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The Publication of the First Quarto of *Othello*

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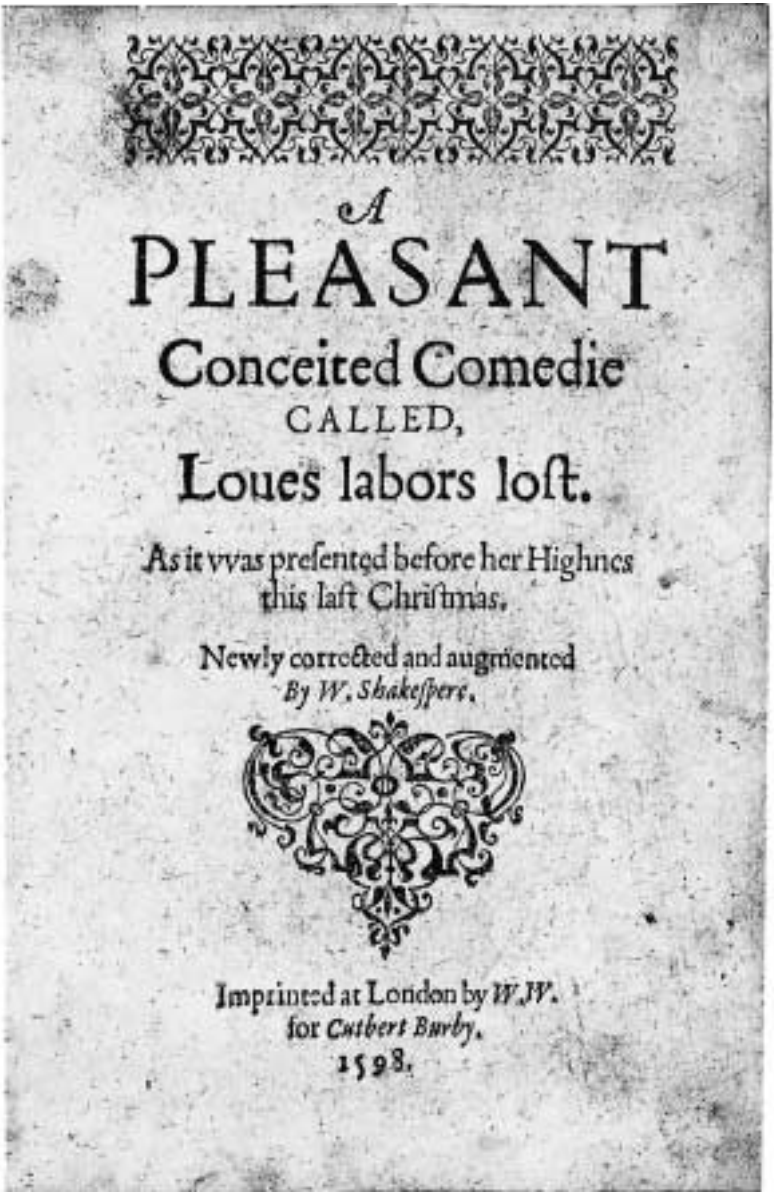
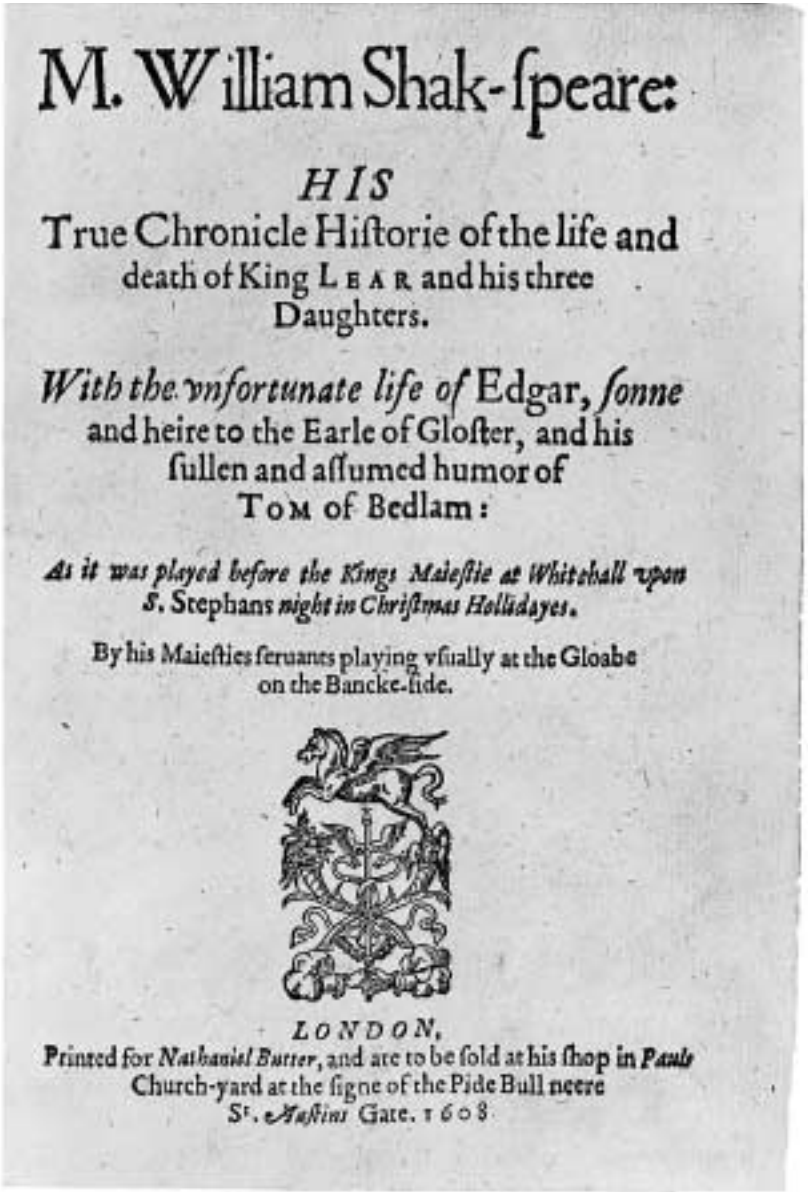

A
PLEASANT
Conceited Comedie
CALLED,
Loues labors loſt.
As it vvas preſented before her Highnes
this laſt Chriſtmas.
Newly corrected and augmented
By W. Shakeſpere.
Imprinted at London by W.W.
for Cutbert Burby.
1598.

Figure 1. *Love's Labor's Lost* (1598), title page.



M. William Shak-ſpeare:

HIS

True Chronicle Hiſtorie of the life and death of King LEAR and his three Daughters.

With the vnfortunate life of Edgar, *ſonne* and heire to the Earle of Gloſter, and his ſullen and aſſumed humor of TOM of Bedlam:

As it was played before the Kings Maieſtie at Whitehall vpon S. Stephans *night in Chriſtmas Holidayes.*

By his Maieſties ſeruants playing vſually at the Gloabe on the Bancke-ſide.

LONDON,
Printed for *Nathaniel Butter*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop in *Pauls* Church-yard at the ſigne of the Pide Bull neere St. *Auſtins* Gate. 1608

Figure 2. *King Lear* (1608), title page.

Tamburlaine

the Great.

Who, from a Scythian Shepheard
by his rare and wonderfull Conquests
became a most puissant and migh-
tye Monarque.
And (for his tyranny, and terrour in
Warre) was tearmed,
The Scourge of God.

Deuided into two Tragicall Dis-
courses, as they were sundrie times
shewed vpon Stages in the Citie
of London.

By the right honorable the Lord
Admyrall, his seruantes.

Now first, and newlie published.

LONDON.
Printed by Richard Ihones: at the signe
of the Rose and Crowne neere Hol-
borne Bridge. 1590.

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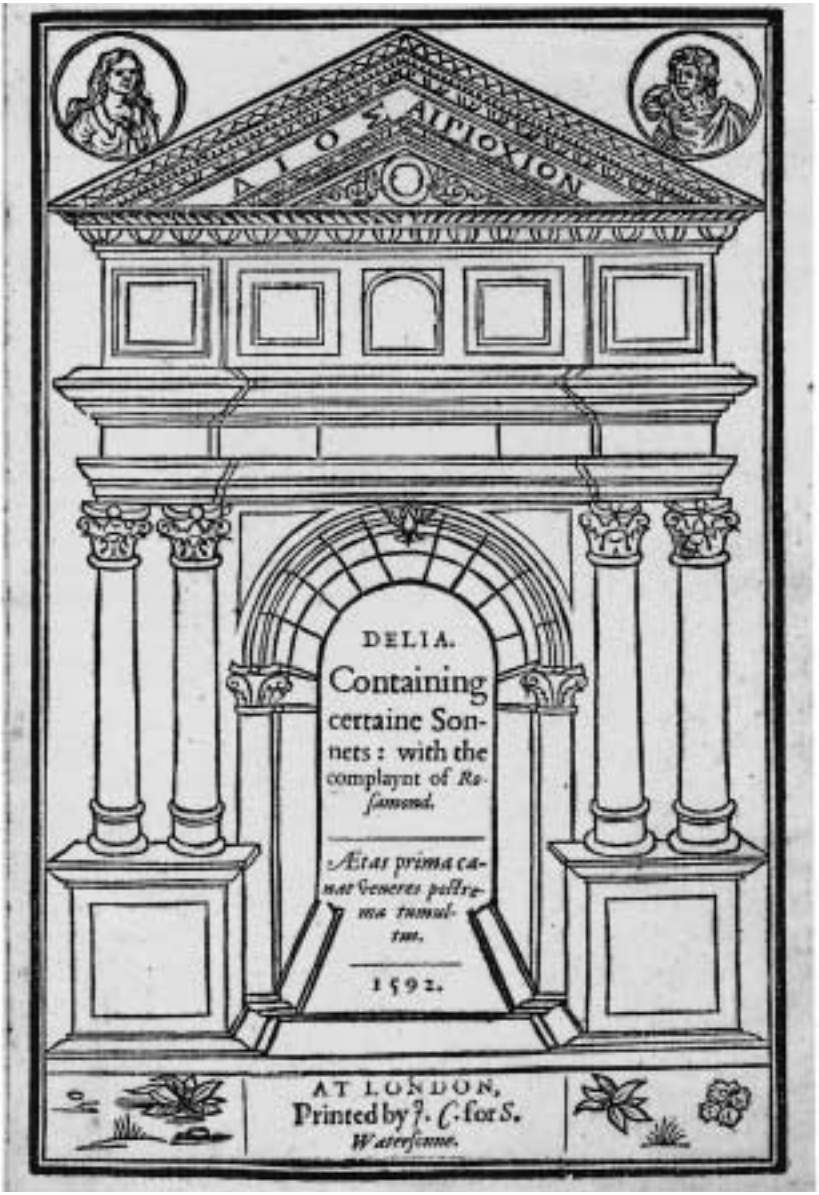

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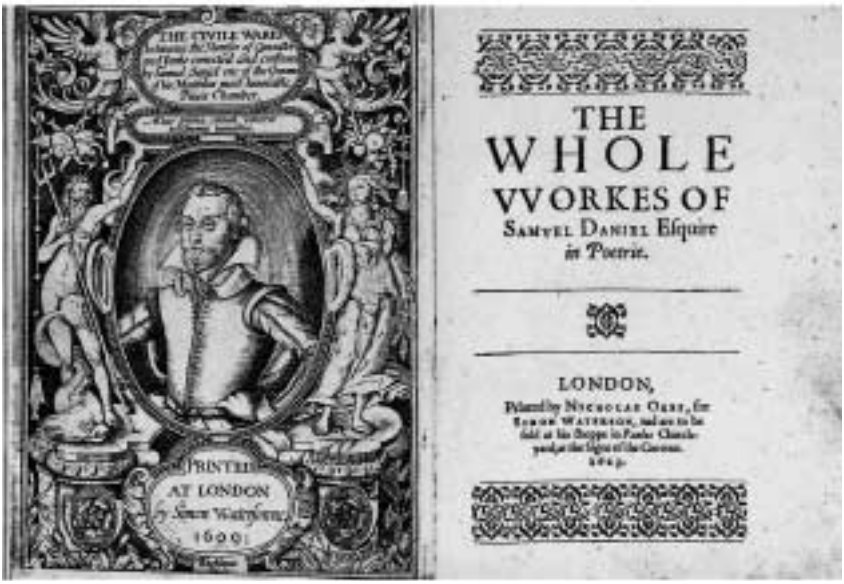

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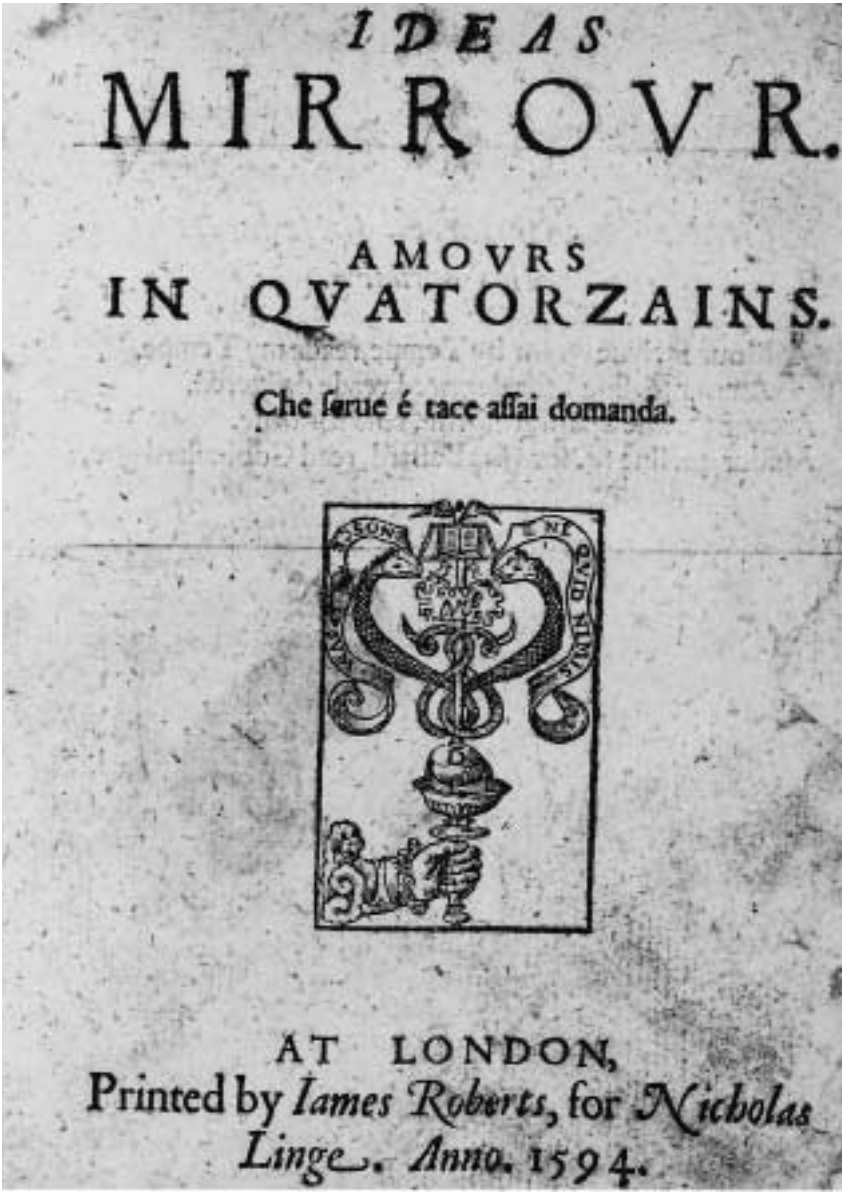

