

# Shakespeare's Text

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Most readers of Shakespeare know that Macbeth, reproached by Lady Macbeth for seeming cowardice, asserts, "I dare do all that may become a man; / Who dares do more is none" (I.vii.46-47); that Richard III, frightened by a threatening dream, insists defensively, "Richard loves Richard, that is, I am I" (V.iii.183); that Romeo in despair after receiving word of Juliet's supposed death cries out, "Is it e'en so? Then I defy you stars!" (V.i.24); that the villain-bastard Edmund convinces himself that "Edmund the base / Shall top th' legitimate" Edgar (I.ii.20-21); and that as Falstaff lay dying, about to be transported straight to Arthur's bosom, "a babbl'd of green fields" (*Henry V*, II.iii.16-17). What most readers are not aware of, however, is that none of these familiar lines appears in the original, basic texts in exactly the form here quoted; that, in fact, each contains one or more emended words designed to restore meaning to an otherwise corrupt passage.<sup>1</sup> And these are but five out of hundreds of passages in Shakespeare's plays that require some sort of editorial intervention. The different kinds and several sources of textual corruption and what such corruption may imply for the general authority of a particular text, together with an examination of the various bibliographical techniques and approaches that have been devised to recover what may be called the "true text"—these, the disease, its causes, and the proposed remedies, are among the principal subjects of the following essay.

Before we turn, however, to a consideration of the various problems involved in establishing Shakespeare's

<sup>1</sup> The original, unemended readings for these passages may be consulted in the Textual Notes following each play. The passage from *King Lear* is discussed later in this essay (page 38).

text, it will be useful to give a brief statement of what is meant when we speak of the Shakespeare canon, that is, the body of writing (plays and poems) which by general consensus is now accepted as constituting Shakespeare's "works."

So far as the plays are concerned, the bounds of the canon are, with three exceptions, laid down by the contents of the first collected edition of Shakespeare's dramatic works, published by William Jaggard in 1623 and now universally referred to as the First Folio (F1). This collection contains thirty-six plays and forms the central core of the canon. Eighteen of these plays had been published earlier in separate quarto (Q) editions of different degrees of authority, ranging in date from 1594 (*Titus Andronicus*) to 1622 (*Othello*). The remaining eighteen plays were here printed for the first time, and for these plays the First Folio is our sole authority. Since 1623 only two other plays, and two passages from a third, have been generally admitted to the canon: *Pericles*, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and *Sir Thomas More* (two passages only).<sup>2</sup> The first was attributed to Shakespeare on the title-page of the first quarto (Q1) in 1609; the second to John Fletcher and Shakespeare on the title-page of the only quarto edition in 1634. The two passages from the manuscript play *Sir Thomas More* (first printed in 1844) are now widely accepted as by Shakespeare. Indeed, one of the passages, a substantial scene of 147 lines, is believed by many to be written in Shakespeare's autograph (Hand

<sup>2</sup> Although a number of critics, since Capell (1760) first claimed the play for him, have identified Shakespeare's hand in parts (particularly the "Countess scenes") of the anonymous *Edward III* (c. 1590-95), the play has not been included in the present edition. See Kenneth Muir, *Shakespeare as Collaborator* (London, 1960).

D in the manuscript).<sup>3</sup> It should be observed that the inclusion of a play in the canon does not necessarily imply that it is wholly the work of Shakespeare. The questions of Shakespeare's revision of older plays by other hands or his collaboration with other writers are a source of endless disagreement among scholars. Discussion of such matters will be found in the separate critical introductions and, to some extent, in the "Note on the Text" to each play.

The canon of the poems includes *Venus and Adonis*, *The Rape of Lucrece*, the sonnets, "The Phoenix and Turtle," and, in the view of some, "A Lover's Complaint." Five poems that appear elsewhere in Shakespeare's work are included in *The Passionate Pilgrim*; whether any of the unattributed poems in that collection are his is uncertain.

#### I. THE MANUSCRIPTS, OR WHAT LIES BEHIND THE PRINTED TEXTS

The extent of corruption or uncertain authority in Shakespeare's texts will appear strange to most present-day readers, who are accustomed to accept any book they may read as reproducing exactly what the author wrote. Although their faith is in fact not always fully justified, their general assumption is relatively sound. Today there is ordinarily a direct link between the author and the published text, and the line of authority is thus continuous from author to reader. But for Elizabethan-Jacobean printed drama, with rare exceptions (especially the plays of Ben Jonson), the line from author to reader was much more tortuous, even broken. This relative dissociation of author and printed text gives rise to a basic question. What was the source, or sources, of the manuscripts from which Shakespeare's plays were set up by the printer, both the separately published plays (the quartos) and those in the First Folio (1623) collection? Until about sixty years ago no one seems to have given much serious consideration to this question, and yet the answer can tell us a great deal about a number of the problems that plague Shakespeare's text.

Unfortunately, no substantive manuscripts, either authorial or scribal, have survived for the main body of the Shakespeare canon,<sup>4</sup> but it is nevertheless possible from what we know of extant contemporary manuscripts of plays by other writers, and with some aid from the scene in *Sir Thomas More* generally believed to be in Shakespeare's hand, to sketch with some degree of accuracy what may be called the "fortunes" of a dramatic manuscript in the Elizabethan-Jacobean

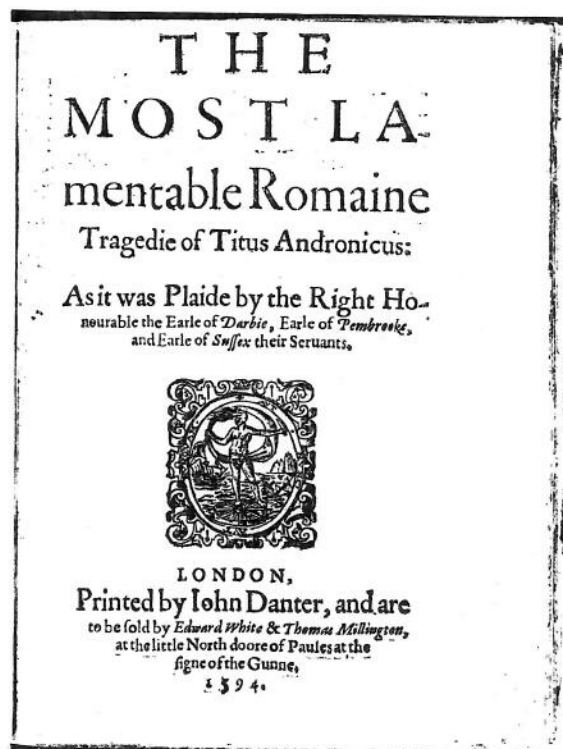
period. After an author had completed his working draft, known then as "foul papers," either he prepared a "fair copy" of it himself, presumably making last-minute changes and adjustments as he copied, or he (or his acting company) hired a professional scribe to make a clean transcript of the "foul papers," which, depending upon opportunity or the author's literary conscience, he might or might not read over to catch errors or make improvements. From what we believe we know of Shakespeare's "foul papers," learned from a study of a number of his plays thought to have been printed from such copy (e.g. *Hamlet*, Q2; *Romeo and Juliet*, Q2; and *Antony and Cleopatra*, F1)<sup>5</sup> and the evidence of the scene from *Sir Thomas More* (see the "Note on the Text" to that play), it is clear that his working drafts presented considerable difficulties for scribes (as later for composers) and that the resulting text could in many significant details be inaccurate or confused. Moreover, there is essentially no evidence that Shakespeare was himself at all concerned with preserving an authoritative text of his plays for future readers. Although he may possibly have seen his two major poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, through the press personally, visiting the printing-house daily to correct, forme by forme, the sheets as they were printed off,<sup>6</sup> there is no evidence to suggest that he interested himself in the publication of a single one of his plays. If he had, we may ask, why did he, after the appearance, for example, of corrupt pirated texts of *Romeo and Juliet* (Q1, 1597) and *Hamlet* (Q1, 1603), permit the so-called "good" quartos of these two plays (Q2, 1599 and 1604) to be printed from his "foul papers" instead of seeing to it that "fair copies" were provided? Or, again, why did he do nothing to see that the pirated texts of *Henry V* (Q1, 1600) and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (Q1, 1602) were replaced by the publication of sound editions during his lifetime? Relevant here also is the question as to why he allowed so many of his plays to remain unpublished. It is true that, generally speaking, once a dramatist had completed a play and sold it to an acting company, he ceased to have any personal rights in it, the play becoming the property of the company, which thus controlled the uses to which the play could be put, including its publication. But even if this impediment was not (as some would argue) more apparent than real, it seems reasonable, considering Shakespeare's eminence in his company and hence his presumed authority, to conclude that his attitude toward his plays, once the immediate excitement of creation had worn off, was more that of a practical man of the theatre, interested in performance and the box-office, than that of a man with deeply-felt literary pretensions, like Jonson, bent on preserving his works in authoritative texts for posterity.

<sup>3</sup> See the discussion of Shakespeare's involvement in *Sir Thomas More* in the introduction to the specially prepared texts of these two passages included in the present edition. These texts are accompanied by photographic reproductions of the three pages believed to be in Shakespeare's autograph.

<sup>4</sup> The earliest extant manuscript of one of Shakespeare's canonical plays is a telescoped version of 1 and 2 *Henry IV*, prepared by Sir Edward Dering about 1623 and based on the earlier quartos. See G. W. Williams and G. B. Evans, eds., *William Shakespeare, "The History of King Henry the Fourth," As Revised by Sir Edward Dering, Bart.* (Folger Facsimiles, 1974).

<sup>5</sup> Q2 = Second Quarto; F1 = First Folio. For definitions of "quarto" (Q) and "folio" (F) and other technical bibliographical terms used in this introduction and in the separate "Note on the Text" prefixed to the Textual Notes for each play, see the "Glossary of Selected Bibliographical Terms" (hereafter referred to as "Glossary") following the introduction.

<sup>6</sup> See the Glossary, under *Sheet* and *Forme*.



The earliest known "good" quarto of a Shakespearean play: title-page of the First Quarto of *Titus Andronicus* (1594), from the unique copy discovered in Sweden in 1904 and now in the Folger Shakespeare Library

After the manuscript of a play became the property of an acting company, several things could (and did) happen to it. If still in author's draft form ("foul papers"), it might be annotated by the company's official book-keeper in preparation for the transcription of a "fair copy" intended for use as the company's prompt-book. If already a "fair copy" when it came into the book-keeper's hands, it would undergo a similar process. In either case, the book-keeper's attentions might include regularizing speech-prefixes, adding missing stage directions (both matters about which Shakespeare seems to have been careless, as the first *Morre* passage and some of the quarto and First Folio texts show), indicating properties and sound effects needed at certain points, and marking cuts in the full text (Shakespeare's plays, for example, were generally over the average length required) either to improve the pace of scenes or simply to reduce the text to actable proportions within what Shakespeare loosely called the "two hours' traffic" of the stage. Once transcribed as "fair copy" the "foul papers" seem to have been retained in the company's archives. After the "book of the play" (that is, the official prompt-book) had been prepared, it had to be licensed by the Master of the Revels before it could be publicly acted—a step which in itself often necessitated changes

to meet official demands. It could then be subjected to further alterations as various matters of detail came to be ironed out in rehearsal and performance, obviously a continuing process. Later still, in an attempt to give an older play a new look, the same manuscript (or even the "foul papers") might undergo drastic and far-reaching revisions, with additions, perhaps by another hand. Thus several different manuscript versions of the same play (including possible private transcripts made at any point in the stages described above) might be simultaneously in existence and hence more or less available to serve as copy for a printed edition.

Investigation, under the leadership of A. W. Pollard, J. Dover Wilson, W. W. Greg, Fredson Bowers, and Alice Walker, has been able to distinguish five general categories of manuscripts which, it is believed, may be shown to underlie Shakespeare's printed texts. First, author's manuscript, either his final carefully prepared "fair copy" or some stage of his working draft or "foul papers." Second, a scribal transcript of either the author's "fair copy" or his "foul papers." Third, the official theatre prompt-book (itself based on a manuscript falling under one of the two preceding heads), or a scribal copy based on it. Fourth, a manuscript, probably prepared for provincial touring by an unauthorized company and representing a reconstruction from memory by one or more actors who had at some earlier time taken part in an authorized production of the play. Fifth, in the case of a number of the First Folio texts, a kind of mixed copy, partly printed and partly manuscript, in which the printer employed an earlier printed edition (one or more quartos) that had been corrected and in some cases augmented by collation with a presumably authoritative manuscript. Further comment on these categories will be made in the following section.

