478, 491; Killigrew, *The Prisoners and Claracilla* (1641); Greg, *Bibliography*, III, 1084-85.

Claricilla and *The Prisoners* in the 1664 folio indicates that Herringman and Crooke had planned to publish the folio plays jointly.[74] This enables inference that the copies of the two plays, *Claricilla* and *The Prisoners*, were provided by Crooke for the 1664 collection. It is possible that the 1641 edition was used to prepare the copy-texts of the two plays for the 1664 folio. Therefore, regardless of whether the two folio plays were set up from the copy-text based on the 1641 edition, or directly on the copies which were purchased by Andrew Crooke and used to prepare the copy-text of the 1641 edition, it can be concluded that the text of the two plays in the 1664 folio and that of the 1641 duodecimo derived from the same antecedent, and that the 1664 edition presents a later version of each play. The premise that the copy-texts of the two plays for the 1664 folio descended from the same antecedent as the 1641 edition leads to the theory that editorial alterations made to the plays can be extracted by comparison of the two versions. Not all the textual alterations were necessarily made for the literary purpose of republishing the plays, because *Claricilla* was revived on the stage before the publication of the 1664 folio. Some changes especially in the dialogue were probably made to suit the play for the Restoration stage. Bearing this in mind, I have collated the two versions of *Claricilla* and those of *The Prisoners* to examine the editorial operations which were performed on the two plays.

In both the two plays, the names of the heroines are different between the two editions: Craracilla in D *Claracilla* (D_c) is altered to Craricilla in F *Claricilla* (F_c); and Cecillia in D *The Prisoners* (D_p) appears as Lysimella in F *The Prisoners* (F_p). Gallipus in D_p is also changed to Gillipus in F_p. The misprint of 'Gallipus' for 'Gillipus' in 'The Names of the Actors' in F_p supports the theory that the copy-text of the folio text was set up from D_p. The text of the two plays is printed in verse in D, and that of F is presented in prose as the other nine plays preceding in the volume. D *Claricilla* retains 17 lines which are removed from the folio version, and 18 lines are added to F_c. *The Prisoners* is more extensively revised: some 37 lines are found only in D_p and 57 lines are added to F_p. Most of the alterations made in the text of the dialogue of the two plays in F are rewordings. The pronoun 'a' in D_c is replaced by 'he' throughout in F_c.[75] The two words, 'this' and 'the' are used

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[74] See Chapter 4.

[75] Killigrew, *The Prisoners and Claracilla* (1641), sigs D1^r-F11^v, *passim*; Killigrew, *Comedies, and*

interchangeably between the two texts of *Claricilla*. The plural 'hands' in F_c (e1^v) is substituted for 'Arme' of D_c (F3^r). The words 'wonne', 'stood', 'adornes' and 'with scorne' in D_c (D3^v) are replaced by 'worn', 'stand', 'adorn' and 'in scorns' in F_c respectively (a3^v). The conjunction 'whilst' used in D_c (E9^r, F10^v) is altered into 'while' in F_c (d2^r, f3^v). The contraction 'dee' in D_c (F8^v) is expanded into 'do you' in F_c (f1^v). The wording in F_p is often more specific compared to D_p. Pausanes's words, ''T' was he' in D_p (B6^r) is revised to read ''Twas Gillipus' in F_p (h4^r). Zenon's line in D_p, 'It should be any mans power to scorne | What I sacrifice to' (B7^r) is altered into 'it should be in any mortals power to scorn that deity which I sacrifice to' in F_p (i1^r). Gallippus's order given to Zenon, 'Pursue her' in D_p (B8^r) is provided with the escapee's name in F_p: 'pursue Leucanthe' (i1^r). Hipparchus's line addressed to Leucanthe, 'O do not hide | It from me' in D_p (B10^r) is modified into 'O do not hide your name from me' in F_p (i2^r).