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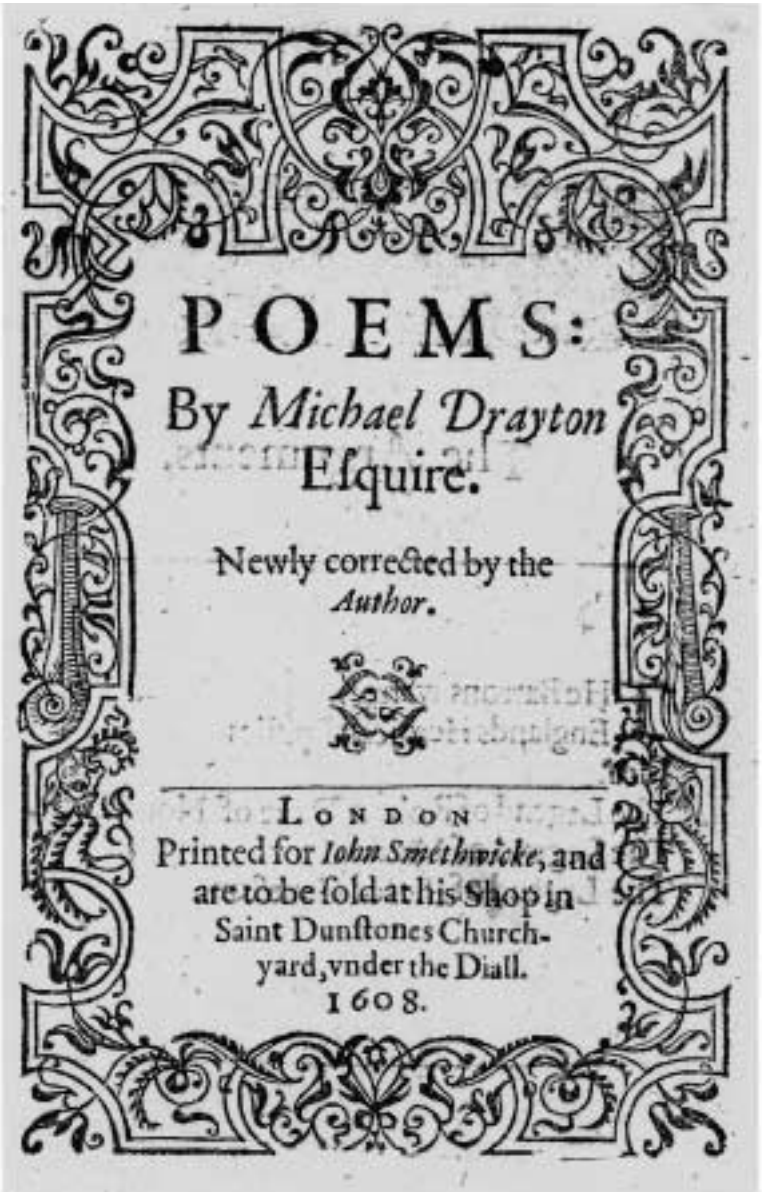

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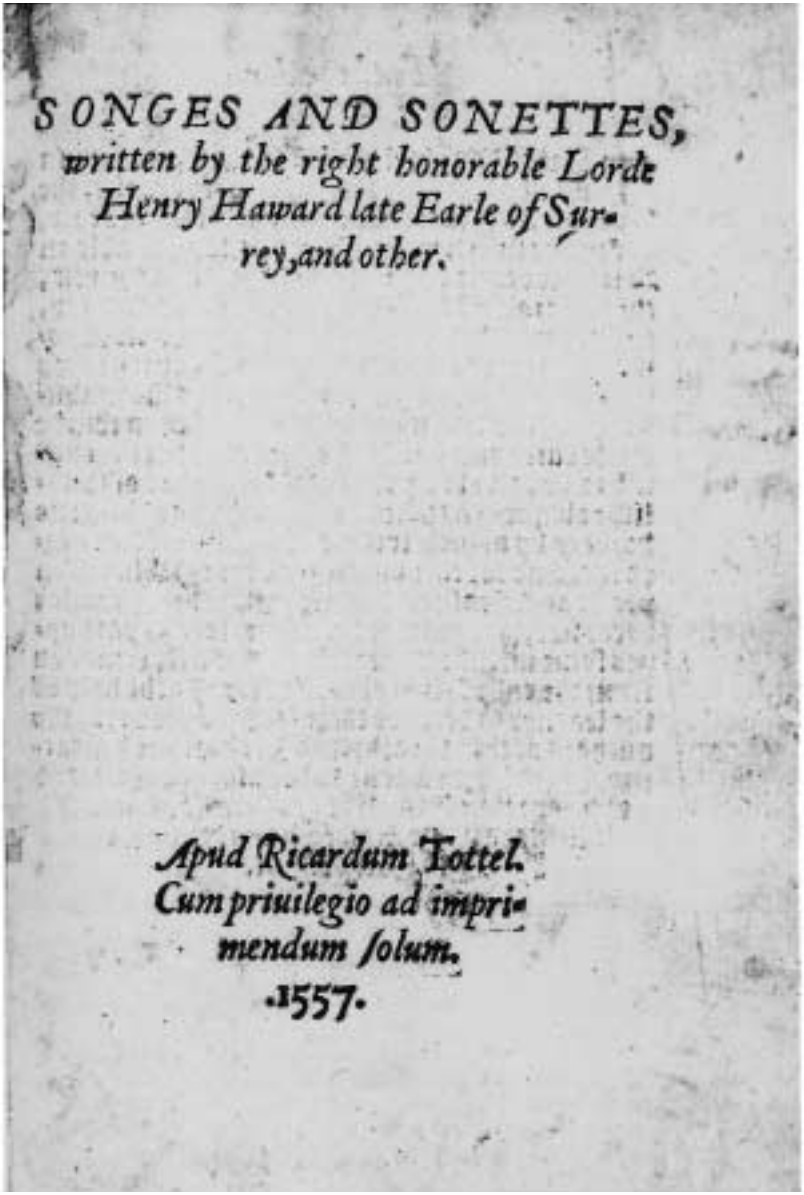
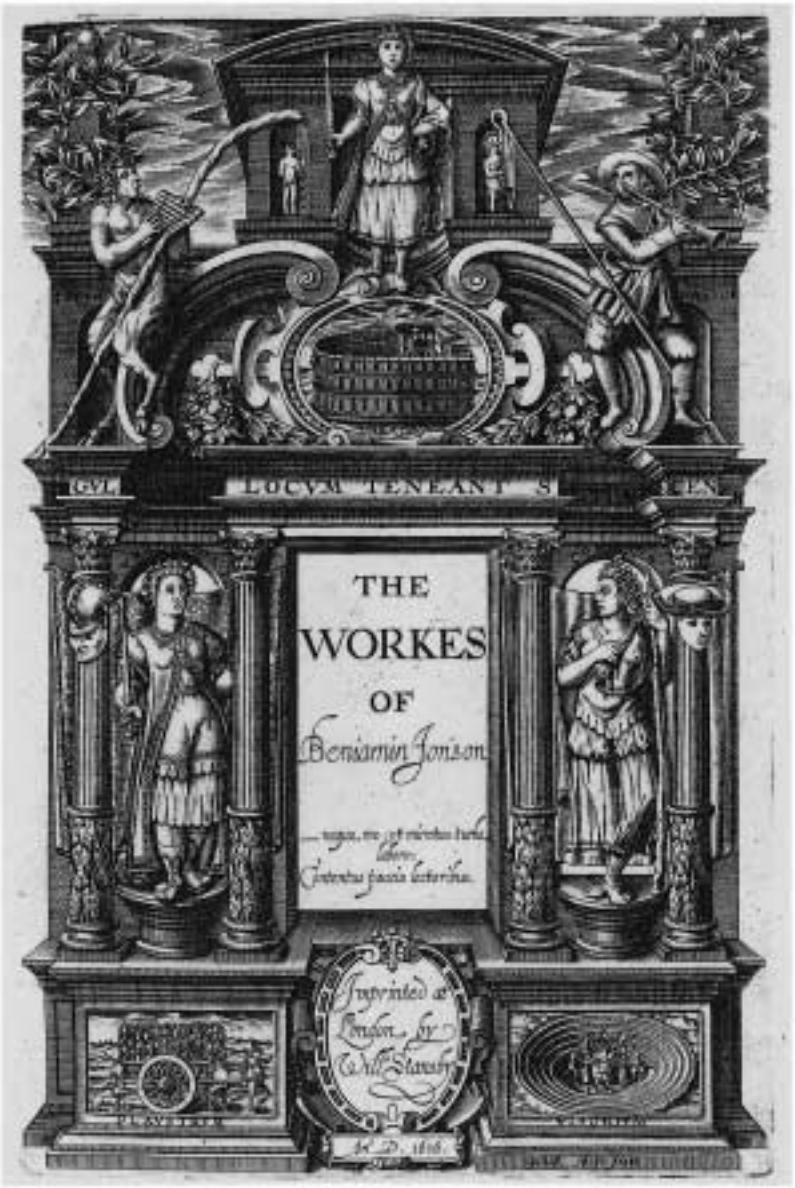

SONGES AND SONETTES,
written by the right honorable Lorde
Henry Haward late Earle of Sur-
rey, and other.

Apud Ricardum Tottel.
Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum solum.
1557.

Figure 11. *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557), title page.



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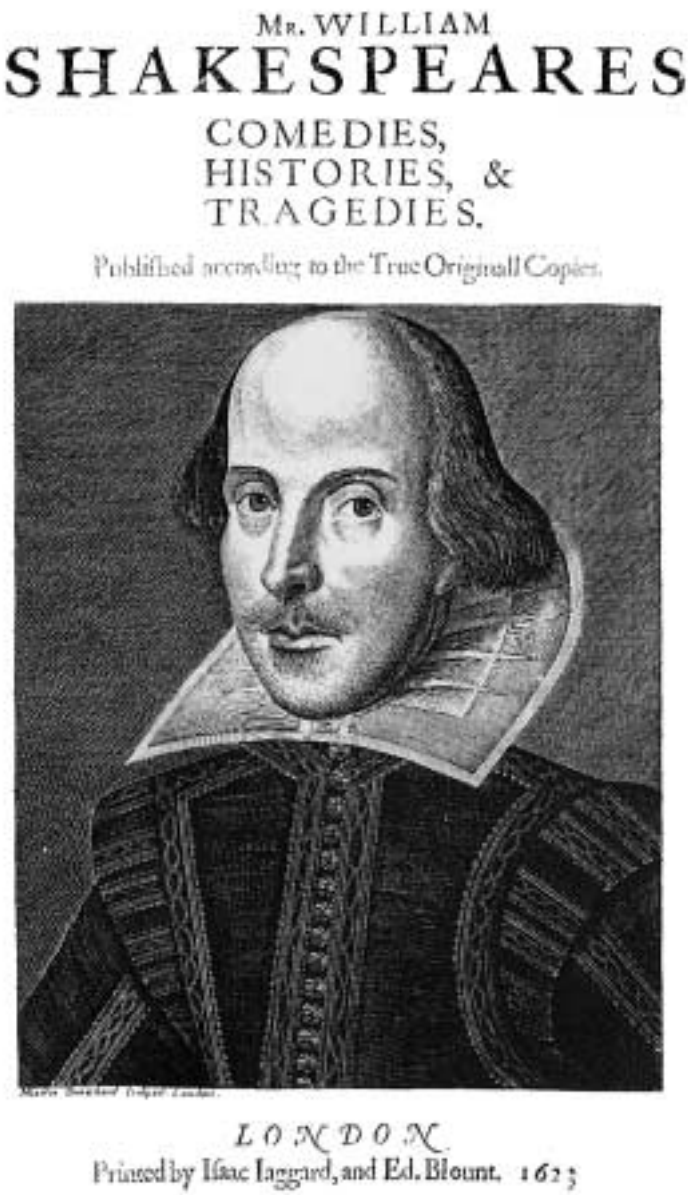

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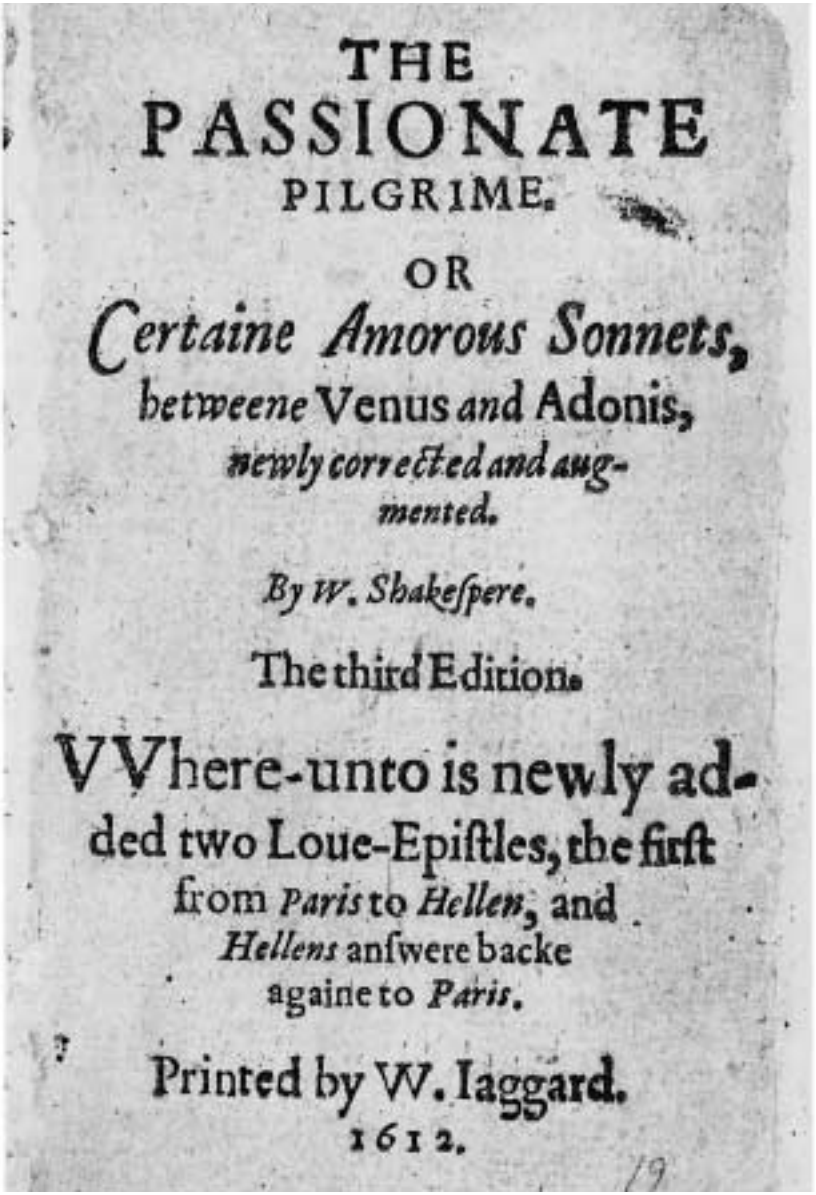

THE
PASSIONATE
PILGRIME.

OR

Certaine Amorous Sonnets,
betweene Venus *and* Adonis,
newly corrected and augmented.

By W. Shakeſpere.

The third Edition.

VVhere-unto is newly added two Loue-Epiſtles, the firſt from *Paris* to *Hellen*, and *Hellens* anſwere backe againe to *Paris*.

Printed by W. Iaggard.
1612.

Figure 14. *The Passionate Pilgrim* (1612), title page.

INTRODUCTION

E.K.Chambers recorded the eighty-three variant spellings of ' Shakespeare ' in his *William Shakespeare : A Study of Facts and Problems* (1930).[1] Then how did it happen that these variants eventually took the single form ' Shakespeare '? The publication history of Elizabethan drama shows that the standard spelling of the author's name was not that of the author's hand but that of the printer's press. Authorship itself is hardly an authorial construct, for the very form of the author's name is a printing-house production.

Virtually all English books printed before eighteenth century varies to some extent from copy to copy.[2] Shakespeare's first Folio best illustrates the unsettled nature of a printed text. Charlton Hinman's 1968 Norton facsimile of the 1623 first Folio displays the variability built into the practices of printing-house production.[3] The printing-house used to correct proof during the course of printing, and then assemble corrected and uncorrected sheets indiscriminately. Owing to this printing-house practice, it is highly probable that no two copies of a sixteenth century book could be identical. The idea of a book embodying the final, perfected text was not a Renaissance one. Historical study of manuscript and print culture reveals the social construction of the text and the full network of agency involved in the production of the text. The manuscript culture fostered communal authorship, a turning back and forth of scripted messages between writers. In a system of manuscript circulation of literature individual text was permeable, editorially open to amendments. In the case of play texts, they designed to change as the conditions of performance change. The playtexts were revised, cut, rearranged and augmented by book-holders, copyists, and other writers, elaborated and improvised by actors in performance. Late Elizabethan playscripts had extremely light punctuation by modern standards.[4] It was the task of the print shop to introduce the pointing when they published a play, and also to in-

troduce capitalization and italics. In the Renaissance it was the norm for printers to customize a play so as to make it readable.[5] From its very first appearance as text the play had been edited, mediated by agents other than the author, and intended for the convenience of its readers'.