## II. THE EARLY PRINTED TEXTS

(1) *The quarto editions.* Nineteen<sup>7</sup> of Shakespeare's plays were published individually in quarto format before the appearance of his collected plays in the First Folio (1623). Among these quarto editions it is necessary to distinguish two main classes: the "good" quartos and the "bad" quartos. A "good" quarto is one printed from an authoritative manuscript, most often some form of the author's manuscript; in Shakespeare's case, most frequently the "foul papers." There are twelve "good" quartos: *Titus Andronicus* (1594), *Richard II* (1597), *1 Henry IV* (1598),<sup>8</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost* (1598), *Romeo and Juliet* (Q2, 1599), *2 Henry IV* (1600), *The Merchant of Venice* (1600),

<sup>7</sup> Twenty-one, if the quarto editions of *The Troublesome Reign of John, King of England* (1591) and *The Taming of a Shrew* (1594) are considered as "bad" quartos of *King John* and *The Taming of the Shrew*. The present discussion does not treat them as such, although the view that *A Shrew* is a "bad" quarto of *The Shrew* has recently met with wider acceptance.

<sup>8</sup> An earlier edition, probably also 1598, survives in a single sheet. This edition is discussed in the "Note on the Text" to *1 Henry IV*.



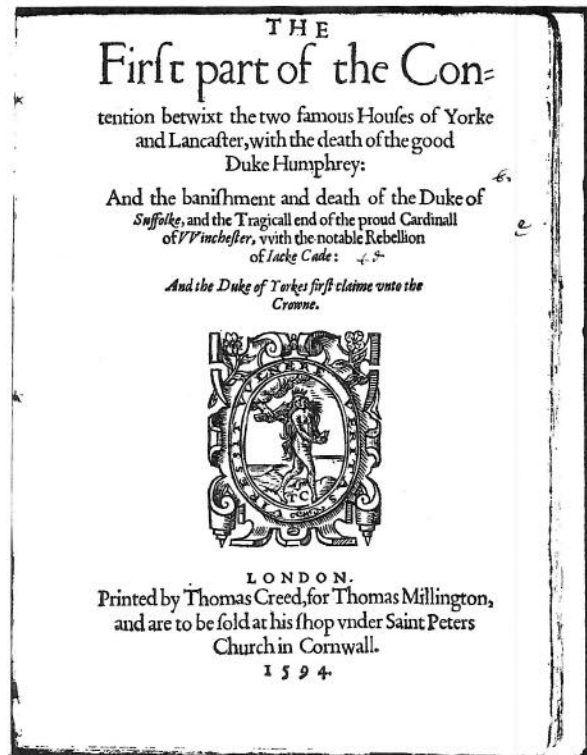
*A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1600), *Much Ado about Nothing* (1600), *Hamlet* (Q2, 1604/5), *Troilus and Cressida* (1609), and *Othello* (1622).<sup>9</sup> Each of these (except *Troilus and Cressida* and *Othello* and perhaps *I Henry IV*) is believed to have been printed from Shakespeare's "foul papers," and each (except *Othello*) is now generally accepted as furnishing the basic text of the play. To this official list of twelve "good" quartos must here be added the quarto edition of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1634), a play generally accepted as a collaboration between Shakespeare and John Fletcher, and probably printed in those parts now assigned to Shakespeare from his "foul papers."<sup>10</sup>

The class of "bad" quartos represents a very different kind of textual authority, or lack of authority. According to the most widely accepted theory,<sup>11</sup> what lies behind a "bad" quarto text is a manuscript based on "memorial reconstruction." For most "bad" quarto texts this theory postulates an actor (or actors) who has taken some part (usually minor) in a performance of the play, most often a provincial performance, and who attempts to reconstruct the play from memory in order to produce a version of the text for some unauthorized acting group or to sell to a not too scrupulous printer. The resulting text is, thus, at several removes from any authoritative manuscript and suffers from the characteristic weaknesses of its memorially contaminated source: misplaced scenes or groups of lines (technically called anticipations and recollections), assimilations, garbled and forced-out speeches, amateurish and frequently unmetrical verse, commonplace word substitutions and flat prosaic paraphrases, actors' expletives, and bits and pieces from analogous scenes and situations in other plays. Such texts tend to be much shortened (the "bad" quarto of *Hamlet* is about half as long as the "good" quarto), not only because of failure of memory on the part of the reporter(s) but also as a result of original cutting in the performance from which the reported text was reconstructed. Despite these shortcomings the "bad" quartos are of special value for three reasons: they sometimes preserve the correct reading at points where the "good" text has been garbled in printing (notably in *Romeo and Juliet*); they occasionally contain lines which appear to be authorial but which are wanting in the "good" text either through compositorial carelessness or because they represent

<sup>9</sup> For a complete list of the several editions through which a number of the quarto texts ("good" and "bad") passed, see the "Note on the Text" for each play.

<sup>10</sup> Paul Bertram (*Shakespeare and "The Two Noble Kinsmen,"* New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1965) has gone so far as to claim the whole play as Shakespeare's. His arguments have not been generally accepted.

<sup>11</sup> Two other theories have been advanced to account for the generally inferior texts found in the "bad" quartos: (1) the revision theory, which explained these texts as early versions, either by the author himself or by some other writer, of the final form of the play as it appeared in a "good" text; (2) the stenographic theory, which accounted for the badness of the "bad" quartos by postulating a shorthand report taken down in the theatre during performance. Neither theory is now generally accepted, although the revision theory has had a few unsuccessful recent proponents.



The "bad" quarto of the play known in the received text as *Henry VI, Part 2*: title-page of a copy of the First Quarto (1594) in the Folger Shakespeare Library

later additions by the author; and they afford a number of lively descriptive stage directions which record an eyewitness view of what took place during actual performance. There are "bad" quartos of nine plays: 2 and 3 *Henry VI* (called *The First Part of the Contention betwixt the Two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster*, 1594, and *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*, 1595), *Richard III* (1597), *Romeo and Juliet* (1597), *Henry V* (1600), *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1602), *Hamlet* (1603), *King Lear* (1608), and *Pericles* (1609).<sup>12</sup> There was also almost certainly a "bad" quarto of *Love's Labor's Lost*, but no copy of this edition has survived. The "bad" quartos of *Richard III* and *King Lear*, both of which present comparatively superior texts, pose special problems of provenience; they are, nevertheless, here included in the "bad" quarto category as showing evidence of some form of memorial contamination.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Pericles* was not included in either the First Folio (1623) or the Second Folio (1632); it was first added to the so-called Folio canon in the second issue of the Third Folio (1664), in a text derived from one of the later editions (Q6) of the "bad" quarto. *Pericles* is the only play in the Shakespeare canon that is entirely dependent for its text on a "bad" quarto.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of the special problems here involved, see the "Note on the Text" to *Richard III* and to *King Lear*.



One other quarto edition should be mentioned. When, in his *Palladis Tamia* (1598), Francis Meres published a list of six "tragedies" and six comedies by Shakespeare, he included a comedy called "Loue labours wonne." No such play, at least under that name, has come down to us, but we now know, since T. W. Baldwin's discovery in 1957, that a quarto edition of a play with that name was included in a bookseller's stock in 1603.<sup>14</sup>

(2) *The First Folio*. Seven years after Shakespeare's death, the printer and publisher William Jaggard and his son Isaac, in association with three other booksellers and publishers, William Aspley, John Smethwick, and Edward Blount, produced the volume now regularly called the First Folio (1623), the first collected edition of Shakespeare's plays.<sup>15</sup> This collection seems to have been undertaken with the advice and aid of Shakespeare's company, the King's Men, and was prefaced with a dedication to the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery and an address "To the great Variety of Readers," both signed by two of Shakespeare's oldest acting colleagues, John Heminge and Henry Condell. It contains thirty-six plays, eighteen here printed for the first time in any form: *The Tempest*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *As You Like It*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *All's Well That Ends Well*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Winter's Tale*, *King John*, *1 Henry VI*, *Henry VIII*, *Coriolanus*, *Timon of Athens*, *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Cymbeline*. For these eighteen plays the First Folio is our sole authority. For *Othello*, and for six plays which had appeared earlier only in "bad" quarto texts (*The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Henry V*, *2 and 3 Henry VI*, *Richard III*, and *King Lear*), it also gives us our most authoritative texts.

Although the several kinds of printer's copy that

<sup>14</sup> Apart from "Loue labours wonne," a number of other "lost" plays have been attributed to Shakespeare. On September 9, 1653, Humphrey Moseley entered on the Stationers' Register "The History of Cardenio, by M<sup>r</sup> Fletcher & Shakespeare." and "Henry y<sup>e</sup> first, & Hen: the 2<sup>d</sup>. by Shakespeare, & Davenport.": and on June 28, 1660, "The History of King Stephen.", "Duke Humphrey, a Tragedy.", and "Iphis and Iantha or a marriage without a man, a Comedy.", all three being attributed to "Will: Shakespeare." Two of these plays (*Henry the First* and *Duke Humphrey*) also appear with the same attributions in John Warburton's eighteenth-century holograph list of manuscript plays, all but a very few of which (including the two above) were accidentally destroyed by his servant. Except for *Cardenio*, nothing further is known about these plays that connects them with Shakespeare, and Moseley's attributions are often of uncertain authority. In the case of *Cardenio*, we possess a drastic revision of the play published by Lewis Theobald in 1728 under the title *The Double Falsehood, or The Distress'd Lovers*, but the three manuscripts of *Cardenio* that he claimed to have owned have disappeared.

<sup>15</sup> The nine so-called "Pavier" quartos, printed in 1619, though with various dates, are sometimes thought of as the first attempt at a selected collection of the plays. The nine include: *The Whole Contention* (i.e. the "bad" quarto versions of *2 and 3 Henry VI*), *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Henry V*, *King Lear*, *Pericles* (all "bad" quartos), *The Merchant of Venice*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and two apocryphal plays, *A Yorkshire Tragedy* and *Sir John Oldcastle*.

Jaggard, presumably with the cooperation of Heminge and Condell, assembled for the texts of the First Folio have been touched on occasionally in the preceding section, the matter of printer's copy as it applies specifically to the Folio may be briefly outlined here. For more finely drawn distinctions and the expression of conflicting opinions the reader must consult the fuller discussions in the "Note on the Text" to each of the plays.

Half the plays included in the First Folio had already been printed in some form in separate quarto editions (i.e. the "good" and "bad" quartos). Those responsible for the Folio collection made use of these earlier printed texts in roughly two ways. In some cases, they reprinted the quarto text (not necessarily from the first edition), sometimes introducing a few new readings of uncertain authority and making occasional modifications in stage directions and some more or less obvious corrections (for example, *Titus Andronicus* [with one new scene from manuscript], *1 Henry IV*, *Love's Labor's Lost*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Much Ado about Nothing*, all from "good" quartos). As copy for other plays, they arranged for a revision and correction of a quarto text by collation with a presumably authoritative manuscript (perhaps the official prompt-book), thus producing copy for the printer that was a combination of printed and manuscript material (*Richard III* and *King Lear* [from "bad" quartos], *Richard II*, *1 Henry IV*, and *Troilus and Cressida* [from "good" quartos], and, in the view of many, *2 Henry IV*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello* [from "good" quartos]).<sup>16</sup> Partial use of this sort seems also to have been made of the "bad" quarto texts of *2 and 3 Henry VI* and *Henry V*. These three plays, however, are basically dependent on manuscript copy, probably "foul papers." Alone among the already published plays included in the First Folio, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* seems totally uninfluenced by its earlier ("bad") quarto edition.<sup>17</sup> It was printed from a transcript, based perhaps on the official prompt-book, and specially prepared for the Folio by a scrivener named Ralph Crane.