In the 1664 folio *Claricilla*, act-and-scene divisions are newly introduced. The duodecimo version is divided into five acts with no scene divisions. Both D and F *The Prisoners* are divided into acts and scenes. The most striking feature about the revision of the folio plays is the addition of the marginal stage directions. The practice of setting the stage directions in the margin at the side of the fore-edge reflects a strong influence of Jonsonian textual editing. In F *Claricilla*, 46 stage directions are added to specify addressees of the speeches, indicate asides and describe silent actions. Reich's documentations of the textual variants between the three extant texts of *Claricilla* show that most of the stage directions correspond between the manuscript and the duodecimo and that the F-only directions are added when the printer's copy for the folio version was prepared.[76] He states that the F-only stage directions 'represent generally the stage situation' and are 'apparently intended to facilitate reading' (p. 62, p78). Furthermore, investigating Killigrew's manuscript marginalia and textual alterations made to his copy of the folio edition for the staging of his plays, Reich reports that the original folio and Killigrew's copy were revised in much the same method (p. 86). F *The Prisoners* is also provided with 32 new stage directions which serve the same functions as those of F *Claricilla*. The added stage directions to specify addressee of the

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Tragedies (1664), sigs. a2^r-f3^v, *passim*.
[76] See note 38 above.

speeches in F *Claricilla* are 'Turning to Appius' (a2^r [p. 3]), 'He turnes to Seleucus' (b1^r [p. 9]), 'He turns to Philemon' (d4^r [p. 31]), 'Speaks to Tullius' (e1^r [p. 33]) and 'To Melintus' (e1^r [p. 33]). All but one of these directions occur in the margin alongside the points when the speakers address a different character in one speech from the one to whom they have been speaking. Only the first direction is placed at the end of the King's speech addressed to Appius, but the point of timing when Seleucus, the first addressee of the King's lines exits and the latter turns to Appius is indicated by hyphens. Seleucus' exit is marked in the margin next to the line where the hyphens occur. The points when the speakers change their addressees are marked by hyphens in the two texts of *Claricilla*. These hyphens are often found in D *Claricilla* without directions. The convention of specifying an addressee of the speech was employed by Ben Jonson first in his 1616 folio plays. The addition of these change-of-addressee directions in the 1664 folio version of *Claricilla* indicates that the editor of the play introduced the textual practice in imitation of Jonsonian textual editing. Such change-of-addressee directions appearing in F *The Prisoners* are only two, of which one is taken from the duodecimo edition. Towards the end of 5.3 of F$_p$, when Theagines, the Judge blesses Pausanese and Hipparchus on their reunion by saying 'On thee then fall a blessing; but on thee my Son a thou-|sand, thousand blessings; all that a weeping Father can with peni-|tent tears call down fill thy days', the stage direction, '*He turns to* | Hip.' occurs in the right marigin alongside the first two lines (k4^r). The direction indicates the latter part of Theagines's speech is addressed to Hipparchus, his son. The absence of the stage direction in the counter part of the duodecimo text suggests that the marginal direction was newly added when the copy-text of the folio version was prepared.[77] The addition of the marginal direction in the folio text reveals an editorial intention to clarify the parent-child relationship between Theagines and Hipparchus. The marginal annotation was probably placed to help the reader to instantly know that the addressee whom Theagines calls 'my Son' was Hipparchus (F$_p$: k4^r).

The other direction, 'Speaks aside to Pausanes' in F *The Prisoners* (i2^r [p. 67]) is copied from 'Speakes aside to Pausanes' in D$_p$ (B9^v). Although the folio direction was transcribed from the duodecimo text, it was placed in a different position in the text from the

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[77] Killigrew, *The Prisoners and Claracilla* (1641), sig. C10^v.

counterpart of D_p. In D *The Prisoners*, the direction occurs in the middle of Hipparchus's part dividing interjectional words and the ensuing lines. The text is printed as follows.

> *Hip*. Passe? Yes faire one, I dare let you pasee
>
> And through all hazards serve you. O *Pausanes*,
>
> <div align="right"><i>Speakes aside to Pausanes</i></div>
>
> Live to counsell me, something like thy description
>
> I feele here. (B9^v)

What deserves consideration is the point of timing at which the stage direction occurs. When the reader looks through the quoted part of Hipparchus, the text is followed in the order as below: "'O Pausanese," *Speakes aside to Pausanese* "Live to counsell me, something like thy description I feele here"' (B9^v). Occurring at a pause marked by a comma after the interjection, the stage direction is embedded in Hipparchus's speech as if it was a narrative inserted in the dialogic part of the novel. The text of the speech and the stage direction is arranged in the order of events and the reader can instantly recognise which part of the speech is addressed to Pausanese in an aside in the duodecimo text.