Our claims about the effects of Shakespearean drama are based almost entirely on the extant printed texts. However, so long as the printed text was simply one stage in a continuous process, what could we accept as authentic text of Shakespeare? Textual practice in the late twentieth century has faced with the necessity of abandoning the notion that was basic to the New Bibliography practice by W.W. Greg and Fredson Bowers, that by comparing different versions of texts, or quartos and folios, we can arrive at a single, authentic original. We realize that any text and edition can never give us the full version of what Shakespeare really wrote.

This study will relocate the production history of the first quarto of *Othello* in the complex social process of the text's production. The final goal is to see how the quarto publication had been enabled in the network of the manuscript and print culture in the early modern England.

CHAPTER ONE

The Quarto Publisher

Othello was first published by Thomas Walkley in 1622, following an entry in the Stationers' Register of 6th October, 1621. In the year in which the first quarto of *Othello* appeared the project of the King's Men to publish the first folio collection of Shakespeare's plays had been under way. The printing of the Folio was entrusted to the Jaggards' printing house and the work had begun no later than August of 1621.(1) However, it was presently interrupted for a period of more than a year for the completion of another book. The Folio was not the only book that Jaggard was engaged in during the period of mid-1621 and the end of 1623. Jaggard's shop produced at least five very substantial works in addition to a number of smaller items. It would seem very strange for the King's Men to grant Walkley the permission to print *Othello* when the Folio project had already been going forward.

However, in view of the Stationers' Company order of 3rd May, 1619, requiring that no King's Men plays be printed without the players' consent, should we suppose that Walkley obtained the permission to print *Othello*? Before coming straight to the answer, let us take the detour and go back to where Walkely started his publication business.

Thomas Walkley started bookselling and publishing in 1618. In his first few years in business Walkley entangled himself in serious financial difficulties, which led to law suits with another stationer, John Beale, and with one of his authors, Sir Michael Everard. Walkley's first brush with the law was the" fraudulently issued "(2) collection of poems in 1620. John Beale, who printed for Walkley *The Workes of Master George Wither* denounced the collection as " an imperfect and erroneous

Copie... which the Stationer hath ... falsely affirmed to bee Corrected and Augmented for his owne Aduantage"[3] without the author's consent. Beale had sued Walkley for not paying his bills and inevitably the latter asked for the case to be heard in the Court of Requests. The second law suit[4] that Walkley brought with a bill of complaint concerned a treatise *Bellona's Embrion*, written by Sir Michael Everard, who died in 1621. His widow, Lady Margaret, asked her husband's cousin, Dr John Everard, to care for the publication of the treatise. Dr Everard persuaded Walkley to publish the book and seven hundred and fifty copies were supposed to be printed. Their financial arrangements were : Lady Margaret paid various sums to Dr Everard, who in turn paid Walkley for the purchase of paper and the payment for the printer. But Walkley, already heavily in debt, did not pay the printer and used the money instead to settle with other creditors. The printer, Bernard Alsop, refused to continue the assigned job after perfecting thirty-eight sheets, and Walkley persuaded Thomas Snodham to take upon himself to go on with the printing. But Walkley was preoccupied with the printing of Edmund Bolton's *Nero Caesar*, and neglect to set *Bellona's Embrion* to press. After all, Walkley registered *Bellona's Embrion* on 14th February, 1623, presumably after Lady Margaret's death, but the book never appeared in print.

Walkley published five King's Men plays. One of them was *Othello* and the rest were Beaumont and Fletcher plays, *A King and No King, The Maid's Tragedy*, *Phylaster,* and *Thierry and Theodoret*. Contrary to custom, all but the last one were entered in the Stationers' Register without any hint of their author(s) or of the company that had performed them. As Honigmann notes, " when the author was famous and the play had been a success in the theatre, more often than not one or both facts would be recorded in the Register entry."[5] Walkley entered *Othello* in the Register on 6th October, 1621. In W.W.Greg's analysis the date made it unlikely that the first quarto had been published without the sanction of the King's Men and thus they doubtless reserved the right of reprinting as long as the First Folio had been already

in hand.[6] Greg's suggestion is based on his assumption that the printing of the Folio had been well under way. As far as the Beaumont and Fletcher plays were concerned, *The Maid's Tragedy* was registered on 28th April, 1618, and was published in the following year without the players' consent. *A King and No King* was registered by Edward Blount on 7th August, 1618, and Walkley published it without Blount's authority in the following year.

The sequence of events possibly led to the action of the Lord Chamberlain, who sent to the Stationers a letter which condemned the stealing of playtexts by printers and stationers. In reply to the letter the Stationers' Company ordered on 3rd May, 1619, that " no playes that his Maiesties players do play shalbe printed without the consent of somme of them. "[7] The letter, in fact, had been lost and that the Stationers' Order was duly followed by the supposed letter from the Lord Chamberlain is a modern critical reconstruction. Greg explained the process as follows :" On 3rd May 1619 the Court of the Stationers' Company had before it for consideration a letter from the Lord Chamberlain, whereupon it was ordered that in future no plays belonging to the King's Men should be printed without their consent. There can be no reasonable doubt that the players were behind it. "[8] The letter itself has disappeared, but Greg drew the conclusion from " a letter of like tenor "[9]addressed to the Company on 10th June, 1637, by Philip, Earl of Pembroke, and Montgomery, who had succeeded his brother in his title and office in 1630. The 1637 letter went as follows :

> Wheras complaint was heretofore presented to my Deare brother & predecessor by his Maiestes servants the Players, that some of the Company of Printers & Stationers had procured, published & printed diuerse of their bookes of Comedyes, Tragedyes, Cronicle Historyes, and the like, which they had (for the speciall service of his Maiestye & for their owne vse) bought and provided at very Deare & high rates, By meanes wherof not onely they themselues had much

preiudice, but the bookes much corruption to the iniury and disgrace of the Authors ; And thereupon the Masters & Wardens of the company of printers & stationers were advised by my Brother to take noticed therof & to take Order for the stay of any further Impression of any of the Playes or Interludes of his Maiuestes servants without their consentes...[10]

In the letter of 1637 the Lord Chamberlain complained that the first warning had not been taken seriously, which led him to write even more explicitly :

" Notwithstanding which I am informed that some Coppyes of Playes belonging to the King & Queenes servants the Players, & purchased by them at Deare rates, haueing beene lately stolen or gotten from them by indirect meanes, are now attempted to bee printed, & that some of them are at the Presse & ready to bee printed ... For prevention & redresse wherof it is desired that Order bee giuen & entred by the Master & Wardens of the Company of Printers & Stationers that if any Playes bee already entred, or shall hereafter bee brought vnto the Hall to bee entred for printing, that notice therof bee giuen to the Kinges & Queenes servants the Players, & an inquiery made of them to whome they doe belong, And that none bee suffered to bee printed vntill the assent of their Maiestes sayd servants bee made appeare to the Master & Wardens of the Company of Printers & Stationers by some Certificate in writeing vnder the handes of Iohn Lowen & Ioseph Taylor for the Kings servants....[11]

In our modern critical consensus[12] the 1619 letter was supposed to be written against the 1619 publication of the Pavier quartos, the first abortive attempt to bring out Shakespeare's plays as a collection.[13] Andrew Murphy in his latest book on a history of Shakespeare publishing (2003) still believes that the Pavier collection led the King's Men to seek the help of the Lord Chamberlain in securing their interest in

their textual property.[14] Honigmann, on the other hand, casts a doubt on the general assumption and argues that it was the Lord Chamberlain's letter of 1619 that had intervened the printing of *The Maid's Tragedy* by Thomas Walkley.[15] Paying attention to the 1637 letter's statement that " stationers had procured, published & printed diverse of their books ", Honigmann suggests that the statement refers to the books published for the first time, unlike the Pavier quartos which were all reprinted from other quarto editions.

The Shakespearean playtexts of the King's Men had never been appeared in print since 1609, when *Troilus and Cressida* was published. The epistle printed in the second issue of the first quarto referred to the King's Men and their reluctance to publish their best plays. In fact, no Shakespearean plays had been printed until Walkley published the first quarto of *Othello* . The Pavier collection consisted of ten plays, which Pavier attributed to Shakespeare, and all of them had been already appeared in different quartos. Then a possible explanation of the 1619 letter could be, as Honigmann proposes, that Walkley's unauthorized endeavour to publish the first quarto of *The Maid's Tragedy* in 1619 caused the King's Men to ask the Lord Chamberlain's intervention.

In this sequence of events Walkley's acquisition of *Othello* manuscript could also be suspicious. Why did the King's Men allow the publication when they had opposed the publication ever since 1609? Walkley had financial difficulties in those days and his economic status had a bearing on his publications. He might have expected that the new Shakespeare quarto would never fail him and that he could recover his lost reputation as a stationer. It is noteworthy that Walkley tried to capitalize on Shakespeare's name to guarantee his publication for the reader. Walkley included his address to the reader, placed Shakespeare as ' author ' and his ' work ' at the centre of the commodification strategy ;

The Stationer to the Reader

To set forth a book without an epistle, were like to the old English proverb, ‘ A blue coat without a badge ’, and the author being dead, I thought good to take that piece of work upon me : to commend it, I will not, for that which is good, I hope every man will commend, without entreaty : and I am the bolder, because the author’s name is sufficient to vent his work. Thus leaving every one to the liberty of judgement : I have ventured to print this play, and leave it to the general censure.

Yours,
Thomas Walkley[16]

The first appearance of Shakespeare’s name on the title page was the first quarto of *Love’s Lavour’s Lost* printed in 1598 (Figure1) by William White for Cutbert Burby.[17] The 1608 quarto of *King Lear* printed by Nicholas Okes for Nathaniel Butter (Figure2) stepped further to prominently feature Shakespeare’s name at the top of the title page. Butter and Okes adopted the same strategy of authorial self-presentation used by Ben Jonson and his printers on a number of quarto title pages published before 1608. As Douglas Brooks comments, “ sudden and anomalous typographic over-determination of the playwright’s authorship probably had little to do with literary ambition or authorial self-promotion ”[18] of Shakespeare himself in contrast to Jonson. Yet it is likely that Butter and Okes expected their first Shakespeare play to turn a quick profit.

Playtext quartos printed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries generally did not record the presence of an author / authors. A prominent statement that appeared on virtually every quarto was formulaic, advertising its theatrical production with the introduction of the acting company and their patrons, the specific theatrical location (for example, ‘ at the Globe on the bankside ’), and a reception history —a suggestion that the play in its original format was received with great applause. Although the acting companies and printers varied widely, the emphasis on the

playtext's theatricality remained in most quarto versions.[19] In those days title pages were put up on posts and elsewhere for the advertisement of the books.[20] Thus the prominent appearance of the author's name on the title page of 1608 *King Lear* also reflected the publisher's marketing strategy. The title page read as follows :

> M. William Shak-speare : His true chronicle historie of the life and death of King Lear and his three daughters. With the vnfortunate life of Edgar, sonne and heire to the Earle of Gloster, and his sullen and assumed humor of Tom of Bedlam : As it was played before the kings maiestie at Whitehall vpon S. Stephans night in Christmas hollidayes. By his maiesties seruants playing vsually at the Gloabe on Bancke—side.

The front page communicated three kinds of information : the author, the play's contents, and performance. The marketing strategy discernible behind the front page is that the provided information would whet a customer's appetite for the new play by the leading playwright of the day.

The second issue of the two *Troilus and Cressida* plays in 1609 was the first Shakespeare quarto with a publisher's address to the reader, recommending the artistic value of Shakespeare's drama. In the Address, the publisher Henry Walley compared Shakespeare's play with " the best Commedy in Terence or Plautus " and then prophesied that " when [Shakespeare] is gone, and Commedies out of sale, you will scramble for them, and set vp a new English Inquisition. "[21] The only other reader address to preface a Shakespeare quarto was written by Thomas Walkley in his first quarto of *Othello* in 1622. By the time he published *Othello* quarto, Shakespeare had already emerged as a Jonsonian author figure who authorized the playtext much as a poet authorized a book of poetry. Walkley seemed to have learned the marketing strategy of authorizing the playtext and counted on the author's name as marketable commodity.

Yet, as Peter Blayney notes, we should not assume that there was a ready market for printed plays, that publishers were eager to get hold of the manuscripts of popular works which would promise a quick profit, and that they were so eager that they were willing to resort to any means to lay their hands on play manuscripts.[22] Publishing plays would not usually have seen as a shortcut to wealth. Blayney's analysis of Renaissance publishing practices reveals that only a very small number of new plays were published each year.[23] Blayney divides what he thinks might be called "the age of the English printed play" into three twenty-year periods : 1583-1602, 1603-1622, and 1623-1642. The number of new plays published in each of the three periods he calculates is respectively : 96, 115, and 160. Then the average number of new plays published each year was 4.8 in the first period, 5.75 in the second, and 8. 0 in the last. The number was fairly small in terms of marketing ; and yet a demand for printed plays certainly existed and a stationer who acquired the right play at the right time could make a satisfactory profit. For example, Andrew Wise was among the lucky few. He struck gold three times in a row by picking what would become the three best-selling Shakespeare quartos as the first three plays of his brief career. *Richard II* and *Richard III* were highly popular and had run through three editions between 1597 and 1602, and *1 Henry IV* had appeared two editions in 1598 and 1599.

From the economic point of view, publishing was a venture business. What made the venture worth the risk was the chance that a well-chosen play would merit a second edition during its publisher's lifetime. The first edition made a total profit of nearly 75% over the direct costs which included the price of the manuscript, authority, license, and registration. If the publisher commissioned a second edition of 800 copies at the same rate as before, in Blayney's hypothesis, he would now make the profit of 91.8% instead of the original profit of 48.3% on wholesale copies. From an edition of 1,200 or 1,500 copies, he would make 121.2% or 138.3% respectively.[24] His profits on copies sold outside the Stationer's Company and on those he retailed

himself would be correspondingly much higher. A second edition of 800 copies would make 126%. Similarly, a second edition of 1,200 copies would make about 161%, or one of 1,500 copies, 181%. The return from a second or later edition would adequately justify the original risk. However, in fact, fewer than 21% of the plays published in sixty years between 1583 and 1642 reached a second edition inside nine years.[25] This means that no more than one play in five would have returned the publisher's initial investment inside five years. Not one in twenty would have paid for itself during its first year. Of the plays that did reach a second edition, a few went through a respectable series of reprinting.

Then it is noticeable that by the time the first Folio appeared in 1623 ten Shakespearean plays excluding the 1619 Pavier collection had run more than two editions and three of them were among the eleven best-selling plays between 1583 and 1642. *1 Henry IV* had run through seven editions since 1598, and *Richard III* and *Richard II* both had reached five editions since 1597. When Walkley chose *Othello* in his financial difficulties leading to several law suits, it was his sense of the publishing market that had encouraged him to gamble again. The publishing of a new Shakespeare quarto for the first time since 1609, in Walkley's estimation, would have been expected to stimulate prospective customers' interests.

CHAPTER TWO

Licensing and Ownership

It is not certain how Walkley acquired the manuscript of *Othello*, though some bibliographers such as Honigmann assume that he would have resorted to piracy. In any case, Walkley entered *Othello* in the Stationers' Register on 6th October, 1621, which means Walkley obtained the right to publish the play. Still the question remains as to the kind of manuscript that Walkley acquired. Was it an authorial manuscript that King's Men held for the performance? To grasp the kind of manuscript, we must, first of all, examine the requirements for legal printing in those days.