The eighteen plays now first printed were based upon various types of manuscript copy. For some plays Shakespeare's own manuscripts were drawn upon, either the "foul papers" (*The Comedy of Errors*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *All's Well That Ends Well*, *King John*, *1 Henry VI*, *Timon of Athens* [in good part at least], and *Antony and Cleopatra*), or "fair copy" (*Coriolanus*). The remaining plays in this group show evidence of having been set from some form of scribal copy: some from specially prepared transcripts by

<sup>16</sup> The most recent study of the F1 copy for *2 Henry IV*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello* (J. K. Walton, *The Quarto Copy for the First Folio of Shakespeare*, Dublin, 1971) declares in favor of manuscript copy for these three plays. Unfortunately Mr. Walton's study appeared too late for use in the present edition.

<sup>17</sup> Unless we include as "bad" quartos *The Taming of a Shrew* and *The Troublesome Reign of John, King of England*, which had no influence upon the Folio texts of *The Shrew* and *King John* respectively.

Ralph Crane (*The Tempest* [perhaps transcribed from Shakespeare's "fair copy"], *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* [perhaps from "foul papers"], *Measure for Measure* [from "foul papers"], *The Winter's Tale* [probably from "foul papers"], and perhaps *Cymbeline* [probably from "foul papers"] and parts of *Timon of Athens* [from "foul papers"]);<sup>18</sup> others, from the official prompt-books, either directly or through a prepared scribal transcript (*Twelfth Night*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Macbeth*). *As You Like It* is thought to have been set from a transcript of some form of Shakespeare's autograph, perhaps his "fair copy," and *Henry VIII* from clean scribal copy based probably on the "foul papers."

Although the several procedures described above may fail to inspire, and rightly, great confidence in the integrity of the Folio texts, they do suggest some degree of discrimination and sense of responsibility on the part of those concerned with the First Folio collection. Even so we are scarcely able to endorse Heminge and Condell's claim (in "To the great Variety of Readers") that the texts as they are printed in the First Folio are "cur'd, and perfect of their limbes [referring to those plays earlier published in what are now considered to be "bad" quarto editions]; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he [Shakespeare] conceived them."

The textual history of Shakespeare's plays from 1623 to the end of the seventeenth century may be shortly dealt with. A second folio appeared in 1632, a third in 1663/4,<sup>19</sup> and a fourth in 1685, each printed from the one immediately preceding. They show a progressive modernizing and regularizing of the text, affecting not only punctuation and spelling but language and syntax as well. None of the changes so made, not even the occasional verbal corrections or additions in the Second Folio (1632), has any independent manuscript authority. Such quarto editions as appeared after 1623 were either reprints of the earlier quartos or texts derived from the First Folio, including several Restoration acting versions (*Othello*, *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*) which show evidence of contemporary stage practice.

(3) *The Poems*. *Venus and Adonis*, the first of Shakespeare's works to appear in print, was printed and published by Richard Field, in quarto, in 1593. The first quarto edition of *The Rape of Lucrece* followed in the next year (1594), again printed by Field but published by John Harrison. Both poems were printed with Shakespeare's authorization and each contains a short prose dedication to his patron, Henry Wriothes-

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of Crane's scribal characteristics, see the "Note on the Text" to *The Tempest* and to *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

<sup>19</sup> Six plays in addition to *Pericles (The London Prodigal)*, *The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell*, *The History of Sir John Oldcastle*, *The Puritan*, or *The Widow of Watling Street*, *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, and *The Tragedy of Loqrine* were added in the second issue of the Third Folio (and reprinted in the Fourth) and are now commonly referred to as the "Shakespeare Apocrypha." None of the six is now accepted as Shakespeare's.

ley, the young Earl of Southampton. The volume entitled *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (1609), which contains also the questionably Shakespearean "A Lover's Complaint," was, on the other hand, almost certainly unauthorized. So was the small earlier miscellany of short poems by Shakespeare and others (all, however, attributed to Shakespeare) called *The Passionate Pilgrim* and published in 1599 (enlarged with more non-Shakespearean materials in 1612) by William Jaggard. The only other poem generally accepted as Shakespeare's, "The Phoenix and Turtle," was first printed among a group of commendatory verses appended to Robert Chester's *Love's Martyr* in 1601.

None of the poems appeared in the First Folio, except for three set-pieces in *Love's Labor's Lost* that were later printed as separate poems in *The Passionate Pilgrim*. The nearest thing to a collected edition before the eighteenth century was *Poems: Written by Wil. Shakespeare. Gent.* published by John Benson in 1640. It included all but eight of the sonnets (misleadingly rearranged, grouped, and titled), "A Lover's Complaint," "The Phoenix and Turtle," and the complete contents of the 1612 *Passionate Pilgrim*, together with other non-Shakespearean poems, but not *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*.

### III. THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT, 1700-1900

In considering the later history of Shakespeare's text it is important to draw a general distinction between the textual approach taken by editors and critics before roughly 1909, the date of A. W. Pollard's important *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, and the approach, based on a growing knowledge of kinds of manuscript copy and analytical bibliographical techniques, since adopted by most scholars. Valuable contributions to the better understanding of the text of individual plays had, of course, been made before Pollard's study, particularly those of P. A. Daniel, but the larger principles of textual criticism, particularly of what lay behind the printed text, were for the most part unformed. As a result, a more or less unguided eclecticism prevailed. To say this is not to discount the value and importance of the work done by the small army of editors who, from the time of Nicholas Rowe's edition (1709) to the great Cambridge edition of 1863-66, exercised their critical ingenuity in improving the text—as a glance at the Textual Notes to any of the plays and poems in this volume will immediately show. But their work was largely concerned with the details of emendation, made for the most part without any very clear understanding of the special conditions which had governed the production of the early printed texts.

The eighteenth century marks the beginning of what may be called the scholarly or academic approach to Shakespeare. In 1709 Nicholas Rowe produced the first edited text of the plays. Rowe was himself a dramatist and had connections with the theatre, and his edition reflects these professional interests. Unfortunately, Rowe chose to base his text on the Fourth Folio (1685), with very occasional consultation of one of the earlier folios or quartos. The result was a

generally inferior text that seriously vitiated later editions for the next sixty years and more. Nevertheless, Rowe made some substantial contributions. To him as the first official editor of the plays we owe a large number of corrections and emendations that continue as part of any modern edition.<sup>20</sup> He also undertook a more or less systematic division of all the plays into acts and scenes and was the first, except for some sporadic instances in the Restoration actors' quartos, to indicate a localized setting for many of the individual scenes. Further, his edition contains the first serious attempt at a biography of Shakespeare, still an important source on certain matters, and illustrations that tell us a good deal about early eighteenth-century staging.

Shakespeare's second editor was Alexander Pope. When Pope produced his edition in 1723, he was already established as England's leading poet and *arbiter elegantiarum*. These roles he exercised much too freely to qualify in any sense as a serious editor. He pontificated on what was good or bad in the plays, marking the "good" or "moral" with inverted commas and relegating the "bad" to the bottom of the page as the illiterate interpolations of the ignorant actors and unworthy of a place in the text proper. If he did not understand a word or construction, he often changed it, and he worked assiduously to regularize Shakespeare's metre. He did, however, recover passages and scenes from some of the quartos ignored by Rowe (that is, he undertook some limited collation of the quarto texts), and he also restored to verse many passages that had been misprinted in the early editions as prose, and to prose many that had been misprinted as verse. It has been said—if unkindly, nevertheless with considerable truth—that it took over a hundred years for Shakespeare's text to recover from the well-meant but misguided ministrations of both Pope and Rowe.

In 1733 Lewis Theobald published his first edition of the plays, but before doing so he had dared to cross swords with Pope. His attack on Pope's edition, which appeared in 1726, he called *Shakespeare Restor'd* and in it he showed in unflattering detail how basically bad Pope's edition was. Pope's answer, apart from incorporating a number of Theobald's readings in the text of his second edition (1728) and including others in a sneering appendix, was to make Theobald the hero of his first *Dunciad* (1728) as the pre-eminent type and prince of dullness and to nickname him "piddling Tibbald." From that day to this, Pope's attack has done much to obscure Theobald's remarkable capabilities as an editor, which were of a sort that Pope, as poet and critic, tended by nature to despise. Indeed, Theobald may fairly be considered the first of Shakespeare's major editors, and his contributions, particularly in felicitous emendations, are to be found everywhere in any modern text. But beyond this, he approached the editor's task with a much clearer

notion than his predecessors had of what such duties entailed, and with a much wider acquaintance with other Elizabethan drama and non-dramatic literature. He also had a greater respect for his author's language and syntax and a scholarly perspective foreign to Rowe and Pope.

The next three editors, Sir Thomas Hanmer (1744), William Warburton (1747), and Samuel Johnson (1765), may, so far as the history of the text is concerned, be passed over quickly. Each made occasional brilliant emendations, although Warburton is principally famous as a warning example of the danger of overingenuity in emendation and of emending where no emendation is needed. Johnson, who knew and outlined (in his "Proposals," 1756) the proper method by which a relatively sound text might be achieved, did only a bare minimum of what he rightly said should no longer be stigmatized as, in Pope's words, the "dull duty of an editor" (namely, collation and evaluation of the various early editions), instead concerning himself largely with explanatory annotation and general criticism, both of which he was especially well qualified to perform and for both of which he is still recognized as one of the great Shakespearean critics.

In 1768, quietly and pretty much unnoticed, Edward Capell brought out his text of the plays. None of his important contemporaries had a kind word to say about Capell's edition, and his two principal successors, George Steevens and Edmond Malone, denigrated it at every opportunity—and stole from it unblushingly. Later opinion, however, has more and more seen Capell as the first so-called modern editor, and his edition as an important landmark. Capell deserves the title of the first modern for a number of reasons. He was the first to put into practice, though perhaps not the first to understand, the principle of copy-text, that is, the need for choosing, in the light of the evidence, a basic substantive text and for adhering faithfully to that text. In his search for such basic texts, Capell also for the first time recognized the usual superiority of the earliest printed texts (the "good" quartos) as opposed to those texts as they appeared in the First Folio. Thus he began the trend away from the eclecticism of the earlier editors, who, failing to take a definite stand on a particular copy-text, allowed themselves considerable liberty in adopting readings from any text, early or late, that happened to appeal to their esthetic sensibilities. Succeeding editors learned something of this cardinal rule from Capell, but in the case of a textually complex play like *Hamlet*, for example, which Capell for the first time based directly on Q2 (1604/5), no later influential text comparably faithful to Q2 was produced until Dover Wilson's edition in 1934.<sup>21</sup>

In a special sense Capell's was the first "pure" edited text. His predecessors, and most of his successors, employed as printer's copy some other more or

<sup>20</sup> Reference to the Textual Notes following each play will reveal the extent to which Rowe and his many successors have influenced the text of the present edition.

<sup>21</sup> Some details in the discussion of Capell I owe to an unpublished doctoral dissertation by my friend, Hymen H. Hart.



less recent edition into which they inserted their manuscript corrections.<sup>22</sup> This method almost inevitably perpetuated and gave a specious authority to readings from the Fourth Folio, on which Rowe, the first link in the chain, had based his 1709 edition. Capell, on the other hand, prepared a wholly new text for the printer, meticulously copied out by himself (reputedly ten times!), based on his own thorough collation of all the obtainable sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions (quarto and folio). To Capell also belongs the credit of being the first to print a systematic textual apparatus—a remarkably full one—recording the variants from the early editions and the readings of the first five of his eighteenth-century predecessors. Nothing comparable was attempted until the Cambridge edition of 1863–66, nearly a hundred years later. The problem of chronology, an important approach to an understanding of Shakespeare's development, was first attacked by Capell, though the credit is usually given to Malone, and he was the first to attempt a serious treatment of Shakespeare's metrics. His official position as deputy-inspector of plays brought Capell into close contact with the theatre and goes far to explain his special sensitivity, continually reflected in his text, to stage business and movement. It may also explain why he was the first to understand fully the concept of the "cleared stage" as the limiting principle of Elizabethan scene division. A measure of Capell's importance may perhaps be seen in the fact that his name appears more frequently in the Textual Notes to the present edition than that of any later editor.