In the counterpart of F_p, the stage direction is inserted with a bracket at the end of Hipparchus's speech. It is not a sort of direction as is placed in the margin alongside speeches. Hipparchus's speech and the direction are set as follows.

> *Hip.* Pass! Yes, fair one, I dare let you pass, and through all ha-
>
> Zards serve you; O *Pausanes*, live to counsel me; something like
>
> thy description I feel here.   [*Speaks aside to Pausanes*. (i2^r)

Although it is not difficult to discern the lines addressed to Pausanes, the layout of the F text reduces the element of narrative in the stage direction by placing it outside the flow of the speech. The text of the speeches in the folio text is printed as prose, and it defies the interposition of stage directions in the middle of each speech. Consequently, stage directions in the folio plays are excluded from the continuity of each speaking part. Therefore, the differentiation between speeches and stage directions in the appearance of the text is more

clearly made in the folio edition than the duodecimo.

The indication of asides is not an invention of the editor of the Killigrew folio. D *Claracilla* indicates that a speech of Seleucus is an aside by stating 'Seleucus salutes him and speakes by' (D6^v). Four of five stage directions for asides in *The Prisoners* have already occurred in the duodecimo text. One such direction appears in the form of predicate immediately after Cecillia's part in D: '*Speakes aside*' (B4^r). The subject of the verb 'Speakes' is Cecillia who reveals her secret love for Pausanes by her aside 'Oh woman, woman, woman still' (D$_p$: B4^r). The corresponding direction '*Speaks aside*' in F$_p$ (h3^r) was derived from D$_p$. F *The Prosoners* includes an indication for an aside in a speech prefix for Hermit: '*Hermit, aside.*' (k4^r). One aside for Philemon is added in the margin in F *Claricilla* immediately after the stage direction for his entry. The marginal direction appears as 'Philemon | *aside* | Ha! Manlius' (b2^v). In this scene, it is fifty-six lines after his entrance that Philemon is given his first speech. He is made to appear on the stage and stand aside and listen to the long discourse between Manlius and Tullius until he discovers the cause that Manlius was disgraced by Silvander, the usurper. The inserted direction for Philemon's aside in F$_c$ helps to confirm that he has to be there from the point of his entrance to learn about Manlius's past and his loyalties. As represented by the above, the additional stage directions in F serve to fill in the splits between the dialogues to complete the whole stories of the two plays.

Of the 46 stage directions added to F *Claricilla*, 37 directions were descriptions of the characters' actions on the stage. A marginal stage direction, 'He draws his Sword', is inserted in the left side of Appius's line: ''Tis an Honour, and I accept it ----- And thus I give it, Follow me' (a2^v). The hyphens that occur in his speech indicate the timing of his action. In the corresponding part of D$_c$, neither the direction nor the hyphens appear. Some such directions in F$_c$ read: 'They fight.' (a3^v); '[Silvander wounded' (a3^v); 'He takes her from him.' (b1^v); 'Seleucus turns sleightly from Menlitus.' (b1^v). In F *The Prisoners*, newly added directions are 27 of which 13 directions are concerned with the characters' actions on the stage. I will give some examples of such directions in F$_p$: 'Hipparchus laughs.' (g2^r); 'She looks back as she goes out.' (h1^r); 'Zenon discover himself.' (h4^v); 'Gillipus lays hold on her and pulls her.' (k1^r). As in F$_c$, hyphens occur in the text of speeches to indicate the timing of

221

the actions, but their occurrence in F_p is not as consistent as F_c.

Where the text of D *Claracilla* presents a bare entrance for Silvander at 1.3 (D2^v), F_c's stage direction provides a more detailed description of the scene. The corresponding passages of the two versions appear respectively as follows:

Enter Claracilla and Olinda.