Before a book could legally be printed, certain requirements had to be met. In 1930 Greg suggested that there were essentially three requirements : authority, license, and entrance.(1) In fact, the Stationers' Company changed the usage of those terms over time. In Blayney's analysis authority and license before 1637 were the only two requirements, and before the 1620s neither license nor entrance usually meant what literary historians usually mean by them.(2)

The first requirement was originally called ' authority ' or ' allowance ': The approval of a text by a representative of either the church or the state. Authority of one kind or another had been officially required of every new printed book since the 1530s. During the first half of Elizabeth's reign the rules for allowance were defined by article 51 of her Injunctions of 1559.(3) In 1586 the regulation was replaced by a decree of Star Chamber, which remained in force until superseded by a new Star Chamber decree in 1637.(4) Each formulation differed in detail, but each placed the principal authority in the hands of the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The purpose of the regulations was to prevent the publication of unac-

ceptable material and to justify the punishment of anyone who overstepped the line. Plays were allowed for the stage by the Master of the Revels. But allowance for printing was given by the same ecclesiastical authorities who allowed books of all kinds—occasionally the bishop or Archbishop, but most of the day-to-day allowance was given by chaplains to whom they delegated the task. In late 1606 the Master of the Revels was granted the sole right to allow plays for the press and he continued to authorize plays for printing until 1612.[5] In 1613 the ecclesiastical authorities started allowing plays for the press again.

The second requirement for printing the play was originally called ' license '. Blayney's analysis on the Stationers' early records[6] (including more than two thousand book entries before 1590) shows that the word ' license ' meant the Company's permission to print, which was fundamentally different from authority. One or more of the three elected officers of the Company (the master and wardens) sign the manuscript and those signatures constitute the Stationer's license. License was refused when a manuscript had not been authorized or the officers considered the signed authority to be of inadequate rank. However, they could and often did license it on condition that it should not be printed until further, better, or lawful authority had been obtained. Alternatively, they might license it when the publisher would take full responsibility in case of trouble. They could license it without authority if they could agree with the publisher that the book could offend nobody. The Company's license had been granted by a royal charter of Queen Mary in 1557. For the first few years a licensed book had to be actually printed before ownership of the' copy 'could be claimed. During the early 1580s the rules were modified so that license and ownership were conferred simultaneously.[7] What we now call ' a register entry 'became the entry of record that proved ownership.

Yet the ownership of the copy was not a generalized right to an intellectual property ; and thus the publisher of a book had no control over any form of dissemination such as acting, public reading, and manuscript copying, other than publication in

print. The owner of a copy had not only the exclusive right to reprint the text, but also the right to recover his cost. He could therefore ask the Company's protection if any book threatened his fair chance to dispose of unsold copies of an existing edition.[8] The Company's license was thus intended to regulate problems of infringement. For example, Shakespeare's *Henry V, Taming of the Shrew, King John,* and *King Lear* could not have been published without the consent of the publisher of the previously printed book with a similar title or story. Trying to license Shakespeare's *Henry V* in 1600, Millington and Busby would have needed the consent of Thomas Creede, who had published *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* in 1598. Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* and *King John* could not have been included in the First Folio without the consent of the owners of the anonymous *Taming of a Shrew* and *Troublesome Reign of King John*. Butter and Busby likewise could not have published *King Lear* (1608) without the consent of the owner of *King Leir* (1605).

A third requirement was entrance. While authority and license were officially compulsory, entrance in the register book of copies was voluntary. Greg thought that entrance had to follow authority and license. His supposition was based on a record of 1597 that described a printer's offence as printing a book" disorderlie without auctoritie lycence and entraunce ".[9] Leo Kirschbaum argued that registration was not a requirement for publication, by showing that scores of unregistered books were assigned by their original publishers to others with the approval of the Court of Assistants, the governing body of the Company.[10] Kirschbaum suggested that the act of publication itself established ownership of a copy. Blayney examines both Greg and Kirschbaum and concludes that entrance was not yet mandatory in 1617. During the 1580s the clerk, Richard Collings, began to think of an entrance as essentially the same as the license it recorded. In August 1586 he wrote " this entrance " instead of ' license ' and made the change permanent with one exception.[11] In November 1587 for the first time a copy was ' entered ' and by the end of 1588 " Entered ... for

his copy " had established itself as the standard wording. By the turn of the sixteenth century ' entrance ' and ' license ' had become interchangeable in other contexts, too.

Entrance had been certainly part of the customary and recommended procedure. In 1622 the Court order stepped further to make it obligatory. The rules concerning the entry may be changing. The first evidence was found in the Court orders :

> that noe Printer shall print anie booke except the Clarke of the Companies name be to it is signifie that it is entred in the hall Booke according to order.[12]

The order, however, had no visible effect on the number of books printed without registration during the 1620s, and, as Blayney notes, a total of five fines for printing without entrance in the next fifteen years suggests the little possibility of vigilant enforcement.[13] When the Star Chamber proclaimed a decree in 1637, every publisher was commended for the first time to register every book. The decree ordered that every book printed thereafter " shall be first lawfully licensed and authorized ... and shall be also first entred into the Registers Booke of the Company of Stationers ".[14]

Since an entry of record was the only unquestionable evidence of ownership of the copy, though not the only possible evidence, Thomas Walkley's entry of *Othello* in the Stationers' Register certainly established his ownership. This means that Walkley was granted permission to print *Othello* and the right to recover his printing costs by prohibiting other printers' infringements. After all, Walkley was first in the field and eventually it was the King's Men or Folio publishers who had to ask permission to include *Othello* in the Folio. The King's Men had been allowed for exclusive performance of *Othello* on the stage, but this never meant that they had been simultaneously granted the right for the press. As Greg proved that ' copyright ' quarrels between stationers could be resolved by an exchange of their

own' copy-right, "[15] the potential conflicts between Walkley and the Folio publishers might have been soughted out by such a compromise. In fact, while The King's Men were allowed to issue Folio *Othello* one year after the publication of Walkley's Quarto *Othello*, Walkley aquired the corrected text of Beaumont and Fletcher play, *Philaster*, from the King's Men and published the revised second edition in 1622. Walkley had published the first edition in 1620. If Walkley and the King's Men had confronted each other as a consequence of Walkley's publication of King's Men playtexts between 1620 and 1622, the second edition of *Philaster* could not have appeared. At any rate, Walkley was granted the Stationers' license for the press by entering his copies even if he had aquired them against the wishes of " the grand possessors ".

Yet registration was not a certification to specify the kind of copies that the publisher had brought in. It should be reminded again that the copy for the stage and the one for the press had been gone through different censorship systems for the license. When the King's Men prepared *Othello* for a court performance in 1604, they submitted a theatrical script to the Master of the Revels, Edmond Tilney, who served in this role from 1581 to his death in 1610. Very little survives to attest to the precise censorship practices of Tilney because his office-books have been lost.[16] However, it is clear that by the early 1590s the usual process was for the master to peruse a script, rather than to see a rehearsal as Philostrate did in *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* in order to insist on any changes he felt necessary, then to append his ' allowance ' to the corrected version, which thereafter was regarded as the ' allowed copy '—the only version to be used as the basis for performance. The ' allowance ' was not to the playwright but to the company that was to perform the play. If the King's Men had intended to publish *Othello* after the performance, as the license for the performance was not acceptable for the printing, they inevitably would have had to go to the Church Court of High Commission for the license for the press. Until the end of 1606 plays were usually allowed for printing by the same ecclesi-

astical authorities who allowed books of all kinds. Their ' allowance ' authorized the script and then the Stationers' Company gave sanction to registration and publication. By the hand of different censor each licensed script would have differed in detail even if the King's Men had prepared the same script, which, however, was far from probable.

The ' allowed ' copy—the licensed version to be used as the basis for staging—and the script for the press were approximately never identical. Andrew Gurr has distinguished between two kinds of theatrical script, " maximal " and " minimal. "[17] The " maximal " copy bore the official license from the Master of the Revels, and was the fullest version of the play. The " minimal " copy was a performance playbook, a revised version of the " maximal " copy to fit the circumstances of performance. This is the kind of script that would have been sent to the printer. It is also the kind of script that might have been made available to a private patron. Virtually all stagings of a play, including the original staging, would have been redactions from the" maximal " copy.

As far as Walkley was concerned, it was improbable for him to obtain the authorial manuscript from the company since the King's Men had the Staying Order in 1619 to prohibit publication of their playtexts without their consent and no evidence showed that they gave permission to Walkley. Then it is most probable that Walkley would have acquired either a script by performance dictation, or a copy for a private patron, though it is possible, as Honigmann suspects, that the authorized text would have been stolen or missing and eventually fallen to Walkley's hands. Either way, it was fortunate for Walkley that no one had tried to register *Othello* for the press until Walkley's registration. *Othello* had four recorded performances before the publication of the quarto : the first court performance in 1604, the London and Oxford performances of 1610, and the court performance of 1612-1613. It is curious that the King's Men had never tried to have *Othello* printed until they included it in the First Folio in 1623.

In the early seventeenth century expectations to make a profit with a newly published playbook seem to have been low, as the number of plays registered for the press between November 1601 and 1603 counted only seven.[18] The overall demand for playbooks was unimpressive and thus it is likely that " many of those that saw print were offered to, rather sought out by, their publishers "[19] as Blayney suggests. One stationer with whom Shakespeare and / or his fellows built up commercial relationships was James Roberts. Having been granted the exclusive privilege of printing playbills from 31st of May in 1594 until 27th of October in 1615,[20] Roberts seems to have had regular dealings with theatre companies. His publication history gives one example to show how the stationer coped with a temporary glut in the playbook market. Roberts entered *The Merchant of Venice* (22nd of July, 1598), an anonymous play, *A Larum for London* (29th of May, 1600), *Hamlet* (26th of July, 1602), and *Troilus and Cressida* (7th of February, 1603). *Troilus and Cressida* was entered on condition that it should not be printed until Roberts had acquired " sufficient aucthority for yt, "[21] and this was not the only play that Roberts entered without authority. It seems unlikely that he had had any problems obtaining the necessary authority for the printing if he had tried. Yet when the stationer thought twice before investing in the playbook publication and considered the possible financial risk, he would choose the alternative to sell the right to fellow stationers to make a handsome profit on the deal. This was what Roberts had thought. First of all, he saved 10 shillingts[22] because he did not have the manuscript authorized. Moreover, he could have prevented the financial loss himself. Roberts sold *Troilus and Cressida* to Richard Bonian and Henry Walley, who entered the play in 1609 and published it in the same year.

Then what happened to the manuscript of *Othello* between its first appearance on the stage and Walkley's registration in 1621? It is possible that King's Men chose to postpone the publication of the play in the expectation that certain gentleman would order and pay a handsome sum for a scribal copy, as Humphrey Moseley was paid

by " Gentlemen " two or three times as much for a manuscript playbook.[23] Or rather, the King's Men hoped to profit from a more prestigious and lucrative form of publication than print. When we examine the evolving publication history of Shakespeare's playbooks during his lifetime, it is clear that the Shakespeare's company changed their strategy in publishing his plays sometime after 1603. Lukas Erne distinguishes between three chronologically distinct groups of plays and their publication history[24] : The first group written between 1594 and 1599 consists of roughly a dozen plays and they were, as a rule, published a couple of years after their composition. The second group of plays are : *Julius Caesar, As You Like It, Hamlet, Twelfth Night,* and *Troilus and Cressida* . They were partly published and partly not. The third group consists of all of Shakespeare's remaining plays. As a rule, these plays were not published before Shakespeare's death : *Measure for Measure, Othello, All's Well That Ends Well, Timon of Athens, King Lear, Macbeth, Anthony and Cleopatra, Pericles, Coriolanus, The Winter's Tale, Cymbeline, The Tempest, Henry VIII,* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* . Of these fourteen plays, only two (*King Lear* and *Pericles*) were published during Shakespeare's life time.

The entries in the Stationer's Register continued with regularity until shortly before Queen Elizabeth's death, but became very rare during the years of King James' reign. The number of other plays published during the same years shows the peculiarity of the publication strategy of the King's Men. From 1605 to 1608 no fewer than fifty-two plays written for the commercial stage were published. For the ten years after 1603, the printed Shakespeare's plays accounted for less than 4% of all the commercial plays, down from more than 18% in the ten years prior to 1603.[25]

Readers' appetite for new playbooks had been a common grudge to be resented by literary ambitious playwrights. John Webster, for example, complained of playgoers who " resemble those ignorant asses (who visiting stationers Shoppes their vse is not to inquire for good bookes, but new bookes) " in the prefatory address " To the Reader " in the 1612 quarto of *The White Devil* .[26] A similar lament about playgo-

ers' preferences had been articulated more graphically by an anonymous playwright in a note " To the Reader " in the 1608 quarto text of *The Familie of Love* : " Plaies in this Citie are like wenches new falne to the trade, onelie desired of your neatest gallants, whiles the'are fresh : When they grow stale they must be vented by Termers and Cuntrie chapmen. "[27] The" vncapble multitude, "[28] in Webster's phrase, would prefer anything new. A new play, then, from the view point of marketing strategy, did not need extra publicity. When a play first reached the stage, it was likely to attract more spectators simply because it was new, as Henslowe's diary demonstrated that the figures were consistently much higher for new plays than for old ones. Erne notes : " Selling a manuscript to a publisher could have been a way of securing free promotion for a revival when a playbook would have been sold in bookshops and advertised with title pages put up on posts in London. "[29]

Published playbooks may well have recommended plays to theatregoers. This strategy known today as ' publicity, ' or ' advertising ' seems to have been promoted even in the plague years. During the first years of James' reign, the plague caused frequent closure of London's public theatres, roughly three months out of four between March 1603 and December 1610.[30] The closure, however, had never affected print publication of most playwrights and companies as seen in the number of published plays during the years. Earne argues that " it may have seemed pointless to sell manuscripts at a time when conditions remained precarious and playing was impossible most of the time "[31] ; and yet" if publicity was the players' major motive for print publication " as Erne notes, publication may have been the sole means for them to stay in touch with their customers. Yet it still invites speculation why Shakespeare and his fellows had been temporarily reluctant to sell their new plays contrary to the practice of other playwrights and companies during the same years.

By the time the company became King's servants, Shakespeare had enjoyed the fame of the best-published dramatist with far more title page ascriptions than any other English playwright dead or alive. Shakespeare had been promoted to be

among the literary giants of his own time by Francis Meres in 1598. Meres published *Palladis Tamia*, where he singled out six English poets for special praise: Sidney, Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, and Shakespeare. The five poets except Shakespeare were a reasonable choice at the time it was made: Sidney was the paragon of his age; Spenser, whose *Faerie Queene* had been published in 1590 in three books and in 1596 in six books; Samuel Daniel was a prestigious courtly poet and among his works were the highly esteemed sonnet collection *Delia* (1592), and a verse epic on *The Wars of the Roses, Civil Wars* (1595) in four books; Michael Drayton had had a series of verse histories published—*Peirs Graveston* (n.d., entered 3rd December, 1593, rpt. 1595 and 1596), *Robert, Duke of Normandy* (1596), and *Mortimeriados* (1596). Drayton also had published *England's Heroical Epistles* (1597), which went through five editions. Among his other works were: volumes of pastoral eclogues modeled on Spenser's *Shepeardes Calender, Idea, The Shepeardes Garland* (1593); short lyrics, *Ideas Mirrour* (1594); narrative poetry, *Endimion and Phoebe* (1595); and a secular saint's life, *Matilda* (1594). Drayton was much appreciated and published in 1598. William Warner published a verse chronicle *Albion's England* in four books in 1586, which was enlarged in the editions of 1589, 1592, and 1596 to six, nine, and twelve books respectively.

Daniel, Drayton, and Warner, not to mention Sidney and Spenser, were the literary giants and they were frequently quoted in another influential poetic anthology, *England's Parnassus* (1600). The anthology quoted more than fifty poets, of whom Spenser was cited 386 passages, Drayton, 225, Warner, 171, and Daniel, 140. Sidney only received 57 passages and Shakespeare was quoted 95, less often than Sir John Harington, Joshua Sylvester, and Thomas Lodge. When Meres placed Shakespeare among the best appreciated contemporary English poets, Shakespeare's name had never appeared on a single title page of his printed playbook. Only *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594) had been published under Shakespeare's name before 1598. Late in 1596 or in 1597, the Shakespeares acquired a

coat of arms. By 1598 Shakespeare had become a gentleman of means. Shakespeare's social mobility and Meres' high praise seem to have initiated a whole series of attempts to capitalize on the name of Shakespeare.