Capell's immediate followers, George Steevens and Edmond Malone, both produced major editions (Steevens, 1787, 1793; Malone, 1790), but textually they leaned heavily on Capell—at the same time affecting to despise him. It is, indeed, scarcely an exaggeration to say that by the end of the eighteenth century the texts of Shakespeare that went under the names of Steevens and Malone were, with some refinements in specific readings, in basic essentials the text of Edward Capell. To assert this is not to deny the importance of the work done by Steevens and Malone, especially Malone. Like Capell, who had published in what he called *The School of Shakespeare* the results of his combing of Elizabethan and Jacobean literature for Shakespeare's sources and other material that might be used to illustrate and throw new light on the plays, both men were what the wits called "black-letter editors"—that is, editors who drew on a wide reading in the popular literature of Shakespeare's time, some of which was even then still printed in the so-called gothic black-letter typeface. Unlike Capell, both Steevens and Malone wrote polished and untortured English, and their commentaries, though often owing much to Capell's notes, became widely known and were reprinted in edition

<sup>22</sup> Thus Pope's edition was printed from Rowe's third (1714), Theobald's and Hanmer's from Pope's second (1728), Warburton's from Theobald's second (1740), and Johnson's partly from Warburton's (1747) and partly from Theobald's 1757 edition.

after edition, culminating in the so-called First Variorum, the Boswell-Malone edition of 1821.<sup>23</sup> Malone, moreover, was the first to demonstrate through a careful analytical study the sole authority of the First Folio (1623) in relation to the later folios, showing that even the variant readings of the Second Folio (1632) were entirely without independent manuscript authority. He also deserves special praise for his scholarly researches into the early history of the English stage and for his careful transcriptions of early manuscript materials, some of which have since disappeared. He was also the first to publish a scholarly edition of Shakespeare's *Poems* and *Pericles* (1780), though in the *Poems* he again had Capell as his guide since he made essentially unacknowledged use of a marked copy of Lintott's 1709 edition of the *Poems* prepared by Capell for an edition of his own which he did not live to publish.

With Capell, Steevens, and Malone the text of Shakespeare had been brought about as far as the limited textual approach employed by these men could bring it, and the nineteenth century, although it produced many new editions under highly competent and learned editors (Charles Knight, J. P. Collier, Alexander Dyce, and R. G. White, especially), brought very little advance in new theory or basic techniques. The culmination of the line initiated by Capell is the great Cambridge *Shakespeare* edited by W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright, which appeared between 1863 and 1866 (with its important revision by Wright in 1891–93), a text that was to remain, especially in its one-volume Globe edition (1864), the standard for the next fifty years.

#### IV. SHAKESPEARE'S TEXT AND THE "NEW BIBLIOGRAPHY"

The first decade of the twentieth century marked the beginnings of what has been called the "New Bibliography." Spearheaded by men like R. B. McKerrow, A. W. Pollard, W. W. Greg, and J. Dover Wilson, a fresh and comparatively "scientific" approach to the problems presented by the text was undertaken. An important forward step was made in 1909 by Pollard, who clarified the whole problem of the quarto texts by recognizing that, when Heminge and Condell in their address "To the great Variety of Readers" in the First Folio criticized earlier printed texts of the plays as "stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious imposters, that expos'd them," they were not

<sup>23</sup> As here used, the term "Variorum" means that the edition reprints all the prefaces of the earlier editors, selected studies and essays by various hands, and a great part of the annotation from Pope through Reed. Actually, all major editions had been "Variorums" in this sense since the 1773 Johnson-Steevens edition, so that the traditional term "First Variorum" as applied to the Boswell-Malone 1821 edition is a misnomer. As used today, with reference to the *New Variorum Shakespeare*, the idea of a "Variorum" has been enlarged to include an exhaustive record of all significant textual variants, emendations, source materials, and selected criticism.

thereby condemning, as had usually been supposed, all the earlier quartos, but only certain piratically published or "expos'd" quartos. These Pollard designated the "bad" quartos to distinguish them from the "good" quartos, or texts published, usually with the company's permission, from authoritative manuscripts. Pollard's distinction stimulated investigation in two fruitful directions. It was supported by W. W. Greg's analysis (1910) of the quarto of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, in which he outlined the basic essentials of the theory of "memorial reconstruction," a theory which he was able to confirm and extend in his famous monograph on Greene's *Orlando Furioso* and Peele's *Battle of Alcazar* (1923). From these beginnings rose the widespread application of the "memorial reconstruction" theory to the whole class of "bad" quartos (see, particularly, the studies of Peter Alexander, Madeleine Doran, D. L. Patrick, G. I. Duthie, and H. R. Hoppe) and a sounder understanding of the extent to which these "bad" quarto texts might be of value to an editor.

The "good" quartos, given an improved status by Pollard's distinction, came under new scrutiny with the pioneer work of Dover Wilson, both in his essay on Shakespeare's spelling forms in *Shakespeare's Hand in "Sir Thomas More"* (1923) and in his later important study *The Manuscript of Shakespeare's "Hamlet"* (1934). Thus the first serious attempts to learn exactly what kinds of manuscripts lay behind the texts of the "good" quartos and the First Folio got under way. Other important studies followed, most notably W. W. Greg's *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* (1942, revised 1951) and *The Shakespeare First Folio* (1955), Alice Walker's *Textual Problems of the First Folio* (1953), and Fredson Bowers' *On Editing Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Dramatists* (1955) and *Bibliography and Textual Criticism* (1964), each probing, synthesizing, and correcting earlier work and adding valuable new techniques and further detailed information.<sup>24</sup>

Another aspect of textual study has received a good deal of attention in more recent years: the analysis of printing-house procedures and the way in which these procedures and the habits of individual compositors may have influenced the printed text. Aside from the interest in analytical bibliography that had been increasing steadily since R. B. McKerrow's edition of Thomas Nashe (1904-10), part of the impetus for this kind of study may be said to stem from Thomas Satchell's suggestion (*The Times Literary Supplement*, 1920) that two compositors can be distinguished, through certain spelling preferences, at work on the text of the First Folio *Macbeth*. Out of this combined interest in printing-house practice and compositor study grew E. E. Willoughby's important monograph, *The Printing of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (1932),

<sup>24</sup> E. K. Chambers' *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (2 vols., Oxford, 1930) surveys and assesses textual theory up to within a year or so of its publication. An important work, always worth consulting. The most significant studies devoted to the textual problems of the individual plays may be found listed following the "Note on the Text" to each play.

which was to remain the standard work for the next twenty-five years. Willoughby substantiated Satchell's suggestion by showing the presence of two main compositors (usually called A and B) at work throughout the First Folio, and he placed renewed emphasis on the already recognized but still largely unexplored problem of stop-press correction, those changes made in the printed text, through proof-reader and compositor, during the process of printing. This latter problem, for the quarto texts, was pursued further by Dover Wilson in his work on *Hamlet* (1934) and W. W. Greg in his monograph *The Variants in the First Quarto of "King Lear"* (1940).

In 1963 Charlton Hinman, after twenty years of unremitting work, published his monumental two-volume study, *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*. Hinman, correcting a number of serious misconceptions and errors in Willoughby's pioneer study, demonstrated by a variety of new techniques exactly how (by the method known as cast-off copy)<sup>25</sup> and in what order the plays in the First Folio were printed. He also established the presence of five compositors (two main compositors, A and B, and three others, C and D, who set largely in the Comedies, and E, apparently an apprentice, who worked in the Tragedies), distinguishing their work partly through an analysis of type-fonts, a technique which greatly strengthened and refined the older results arrived at through spelling tests alone.<sup>26</sup> In addition, Hinman was able to place the texts of all plays that depend on the First Folio for their basic copy-text (twenty-five) on a much firmer basis by offering the results of a thorough machine collation of some fifty copies of the First Folio. Allowing for the possibility of earlier proof correction of the standing type, the comparatively small number of significant press-corrections which were revealed demonstrates to what a slight extent, except in the work of Compositor E, any serious effort was made to ensure a sound text. Indeed, much of the press-correction seems to have been more concerned with the appearance of the page than with the accuracy of the text, and such substantive press-correction as was undertaken appears most frequently to have been made without consultation of the printer's copy.<sup>27</sup>

As a result of the impetus given by the "New Bibliography" a number of important editions of Shakespeare have appeared during the last fifty years. Among the most significant are J. Dover Wilson's New Cambridge (1921-66), G. L. Kittredge's (1936; revised by Irving Ribner, 1971), W. A. Neilson and C. J. Hill's (1942), Peter Alexander's (1951), Hardin

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion of cast-off copy, see the Glossary under *Cast-off*.

<sup>26</sup> Since Hinman's study, T. H. Howard-Hill has identified a sixth compositor (F), who replaces Hinman's Compositor A so far as the Comedies are concerned ("The Compositors of Shakespeare's Folio Comedies," *SB*, XXVI (1973), 61-106); and A. S. Cairncross ("Compositors C and D of the Shakespeare First Folio," *PBSA*, LXV (1971), 41-52) has studied and extended the scope of Compositor C's work.

<sup>27</sup> See the Glossary under *Proof correction* and *Stop-press correction*.

Craig's (1951; revised by David Bevington, 1973), C. J. Sisson's (1953), John Munro's (The London Shakespeare, 1958), and the individually edited volumes of the New Variorum (beginning with S. B. Hemingway's *1 Henry IV*, 1936), the New Arden (1951- , uncompleted), the revised New Yale (1954- , uncompleted), the Pelican (1956-68; reissued in one volume, under the general editorship of Alfred Harbage, 1969), and the Signet (1963-68; reissued in one volume, under the general editorship of Sylvan Barnet, 1972).

#### V. THE EDITING OF A SHAKESPEAREAN PLAY

Some of the matters discussed in the foregoing sections may be clarified if we examine in some small detail the various steps in the editorial process as it applies to a single play: *King Lear*. *King Lear* affords an unusually complicated set of textual problems, a discussion of which will illustrate a variety of similar problems encountered individually and in varying degrees in other plays.

Let us suppose, for the sake of the present discussion, that an editor is undertaking a critical edition of *King Lear* for the first time and that he does not have ready to hand a body of earlier scholarly research on which to draw in formulating his premises. There are three early printed texts of *Lear*: Q1 (1608), Q2 (1619), and F1 (1623). Pursuing the principle of copy-text selection (i.e. choosing as the basic text that edition or manuscript which appears most nearly to represent an author's final intention), the editor must first analyze each of these editions to determine which of them best fulfills this criterion. After a complete collation and analysis of the three texts, he will find that Q2 is essentially a reprint, without independent authority, of Q1 and may thus, for the moment, be dismissed. Comparison of Q1 and F1 will reveal that these texts differ in several hundred readings and that each contains words, lines, and longer passages (Q1 a whole scene) not present in the other. Given this sort of situation, the editor must now try to determine which of these texts offers the best authority for what Shakespeare wrote. Upon careful examination, he will discover, first, that, although Q1 exhibits many of the characteristics that are associated with the "bad" quartos or memorially reported texts, other aspects of Q1 suggest direct contact at places with an authoritative manuscript, probably Shakespeare's "foul papers." Second, he will find that F1 presents a text printed from copies of both Q1 and Q2 that have been corrected and amplified by collation with an apparently authoritative manuscript, probably the official prompt-book of the King's Men.<sup>28</sup> The editor must now decide which of these two texts to select as the copy-text. Since Q1 gives evidence of considerable memorial

contamination, he is forced to turn to F1 as the basic copy-text. But he does so without any great assurance of the ultimate authority of that text in the matter of individual readings, since the quality of the F1 text, so far as it differs from the Q1-2 text, depends upon the care and accuracy of the collator who was responsible for the preparation of the printer's copy. (A similar situation exists in *Richard III*.)

Other complicating factors remain to be considered, however. First, the question of the authority of the manuscript used by the collator from which corrections, additions, even deletions were made in preparing the Q1-2 copy for the Folio text. If, as seems likely, this manuscript was the official prompt-book, a certain caution must be exercised, because such a manuscript is almost sure to contain theatrical cuts and sophisticated readings. The matter of theatrical cuts will be discussed later in more detail. Here we may simply notice two examples of sophisticated readings. When F1 in III.vii.58 and 63 reads "sticke boarish phangs" and "that sterne time" for the Q1-2 readings "rash borish phangs" and "that dearne time", most editors now feel justified in adopting the Q1-2 readings, believing, according to the principle of *lectio difficilior*, that the more commonplace F1 readings reflect a vulgarizing of Shakespeare's idiom by stage performance. In other words, although F1 offers a generally sounder text than Q1-2, its readings, where they differ from Q1-2, may arise through several agencies, only the first of which carries any authority: (1) genuine corrections made by the collator from manuscript authority, including possible revisions made by Shakespeare himself; (2) changes made by some other person (the book-keeper or the actors); (3) errors committed by the collator; (4) errors or sophistications introduced by the compositor(s) or proof-reader in the printshop.