Olin. Fly Madam, these enemies bring your freedome.

Cla. Be constant Heaven.   *Enter Silvander.*

Sil. What ho, *Claracilla*, gentle *Claracilla*

Dost thou flie me too, nay then I'me lost indeed. (D: D2^v)

Enter Claricilla *and* Olinda.

Olinda. Fly, Madam, and leave'em, for these enemies bring our

     freedom.

Clar. Be constant heaven.   [*Exeunt.*

Enter Sivander *wounde*d, and sees Claricilla *fly to his enemies.*

Silvand. What, ho *Claricilla*, gentle *Claricilla*, do'st thou fly me

too? nay then I'me lost indeed ... (F: a3^r [p. 5])

The information with which the F stage direction supplements the scene is the relationship between Claricilla and Silvander and that of the former with the latter's enemies. Comparison of the two texts clearly shows that the supplementary information added to the F direction guides the reader to better understand the meaning of Silvander's loss. It conveys that Silvander received his wound from his enemies who invaded the territory to rescue Claricilla and that Claricilla turned to them for help. Although the arrival of the enemies are referred to by Olinda, the counterpart of duodecimo version does not clarify whose enemies they are. It is possible to gather from the previous scene that they were the army sent from Claricilla's father, the King, to bring back his daughter. But what the F's direction makes possible for the reader is to understand the context of the scene without referring back to the previous pages.

222

In the same scene in F_c, wounded Melintus enters and delivers a line addressed to Silvander: ''Tis not you I look for, — 'Tis something that | shot from heaven before me' (a3^r [p. 5]). A marginal direction alongside of the first line of his speech reads, 'He saw Claricilla in her flight.' (a3^r [p. 5]). What is remarkable about this marginal note is that it does not describe Melintus' action on the stage but a past event which is assumed to have occurred sometime before he enters the stage. As Claricilla exits eight lines before Melintus' entrance and there seems no way even for the theatre audiences to know that he saw her fly. There is no doubt that the marginal note is intended to explain the context of Melintus' speech. The note serves to inform the reader that Melintus delivers his lines knowing that Claricilla has gone. Such direction as describe an offstage event occurs also in F *The Prisoners*. At 1.5 where Pausanes helps Lysimella to escape from Gillipus, a stage direction occurs after her cry for help: '[She runs out, and meets the King her Brother.' (g4^v). This description is followed by the entry direction for the king: 'Enter the King, and Souldiers, they beat off Gillipus and Zenon, and take Hipparchus and Pausanes.' (g4^v). The theatre audiences do not see Lysimella meet her brother. What they can see is Lysimella running out from the stage crying for help. Therefore, the stage direction for her offstage meeting with the king is virtually a replacement of an exit direction for Lysimella.

What is needed to be added here is the fact that both the duodecimo and folio texts of the two plays preserve no directions for music. Both plays preserve such directions as 'A Charge' (F_c: a2^v) and 'Alarm' (F_p: h3^v). There is a song sung by Pausanes with musical accompaniment by Hipparcgus at 2.3 of *The Prisoners*. Before the song is sung, Lysimella remarks music. The dialogue between Lysimella and Philon appears as following:

> Lys. Hark, what's that, a Lute? Are they musical?
>
> Phil. One of 'em plays and sings.
>
> Lys. Prithee, let's hear. (F_p: h2^r).

This is followed by the heading of 'A Song' and its lyrics. As the corresponding part of D_p also does not preserve any direction for music, the absence of the direction in the folio text

cannot be attributed to later expurgation made by the editor in preparing the printer's copy. But the paucity of directions for music in the two versions of the two plays suggests that the text of the two plays was prepared under the influence of the textual convention of eliminating musical directions. In fact, stage directions for music appear in only one play in the 1664 folio. *The Parson's Wedding* preserves two directions for music.[78] Musical directions are scarcely found in the plays published by Herringman in the 1660s with the exception of eight plays.[79] Especially the plays of John Dryden and Robert Howard which were published between 1664 and 1667 retain no stage direction either for music or for offstage sound effects.