As Earne notes, no playwrights' name appeared as suddenly and as often as Shakespeare's did between 1598 and 1600.[32] Around the year of 1598, publishers and booksellers seem to have expected the name to sell playbooks. *The Passionate Pilgrim,* published by William Jaggard in 1599 contained Shakespeare's sonnets (138 and 144), three sonnets from *Love's Lavour's Lost* and fifteen non-Shakespearean poems. This collection was ascribed to Shakespeare on the title page. In 1600 a miscellany, *England's Helicon,* reprinted five of the poems in *Passionate Pilgrim,* attributing only one of them to Shakespeare. Within the next ten years, four non-Shakespearean plays were published with title page bearing his name or initials :" The True Chronicle Historie of the whole life and death of Thomas Lord Cromwell. As it hath beene sundrie times publikely Acted by the Right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants Written by W.S. "(1602) ;" The LONDON Prodigall. As it was plaide by the Kings Maiesties seruants. By William Shakespeare "(1605) ; " THE PVRITAINE OR THE WIDDOVV of Watling-street. Acted by the children of Paules. Written by W.S. "(1607) ; and " A YORKSHIRE Tragedy. Not so New as Lamentable and true. Acted by his Maiesties Players at the Globe. Written by W.Shakespeare "(1608). Counterfeiting Shakespeare continued just before the 1623 Folio publication by the King's Men : The second and third quarto of *The Troublesome Raigne of King John* (1611/1622), the third edition of *The Passionte Pilgrim* (1612), the second quarto of *Thomas Lord Cromwell* (1613), the ' Pavier quartos ' of *A Yorkshire Tragedy* and *Sir John Oldcastle* (1619). Walkley's acquisition of the *Othello* manuscript and the publication of the quarto in 1622 was carried out during the same period that the author's name had been counted on as profitable in the publishing market.

CHAPTER THREE

Authorizing the Playtext

Before the beginning of Shakespeare's dramatic career, playwright's name was typically absent from the title page of a printed playbook as Marlowe's in the 1590 edition of *Tamburlaine* (Figure 3). The publication of commercial plays performed by adult companies in public playhouses had been an extremely rare phenomenon before 1590. There was no established readership for commercial plays. However, things radically changed when Jones published *Tamburlaine* in 1590. The huge stage success of *Tamburlaine* enabled Jones' a groundbreaking publishing venture of playbooks. Within the next three years, more than twenty playtexts found their way into print and three plays, *The Three Ladies of London* (first published in 1584), *Tamburlaine,* and *The Spanish Tragedy,* were even reprinted. The early printing history of *The Spanish Tragedy* —unusually well documented owning to the records of the court of the Stationers' Company—suggests that printers and publishers were growing more confident of the commercial viability of playtexts. Moreover, editions of *Tambulaine* and *The Spanish Tragedy* in the early 1590s adapted the playtext so as to make them suitable for reading. In 1592 Edward White published his edition of *The Spanish Tragedy,* which contained the publisher's note suggesting that the printed text was not simply a record of a performance but a document that had been specifically prepared " for the easier understanding to every public reader. "[1)]

Elizabethan publishers seem to have realized the marketing strategy to turn playtexts into more respectable, readable printed matter. Associating a play with the playwright as' author 'was another way of legitimating the playtext. For the life span

of the London professional theatre, extending from the opening of the James Burbage's playhouse, The Theatre, in 1576 to the closing of the theatres in 1642, the most legible pattern is, according to *Annals of English Drama,* the change in the authorial status of playtexts from anonymous to named. Brook's survey of the data drawn from *Annals* [2] notes: between the year of 1580 and 1589, 58 out of 100 titles were attributed to an author / authors; and for the next decade between 1590 and 1599, 144 out of 263 titles were either single or multiple authored. Figures for the following decade show a significant increase in authorial attribution. Between 1600 and 1609, 221 out of 297 titles, which rated 75%, were attributed an author / authors. Roughly half of the dramatic texts were produced in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, but in the first decade of the seventeenth century the rate went up to 75%. The majority of titles and authors listed in *Annals* for the two decades between 1590 and 1610 are taken from the records that Philip Henslowe kept during eighteen years from 1592 to 1609 of his involvement with the professional theatre. Bentley finds 282 different plays documented by Henslowe, forty of which are still extant.[3] For 170 of these plays Henslowe's records are our only source of information during this period. According to Bentley's analysis based on the figures provided by Henslowe's records, " between 1590 and 1642 there probably were written as many as 500 plays of which we know not even the titles. "[4] The survival rate of known titles for the entire sixty-six-year span of the professional theatre is 40%[5]; and thus complete reliance on *Annals* for information about dramatic authorship can be somewhat treacherous. Yet if we examine the extant drama from the two decades documented by Henslowe, as Brooks does, it is tempting to speculate that a play attributed to a single author was more likely to survive. For the years between 1590 and 1610, 125 dramatic texts, which rates 29% of the total extant printed drama, indicate authorship. Of that total, 118 plays—94% of authored texts—are attributed to single authors. The remaining seven plays are attributed to more than one author.

A significant number of anonymously printed playbooks in the 1580s and the 1590s suggests publishers' lack of interest in the playwright in the late sixteenth century. All play entries in the Stationers' Register indicates that stationers became more or less indifferent to registering dramatic authorship after the faithful transcription of the author attribution that appeared on the title page.[6] When professional companies began to form in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, the name of the company that registered the manuscript to be published was frequently designated to fulfill the author function. Sometimes actors' names served to authorize the playtext. A good example is the play *A Knack to Know a Knave,* performed by the Lord Strange's Men in 1592 and published in 1594. The title page illustrated that it " hath sundrie tymes bene played by Ed. Allen and his Companie. With Kemps applauded Merrimentes. "[7] Edward Allen and William Kempe, two of the most popular actors of the 1590s, authorized the playtext. In the early modern theatre, both the playhouse and the printing house had their respective author functions. In the playhouse it might be the name of the playing company, of a well-known actor, or sometimes a popular playwright. In the printing house it was almost always the name of a printer, usually the owner of the house, and / or the publisher who financed the printing that appeared on the title page of a given publication.

During the first decade of the seventeenth century the author function on playbook title pages more frequently included authors. When printed drama graduated from the cheap quarto edition to the expensive folio format, the name of a single playwright came to dominate the author function on the title page. The predominant author function of the playwright was even embodied by a portrait of the playwright himself. During the medieval period portraits of authors were placed on presentation copies, but as engraved title pages became more common at the end of the sixteenth century, portraits of authors came to be presented in the form of the title page, monumentalizing the playtext as literary artifact.

The evolution of the authorial name in the publishing market began at the time

when vernacular lyric poetry gradually came to be incorporated in the literary institution shaped by print culture. There were many prejudices to overcome before lyric poetry had a secure place in the world of print.[8] Through most of the sixteenth century, men of rank and others who pretended to gentility either deliberately avoided print or tried to maintain the illusion that they had only reluctantly allowed their work to be printed. *The discourse of Mr John Selden, Esquire,* better known as *Table-Talk*, expressed the typical attitude. This was a collection of saying noted down by Selden's secretary, Richard Milward ; and thus the collection was not published by the author himself. However, it referred to the author's disdain for publication.

> ' Tis ridiculous for a Lorde to print Verses ;' tis well enough to make them to please himself, but to make them public, is foolish. If a Man in a private Chamber twirls his Band-strings, or plays with a Rush to please himself,' tis well enough ; but if he should go into Fleet-Street, and sit upon a Stall, and twirl a Band-string, or play with a Rush, then all the Boys in the Street would laugh at him.[9]

To overcome the inhibition, or the " stigma of print, "[10] lyric poets needed to be granted a measure of literary and cultural authority. What writers, publishers, and printers endeavoured was to promote a particular concept of authority. As the most striking commercial strategy, the physical features of the text, its prefatory apparatus and its title headings, provided the grounds on which the text was authorized. Title pages from the various editions could testify how publishers and writers attempted to create the socio-cultural authority of the lyric poet. The title pages of the 1573 and 1575 editions of George Gascoigne's collected works demonstrated an interesting set of differences.[11] The 1573 edition, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres,* was presented as a miscellany of works by ancient and modern Continental writers and contemporary

English authors. The collection had a long introductory description of the contents on the title page ; however, Gascoigne's name was absent from the title page of the putative literary florilegium. Although his name appeared in the titles of poems included in the table of contents, the book did not openly proclaim itself to be the collected works of George Gascoigne. Instead, the book pretended to be an anthology of " pleasant Pamphlets. "[12] Apart from the classical authors mentioned, only the name of the publisher, Richard Smith, appeared on the title page, which showed that the collection of manuscript-circulated literature written by various authors made available to the public by the publisher alone.

Gascoigne was then a promisingly witty young courtier poet and hesitated to present his collected verses as a significant cultural achievement. His prefatory letter to the collection wrote thus : " Marie in deede I may not compare Pamphlets unto Poems, neither yet may justly advent for our native countrimen, that they have in their verses hitherto delivered unto us any such notable volume, as have bene by Poets of antiquitie, left unto the posteritie. "[13] Denigrating the collection as trivial, immature, and occasional as pamphlets, Gascoigne seems to have protected himself from the ' stigma of print '. The slightly revised edition of the anthology two years later had a title-page advertising a very different kind of publication (Figure 4). An architectural frontispiece enshrined the work as a literary monument, enclosing the title accompanied by the author's name and his gentlemanly status.[14] The author's name was printed in a type size larger than the printer's, which was printed in slightly larger type than the publisher's. Introducing Gascoigne as " Esquire " and " Author " was a device to pretend there were no conflict between genteel status and professional authorships.

The various editions of Daniel's poems also could testify both an evolution of the authorial name and a reconstitution of what the name signified.[15] As successive editions of *Delia* were published, the author's name was gradually figured more prominently. The title page to the 1592 edition simply placed the title within an ar-

chitectural buttress made up of classical Corinthian columns accompanied by a motto (Figure 5). The printer's identification was placed at the bottom but the author's name was printed nowhere. In the 1594 edition the page presented the enlarged arch and eliminated the outer portion of the edifice (Figure 6). Thus more space was devoted to the linguistic description of the text enclosed within the columns. Most notably, Daniel's name replaced the description of the text. The 1623 folio volume of Daniel's *Workes* included a frontispiece that presented his portrait embedded within the classifying icons of a pictorial border (Figure 7). As Wall observes, Daniel's portrait functioned as title to the work. The poems in the *Workes* seem to emanate from Daniel's stare. The author in this format appears to be surveying the title page that announces his authority.

The early publication history of Drayton's sonnet sequence *Ideas Mirrour* reveals a similar textual and authorial evolution.[16] The title page to the 1594 edition of the poems presented the title without the author's name (Figure 8). When the sequence was republished in his collected *Poems* in 1608, the title page introduced in a large font not only the author's name but also his gentlemanly status (Figure 9). The authorization was underscored by its typographical presentation. The elaborately ornate frame served to monumentalize the text and celebrate its author. The 1619 edition offered a double title page : one presented an edifice comprised of the representative emblems of the genres found in the volume, the satyr, the shepherd, Calliope, and Belona ; and the other illustrated a woodcut picture of Drayton's (Figure 10). Here Drayton was portrayed in contemporary dress with a laurel adorning his head. The attached motto and laudatory verse highlighted the monumentalizing effect of this framing. The transformation of Daniel's and Drayton's title pages thus demonstrated the gradual constitution of the' author 'as a more powerful literary figure who commands the text.

CHAPTER FOUR

Manuscript Culture

In the English Renaissance the composition of lyric poems was part of social life, associated with a variety of practices in polite and educated circles. Verse was read aloud to live audiences, passed from hand to hand in single sheets, small booklets, quires, or pamphlets, and found its way into manuscript commonplace books rather than into printed volumes. Single poems as well as sets of poems were written as occasional works. Their authors professed a literary amateurism and claimed to care little about the textual stability or historical durability of their productions. Poems appeared not only on paper, but also on rings, on food trenchers, on tombstones and monuments, and even on trees.[1] George Puttenham identified poems and epigrams as social ephemera. Referring to a poem by Sir John Harington, Puttenham wrote thus :

> This Epigramme is but an inscription or writing made as it were upon a table, or in a windowe, or upon the wall or mantel of a chimney in some place of common resort, where it was allowed every man night come, or be sitting to chat and prate, as now in our taverns and common tabling houses, where many merry leades meet, and scribble with ynke with chalke, or with a cole such matters as they would every man should know, & descant upon. Afterward the same came to be put on paper and in bookes, and used as ordinarie missives, some of friendship, some of defiaunce, or as other messages of mirth....
>
> There be also other like Epigrammes that were sent usually for new yeares giftes or to be Printed or put upon their banketing dishes of suger plate, or of

> march paines, & such other dainty meates as by the curtesie & custome evry gift might carry from a common feast home with him to his owne house, & were made for the nonce, they wer called Nemia or apophoreta, and never contained above one verse or two at the most, but the shorter the better, we call them Posies, and do paint them now a dayes upon the backe sides of our fruite trenchers of wood, or use them as devised in rings and armes and about such courtly purposes.(2)

Puttenham alluded to the most casual and ephemeral of poetic productions ; however, his conception of verse as basically occasional was typical for the period.

The practice of assembling carefully planned manuscripts of lyric verse did not take hold in the early Renaissance England.(3) Typically, lyrics were inserted in books given over to other sorts of texts. For example, in the collections assembled by the fifteenth-century compiler, John Shirley, lyric poems were interspersed among various other writings of interest to courtly readers.(4) In commonplace books individuals collected miscellaneous texts in verse and prose, which included practical items such as medical receipts, household accounts, copies of correspondence, and business calculations.(5) Historically, these personal collections grew out of medieval florilegia and the practice of keeping commonplace books taught in Renaissance schools.(6)

Manuscript miscellanies and poetical anthologies were kept mainly by individuals or groups of people associated with the universities, the Inns of Court, the Court, both the aristocratic and the middle class household or the family and their extended social circles. Harold Love calls such groups " scribal communities " and regards the circulation of manuscripts as a mode of social bonding. The ' scribally transmitted ' text had an important function of " bonding groups of like-minded individuals into a community, sect, or political faction, with the exchange of texts in manuscript serving to nourish a shared set of values and to enrich personal allegiances. "(7) ' Scribal

communities ' had a profound effect on the types of texts produced within them. For example, the group of writers associated with the Sidneys (Philip Sidney, his brother Robert, and his sister Mary, the countess of Pembroke)—like Fulke Greville and Samuel Daniel—experimented with many of the same forms such as devotional and amatory lyric, and a Senecan closet drama. A significant percentage of the young men at the Inns of Court competed with one another in the masterly of courtly manners and taste, regarding the Inns as a leaping-off point for careers at Court. The display of ' writerly wit ' was part of their rivalry and thus their texts tended to be written in order to demonstrate virtuosity for peers. University students who compiled miscellanies and anthologies thought of themselves as engaging in the leisure activities of the educated gentleman, though, in fact, they came from different levels of the social hierarchy. Many undergraduates continued to add to their collections when they entered new environments. One of the most typical movements was from the university to the Inns of Court. Both University students and members of the Inns of Court were especially fond of bawdy and obscene, usually either socially iconoclastic or snobbish verse which constituted a large portion of the total.