Second, since the F1 text was, we now believe, set up from corrected and augmented printed copy (Q1 and, to a lesser degree, Q2), it is necessary to know whether the particular copies of Q1 and Q2 used by the collator were made up of corrected or uncorrected sheets. Thus at IV.ii.28-29, where F1 reads "My Foole vsurps my body", Q1 in the corrected state of the sheet reads "A foole vsurps my bed". In the uncorrected state, however, Q1 reads "My foote vsurps my body" and is followed in part by Q2, which reads in turn "My foote vsurps my head". A comparison of these several readings makes it clear that in this section F1 was printed from an uncorrected state of Q1, retaining "my" and "body", and that the collator caught the error in "foote" (probably from the manuscript) but either decided to allow "My" and "body" to stand (as making sufficient sense) or failed to notice them. Since the extent and kind of correction of the line in Q1 strongly suggest that the proof-corrector consulted his manuscript copy, its reading, even allowing for the ambiguous authority of that manuscript, must be accorded considerable weight. Hence, because the F1 line seems to be a combination of correction and the following of uncorrected printed copy, most modern editors choose to read the line as in Q1: "A fool vsurps my bed". This is a particularly reveal-

<sup>28</sup> For a discussion of the problems presented by the F1 and Q1 texts, see the "Note on the Text." The most recent discussion of the F1 copy for *King Lear* (J. K. Walton, *The Quarto Copy for the First Folio of Shakespeare*, Dublin, 1971) argues against any use of Q2 in the production of the F1 text.



ing example and illustrates how textual corruption can happen, and how difficult, without the kind of bibliographical evidence here fortunately present, it may be to detect it. Who, for instance, would seriously challenge the F1 reading or even that of Q2 (an obvious compositorial fudge to make better sense of "foote" by contrasting it with "head" instead of "body") were no other texts available—if, in other words, either only the text of F1 or the text of Q2 were now extant? Such a consideration should make an editor especially wary in dealing with those plays of which only one basic text has survived, such as the eighteen plays printed for the first time in F1.

This example also raises a question of the relative validity of bibliographical method. The principle here followed assumes that where the F1 text was printed from an uncorrected state of Q1 (or Q2) an editor is justified in restoring the reading of the corrected state of Q1 as more likely to represent what he believes Shakespeare wrote. Such an assumption is based upon a number of factors that make it a probable method of approaching the textual situation here involved, but obviously it cannot claim to be based on certainty. Textual analysis is not in any real sense a scientific discipline, because the essentially human element (stupidity, error, inconsistency, and simple laziness) must always be allowed for and can so easily upset the nicest calculations. It deals for the most part, aside from its most mechanical aspects, in approaches and principles based on a weighing of a variety of kinds of evidence and often reaches conclusions that allow only a measure of greater or lesser probability. Thus when an editor in the instances discussed above chooses to desert his copy-text (here F1) and read with the corrected state of Q1, he is making an editorial decision that is based not on unassailable evidence or certainty but on a method of approach that, given the evidence available, seems to him most likely to restore the author's original language. No one, it should be stressed, is more painfully conscious than the editor how often the "principles" that he seems to lay down with an inevitable appearance of dogma, particularly in textually difficult plays like *Lear*, *Hamlet*, *Richard III*, *Othello*, and *Troilus and Cressida*, are indeed only working hypotheses and hence open to challenge on a different interpretation of the same evidence.

Another related aspect of the F1 text must be considered: the use of corrected Q2 copy for parts of the F1 text. Since Q2 is essentially a reprint of Q1, with one or two slight additions (III.vi.47, IV.vi.197), and its variants cannot lay claim to manuscript authority, where F1 reproduces a reading from its Q2 copy that differs from the reading of Q1, it may be fairly argued that the collator in preparing his Q2 copy failed to make the proper correction from the manuscript and that the Q1 reading, which has at least some manuscript authority, should be restored (see the Textual Notes at I.iv.22, 31, II.ii.65, 100, 151, etc.). Again the principle employed must be recognized as one involving only a measure of probability.

Speaking generally, an editor today, having chosen

for what he considers sound reasons a particular copy-text, will adhere to that copy-text unless he sees substantial grounds for departing from it. Several examples of deliberate departure from the copy-text readings have already been cited in the preceding discussion, involving F1 sophistication or vulgarization, press variants, and faulty printer's copy. But these are all matters of substituting one early reading for another early reading that the evidence suggests has superior authority. What, however, guides the editor when he has to determine whether a passage unique to a text of such uneven authority as Q1 is indeed Shakespeare's and not rather the work of some alien hand? He may find, for instance, that the passage fits naturally into the context of surrounding lines or that it contains actual verbal links which show that at one time it was part of the original, cut in the printer's copy or accidentally (even intentionally) omitted by the compositor. For example, in I.ii, lines 95-97 are found only in Q1-2. Where F1 reads "*Glou.* He cannot be such a Monster. *Edmond* seeke him out:", Q1-2 reads "*Glost.* He cannot be such a monster. / *Bast.* Nor is not sure. / *Glost.* To his father, that so tenderly and intirely loues him, heauen and earth! *Edmund* seeke him out,". The tone of Edmund's "Nor is not sure." is perfectly in keeping with his pretended defense of Edgar in lines 85-88 ("I dare pawne downe my life for him, that he hath writ this to feele my affection to your Honor, & to no other pretence of danger." [F1]), and an editor is justified in feeling that the F1 omission is most probably the result of a theatrical cut. Even more clearly the result of an intentional cut in the prompt-book, however, is the omission in F1 of lines 16-20 toward the end of I.iii, where the first half of the additional Q1-2 line 16 ("Not to be ouerrul'd.") completes the full sense of lines 14-15, common to both F1 and Q1-2. One more example may be noted in I.iv, where, at line 137, both F1 and Q1-2 make the Fool say "Do'st thou know the difference my Boy, betweene a bitter Foole, and a sweet one." and Lear answers "No Lad, teach me." At this point F1 omits lines 140-155 found in Q1-2 ("*Foole.* That Lord . . . they'l be snatching;"), in the first part of which lines the Fool gives in detail the answer to the question he had posed in lines 137-38. The omission of this passage makes relative nonsense of the F1 text, and it is difficult to believe that such an omission represents an intentional theatrical cut reflecting the collator's use of a prompt-book manuscript, but it is also difficult to explain how a passage of this length could be accidentally omitted by the F1 compositor.

One substantial passage, a whole scene (IV.iii), occurs only in Q1-2, and in such a case the editor is forced to judge its authenticity on its own merits, without the aid of immediate context. The poetic quality and general context of the scene are such, however, that no editor, since Pope first included it in an edited text, has seriously questioned its Shakespearean origin. It is, moreover, the kind of scene that can be deleted without any dislocation of the plot-line, hence a natural prey for a book-keeper intent on shortening an overlong play.

Occasionally, however, an editor rejects Q1-2 additions. Such rejected readings tend to be extra-metrical single words or phrases, which, given the postulated memorial contamination of the Q1 text, are looked upon as the work of either the reporters or the actors. For instance, in I.i.45, Q1-2 read "The two great Princes *France* and *Burgundy*", where F1 reads "The Princes, *France & Burgundy*". To include "two great" would make the F1 line, already extra-metrical ("May be prevented now. The Princes, *France & Burgundy*"), completely unmanageable as a single line and necessitate its being broken into a half-line plus a full line, the half-line being left uncompleted in the middle of a speech. It is clear, moreover, that the additional Q1-2 words are in fact mere padding to substitute metrically for the omission of lines 40-45 in Q1-2. (An analogous example of F1 padding, to accommodate a cut of some lines occurring in Q1-2, may be studied in the Textual Notes to II.ii.145.) Again, in line 90 of the opening scene, the Q1-2 reading "How, nothing can come of nothing, speake againe." offers a good instance of the extra-metrical expletive common in reported texts and usually considered as an actor's trick for false emphasis. F1 reads "Nothing will come of nothing, speake againe."—a stronger and metrically better balanced line. (Compare the Q1-2 addition of "Goe to, goe to" in line 233 of this same scene.)

At this point, an editor, having determined that a critically edited text of *Lea*r should, on the evidence sketched above, be based on F1 but admit a substantial number of lines found only in Q1-2, still has to face the problem of necessary emendation. In a number of instances, even with the aid of Q1-2, individual readings require editorial emendation to bring meaning to an otherwise corrupt passage. Significant emendation is made on two levels: (1) substantive (i.e. corrections concerned with the verbal texture of a passage, including also stage directions and speech-prefixes); and (2) semi-substantive (i.e. corrections concerned with punctuation, the so-called accidentals, that may be said to affect the meaning of a passage). Examples of semi-substantive emendation occur frequently in *Lea*r, particularly in passages dependent on the lightly and erratically punctuated Q1 text, and may be readily studied by turning to the Textual Notes (see, for example, I.i.20-21, 127, I.iv.92, 204, II.i.14, II.ii.45-46, 51, II.iv.102, III.iv.117, III.vi.68-69, III.vii.46-47, IV.i.2, IV.ii.66, IV.iii.17-18, 19, 51, IV.vi.265-66, V.iii.51-52, 121-22). Substantive emendation is generally speaking a more complicated matter and is worth illustration here.

In I.ii.20-21, where Edmund says in F1, "*Edmond* the base / Shall to'th' Legitimate:", Q1-2 read: "*Edmond* the base shall too'th' legitimate:". Several emendations have been suggested ("Shall be the" [Pope], "Shall toe the" [Hanmer]) and a few editors have defended the F1 reading (Sisson most recently) on the grounds that it might be interpreted to mean "shall fight against" or "shall turn into"—both strained interpretations. But most editors accept, as does the present editor, Edwards' conjecture, "Shall

top the legitimate"—a reading that on both graphic ("to" or "too" to "top") and associative terms (with "I grow" [line 21] and by contrast with the repeated burden of "base" that informs much of the soliloquy) fulfills the demands of the context perfectly.

Again, in II.ii.143 (a passage found only in Q1-2) the uncorrected state of Q1 reads "as basest and contaned wretches". In the corrected state "contaned" is altered to "temnest", a reading followed by Q2. The puzzling "temnest" is a nonce-word of at best questionable meaning; moreover, it is metrically unsatisfactory. Pope emended it to "the meanest" and was followed in desperation by several of his successors. Capell was the first to see that the true reading was a combination of the corrected and uncorrected states: "contened'st". It is possible, in this case, to reconstruct how the corrected state of Q1 came to read "temnest". The proof-corrector wrote "temnest" in the margin of his proof-sheet and crossed through "taned" in the uncorrected reading "contaned"; the compositor, however, in making the correction, thought "contaned" as a whole was marked for deletion and hence did not retain the necessary "con". One further point. The form "contemnest" which the proof-corrector intended is a possible Elizabethan past participial superlative, but it does not take account of the "d" in "contaned", the presence of which in the uncorrected reading, however badly garbled that reading may be, probably reflects a "d" form in the manuscript.

A final example: in IV.vi.165-67 (part of a passage found only in F1) F1 reads "Place sinnes with Gold . . . Arme it in ragges". Pope was the first to suggest reading "Plate sins with gold". He was probably led to his emendation by "Arme", since the meaning of "plate" was in Shakespeare's time "to cover with metal plates for ornament or protection," but he may also have recognized how easily a carelessly formed "t" in the English secretary hand could be misread as a secretary "c". A little later Theobald (in his second edition, 1740), adopting Pope's "Plate", emended "sinnes" to "sin", making clear for the first time the antecedent of "it" in line 167. Both Pope's and Theobald's emendations illustrate what is called the principle of *ductus literarum* (i.e. the guidance, through form or shape and number, of the letters in a word requiring emendation). Thus a compositor would be much more likely to misread "Plate" as "Place" than to misread "Plate" as "Disguise" or "Cover", either word in itself possible, though metrically awkward, if only the context of the passage is considered. Theobald, on the other hand, instead of emending "sinnes" to "sin", might have emended "it" (line 167) to "them" to make it agree with "sinnes". But it is obviously much more probable that a compositor would misread "sinne" as "sinnes" (the misreading of a singular as a plural is not uncommon in F1 and other contemporary printed texts) than that he would misread "them" as "it."