Comparison between the 1640 duodecimo and the 1664 folio of Thomas Killigrew's two plays, *Claricilla* and *The Prisoners* demonstrates that the latter text underwent elaborate editorial procedures under the influence of the 1616 Jonson folio. The influence of Jonsonian textual editing is directly reflected by the marginal stage directions. Such marginal directions as specify addressees of the speeches are introduced in the folio plays in imitation of Jonsonian textual practice. It can be stated that Jonsonian textual editing which was established in the 1616 works of Jonson underwent restoration in the 1664 Killigrew collection with some expansion of more literary textual practice. The editor of the 1664 collection was probably Killigrew himself as some of the additional stage directions describe offstage fictional events which could be reconstructed by none other but the author. Killigrew also added more narrative elements to his stage directions than Jonson did in his folio plays. The former established the system of verbal indication of asides whereas the latter employed occasional parentheses to mark them. The suppression of musical directions in *The Prisoners* bears a close similarity to that of Q *The Mayor of Quinborough* and other dramatic publications of the Herringman canon. The Jonsonian textual practice as revived in the early

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[78] They read: 'The Fidlers play in the Tyring Room, and the Stage Curtains are Drawn, and discover a Chamber, as it was, with two Beds and the Ladies asleep in them; Master Wild being at Mistris Pleasant's Bed-side, and Master Careless at the Widow's ; The Musick awakes the Widow.' (S2r); 'The Music playes.' (V1^{r}).

[79] One of the eight plays is Killigrew's *The Parson's Wedding*. The other seven are: Thomas Porter, *The Villan* (London, 1663); Thomas Porter, *The Carnival* (London, 1664); George Etherege, *The Comical Revenge; or, Love in a Tub* (London, 1664); George Etherege, *She Wou'd If She Cou'd* (London, 1668); Charles Sedley, *The Mulberry-Garden* (London, 1668); Thomas Serfe, *Tarugo's Wiles: or, The Coffee-House* (London, 1668); Thomas Shadwell, *The Royal Shepherdess* (London, 1669).

Restoration dramatic publications took root in the soil of editorial culture in late seventeenth-century England. Such textual practice of literary editing as developed by Killigrew in his 1664 folio under the influence of the Jonsonian convention continued to be adopted in the Restoration dramatic editions published by Herringman and was to be eventually inherited by the editors employed by his successor, Jacob Tonson.

Conclusion

As has been observed in the previous chapters, the concept and practice of literary editing of the seventeenth-century English drama originated from humanist convention of textual editing of the classical literature in Continental Europe. The restoration of the classics brought by Continental humanist editors encouraged English humanists to re-create writings of the ancient authors in their vernacular language. The process of re-creating or rewriting the works of others in translation contributed to the formation of vernacular textual editing. A common goal of the Continental and English humanist editors was the pursuit of the accurate meaning of the author's text in the absence of the author. Thus, the humanist textual scholars strived to establish the authority of their copy-text on the basis of scientific reasoning. The idealised restoration of the accurate meaning of the authorial text promoted the publicity of the authoritative text on the title pages of literary publications. The scholarly interest in the textual accuracy percolated through intellectual readers in England and created an elitist mode in the vernacular literary publication. In such a literary trend, plays came to be published as literature by vernacular intellectual writers such as Ben Jonson and his disciples.

Jonson's achievements in the vernacular dramatic publication were the introduction of humanist editorial convention into his printed plays and the establishment of literary editorial practice to transform stage plays into dramatic readings. He began experimenting in humanistic textual editing on his early quarto plays. The main features of Jonson's editorial practice in the quartos are the use of massed entries, the elimination of theatrical stage directions and the inclusion of an argument and dramatis personae. The quarto text of *Sejanus* offers a conspicuous case of the playwright's attempts to produce a scholarly edition of the play by providing scholarly annotations in the margin of each page. While the elimination of theatrical directions represents the Jonsonian convention of literary editing in his quarto plays, the playwright started to include marginal stage directions to describe the characters' actions in Q *Alchemist* in 1612. The marginal directions in the 1616 folio plays were probably based on recollections of actual performances. They were inserted to facilitate the reader's

understanding the context of the dialogue. By providing verbal descriptions of nonverbal elements in the play, Jonson intended to integrate his dramas into literary reading texts. At the confluence of the humanist textual convention and the playwright's stage-based textual practice, the 1616 folio edition became a model for later editors who produced literary dramatic manuscripts or printer's copy.