In the system of manuscript transmission it was normal for lyrics to elicit revisions, corrections, supplements, and answers[8]as they were passed from hand to hand. Renaissance texts were inherently malleable, escaping authorial control and open to readers' appropriation. Even an authorial holograph was not immune to alteration. Thomas Wyatt's collection of his own verse, for example, contained the alterations introduced by Nicholas Grimald and other sixteenth-century correctors, together with poet's own revisions of his work.[9] Sometimes in the course of their manuscript transmission different poems were conflated in whole or in part to create new poetic units[10]as seen in John Lilliat's anthology where a poem attributed to Sir Henry Lee on his retirement is actually a conflation of three stanzas of a poem from George Peele's *Polyhymnim* in 1590.[11] Transcribing from memory was a widespread practice in the era and also resulted in unconscious alterations in the produc-

tion of variant texts of poems.[12]

The inclusion of verse composed by those who owned or transcribed texts in collections was one of the most important features of the system of manuscript transmission.[13] Often the flyleaf or cover page of a manuscript was used to preface the collection with a poem or poems composed by the owner or compiler. Blank pages or blank spaces at the bottom of pages also invited compilers as well as others whose hands manuscripts were passed over to insert their own poems. The university students and the members of the Inns of Court who collected verse exercised skills in translation and composition they had been taught or took the opportunity to imitate the work of the contemporary poets.[14] For example, John Finett collected verse both at St. Johns College, Cambridge, and at the Elizabethan court in the late 1580s and early 1590s. He later found a place in the early Stuart court as chief secretary to Robert Cecil and as master of ceremonies for both James I and Charles I. Finett's Elizabethan manuscript anthology was, according to Laurence Cummings, " the best such miscellaneous collection in England between *Tottel's* in 1557 and *England's Helicon* in 1600 or *Poetical Rhapsody* in 1603. "[15] The anthology contained occasional writing by fellow students together with the work of such courtly writers as Oxford, Raleigh, Breton, Sidney, Dyer, Gorges, Spenser, and even Queen Elizabeth.[16] Finett valued the poems of Sidney,[17] and twenty-three pieces were compiled from Sidney's works such as *Arcadia, Certain Sonnets,* and *Astrophil and Stella* .[18] Furthermore, Finett merged excerpts from Sidney poems to create a new poem.[19] For instance, Sidney's " My earthly mould doth melt in watry teares " was conflated in Finett's " Thus do I fall to ryse thus. "[20]

Some compilers were insistent about initiating the most up-to-date poetic models. This was the case of John Ramsey.[21] In his commonplace book collection[22] a miscellany of verse and phrase compiled from about 1596 to 1633, after the transcription of Spenser's " Mother Hubbards Tale " Ramsey inserted his own paraphrase of Spenser's sixty-fourth sonnet of *Amoretti* . Ramsey's imitative sonnet was then

followed by two more poems in which he adopted a Spenserian pastoral persona. Hundreds of poems from the manuscripts of the period were a unique record of readers' and collectors' full participation in a system of amateur versifying and manuscript transmission.

Poetry, regarded as the product of an aristocratic social ethos, sustained and policed the social boundaries that defined " equals or near-equals in social status. "[23] Gentlemen and aspirants to gentility wrote English poetic works as part of social commerce in the domain of the private coterie. Saunders describes the coterie circle as" a finishing school where members polished each other's art, which, like the tastes for clothes, or the ear for compliment, or the aptitude for dancing or fencing or riding, was very much a matter of doing the right things in the right way, in a game where every man tired to dazzle and outwit his competitors.[24] The genteel system of manuscript exchange was sustained by the prestige attached to poetic amateurism. One of John Harington's epigrams voiced a typical aristocratic disdain for publication.[25] " A Comfort for Poore Poets " also revealed his anxiety that the amateur gentleman lost his place to the profiting author.[26]

CHAPTER FIVE

Print Culture

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, a writer, both amateur and professional, could participate in either a coterie manuscript culture or a newly burgeoning print industry. Renaissance manuscripts derived authority from their place in coterie circles—at court and in the satellite environments of the universities and the Inns of Court. Printed texts, on the other hand, were authorized by an appeal to their intrinsic textual features rather than their status as occasional verse.

In the process of incorporating lyric poetry into print culture there were important moments in English publication history before the appearance of the 1623 Folio Shakespeare: *Tottel's Miscellany* in 1557; the 1591 and 1592 publication of Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella;* Ponsonby's 1598 folio of Sidney's collected works; and Ben Jonson's 1616 *Workes*. Tottel's collection set the precedent for the publication of miscellaneous social verse in other poetry anthologies as well as in single-author editions. Tottel diverted poetry from the restricted social circulation of manuscript transmission to a larger public through print. The verse of Wyatt, Surrey, Grimald, and other early Tudor poets, which had been confined previously to manuscript circulation, made its debut in the print medium in Tottel's volume.

Tottel's address to the reader of his anthology[1] asserted the public's right to the legitimate "profit and pleasure" derivable from texts that had been socially restricted by "the ungentle horders up of such treasure": In labeling the "horders" of such texts as "ungentle", Tottel reversed the class distinctions generated by coterie circulation, inscribing the act of publishing as the more noble, gentle mode of exchange. The nobility advertised ostentatious expenditure, lavish liberality, and conspicuous con-

sumption in order to set themselves apart from the growing merchant class. In the preface to the miscellany Tottel equated the aristocratic value—liberality—with the free circulation of private texts as" treasure. " This restructuring of the typical coding —common print and noble manuscript—disclaimed the reputed " evill " of publishing and validated the medium by which English poetry was to be proven.

Moreover, since the demonstration and learning of " English eloquence " were part of a program of nationalistic self-assertion, Tottel claimed that printing the work of such courtly writers as Wyatt and Surrey was a patriotic act. He characterized print as fostering a civilizing process that would reach down to the lowest strata of society. The aim of his publication was, therefore, to encourage " the unlearned " to read " to learne to be more skilfull, and to purge that swinelike grosseness, that maketh the swete majerome not to smell to their delight. "[2] Prominent featuring of the aristocrat Surrey in the frontispiece portrait and on the title page (Figure 11) illustrated the aristocratic social origins of the anthology and dignified the print medium. The association with a figure whose life held some special interest to potential readers because of his social and political pre-eminence endorsed printed works.

The rhetorical move that Tottel employed to safeguard the publishing served other compilers and writers. For example, the prefatorial material to Barnage Googe's 1563 poetic collection, *Eclogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets,* told the reader to " encourage others to make thee partaken of the like or far greater jewels, who yet doubting thy unthankful receipt niggardly keep them to their own use and private commodity, Whereas being assured of the contrary by the friendly report of other men's travails, they could perhaps be easily entreated more freely to lend them abroad to thy greater avail and furtherance. "[3] George Pettie took the similar strategy to dignify publication in the introduction to his 1581 translation of a courtesy handbook :" (Gentlemen) never deny your selves to be Schollers, never be ashamed to shewe your learning, confesse it, professe it, inbrace it, honor it : for it is it which honoureth you, it is only it which maketh you men, it is onely it whiche maketh you Gentlemen. "[4] In

Pettie's justification publication established a claim to both social status and manhood. Printed works had been conceived of or treated as ephemeral. Especially when published in short octavos and quartos, poetry anthologies and small editions of individual authors had small chance of surviving. This showed exactly how they were treated by contemporary readers. Entertaining pamphlets produced for young fashionable gentlemen were apt to be treated as worthless, disposable objects.

The publication of Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* in the early 1590s was a landmark event to provide the necessary socio-cultural legitimation for printing of lyric verse. Thomas Newman's two 1591 quartos, despite the poor and incomplete state of their texts, were enormously important publications which elevated the status of lyric poetry and of literary authorship.(5) The publication fundamentally changed the cultural attitudes toward the printing of the secular lyrics of individual writers, lessening the social disapproval of such texts as literary ephemera and helping to incorporate them into the durable canonical body of texts. Sidney's publication made both poetry pamphlets and collected literary works more socially acceptable and thus paved the way for such poets as Daniel, Drayton, and Jonson to publish their poems. Especially the 1598 folio of collected works had a remarkable impact on the publication.

The most striking feature was that the 1598 folio edition introduced page numeration. The edition arranged the sonnet sequences within a structured format and thus intensified the order when one reads the book. Sonnet sequences in miscellanies such as Tottels' collected poems according to their social situation and utility : for example," a sonnet upon the mistress's eyes, "" a young lover to use in wooing, "and etc. In such editions the sequences called attention to its use for the reader. Coterie readers in the manuscript culture had taken liberties in imposing a particular order of their own choosing on the poems. Coterie sonnets were produced through dialogue and conversation and thus characterized by textual diversity and openness. Coterie circles encouraged a " conversation "—" verse " from the Latin " vertere, " meaning " to

turn "—a turning back and forth of scripted messages between writers.[6] As Marotti notes, within the system of "communal authorship"[7] the reader exercised extensive control over the text. In a system of manuscript circulation of literature, as Marotti summarizes, "those into whose hands texts came could, in a real sense, 'own' them: they could collect, alter, and transit them."[8] To impose a chronological order on the collection by separating the individual poems with page numbers created a closed and complete poetic unit, finished without the readers' collaborative aid.

After the printing of Sidney's works in the 1590s both publishers and writers alluded to the authorizing example of Sidney. Sidney became the "Paragon of Excellency in Print," as a contemporary writer, Gabriel Harvey, put it.[9] Samuel Daniel called Sidney's poems "holy Reliques,"[10] suggesting that his texts as well as Sidney's had a sacred status and deserved special treatment. Michael Drayton in his *Ideas Mirrour* invoiced the example of Sidney to assert his own litery originality: "Divine Syr Phillip, I avouch thy writ, I am no Pickpurse of anothers wit."[11]

The 1598 folio of Sidney's collected works became a model for the incorporation of the writer's lyric poems in a comprehensive, monumentalizing edition that celebrated both his literary achievement and authorial status. Collected editions in the prestigious folio format helped establish the authority of printed literature. Folio editions of such authors as Daniel (1601), Spenser (1611, 1617), Jonson (1616), Drayton (1619), and Shakespeare (1623) were made possible by the landmark publication of Sidney's.

CHAPTER SIX

Into the Library

When he selected books for the new public library he founded at Oxford in 1603, Sir Thomas Bodley instructed his head librarian, Thomas James, to exclude " almanacs, plays, and proclamation "[1] from his collection of printed books in the library, claiming that they were " not worth the custody in suche a librarie. "[2] Perhaps one English play in forty may be " worthy the keeping ", but Bodley maintained that it was not worth the risk :

> Were it so againe, that some little profit might be reaped (which God knows is very litle) out of some of our playbooks, the benefit therof will nothing neere contervaile, the harme that the scandal will bring unto the librarie, when it shalbe given out, that we stuffe it full of baggage bookes.[3]

' Baggage ' meant moveable or portable property. Thus ' baggage ' books were literally portable because they were published in small formats such as quarto or octavo that allowed for ease of circulation. From the sixteenth century to the eighteenth, ' baggage ' was also a term of abuse, meaning ' trashy ' or ' valueless. '[4] Continental drama was" compiled, by men of great fame, for wisedome & learning, " but English drama had no place at the Bodleian because Bodley claimed that " the more I thinke vpon it, the more it doth distast me, that suche kinde of bookes, should be vouchsafed a rowme, in so noble a Librarie. "[5]

Three years after the library opened, the Bodleian recorded in its first catalogue a collection of more than five thousand titles, only three of which were classified as

English literature and no titles referred to vernacular drama.[6] A 1610 agreement with the Stationers' Company entitled the library to " one perfect Booke " of every work newly printed by members of the Company. The 1620 catalogue of the Bodleian, however, had no single record of the plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, Jonson, Marlowe, and Shakespeare that the library should have obtained through this agreement.[7] The catalogue included John Webster's elegy for Prince Henry, but not his play *The White Devil* (1612), even though the two quartos were printed within a year of each other.

Yet Bodley's disdain for playbooks did not represent contemporary attitudes toward book acquisition. The library, for the most part, sorted through the donations of aristocrats whom Bodley had courted, and bought books from a select group of Oxford and London booksellers. Among the earliest donors to the library were Lord Essex, Lord Hunsdon, and Sir Robert Sidney.[8] The fact that Bodley found cause for alarm in their collections testifies that many of his respectable contemporaries favoured playbooks. Sir John Harington, who made collections of verse that covered the entire range of Tudor poetry from Wyatt to the 1590s, catalogued 130 playbooks in his collection, including 15 titles by Shakespeare and most of Jonson's works.[9] Edward 2nd Viscount Conway owned 350 English playbooks.[10] The library of Robert Burton contained a great many masques, comedies, and tragedies.[11] The Bridgewater House library, one of the largest seventeenth-century family collections, obtained plays by Chapman, Dekker, Ford, Marlowe, Middleton, Shakespeare, and Webster.[12] The list of books owned by Scipio le Squyer, who was Deputy Chamberlain of the Exchequer from 1620 to 1659, included Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet,* Fletcher's *Faithful Shephedess,* Middleton's *A Game at Chess,* Jonson's *Volpone,* and Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*.[12] Sir Edward Dering, first baronet of Surrenden in Kent (1598-1644), recorded the purchase of no fewer than 225 playbooks between 1619 and 1624.[14]

The extant evidence shows that playbooks started collected, bound, and catalogued

from the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Bodleian itself greatly increased its store of English drama taken from Robert Burton's collections by the terms of his will. Among the books the library acquired from Burton were ten plays and entertainments by Heywood, nine by Beaumont and Fletcher, eight by Shirley, six by Chapman, six by Middleton, four by Jonson, and three by Webster. John Rous, the Bodleian's second librarian, recorded English drama in separate categories from the Latin ones and catalogued drama in a field of its own. Further, only the Latin titles were copied from Rous' list and entered into the Benefactors' Register. Absent from this register, the bulk of the bequest went unrecognized.(15) As Rous' failure to register each of Burton's playbooks obscured the presence of drama in the Bodleian, the early modern libraries contained far more playbooks than they reveal.(16)

The Stationers' Company registered about 150 titles a year in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Some of these were never printed, while others appeared that had escaped registration. W.W. Greg estimated an average of 200 titles a year came off the press in the year between 1576 and 1640.(17) Then he assumed that 1,500 copies of an edition, which was the maximum number that the Stationers' Company had limited until 1635 (save for special permission for larger editions of some school-books, Bibles, catechisms, etc.), made a maximum of 300,000 volumes each year. This is rather a high estimate for this early period when print runs were often smaller. As Blayney estimates, the stationer who published a book would recover his original investment plus storage cost if he was lucky enough to sell 800 copies in ten years.(18) The printing history shows that less than half of the newly published playbooks reprinted within twenty years after their first run.(19) That is, more than half of the printed copies remained unsold each year, contrary to Greg's high estimate. Yet, if half of the output of the London press was purchased each year, where did they go? Probate inventories in many parts of the country recorded the possession of books among the goods and chattels of the deceased, affording a glimpse of the penetration of literature into the provinces.

From 1521 on a probate inventory upon decease was required by law; and from the 1520s through the 1590s these inventories seem to have been conducted ordinarily with care and precision. After the 1590s, however, book lists in probate inventories became more cursory and far less detailed.[20] Moreover, the record was socially selective and did not provide exact data of book ownership. Ecclesiastical law and custom referred the inventories of some men of substance to higher jurisdictions, so they might not appear in archidiaconal or diocesan collections. Men of little substance rarely appeared at all since they had little in the way of moveable property to distribute and the church was not interested in their estates, and women were severely under-represented.[21]

Much worse than their social bias was the casual way in which books were treated in inventories. First of all, no standard procedure seemed to have been taken: The titles of some books were given, but often the appraisers merely entered ' his books, ' or ' books and other lumber, ' or left them out altogether. Well-bound volumes and religious works had a greater chance of being listed than popular romances and ephemera. Yet it is common to find the inventories of professional men and others who were known to have possessed books not mentioning a single volume. So many volumes went unrecorded in private inventories. Poorer people, who presumably owned few books, were under-represented, while the books of those for whom inventories were made were under-registered. As in the case of the Bodoleian's unregistered drama collections, playbooks in private libraries, too, remained hidden from view. What was worse, books were often thrown together with other " household stuffes, " or " goods in the study "[22] because of their low value.

The binding of a book figured significantly in its appraisal value. A quantity of current vernacular literature such as drama deemed unworthy of binding; and, indeed, many playbooks were never bound. If book owners bothered little to have them bound, these books would have fallen apart easily, or they may have been discarded as mere ephemera.[23] When published in short octavos and quartos, poetry

anthologies and small editions of individual authors had small chance of surviving. Likewise, cheap playbooks faced the same danger of being literally read out of existence.[24]

According to Blayney's sample estimation, six pence a copy would have been a typical price for individual playbook, excluding folio versions of complete works.[25] However, it was by no means invariable because the retail price was varied to each wholesale price which would be determined by the balance of the publisher's costs and expected profits. For example, Blayney suggests the retail prices of the four quartos as follows :

A Yorkshire Tragedy (four sheet) ; 3.42 d.
A Midsummer Night's Dream (eight sheets) ; 5.53 d.
Richard III (twelve sheets) ; 7.57 d.
Every Man Out of his Humour (seventeen sheets) ; 10.16 d.[26]

The only recorded prices paid for Shakespeare plays before 1623 are 5 d. for the 1600 quarto of *2nd Henry IV*[27] and 8 d. for the 1595 octavo of *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York* (*3rd Henry VI*).[28] Prices for many playbooks, however, ranged from two pence to eight pence ; and two pence was the usual minimum price for any printed work other than a broadside. Playbooks, in fact, were among the cheapest books available and thus deemed worthless.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Inventing Authority

The 1616 publication of Ben Jonson's *Workes* in folio inaugurated the era of the printed drama collection. Jonson obviously benefited from the precedent of the publication of Sidney's collected works in folio. The generic idea of publishing a Shakespeare's folio collection most likely emerged from the same period.