The three examples just discussed illustrate most of the approaches that may, with some degree of safety, be taken to the problem of emendation, always

allowing, of course, for sheer inspiration, which, though most often highly dangerous, may be on properly rare occasions the "very opening of the mouth of nature." To sum up, these approaches are: (1) through the immediate or larger context; (2) through contributory bibliographical evidence, when any is available; (3) through metrical considerations; (4) through recognizing possible compositorial misreading of the various kinds of hands practiced in the period; and (5) through the *ductus literarum*, an approach closely associated with (4).

We have now followed an editor through the principal steps he must take before he can begin to produce a critical text, modernized or old-spelling, of *King Lear*. Enough has been said to make it clear that, even when all the procedures outlined above have been conscientiously applied, much remains uncertain and problematical. That no two editors, given the diversity and complicated nature of the textual situation and the considerable element of personal editorial decision involved, would ever produce identical critical texts of *Lear* need not be a matter for surprise or alarm. It is indeed the very presence of the human element, the possibility for the exercise of individual taste and critical acumen, that has made the editing of Shakespeare such a challenge to so many scholars for the last two hundred and fifty years.

## VI. THE PRESENT EDITION

The present text is based on a new collation and study of the early substantive editions and consultation of all the major edited texts from Rowe's (1709) onward. Every effort consistent with critical sense has been made to adhere to the declared copy-text (see the "Note on the Text" following each of the plays and poems), and unnecessary emendation, that pricking devil, has been carefully eschewed. When the copy-text, however, resisted all reasonable attempts to make sense of it, readings from another early printed text or from other editions have, of course, been admitted, but in all such cases the emendation has been placed in square brackets to warn the reader that the text at this point is open to question. The original reading, and the source of the emended reading, will be found recorded in the Textual Notes. Obvious compositorial errors, unless the error produces a new word, are corrected without employing square brackets, but the original reading is nevertheless recorded in the Textual Notes. Square brackets have also been used to alert the reader to all added or altered material in stage directions and to distinguish words or passages that have been inserted into the basic copy-text from some other early edition which there is reason to believe preserves Shakespearean words or lines missing for one reason or another from the copy-text. The source of all such additional bracketed material is indicated in the Textual Notes, except for certain supplementary character identifications that are plain from the context, e.g. "Enter DUKE [FREDERICK] with LORDS.", "Enter CLOWN, Old Lady [COUNTESS], and LAFEW." When the speech-prefixes for a character show more than one

form in the copy-text, they have been regularized to a single form throughout; altered forms are not enclosed in square brackets, but the copy-text variations, where they seem of textual or bibliographical interest, are recorded in the Textual Notes. When a speech is assigned to a speaker different from the one designated in the copy-text, the speech-prefix is of course treated like any other emendation.

Although the present text is basically a modern-spelling text, an attempt has been made to preserve a selection of Elizabethan spelling forms that reflect, or may reflect, a distinctive contemporary pronunciation, both those that are invariant in the early printed texts and those that appear beside the spellings familiar today and so suggest possible variant pronunciations of single words. In the first category, examples may be found in such forms (including also proper names) as *haberdepois* (*avoirdupois*), *fift* or *sixt* (fifth or sixth), *wrack* (*wreck*); *Birnan* (*Birnam*), *Bullingbrook* (*Bolingbroke*), *Callice* (*Calais*), *Dolphin* (*Dauphin*), *Roan* (*Rouen*). In the second category: *bankrout*-*bankrupt*, *conster*-*construe*, *embassador*-*ambassador*, *fadom*-*fathom*, *incestious*-*incestuous*, *renowm*-*renown*, *vild*-*vile*. For words in this second category the present text, following the example of Kittredge, adopts on each occurrence the variant form that appears in the copy-text. Although the forms preserved may in many cases represent scribal or compositorial choices rather than Shakespeare's own preferences, such an approach nevertheless suggests the kind of linguistic climate in which he wrote and avoids the unhistorical and sometimes insensitive levelling that full-scale modernization (never consistent itself) imposes. It was believed, in short, that something valuable was to be gained by allowing, within limits, some of the variety and color of the originals to survive the process of modernization.

The punctuation of a modernized text presents serious problems. A frequent practice is to impose a single modern standard throughout, but this leads almost inevitably to a heavy use of semicolons and periods. The punctuation in the early texts is comparatively light, especially in the earlier quartos, and creates occasional difficulties for the modern reader, but an editor who feels, as Dr. Johnson did, that punctuation is entirely in his power, and who ignores the punctuation of the copy-text, does so at the risk of continual damage to the movement and frequently to the meaning of the lines, either verse or prose. Judging from the evidence of the insurrection scene in *Sir Thomas More* (accepted in this edition as almost certainly in Shakespeare's autograph), Shakespeare employed a punctuation so light as to be almost non-existent. This single example need not, of course, mean that he always did so, but the supposition that he favored a light and running punctuation receives considerable support from the quarto texts believed to have been set from some form of his autograph. Thus, though the punctuation in the early texts may be in good part the work of someone in the printing-house, or of a scribe, it is probably nearer to Shakespeare's intentions and nearer to the speech rhythms of the



period than any later and more tightly logical system can pretend to be. In the present edition, therefore, the punctuation of the different copy-texts has been followed as closely as is consistent with clarity. In many plays this means a frequent use of the comma where modern punctuation would employ either a semicolon or a period, but the resulting freedom in the flow of the verse and the immediacy with which sentences and sentence elements are related justify such an approach. Where, however, there is danger of misreading or ambiguity in the original pointing, the punctuation has been adjusted; but all changes that seem to involve a shift in meaning are recorded in the Textual Notes.

In writing verse, Elizabethan poets made a regular distinction, usually carefully preserved in printed texts, between final *-ed* (syllabic) and *-'d* (non-syllabic) in words to which it is phonetically possible to attach both forms of the suffix. This useful distinction has been retained in verse passages, and all departures from the copy-text form are recorded in the Textual Notes. In prose, however, the two forms appear to have been used indiscriminately, the choice being governed sometimes merely by the compositor's need to justify his lines. For this reason the present text has levelled all such forms in prose passages to *-'d*, except (a) in certain words where the form in *-ed* seems to have been commonly employed in colloquial usage, and (b) in the speeches of a very few characters, such as Don Armado or Fluellen, who are presented to us as affected or "outlandish" speakers.

The act and scene designations in the present text generally agree with those found in the Globe edition (1864). Where such designations are additions to the copy-text, or alterations of it, they are here enclosed in square brackets and their sources are recorded in the Textual Notes. In addition, a summary statement of the act-scene arrangement in the copy-text will be found at the beginning of the Textual Notes to each play. The scene-by-scene line-numbering is based on the lineation of verse and prose as that appears in the present text; hence it will often differ, especially in prose passages, from that found in other texts, but usually by not more than a few lines either way. Recently, a system of what is called through-line-numbering (TLN) has been introduced by Charlton Hinman in his facsimile of the First Folio published in 1968. The basis of his system, which numbers the lines of each play consecutively, ignoring scene breaks, from beginning to end, is the text as it is printed in the First Folio. Thus line numbers are assigned to whatever act and scene designations occur, to stage directions, and to every line and part line (including verse run-overs but excluding turn-overs and turn-unders) that takes up what might be considered a line space in the First Folio. Where additional lines, not in the Folio, appear in a modern text edited from quarto copy-text, these additional lines are indicated by placing after the last numbered folio line a plus sign followed by the number of added lines. For example, "2225+10" indicates that, following line 2225 in the Folio numeration, the text contains ten

lines found only in the quarto text. A system of block TLN notation, based on Hinman's facsimile, has been devised for the present edition. At the top of each column of the text (the first page of a play excepted) may be found the numbers of the first and last lines in that column (e.g. 2403-2455). Thus a reference to line 2425 of *Hamlet* may be readily located with something approaching accuracy. Two special points need to be noticed. First, frequently in prose passages (and occasionally in verse passages) the second number in a block reappears as the first number in the next block because a prose line (or mislined verse line) in the Folio numeration has necessarily been divided between two lines in the present text. Second, where a series of lines that do not appear in F1 (and hence have no Folio line numbers) are divided between the end of one column and the beginning of the next, the lines are described thus: "1065+9(1-3)" and "1065+9(4-9)", indicating that a total of nine lines are involved in the non-F1 lines and that individual lines in this group may be distinguished as "1065+1", "1065+2", etc. TLN numbering for *Pericles* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is based on the first quarto of *Pericles* (1609) and the quarto of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1634). The reader should be warned that the total number of lines recorded for a play by the TLN method does not at all accurately indicate the actual number of lines of dialogue contained in the play, since such numeration includes F1 act-scene divisions and stage directions, verse run-overs, and part lines, and on the other hand does not include in the final figure all the additional lines not present in the F1 text.

The Textual Notes, which follow the individual plays, are intended to serve two principal functions. First, as has already been pointed out, they are intended to document the texts in the present edition by recording the source of all emendations and additions, i.e. the authority (other early printed texts or later editions) on which the emendation or addition has been adopted. They include also a record of all changes in the punctuation of the copy-text that may be said to affect meaning significantly. New readings introduced by the present editor are designated "*ed.*" Second, the Textual Notes have been so constructed as to offer a reader all the essential information he may need to study in depth the whole textual situation as it has been outlined for him in the "Note on the Text" prefixed to the Textual Notes for each play. Thus for what may be called two-text plays (i.e. plays published first in quarto from an authoritative manuscript and later in F1 in a substantially different text) the Textual Notes record the more significant variations between the version here chosen as copy-text and the other substantive version, and for *Richard III*, *Hamlet*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *King Lear*, and *Othello*, where the choice of copy-text is more complicated than in other plays, they record all substantive variants of the second text.

Five qualifications on the inclusiveness of the Textual Notes should be pointed out here. (1) Although substantial passages of special interest are quoted from each of the "bad" quartos at appropriate places

in the Textual Notes, no systematic attempt could be made to record the great mass of individual textual variants in these quartos (apart from those for *Richard III* and *Lear*, both special cases) except where such variants are cited as part of an entry concerned with a particular reading in the substantive texts. (2) Where there is more than a single edition of a quarto published before the appearance of F1 in 1623, the numerous errors or unauthoritative compositorial variants introduced into the second and all succeeding editions are in general not recorded unless they figure as part of the presentation of the development of the substantive texts. (3) The variant readings of the later folios (1632, 1663, 1685) and of those quartos published after F1 (1623), since they possess no independent or manuscript authority, are included only when they seem to be of special significance in the later history of the text. (4) No attempt has been made to record the many hundreds of textual emendations offered by editors and critics during the past two hundred and fifty years unless (a) one of these emendations has been adopted in the present text or (b) the textual situation was desperate enough to warrant a selection of the proposed readings. In particular cases, some of the suggested emendations are noticed in the glossarial notes. (5) Adjustments in verse alignment are not recorded unless they affect the passage in some significant way. Although in one sense these partial exclusions in the Textual Notes constitute a limitation, in another they greatly sharpen the focus on significant readings and serve to winnow out a great deal of meaningless chaff. The reader who desires additional details may refer to the collations in the revised Cambridge *Shakespeare* (1891-93) or to the

more recent volumes of the *New Variorum Shakespeare*.

The text of the present edition has been used by Professor Marvin Spevack as the basis of his recently published *Complete and Systematic Concordance to the Works of Shakespeare* (6 vols., 1968-70). This invaluable concordance is the first that in any definitive sense deserves the term "complete." It lists, with context, arranged alphabetically for the works as a whole (Vols. IV-VI) and individually, without context, for each work (Vols. I-III), all uses of all words occurring in the present text of the plays and poems. It also presents, as part of Vols. I-III, separate character concordances to each play, and includes in Vol. VI a number of extremely useful appendices: a Word-Frequency Index, a Reverse-Word Index, a list of Hyphenated Words alphabetized by first, second, and third elements, a list of Homographs, and a Conversion Table for through-line-numbering. Professor Spevack's concordance completely supercedes the old John Bartlett *Concordance* (1894), which is far from complete; and it serves a large variety of interests (including inclusiveness) not covered by the old-spelling concordances now being published, a separate volume to each play, by T. H. Howard-Hill. In fairness to Professor Spevack, it should here be noted that the very occasional discrepancies between his concordance and the texts as now published must be laid to the present editor's belated change of mind. In Vol. VI (pp. 4341-42) Professor Spevack has included a list of substantive changes; some adjustments in punctuation do not in any way affect the use of the concordance. A one-volume concordance based on Vols. IV-VI, *The Harvard Concordance to Shakespeare*, has been published by Harvard University Press (1973).