Ralph Crane applied the Jonsonian textual convention to his literary transcripts and the copy-text of some plays in the 1623 Shakespeare folio. Jonson's influence over Crane's editorial practice is detected in the absence of theatrical directions and his occasional use of massed entries in his transcripts. Although the expurgation of directions for music is probably the most conspicuous feature of Crane's editorial practice, he occasionally incorporated musical directions into literary directions probably in order to distinguish them from such as would have been inserted for purely theatrical purpose.

Such plays as were edited under the influence of the Jonsonian convention by other editors than Crane started to appear in print after the Restoration. The internal evidence of the two versions of *The Mayor of Quinborough* indicates that the play underwent literary editing before sent to the press. The quarto's omission of most of the theatrical directions and its addition of literary descriptions of the stage actions signal the revival of the Jonsonian editorial convention in the Restoration dramatic publication. Any counterargument would not go so far as to dismiss my theory that the textual variants of the stage directions between the two versions are attributable to editorial intervention in the quarto text as farfetched. But if each individual textual variance between the two versions which I attributed to editorial intervention was taken out of the context of textual transmission, they would be readily ascribed to no more than difference in provenance of the texts. For instance, the absence of musical directions in the quarto text may well be considered a sign that its copy-text derived from authorial foul papers which had not received theatrical annotations, whilst their fullness in the manuscripts is attributed to an annotator's later insertion made in preparing the play for staging. Even the amplified stage directions of Q have been wrongly accredited to the author as if to support the conjecture that Q descends from the authorial draft. The series of internal evidence can provide a variety of hypotheses about the provenance of the text, and indeed by

taking up an individual specimen of the text for discussion, the previous studies of Q *Mayor of Quinborough* have proposed complex theories about its origins. But as a matter of fact, none of them have yet been either conclusively proved or reconsidered in a broader framework.

The broader framework for discovering the nature of the copy-text of Q *Mayor of Quinborough* is provided by the given historical facts that the play was written by Thomas Middleton, and performed by the King's Men, that a copy of the play was entered in the Stationers' Register by Humphrey Moseley in 1646, and that the text was eventually published by Henry Herringman in 1661. Among the facts listed above, there is a key figure who witnessed the nature of the copy-text of the play and can supply external evidence about the circumstances in which the play reached print. Henry Herringman is the man. He probably had a better knowledge about the nature of the text than scholarship has ever discussed before.

I contextualised the play's transition from script to print within the social framework of the contemporary English book trade investigating the networks of the stationers who made it possible for the play to survive in print.

[1] The investigation of the stationers' networks and material aspects of the book of Q *The Mayor of Quinborough* such as the ornamental device, the recurrent damaged type and the paper enabled me to identify the printer of the quarto play as John Macocke.

A research into the business association between Herringman and Macocke, the producers of Q *The Mayor of Quinborough* which preserves signs of the influence of the Jonsonian editorial practice, led to an investigation into the nature of editorial treatment received by the printed plays the two stationers produced. Indeed, not only the dramatic publications within the Herringman-Macocke canon but also most of the plays published by Herringman with different printers bear indications of the Jonsonian textual editing. Among those plays printed by Macocke for Herringman, only two are extant in a pre-Restoration edition. Thomas Killigrew's *Claricilla* and *The Prisoners* included in the 1664 folio edition

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[1] Historical and sociological approaches to the transition from script to print have been embraced recently by David M. Bergeron, *Textual Patronage in English Drama, 1570-1640* (Aldershot, 2006); Johns, *The Nature of the Book* (1998); Massai, *Shakespeare* (2007); Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print* (2003); Peters, *Theatre of the Book* (2000); Michael Seanger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (Aldershot, 2006).

first appeared in print in the 1641 duodecimo collection. Comparison of the two versions revealed that the editor of the 1664 folio edition, probably Killigrew, prepared its copy-text in imitation of the 1616 Jonson folio. The placement of stage directions in the margin of the fore-edge in the 1664 Killigrew folio reflects the layout of the 1616 folio plays of Jonson. The additional directions to indicate addressees of the speeches are also imitations of the Jonsonian practice. Killigrew suppressed directions for music as Crane did under the influence of Jonson. Whilst being influenced by the Jonsonian editorial convention, the Restoration author-editor amplified narrative-like stage directions and consistently marked asides with verbal indications.