Jonson's folio included a frontispiece portrait of the poet himself (Figure 12), which was a common means in print culture for elevating the socio-cultural status of authorship.[1] Jonson advertised his ownership of a body of work and his status as a writer laying claim to cultural authority. The 1616 folio was, as Joseph Loewenstein calls, " a major event in the history of what one might call the bibliographic ego. "[2]

The architectural design shows four columns standing on a plinth. On a panel in the central aperture is the title with the motto in Latin. Before the left arch is a female figure representing the muse of Tragoedia. On the right stands the muse of Comoedia. In the upper central niche is the figure of Tragi Comoedia. Astride the arch of the main pediment, left, is a Satyr. Opposite is a shepherd Pastor. In the cartouche within the pediment is a Roman theatre, Theatavm. On the face of the plinth, left, is a wagon, Plavstram, drawn by a horse. Right is an amphitheatre, visorivm, sunk below ground level, with the Chorus dancing round the altar in the centre. Jonson regarded himself as the rival to the Latin poets in his knowledge of Greek and Latin drama ; and, indeed, he conceived his plays in the spirit of the classical writers. The figures within the Greek architecture, the ancient theatres, and the sentences from Horace—all proclaimed Jonson's " allegiance to the reverend models

and precepts of the classical drama and classical poetry by which his works, too learned for the vulgar, have deserved eternal fame. "[3]

More significantly, Jonson strengthened his proprietary rights as ' author, ' holding the initiative in the printing process of revising, annotating, and correcting print runs. He assumed control over his writings, and a print culture made it possible what was virtually impossible in a system of manuscript transmission, where the uses and interpretation of texts were more obviously under reader control. To stabilize the text and thus to canonize the work—" an act of textual self-monumentalization, " in Montrose's phrase[4]—playbooks needed to be " growne from Quarto into Folio "in" farre better paper than most Octavo or Quarto Bibles, "[5] as the contemporary satirist, William Prynne, described with contempt.

Publishers and such playwrights as Jonson in the first decade of the seventeenth century considered educated readers among the potential buyers of their books. The typography of playbooks suggests that publishers and playwrights hoped to generate a market for printed drama consisting of well-educated readers. During the closing decades of the sixteenth century roman type displaced blackletter as the usual design for books of many kinds ; and by 1600 most works still usually printed in blackletter tended toward one of two extremes. Serious and conservative works such as lawbooks, chronicles, and lectern-size Bibles were still printed in blackletter. Official documents such as proclamations and statutes, and the hornbook from which children first learned their alphabet were also customarily printed in blackletter. On the other hand, roman type (or italic) was preferred for Latin, and the basic Latin school text was printed in roman. This fact led the book trade to associate roman type with a higher level of literacy and education than blackletter. Therefore, works aimed at the barely literate—at those who had learned their hornbook but had not graduated to Latin—were usually printed in blackletter : jestbooks, works for the instruction and improvement of the young people, sensational news pamphlets, and ballads.[6] Between 1583 and 1592 nine out of twenty plays were printed in black-

letter, but in 1593-1602 the proportion dropped to ten out of seventy-six. One play was printed in blackletter in 1603, another in 1604, and the last three in 1605—all printed by William Jaggard for Thomas Pavier. The preference for roman type suggests that the publishers no longer regarded the playbook as belonging to the same market as jestbooks and ballads.

Another typographic feature of the new printing strategy for the playbook was the use of what Greg identified as " continuous printing "[7]—a method of setting type in which verse lines broken between two speakers are set on one line to create a complete metrical unit. The practice of continuous printing began in the universities with translations from classical dram. Of the first twenty plays printed continuously, dating from 1530 to 1604, all but four are either university drama, literary translations, or closet drama.[8] As drama became more acceptably literary matter, the number of continuously printed plays increased. The publication history of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle,* staged in 1607 and printed six years later, clearly showed that the publisher, Walter Burre, adopted this method of printing to generate a market for well-educated readers. The playbook had been unpopular with theatre audiences, but the publisher took a calculated risk in publishing because he believed that, as Zachary Lesser argues, he could exploit a new and important cultural division in the theatrical market.[9] Lesser asserts that" continuous printing values the literary and poetic in the playwright's lines—their meter and form—over the theatrical necessity of clearly identifying the speaker of those lines, turning a stage play into a printed poem. "[10] Analyzing more than seventy dramatic texts that appear to have been marketed to an upscale readership, Lesser summarizes their common features as follows :

> ...these plays are twice as likely as the average printed play to contain Latin on their title pages, with those published after 1580 having an even higher likelihood. Over a third of them contain some indication of the author's social status

on the title page, from university student, fellow, or Master of Arts, to " Gent. " And " Servant to her Majesty, " and including one countess (Pembroke "; again, this is twice the percentage of overall plays. Fewer than a quarter of these plays were performed at outdoor theatres, far below the general rate, and they are over-represented for " closet " drama, or drama intended purely for the study rather than the stage.[11]

The 1612 quarto edition of *The White Devil,* printed by Nicholas Okes for Thomas Archer, included all of those literary features that Lesser observes. Like *The Knight of the Burning Pestle, The White Devil* had a poor showing at the box office when it was first performed at the Red Bull in February, 1612. The printed text of *The White Devil* explicitly appealed to an educated readership with Latin epigram and continuous printing. In the prefatory note " To the Reader, " the author attempted to legitimize the printed text by discounting the poor reception in the theatre as the consequence of an inadequate performance venue and inept audience :

In publishing this tragedy, I do but challenge to myself that liberty, which other men have ta'en before me ; not that I affect praise by it, for, nos haec novimus esse nihil ; ... only since it was acted in so dull a time of winter, presented in so open and black a theatre, that it wanted (that which is the only grace and setting out of a tragedy) a full and understanding auditory ; and that since that time I have noted, most of the people that come to that playhouse resemble those ignorant asses (who visiting stationers' shops their use is not to inquire for good books, but new books). I present it to the general view with this confidence :

Nec rhoncos metues, maligniorum,
Nec scombris tunicas, dabis molestas.[12]

Webster provided several explanations for the failure ; yet the audience was to be

blamed most :

> If it be objected this is no true dramatic poem, I shall easily confess it—non potes in mugas dicere plura meas : ipse ego quam dixi—willingly, and not ignorantly, in this kind have I faulted. For should a man present to such an auditory the most sententious tragedy that ever was written, observing all the critical laws, ass height of style and gravity of person, enrich it with the sententious chorus, and as it were lifen death, in the passionate and weighty Nuntius ; yet after all this divine rapture, O dura messorum ilia, the breath that comes from the uncapable maltitude is able to poison it.[13]

Webster believed that *The White Devil* had serious literary merit and was far beyond" the uncapable multitude. "His work was born out of such" worthy labours "as :

> that full and heightened style of Master Chapman ; the labour'd and underswtanding works of Master Jonson ; the no less worthy composures of the both worthily excellent Master Beaumont and Master Fletcher ; and ... the right happy and copious industry of Master Shakespeare, Master Dekker, and Master Heywood.[14]

George Chapman's literary reputation had been already secure by the time *The White Devil* was printed, and it was not a reputation wholly earned on the London stage. It was the several editions of Homer published since 1561 that earned him a privileged position as a " great Author in England's early modern period. "[15]

Ben Jonson, despite his exclusive focus on writing for the public and private stage, bolstered the literary reputation of printed drama in the period prior to the publication of Webster's play. Jonson believed that publication process could deliver some success to a play that had failed on the stage. In the preface " To the

Readers" of the 1605 quarto of *Sejanus His Fall* Jonson justified his play's failure and announced his literary ambitions by explaining the method of quoting classical sources. On the dedication in the first quarto edition of his *Catiline Conspiracy* (1611) Jonson criticized popular audience, complaining of the" so thicke, and darke, an ignorance, as now almost couers the Age."[16] A year later, in the address to the reader of *The Alchemist* (1612), Jonson attacked playwrights who" are esteem'd the more learned, and sufficient for this, by the Multitude," and blamed this fate on" the disease of the unskilfull, to thinke rude things greater then polish'd; or scatter'd more numerous than compos'd."[17]

Jonson took great advantage of typographical features to mark his plays as literary. Of the five plays published between 1605 and 1612—*Sejanus, His Fall* (1605), *Volpone* (1607), *The Case is Altered* (1609), *Catiline, his Conspiracy* (1611), and *The Alchemist* (1612)—four of them featured Latin epigraphs on their title pages, and all of them adopted continuous printing. The fact that of all playwrights Jonson used the technique of continuous printing most consistently and prominently, as Lesser observes, reveals that Jonson was so eager to mark the difference between the stage play and" legitimate Poeme" that his literary ambitions aimed at.[18]

As was the case with Jonson and the quarto text of *Sejanus,* John Fletcher in a note" To the Reader" of *The Faithful Shepheardesse* strived to legitimize the play addressing the potential purchaser of the book. To prevent misunderstanding, Fletcher explained the readers that the play

> Is a pastorall Tragi-comedie, which the people seeing when it was plaid, having ever had a singular guift in defining, concluded to be a play of country hired Shepheards, in gray cloakes, with curtaild dogs in strings, sometimes laughing together, and sometimes killing one another: And missing whitsun ales, creame, wassel & morris-dances, began to be angry.[19]

Fletcher anticipated some of the ways that the play was likely to be misunderstood and hoped to justify his " Poeme " and " to teach you [the reader] more for nothing. "[20] Like Jonson and Webster, Fletcher had clear distinction between theatre audiences and readers. In dedicatory poems that Beaumont and Fletcher contributed to the 1612 quarto edition of Jonson's *The Alchemist,* Beaumont worried that the wit of Jonson's play would be lost on the " common people ... till thy Readers can grow vp to it, "[21] and Fletcher blamed the play's unpopularity in the theatre on playgoers who preferred vulgar forms of comedy such as " mad Pasquill, / or Greene's deare Groatsworth, or Tom Coryate. "[22]

Webster, Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher—all had been writing plays for the commercial theatre ; and yet those commercial playwrights aspiring to literary status advertised the literary qualities of their plays and demonstrated their expectation of an elite readership. The" learned, " or" understanding "readers were presumed to have a well-developed sense of critical judgment and a familiarity with the conventions of classical drama, of which the " vulgar " audience of the public playhouses was utterly devoid." The inscription of such plays within a literary rather than a theatrical culture is, " Straznicky comments, " also signaled by the absence of the label ' play ' in their titles (instead they identify the genre or use non-theatrical terms like dramatic poem, dialogue, history, work, or treatise), and by other textual cue such as dedicatory, or commendatory epistle, marginal annotations "[23]or, emblematic title page and Latin mottoes which were addressed to the same learned elite readers who enjoyed the books of emblems.

In late sixteenth and early seventeenth century England, to be " a man in print "[24] was the trend among Shakespeare's contemporaries. However, Shakespeare seems to have been singularly indifferent about the publication of his plays, which has troubled critics from Samuel Johnson to the present. Brooks observes that " the apparent selflessness with regard to the ownership of his texts is, perhaps, more easily comprehended when viewed in the context of Shakespeare's unparalleled profes-

sional involvement with the same company. "[25] As Bentley notes, " from the formation of the Lord Chamberlain's company in 1594 to Shakespeare's death in 1616 there is no evidence that he ever wrote any play for any other company—a longer period of fidelity than that known for any other dramatist, and one which was never interrupted. "[26] Shakespeare was, in Brooks terms, " a consummate company man "; and Richard Dutton observes that plays written by company playwrights " were the only ones to which the companies held a copyright respected by the Stationers' Company and licensers for the press. "[27] Shakespeare's status as a sharer and an" ordinary poet " for the King's Men prevented him from exploring authorial self-promotion in the fashion of so many of his contemporaries.

As we have observed, Shakespeare's company had a coherent strategy to try to get their playwright's plays into print in the late sixteenth century. However, the number of publications of Shakespeare's playbook declined after 1600. The company had regular dealings with a small group of stationers from 1595 to 1603, when Shakespeare acquired a remarkable reputation in print. Yet these dealings were significantly reduced after the company had secured royal patronage. The company's strategy against the publication of their plays outside their control was endorsed by the 1619 intervention of the Lord Chamberlain ; and, in effect, they were granted a sole ' copyright ' authority three years after the death of the company's playwright. After all, it was Shakespeare's fellow actors who translated the popular playwright of the commercial theatre into the authorial figure of the literary work.

The 1623 Folio included a title page with an engraved portrait of Shakespeare, a common means in print culture for elevating the socio-cultural status of authorship. The title page (Figure 13) indicated that the book was the authenticated edition of the collected plays " according to the true originall copies ". An " Epistle Dedicatorie "[28] on the next page appealed to the patronage of the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, which proclaimed that the volume was, in principle, dedicated privately as in the manuscript elite culture to the writer's noble patrons. The address

" To the Great Variety of Readers " explained the authenticity of the collection, exhorted readers to read the book " again, and again, " and to " lead others " to full understanding of the masterpiece. The volume also contained four commemorative poems by other writers including Ben Jonson. The 1623 Folio preliminaries were thus organized to publicize both Shakespeare's authorship and the volume's quasi-coterie attribution originated in the system of courtly reward and preferment. In composing the collection, the editors and the publishers sought to publish on the prestige attached to privately circulated manuscripts among the elite readers at court, the two universities, and Inns of Court.

Another remarkable feature of the Folio was that the title page was devoid of the performance history that had been always involved in the previous quarto publications as a means of commercial strategy in the publishing market. From very early on, certain kinds of dramatic publications that had not been written for and performed on the public stage acknowledged the writer's identity and were published with dedications. Among these were : academic Latin dramas, translations of Seneca's plays, continental plays, and closet dramas written by the Sidney circle. The inscription of such plays within a literary culture was also signaled by the absence of the label ' play ' in their titles ; and, instead, they identified the genre, or used nontheatrical terms such as ' dramatic poem, ' ' dialogue, ' ' history, ' ' work, ' or ' treatise. ' The attribution of dedicatory or commendatory epistle and marginal annotations were also the textual cues.[29] All of these dramatic texts were associated neither with the public performances on the commercial stage nor with the ' stigma of print. ' Heltzel surveys that " during the entire reign of Queen Elizabeth and for some years after, the ordinary stage play was not thought worthy of patronal favor and none was dedicated. "[30]

George Chapman was the first dramatist to dedicate a play that had been performed in front of a paying audience.[31] The playwright furnished his *Charles, Duke of Byron* (1608) with a dedication to Sir Thomas Walsingham and his son. Ben

Jonson provided presentation copies of his plays with dedications. Some copies of *Cynthia's Revels* (1601) inserted dedications to Jonson's old schoolmaster, William Camden, and to the Countess of Bedford; and two copies of *Sejanus* (1605) with inscriptions to Francis Crane and to Sir Robert Townshead. The 1623 Folio of "Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies" with an "Epistle Dedicatorie" and commendatory verses demonstrated the literary qualities that deserved in the folio publication rather than in cheap quartos. On the other hand, the 1622 quarto of *Othello* published by Walkley had little ambition to aim at literary respectability of the playtext, though it addressed to "the Reader" in an attempt to show the publisher's reader-conscious attitude. Yet the performance history written on the title page advocated that the quarto text was firmly based on the commercial stage, advertising that "it hath been diverse times acted at the Globe, and at the Black-Friars, by his Majesties Seruant."[32]

After all, the quarto publisher sought to gain financial achievements, rather than literary ones, though he advertised the literary quality of the work itself by authorizing the playtext in the assumed coterie production of the manuscript.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Texts of *Othello*

The 1622 quarto and the 1623 folio present the same play in the same order of events with the same order of speeches for the most part ; and yet the texts differ from one another on various points, as *Othello* editors of different generation have analyzed so far. First of all, the first quarto (Q1) lacks about 160 lines which the first folio(F) has. McMillin offers the distribution of Q1 omissions by act :

Act 1. 3 instances, 29 lines.
Act 2. 2 instances, 5 lines.
Act 3. 3 instances, 17 lines.
Act 4. 8 instances, 76 lines.
Act 5. 5 instances, 27 lines.[1]

The act references here are the conventional ones from F. Act 4 has the largest number of omitted lines, nearly 50% of the total. Moreover, Act 4 omissions centre on Desdemona and Emilia, including Desdemona's Willow Song and Emilia's speech on marital fidelity. 45 of the omitted lines are from Desdemona's part, 36 from Emilia's.