## Glossary of Selected Bibliographical Terms

The following definitions are intended for use with the foregoing essay and with the bibliographical "Note on the Text" preceding the Textual Notes to each play. They should be considered as general working definitions, aimed primarily at the non-specialist. For further information the reader may consult: Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, 1949); Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972); Charlton Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1963); Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing* (1683-84), ed. Herbert Davis and Harry Carter (London, 1958); and R. B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford, rev. ed., 1928).

*Analytical bibliography* (sometimes referred to as the "New Bibliography"). Analytical bibliography (as distinguished from descriptive or merely enumera-

tive bibliography) is concerned with the printing process (i.e. the various steps through which printer's copy passes on its way to becoming a book) and seeks to establish, so far as possible, (a) the kind and authority (source), usually manuscript (except in reprints), of the printer's copy; and (b) the extent to which the composition and printing processes may have affected the quality of the printed text. The principal matters with which an analytical bibliographer concerns himself are: (a) the method employed in composition (whether seriatim or by casting off); (b) compositor determination (i.e. determining the identity and the characteristics of the compositor or compositors responsible for setting the type); (c) analysis of the amount and accuracy of press-correction through the collation of multiple copies of the same edition; (d) analysis of the running-titles, rules, etc. to establish the possible order of imposition within the sheet, or of sheets within the book; and (e) the

detection and interpretation of cancels. Most of the bibliographical terms employed above are separately defined elsewhere in the Glossary.

**Broadside:** usually, a single folio leaf (half the size of the basic sheet), printed on one side only, used for the publication of proclamations, ballads, and ephemera generally. Occasionally the full, unfolded sheet was used.

**Cancel:** a term used to describe newly set printed matter substituted for some part of the contents of a work as originally set and printed off. The leaf (or leaves) that is replaced is known as the *cancellandum* (plural *cancellanda*); the leaf (or leaves) that is substituted (necessarily reset recto and verso), as the *cancellans* (plural *cancellantes*). Very occasionally a short passage may be found cancelled by a newly set printed slip pasted over the original setting of type; thus the necessity of resetting a whole leaf is avoided.

**Casting off and cast-off copy.** To cast off or count off printer's copy is (a) to estimate in advance as nearly as possible how many sheets a given amount of manuscript or printed copy will require to produce a book in a chosen type-size and format (folio, quarto, octavo, or other); (b) to estimate, even more exactly, the amount of copy, page by page, that may be contained in a sheet (or sheets), inner and outer forme, thus permitting copy to be divided among two or more printing shops, or two compositors within a single shop working simultaneously, either together on the setting of one sheet or independently on different sheets, with the necessary assurance, not always justified in actual practice, that one will end where the other began. The Shakespeare First Folio (a folio-in-sixes) used setting by cast-off copy generally throughout. For a large book like the First Folio, in which each page contains two long columns of relatively small type, this method had certain definite advantages. First, it allowed two compositors to work simultaneously on each six-leaf quire (see *Folio-in-sixes*). Assuming a six-leaf quire with the pages numbered consecutively 1 through 12, one compositor could, after the copy had been cast off, begin setting page 6, working back from page 6 to page 5, from 5 to 4, finally ending by setting page 1. The second compositor could at the same time begin setting page 7, working forward to page 8 and so seriatim through page 12. Such a procedure essentially halved the time it would have taken a single compositor working serially from page 1 through 12 on the same amount of copy, and thus balanced the differential in time between the comparatively slower process of composition (type-setting) and the faster mechanical process of impression (printing off), by permitting printing to begin as soon as pages 6 and 7 (constituting the inner forme of the innermost of the three sheets employed in the quire and the first to be set up by the two compositors working simultaneously) were in type, to be followed in sequence by pages 5 and

8, 4 and 9, etc. In contrast, if the six-leaf quire were set seriatim (i.e. pages 1 through 12), printing could not begin until page 7 had been set, completing the first printable forme. Second, the technique of setting from cast-off copy considerably reduced the amount of type locked up in type-pages at any one time, since once pages 6 and 7, 5 and 8, etc. had been printed off, the type could at once be redistributed in the type cases and become available for use in setting later pages of the same quire. In the seriatim method a much larger amount of type was out of circulation for a considerably longer period. Since the quantity of a particular type-face was necessarily limited, the comparatively speedier freeing of that type for further setting was an important consideration. The use of cast-off copy was not, however, without some attendant dangers. If, in a folio-in-sixes for example, the copy had been inaccurately cast off, the compositor who was working back from page 6 to page 1 of a given quire might discover when he came to set page 1 that he had either too little or too much copy to fit the regular format of the page. Since he had no place to go, the last page of the preceding quire and the following page of the present quire being either already printed off or in the process of being so, he had to solve his problem within the limits of page 1. If his copy had been overestimated, he could employ more white space in setting up the page (allowing some extra space between speeches, setting with extra space for entries and exits, turning over verse lines, etc.). If his copy had been underestimated, he might be in deeper trouble. If by the utmost squeezing and crowding he could not accommodate his remaining material, "judicious" omission was his only recourse. How often this desperate situation arose, we do not know, but Charlton Hinman (*The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*, II, 507-8) suggests such an explanation to account for the omission of an important stage direction in *Antony and Cleopatra* at V.ii.34, where the folio page, significantly the first page of quire 2z, shows other obvious evidence of crowding.

**Catchword:** a printer's device, derived from earlier manuscript practice, to link page to page, both within the quire and from quire to quire. It consists of setting the first word of the following page (or the beginning of the word if it is of several syllables) at the foot of the preceding page, below the text and as far to the right as the line-measure (see *Line-measure*) being employed will allow. Catchwords were considered useful both in imposition and binding procedures. A lack of agreement between the catchword and the first word on the following page is a warning signal of possible textual difficulties, involving perhaps the omission of one or more words. Abbreviated as "cw."

**Collation:** (a) A formula for describing the make-up of a printed book (or manuscript); for example, 4to A-H<sup>4</sup> (i.e. a quarto, with quires signed A through H, each quire containing four leaves).



(b) The word-for-word and point-for-point comparison of two texts of the same work (either printed or manuscript) made with the intention of correcting one text by reference to the other or of recording differences between the two texts.

*Composition*: the setting of type from printer's copy.

*Compositor*: one who composes or sets type from printer's copy.

*Copy*: see *Printer's copy*.

*Copy-text*: the printed edition or manuscript upon which an editor bases his text.

*Edition*: all copies of a book printed from the same setting of type (allowing for the differences between copies resulting from press-correction). See *State*; *Issue*; *Stop-press correction*.

*Folio*: (a) A printer's designation for the format of a book (applied also to the bound volume) in which the individual sheets have been folded once, across the middle of the longer side (i.e. parallel with the shorter side), thus producing two leaves for every sheet (see *Sheet*). The measurements of each leaf, depending on the size of the sheet employed, vary from approximately 15" by 10" (large folio) to 12" by 8" (small folio), with many intermediate sizes. Abbreviated as "2<sup>o</sup>" and in non-collational reference as "F". Folio volumes in Elizabethan-Jacobean times (and later) were usually gathered in fours, sixes, or eights (see *Folio-in-sixes*). Bound copies of the same book will differ in leaf measurements depending on the amount of trimming the sheets were subjected to in the process of binding (true also, of course, of bound copies in quarto, octavo, and other formats). (b) Used also (derived from manuscript terminology and abbreviated as "fol." or "f.") to designate a single leaf (as distinguished from a page) in a quire (even in books of other than folio format).

*Folio-in-sixes*: a book (like the Shakespeare First Folio) in folio format in which each quire is made up of three folded sheets placed one inside another at the fold so as to produce a quire of six leaves (twelve pages). In such a folio quire, leaves 1 and 6, 2 and 5, 3 and 4 will be what are called conjugate leaves, i.e. leaves which are part of the same sheet and joined at the fold. This method of production facilitated both the sewing and binding process, reducing the bulk of a folio volume's spine. The same process was used to produce a folio-in-fours (two sheets) and a folio-in-eights (four sheets).

*Format*: see *Folio*; *Quarto*; *Octavo*.

*Forme*: a term applied to type-pages once they have been imposed (see *Imposition*) and firmly locked in the "chase" (the metal rectangular frame surrounding the imposed type-pages). A forme is described as "outer" or "inner," the outer forme always containing the first page of a quire (i.e. the recto of the first leaf) in all formats (folio, quarto, octavo, etc.)

*Gathering*: used as synonymous with "quire" (see *Quire*).

*Imposition*: the correct placement of the type-pages in the forme (outer and inner). See *Forme*. In quarto format, pages 1, 4, 5, 8 would thus be imposed in the outer forme and pages 2, 3, 6, 7 in the inner forme, each set so arranged in its forme that when the sheet is correctly folded the pages will appear in the sequence 1 through 8.

*Impression*: any continuous press-run from one setting of type. In Elizabethan-Jacobean times an ordinance of the Stationers' Company issued in 1587 made it illegal (with rare exceptions, specially authorized) to print off more than 1250 to 1500 copies of a work from the same setting of type. The rule (not always observed) was aimed at protecting the compositors from exploitation by the master printers. Since type was regularly redistributed to the type-cases as soon as the press-run had been completed for each forme, the same type being employed in setting other parts of the same book, what we would call a new impression (or reimpression) from the original setting of type very rarely occurred at this period.

*Issue*: a term used to designate the republication (second issue) of what are basically the original sheets of a book, but with the addition or substitution of newly set matter (usually a cancel title-page, more rarely other reset material supplied by a cancel leaf or cancel quire). See *Cancel*.

*Justifying*: the process by which a compositor in setting prose (occasionally verse) might adjust his line length to fit the adopted line-measure (see *Line-measure*), thus producing an even right type-page margin. The compositor could "justify" his line by altering the amount of space between words and by variations in spelling forms (e.g. "do" or "doe", "sin" or "sinne", "felicity" or "felicitie").

*Line-measure*: the chosen width of a type-page, or of a column in a two-column page (hence controlling the capacity of the individual type-line), determined in advance according to book format and page design, and controlled, from page to page, by the setting on the compositor's composing-stick. See *Justifying*.

*Octavo*: a printer's designation for the format of a book (applied also to the bound volume) in which the individual sheets have been folded three times, the direction of all three folds repeating that used in folio and quarto format, thus producing eight leaves (sixteen pages) to a quire. Abbreviated as "8<sup>o</sup>" or "8vo" and in non-collational reference as "O". The measurements of an octavo may be taken as roughly half those of a quarto, with the proviso noted under *Folio*.

*Perfecting*: the impression or printing off of the second side (either outer or inner forme) of a sheet that has already been printed off on one side.

*Press-correction*: see *Stop-press correction*.

*Printer's copy*: the manuscript or printed material from which the compositor set his type-pages. When the compositor used an earlier edition of a work as copy for a new edition in the same format, he usually

The Tragedie of

ould my performance perish.  
*Rom.* Thou hast *Ventidius* that, without the which a  
Souldier and his Sword graunts scarce distinction: thou  
wilt write to *Anthony*.

*Ven.* He humbly signifie what in his name,  
That magicall word of Warre we haue effected,  
How with his Banners, and his well paid ranks,  
The nere-yet beate Horse of Parthis,  
We haue isaded out o' th Field.

*Rom.* Where is he now?  
*Ven.* He purposeth to Athens, whither with what hast  
The waight we must conuay wich's, will permit:  
We shall appeare before him. On the, passe along.

*Exit.*  
*Enter Agrippa at one doore, Enobarbus at another.*  
*Agri.* What are the Brothers parted?  
*Eno.* They haue dispatcht with *Pompey*, he is gone,  
The other three are Sealing. *Othania* weepes  
To part from Rome: *Caesar* is sad, and *Lepidus*  
Since *Pompey's* feast, as *Menas* saies, is troubled  
With the Greene-Sickness.