Such editorial method for producing literary dramatic texts as consummated by Killigrew and probably his comrades such as John Dryden, Robert Howard and Henry Herringman was to be inherited by a later generation of editors.[2] Nicholas Rowe is known to have used the fourth folio of Shakespeare (1685) published by Herringman as the base text for his 1709 edition.[3] The 1685 Shakespeare folio is an anomaly in the editorial treatment of stage directions observed in Herringman's dramatic publications. Unlike most of the plays within the Herringman canon, the stage directions of the 1685 folio plays scarcely indicate addressees of speeches and asides. This may simply reflect the status of the edition as a reprint. However, according to Massai, by the year the fourth folio was published, Herringman's contracted editor had been changed from Dryden to Nahum Tate (pp. 187-88). It is possible that the replacement of the editor resulted in a change in the editorial practice in Herringman's dramatic editions. However, where the 1685 folio omits such stage directions as indicating addressees of the speeches and asides, Rowe supplies them in his 1709 edition. For example, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, when Biron changes his addressee in the middle of his speech he added 'To Boyet'(p. 450) where his base text omits such stage direction. He also inserted '[To Nath]' in Costard's speech addressed to Nathaniel (p. 453). Many other such additions made in the 1709 collected plays suggest that Rowe followed the Jonsonian editorial convention embraced by his predecessors.

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[2] For a useful summary of circumstantial evidence for Herringman's employment of Dryden as a professional editor, see Massai, *Shakespeare*, pp. 185-87.

[3] Massai, *Shakespeare*, p. 181; William Shakespeare, *Comedies, Histories and Tragedies* (London: Henry Herringman, 1685).

The starting point of this thesis was the research into the variant texts of *Hengist, King of Kent, or The Mayor of Quinborough*. The investigation into the publication of the quarto edition developed into an elucidation of business connections among stationers including Herringman, his predecessor, Moseley and his successor, Tonson. Herringman collaborated with Restoration dramatists such as Killigrew and Dryden, who established methods of literary editing of early-modern English drama under the influence of the Jonsonian editorial practice and bequeathed them to the next generation of editors represented by Nicholas Rowe. As already mentioned, Rowe was invited to edit Shakespeare's plays by Jacob Tonson, one of Herringman's business associates in his later years, and his virtual successor. Herringman himself was also practically an inheritor of dramatic copies collected by Moseley who worked closely with the Interregnum royalist writers, once called 'Sons of Ben'. The literary circle first formed by Ben Jonson appears to have continued to exist by drawing literary figures of the successive generations until at least the early eighteenth century.[4] Moseley, Herringman and Tonson were all linked to the same circle at different times with different members. But it is no coincidence that the Jonsonian methods of literary editing of early-modern English drama were embraced and developed by the same group of literary figures who shared the belief that plays were literature. Massai also recognises 'the influence and the legacy of the anonymous annotators of Shakespeare on their eighteenth-century successors' while describing 'the rise of proprietary editorship' in 1709 as 'a genuinely radical break'.[5] Her study shows that the influence of the seventeenth-century anonymous editors can be detected up to the late eighteenth century.[6] The present study supports this view by demonstrating the continuity of literary editorial conventions between the seventeenth-century dramatic publication and the emergence of nominal editorship in the eighteenth century. The ground for 'the birth of editing' marked by the 1709 collection of Shakespeare by Rowe was fully prepared by the editorial labour of the seventeenth-century anonymous editors, who continued to enhance the quality of dramatic texts as literature.

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[4] *DNB*, 'Jacob Tonson, the elder'.
[5] Massai, *Shakespeare*, pp. 191-93.
[6] Ibid.

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