*Agri.* 'Tis a Noble *Lepidus*.  
*Eno.* A very fine one: oh, how he loues *Caesar*.  
*Agri.* Nay but how deere he adores *Mark Anthony*.  
*Eno.* *Caesar*? why he's the Jupiter of men,  
*Ant.* What's *Anthony*, the God of Iupiter?  
*Eno.* Spake you of *Caesar*? How, the non-pareill?  
*Agri.* Oh *Anthony*, oh thou Arabian Bird!  
*Eno.* Would you praise *Caesar*, say *Caesar* go no further.  
*Agri.* Indeed he plied them both with excellent praises.  
*Eno.* But he loues *Caesar* best, yet he loues *Anthony*:

Hoo Hearts, Tongues, Figure,  
Scribes, Bards, Poets, cannot  
Thinke speake, cast, write, sing, number: hoo,  
His loue to *Anthony*. But as for *Caesar*,  
Kneele downe, kneele downe, and wonder.  
*Agri.* Both he loues.  
*Eno.* They are his Shards, and he their Beetle, for  
This is to horse: Adieu, Noble *Agrippa*.  
*Agri.* Good Fortune worthy Souldier, and farewell.

*Enter Caesar, Anthony, Lepidus, and Othania.*  
*Antho.* No further Sir.  
*Caesar.* You take from me a great part of my selfe:  
Vie me well in't. Sister, proue such a wife  
As my thoughts make thee, and as my farthest Band  
Shall passe on thy approue: most Noble *Anthony*,  
Let not the peece of Vertue which is set  
Berwixt vs, as the Cyment of our loue  
To keepe it builded, be the Ramme to batter  
The Fortresse of it: for better might we  
Haue lou'd without this meane, if on both parts  
This be not cherisht.

*Ant.* Make me not offended, in your distrust.  
*Caesar.* I haue said.  
*Ant.* You shall not finde,  
Though you be therein curious, the left cause  
For what you seeme to feare, so the Gods keepe you,  
And make the hearts of Romaines seepe your ends:  
We will heere part.

*Caesar.* Farewell my deereest Sister, fare thee well,  
The Elements be kind to thee, and make  
Thy spirits all of comfort: fare thee well.

*Otho.* My Noble Brother.  
*Antho.* The Aprill's in her eyes, it is Loues spring,  
And these the showers to bring it on: be cheerfull.

*Otho.* Sir, looke well to my Husbands houle: and  
*Caesar.* What *Othania*?

*Otho.* He tell you in your care.  
*Ant.* Her tongue will not obey her heart, nor can  
Her heart informe her tongue.

The Swannes downe feather  
That stands vpon the Swell at the of full Tide:  
And neither way inclines.

*Eno.* Will *Caesar* weepe?  
*Agri.* He ha's a cloud in's face.

*Eno.* He were the worse for that were he a Horse, so is  
he being a man.

*Agri.* Why *Enobarbus*:  
When *Anthony* found *Iulius Caesar* dead,  
He cried almost to roaring: And he wept,  
When at *Phillippi* he found *Brutus* slaine.

*Eno.* That year indeed, he was troubled with aume,  
What willingly he did confound, he wau'd,  
Beleeu't till I weepe too.

*Caesar.* No sweet *Othania*,  
You shall heare from me still: the time shall not  
Out-go my thinking on you.

*Ant.* Come Sir, come,  
He wrastle with you in my strength of loue,  
Looke heere I haue you, thus I let you go,  
And giue you to the Gods.

*Caesar.* Adieu, be happy.  
*Leq.* Let all the number of the Starres giue light  
To thy faire way.

*Caesar.* Farewell, farewell. *Kisses Othania.*  
*Ant.* Farewell. *Trumpeis sound.* *Exit.*

*Enter Cleopatra, Charmian, Iras, and Alexas.*  
*Cleo.* Where is the Fellow?

*Alex.* Halfe as dead to come.  
*Cleo.* Come, go, go, go: Con e' hither Sir.

*Enter the Messenger as before.*  
*Alex.* Good Maiestie: *Herod* of Iury dare not looke  
vpon you, but when you are well pleas'd.

*Cleo.* That *Herods* head, he haue: but how? When  
*Anthony* is gone, through whom I might commaund it:  
Come thou neere.

*Mes.* Most gracious Maiestie.  
*Cleo.* Did'st thou be'hold *Othania*?

*Mes.* I dread *Queene*.  
*Cleo.* Where?

*Mes.* Madam in Rome, I lookt her in the face: and  
saw her led betweene her Brother, and *Mark Anthony*.

*Cleo.* Is she as tall as me?  
*Mes.* She is not Madam.

*Cleo.* Didst heere her speake?  
Is the shrill tongu'd or low?

*Mes.* Madam, I heard her speake, she is low voic'd.  
*Cleo.* That's not so good: he cannot like her long.

*Char.* Like her? Oh *Iris*: 'tis impossible.  
*Cleo.* I thinke so *Charmian*: dull of tongue, & dwarfish

What Maiestie is in her gate, remember  
If ere thou look'st on Maiestie.

*Mes.* She creeps: her motion, & her station are as one.  
She shewes a body, rather then a life,  
A Statue, then a Breather.

*Cleo.* Is this certaine?  
*Mes.* Or I haue no obseruance.

*Cha.* Three in Egypt cannot make better note.  
*Cleo.* He's very knowing, I do perceiue,  
There's nothing in her yet.

The

Proof-page of *Antony and Cleopatra* from the First Folio (1623), sig. xx6<sup>v</sup>. It represents the uncorrected state of the page and shows the proof-reader's marks indicating corrections. All but two of the corrections here marked were duly made in the corrected state. (*The Folger Shakespeare Library*)

set it page for page (a paginary reprint). A revised edition of a work was often set from mixed copy, an earlier edition with manuscript insertions.

*Proof correction* (see also *Stop-press correction*). The extent and kind of correction in the Elizabethan-Jacobean printing-house is at present a matter of some dispute. The older orthodox view was that what is usually called stop-press correction or simply press-correction (i.e. corrections to the forme, the imposed type-pages, made in the process of printing off) represented essentially all the correction to which a book at this time was subjected. Recently, however, it has been suggested that stop-press correction is only the last step of several stages of correction, the earlier stages of which were conducted before the forme ever reached the press—in other words, that stop-press correction represents only the final tidying up of errors that had evaded correction in the rough proofs taken directly from the standing type (see *Standing type*) prior to its bedding in the press. This newer view has the support of Joseph Moxon's discussion of proof correction in his *Mechanick Exercises* (1683–84), a discussion that the proponents of the older view deny has any necessary bearing on the practices of the early part of the century. The truth probably lies somewhere in the middle. Under certain circumstances some books may have been corrected only after presswork began; others (possibly including the First Folio of Shakespeare) underwent proof correction in several stages, press-correction being the final step.

*Quarto*: a printer's designation for the format of a book (applied also to the bound volume) in which the individual sheets have been folded twice, the direction of both folds repeating that used for folio format, thus producing four leaves (eight pages). Abbreviated as "4<sup>o</sup>" or "4to" and in non-collational references as "Q". Quartos were sometimes gathered in eights, producing a quire of eight leaves (sixteen pages). The measurements of a quarto, though it gives a squarer appearance, are roughly half those of a folio, with the proviso noted under *Folio*.

*Quire*: (a) The sheet as folded to produce a book in folio format (two leaves, four pages), quarto format (four leaves, eight pages), etc. (b) Two or more sheets gathered one within another and so arranged as to form a bibliographical unit (e.g. quarto-in-eights, folio-in-sixes).

*Recto*: the front of a leaf; in an opened book (or manuscript) always the right-hand page. Abbreviated as superscript "r" following the leaf number. See *Verso*.

*Running-title*: a line of type, placed at the top of each page, containing the title of the work or distinguishing different sections of the work. Also called "running-head." Running-titles were not composed as part of the type-page, but inserted at the top of each type-page at the time of imposition. In this way the same set (or sets) of running-titles might

be used throughout a book without the necessity of resetting.

*Sheet*: the basic component of a book. In Elizabethan-Jacobean times the size of the sheet varied considerably, measuring approximately from 20" by 15" (large folio) to 16" by 12" (small folio). The size of the sheets used in the Shakespeare First Folio falls between these limits, the largest known copy, after being trimmed in the process of binding, measuring 17" by 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ " (McKerrow).

*Signature*: (a) A printer's device for indicating the correct order of quires in a book and of the individual pages in a particular quire. The "signature," which is placed below the text at the foot of a recto page, is usually made up of (1) a symbol (usually a letter of the alphabet) which implies definite sequence and serves as an aid to the binder and (2) a numeral which indicates the exact position of that leaf within the quire and serves as an aid to the correct imposition of the type-pages in the outer and inner formes (see *Forme*) and as a guide to the folding of the printed sheet. Thus in a book printed in quarto format (having four leaves, eight pages, to a quire) the recto of the first leaf of the first quire (not including preliminary matter, which is often signed with an arbitrary symbol to distinguish it and is frequently the last part of a book to be printed) may be signed A1, the second leaf A2, and the third A3, the fourth leaf being, as a rule, unsigned. (b) Also used (abbreviated as "sig.") to refer, especially in unfoliated or unpagged books, to an individual page of a particular quire, as, for example, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>, referring to the verso of the third leaf in quire A. The word will also, unfortunately, be found used in earlier bibliographical work as a synonym for "quire" or "gathering."

*Standing type*: (a) Type-pages before final imposition and bedding on the press. (b) Type-pages preserved as originally set after a completed press-run.

*State*: (a) A term used to distinguish different copies of the same edition some of which (second state) contain cancels inserted before first publication or reset material introduced in the course of the original press-run. (b) Also used to describe the corrected and uncorrected stages resulting from proof correction of the outer and inner formes of individual sheets. In sense (a) the terms "state" and "issue" are often difficult, sometimes impossible, to distinguish.

*Stop-press correction* (see also *Proof correction*). Although it now seems probable that, in the production of a number of books, one or more proofs were taken from the standing type and corrections made before the type-pages were locked up in the chase and placed on the press, the only corrected proofs, with the exception of two or three non-Shakespearean examples, that have survived seem to represent proofs taken at the beginning of a press-run. While such press-proofs were being read and marked by the proof-corrector, the printing process was continued, something around an average of ten



percent of the total number of sheets in the press-run being printed off (either outer or inner forme) before the corrected press-proof was returned; printing was then stopped, and corrections were made by a compositor, either with the forme still in the press or, if the required corrections were substantial enough to warrant it, by removing the forme from the press bed to the correcting stone. Once the corrections had been made, printing was resumed, but those sheets printed off while the press-proof was being corrected were not discarded. If further errors in the printed sheets were observed, the press might be stopped a second, even a third, time and the correction process repeated, thus producing a second or third state of correction in a

certain number of sheets. When it came to the point of assembling copies of the book from the separate quire piles of printed sheets, corrected (abbreviated as "c") and uncorrected (abbreviated as "u") sheets were treated indiscriminately, different copies of the bound volume being made up of different chance assortments of the corrected and uncorrected states. Accidents damaging or disarranging (i.e. pieing) the type during a press-run might also result in stop-press corrections.

*Verso*: the back of a leaf; in an opened book (or manuscript) always the left-hand page. Abbreviated as superscript "v" following the leaf number. See *Recto*.



A sixteenth-century printing shop. From Stephen Batman, *The Doom Warning All Men to the Judgment* (1581). The printing press here shown, in all essentials typical of presses used down to the end of the eighteenth century, is being worked at "full press" (i.e. with two men), one man (right) removing from the tympan a sheet just printed off, the other inking the type-bed with the ink-balls, preparatory to the next "pull." Note (left) the "platen" (half the size of a sheet), fastened flexibly at the lower end of the large screw spindle, which, when the carriage was slid back under it, was brought down evenly and firmly on the type-bed by a strong pull of the "bar" to make the impression. In the foreground are two "piles," one of sheets already printed off in the press-run, the other of sheets still waiting to be "impressed." In the rear of the shop a compositor (right), sitting before a "case" of type, is seen setting from "copy," which is held in a copy-holder to his left. Opposite him, another compositor is either making press-corrections or setting type. (By permission of the Harvard College Library)