Other differences are found in the division of the verse lines and punctuation. Q1 and F often divide verse lines differently.[2] F is consistently heavy in punctuation, whereas Q1 sometimes intersperses lightly pointed passages or speeches and a number of dashes.[3] F is more positive in imposing stops, while Q1 sometimes omits punctuation to leave open a choice of readings. In the Q1 text commas, semi-colons

and colons are used for nearly all pauses and stops before the speech-endings.[4] The key to the system operating in the Q1 punctuation is, McMillin analyses, the withheld period—the period reserved for end of the speech. F does not use the withheld period and is thus free to place periods at the heavier stops within speeches.

Q1 have many instances that the actors' voices had made their way into the text: for example, in extra-metrical tags such as Roderigo's dying ' O, O, O '(V. i. 68) and Othello's climactic ' O Desdemona, Desdemona, dead, O, O, O '(V. ii. 292).[5] The actors' interpolations are among the substantive variations between the texts. McMillin cites as a good example the very first word on the stage. The stage of the Q1 opens with Roderigo's expletive ' Tush, ' which, McMillin observes, " an actor can turn into a pathetic whine or an angry outburst—it is a stagey reaction to whaever Iago has been saying as the two enter. "[6] Iago's response begins with "' Sblood, ' and McMillin notes that"' Tush 'and' SBlood 'are actors' interpolations, bits of impromptu fuel for intensifying the opening exchange and quieting the spectators, the sort of gambit that actors call upon to establish a presence. "[7]

The possibility of mishearing also accounts for Q1 textual variation. ' Mines of sulphure 'in F and' mindes of sulphure 'in Q1 was a good example to mark the possibility that a scribe made these errors hearing the voices of actors. It may be that the scribe listened to the actors' rendition of the entire Q1 text and heard nearly all of it correctly but misheard some words, improvised much punctuation and was occasionally confused about the lineation, as McMillin concludes.[8] It was not an unusual practice that a scribal copy taken from the dictation of actors who had memorized their parts was used to make a new promptbook, or a copy of the play for a private patron or a copy of the play for sale to the printers.

For example, Thomas Heywood, in an address to the ' Reader ' in the 1608 edition of his *Rape of Lucrece,* documented the perils of publication. Heywood was the most prolific writer of his generation, who claimed to have individually or collaboratively written more than two hundred plays.[9] Heywood was keenly aware of the

importance of publication and wrote more about the vicissitudes of dramatic authorship than any other playwright in the period. Heywood said :

> Yet since some of my plaies haue (unknown to me, and without any of my direction) accidentally come into the Printers handes, and thefore so corrupt and mangled, (coppied onely by he eare) that I haue bene as unagle to know them, as ashamed to challenge them.[10]

Heywood described the fate of his plays that had been published without authorial involvement. These texts were so contaminated and fragmented that author himself could not recognize as his products. On the other hand, *The Rape of Lucrece* was printed by consent, and provided authorial commitment :

> This therefore I was the willinger to furnish out in his natiue habit : first being by consent, next because the rest haue beene so wronged in being publisht in such sauadge and ragged ornaments : accept it Curteous Gentlemen, and proue as fauourable Readers as wee haue found yon gracious Auditors.[11]

Heywood always expressed his unwillingness in publication because of scribal errors and printing ones. But in the publication of *The Apology for Actors* Heywood included the third address written to the printer, Nicholas Okes, who published *The Rape of Lucrece* as well. The first address was an ' Epistle Dedicatory ' to the Earl of Worcester, the patron of the playing company he wrote for, and the second one was addressed ' To my good Friends and Fellowes, / the Cittiy-Actors. ' An address to a printer was a rare practice and the textual space that Heywood saved for the address to the printer was traditionally used for an errata page. Heywood opened the address to the printer, Okes, with a story of prior printing errors made by another printer :

> The infinite faults escaped in my booke of *Britaines Troy* , by the negligence of the Printer, as the misquotations, mistaking of syllables, misplacing halfe lines, coining of strage and never heard of words.[12]

The printer in question was William Jaggard, whose printing house was entrusted to print the first folio volume of Shakespeare's collection around 1621. Heywood confessed Jaggard's insolence of laying the blame on the author himself :

> These [errors] being without number, when I would have taken a particular account of the Errata, the Printer answered me, hee would not publish his owne disworke-manship, but rather let his owne fault lye vpon the necke of the Author.[13]

Heywood's *Troia Britanica,* or *Great Britarnes Troy,* was printed by Jaggard in 1609. He condemned Jaggard's unwillingness to make the meaning of his author intelligent to the reader. And this was not the only unfaithful dealing with Heywood by the Jaggards' printing house. The third edition of *The Passionate Pilgrime* printed in 1612 (Figure 14) was another case. Jaggard contained some poems taken from Heywood's *Troia Britanica* without the author's consent and even his attribution,[14] proclaimed it as " By W. Shakespeare. " In 1599 Jaggard printed the second edition with a title page ascribing Shakespeare as the sole author of the volume, though, in fact, the work was an anthology containing verse by other contemporary poets, including Marlowe, Raleigh, and Richard Barnfield. The title page attribution attracted no attention until 1612, when the third edition appeared. As a matter of fact, no concept of copyright in its modern sense existed in Shakespeare's time, and ownership of texts was confined to publishers, who established their rights to produce a work by licensing it with the Stationers' Company. So Jaggard in fact had

the rights to publish those works in question. Yet Heywood could never refrain from recounting the printer's abuses.

Okes, on the other hand, was faithful to Heywood and thus trustworthy :

> ... finding you ... so carefull, and industrious, so serious and laborious to doe the Author all the rights of the presse, I could not choose but gratulate your honest indeauors with this short remembrance... These, and the like dishonesties I know you to bee cleere of ; and I could wish but to bee the happy Author of so worthy a worke, as I could willingly commit to your care and workmanship.[15]

Heywood concluded his address by promising that he would willingly commit his work to Okes' printing house as a " happy Author " in the future. Okes was new to the printing trade when he began to work with Heywood for the printing of *The Rape of Lucrece* in 1608. But Okes' commitment to printing drama deepened quickly. He printed four plays in 1608, four in 1609, and two in 1611. During the period of 1608 and 1611 Okes worked for Heywood (*The Rape of Lucrece* and *The Golden Age*), Middleton (*A Mad World My Masters*), Shakespeare (*King Lear*), Jonson (*The Masque of Queens*), Greville (*The Tragedy of Mustapha*), Middleton and Dekker (*The Roaring Girl*), and two other playwrights. After the printing of *The Apology for Actors* (1612), Okes printed five works by Heywood : *The Silver Age* (1613), *The Brazen Age* (1613), *The Iron Age, Part 1 & 2* (1632), and *The English Traveller* (1633). Yet Heywood's long-standing relationship and his appraisal never represented Okes' reputation. Okes actually got into trouble for piratical texts of Wither in 1619 and 1621,[16] and on other occasions for other reasons.

In the case of Jaggard, Ralph Brooke, who published in 1619 a revision of Thomas Mille's *Catalogue of Honor,* criticized Jaggard's printing skills when he found

his text corrupted by the printer's errors.[17] Edward Topsell also condemned Jaggard's workmanship for "the manifolde escapes in the presse, which turned and sometimes ouerturned the sence in many places." As Heywood did, Topsell complained of Jaggard's "misplacing of syllables," and Brookes of his "syllabicall faults." Jaggard was, as Topsell observed, short of "the true knowledge of the Latine tongue."[18] The Jaggards' printing house had been succeeded by William's son, Isaac, since his father had gone blind probably as early as 1612,[19] which might explain why the Jaggards' had printing troubles with authors such as Heywood, Brooke, and Topsell.

Yet the Jaggards' printing house was selected to print the first folio of Shakespeare's collection. At the time of the Folio project was conceived, Isaac Jaggard was in his late twenties and had published just three books. It is curious why the King's Men had ventured to trust such an inexperienced printer to publish the monumental volume of the late master playwright despite the printer's infamous business with several writers. Blayney suggests that "Isaac Jaggard was the one who first suggested the venture but Blount was the principal investor."[20] Blount was among the publishers of the 1623 Folio. He was in his fifties at this time and had served his apprenticeship with William Ponsonby—the publisher of Spenser and Sidney among others. Blount took over the business when Ponsonby died in 1603. Although Isaac had little illustrious printing experience, the Jaggards' printing house itself had actually theatrical connections of longstanding, having acquired the monopoly of playbill printing when William Jaggard took over the business of James Roberts in 1608.[21] Furthermore, the Jaggards would have been well-placed to negotiate with some of those who held the rights to a number of Shakespeare plays. For example, Thomas Pavier held the rights to *2* and *3 Henry VI* and *Henry V* and a claim to *Titus Andronicus*; and William Jaggard had well connected with him, collaborating on publishing a number of play texts. Moreover, as Kastan suggests, Jaggard's involvement with the first Folio had a practical reason: "Few stationers would have been

eager or even able to undertake a project the size of the Shakespeare folio. The commitment of resources and the impossibility of any quick profits would make it an unattractive venture for any but the most ambitious publishers," and the Jaggards were the one who were willing to do it.[22]

CHAPTER NINE

Textual Mystery

As far as the printing technique was concerned, Jaggard was not the only printer to be blamed for his inaccuracy. As Hinman notes, printers in those days were largely indifferent to the accuracy of his text,[1] and the proof-reader was not the exception. Taking the 1623 folio for instance, Hinman says that " there are hundreds of variants, and of variants that are unquestionably the result of proof-reading. "[2] The proof-reading of the Folio was " arbitrary and unauthoritative throughout, and was generally concerned rather to remove obvious typographical defects than to ensure accuracy. "[3] Therefore, as Hinman suggests, Shakespearean textual study is concerned with the nature of the copy used by the printer, and also with the printing process itself :

> We must not forget ... that the authority of any printed text will also depend upon how accurately the copy, whatsoever its nature, was reproduced in type. Even small authority can be well printed ; and copy of the very highest authority may be so carelessly reproduced, or reproduced by such unsatisfactory methods and by such incompetent workmen, that text printed from it is seriously corrupt. Different kinds of copy, moreover may be printed in different ways, so that some plays may be more likely than others to suffer textual change in the printing house.[4]

Modern editors of Shakespeare, whenever they have to choose between a quarto and folio text, have traditionally given one of the two the status of a preferred or better text. As to the publishers' reliability, the 1623 Folio was devised by Shakespeare's fellow actors and was trusted to their chosen printers, whereas no one knows how the 1622 quarto publisher of *Othello* acquired the copy. The circumstance may support the authority of the folio text of *Othello*. Considering the printers' workmanship, one may cast a doubt about the better quality of the folio text. As we have already known, the workmanship of the Jaggards' printing house was criticized by the contemporary writers, while Okes' was given a higher praise by one of them. Yet both printers, Okes and the Jaggards, had troubles with the ownership of manuscripts: Okes was suspected to print stolen manuscripts of King's Men, while the Jaggards were involved with the unautholized collection of Shakespeare plays, the Pavier quartos.

As far as the textual quality of the Quarto and the Folio is concerned, Hinman notes that" F *Othello* is more reliable with' substantive 'variants and verse lineation, and less reliable with at least some indifferent variants, punctuation, stage directions and profanity. "[5] Then, how have modern editors concluded about the provenance and transmission of the Quarto and the Folio? A brief survey of editorial thinking of influential bibliographers shows how the Quarto and the Folio texts have been incorporated in their modern editions:

1. E. K. Chambers (1930) : F was" printed from the original and Q from a not very faithful transcript. "[6]
2. Alice Walker (1953) : Q' was a memorially contaminated text, printed from a manuscript for which a book-keeper was possibly responsible and based on the play as acted "; F " was printed from a copy of the quarto which had been corrected by collation with a more authoritative manuscript. "[7]
3. W.W. Greg (1955) : " Q appears to have been printed from a transcript,

perhaps of the foul papers ";" F was printed from a copy of Q collated with a manuscript. The manuscript was probably the prompt-book prepared by a scribe. "[8]

4. J.K. Walton (1971) : F was printed from a manuscript, not from corrected Q.[9]
5. Stanley Wells (1987) :" Q represents a scribal copy of foul papers. F represents a scribal copy of Shakespeare's own revised manuscript of the play. "[10]
6. Richard Proudfoot (1972) : F was printed from corrected Q.[11]
7. Gary Taylor (1983) : F was printed from a manuscript, not from corrected Q.[12]
8. E.A.J. Honigmann (1996) : Q is a scribal copy of Shakespeare's first draft ; F is a scribal copy of the authorial fair copy. " Shakespeare (like other dramatists of the period) wrote a first draft or ' foul papers ' and also a fair copy. "[13]

The textual controversy among the Shakespearean bibliographers has not yet settled ; and so many uncertainties about the textual problems still remain unsolved.

Yet, as McMillin summarises, " the editorial tradition has decided that F is preferred but not infallible, and where it seems to fall away from Shakespearean authenticity, Q1 is waiting as the back-up text for a better reading. "[14] The editions concerned are : the first Arden edition edited by H.C. Hart ; the Cambridge edition of 1957 edited by Alice Walker and J.D. Dover Wilson ; the New Cambridge edition of 1984 edited by Norman Sanders ; the one-volume complete Shakespeares known as *the Riverside* , *the Bevington* , *the Oxford* , and *the Norton* ; and the third Arden edition (1996) edited by E.A.J. Honigmann. Honigmann has analyzed that Q1 is the better text ; yet he concludes that he may want to re-edit *Othello* with Q1 as parent text when others have reviewed the textual situation and dispelled uncertain-

ties.[15]

Q1 *Othello* reflects cuts and actors' interpolations made in the playhouse. Thus, as McMillin and others argue, the Quarto was probably printed from a theatre script which was apparently taken from dictation by a scribe listening to the actors. Then several questions arise : First of all, when did the actors' performance take place? Was that the court performance or the Blackfriar one, or rather the one in rehearsal? We know the court performance in 1604, the London and Oxford performances of 1610, and the court performances of 1612-13. However, the range of possibilities is much broader since every performance was not always recorded then.

Othello was a popular play and, as McMillin suggests, " the text could very well have been revised, perhaps several times, during the two decades between its first performance and its first printing. "[16] Yet the oaths which are prominent in Q1 may prove that the text goes back to performances before 1606, when ' An Acte to Restraine Abuses of Players ' was passed for " the preventing and avoiding of the greate Abuse of the Holy Name of God in Stageplayes, Interludes, Maygames, Shewes, and such like. "[17] Printed profanities were not in violation of the Act, and there are many examples of oaths in printed plays dating from after 1606. But profanity in public performance was against the law. If the Q1 text was dictated from a performance version of the play, the inclusion of the oaths could be taken as an indication of performance dates.

If the performance date was sometime before 1606, the question is : when and how did Thomas Walkley and Nicholas Okes obtain the *Othello* manuscript? Walkley entered *Othello* in the Stationers' Resister on 6th October, 1621, when the King's Men had already lodged the staying order to prohibit the publication of their plays without their consent. Yet Walkley and Okes published five King's Men plays including *Othello* between 1619 and 1622. Kenneth Cameron notes that the five plays share the characteristic of having act divisions, that four of the plays including *Othello* were performed during the busy court season of 1612-13, and that all five

plays probably had a promptbook origin.[18] The 1619 quarto of *A King and No King* contained a dedicatory letter to Sir Henry Neville which said that the printed book would "return unto your view, that which formerly hath been received from you."[19] As McMillin notes, it appears that the manuscript came to Walkley from Neville. But the letter mentioned nothing about King's Men's permission. The 1622 quarto of *Othello* had a dedicatory epistle from the stationer to the reader, but it did not refer to from whom the stationer obtained the manuscript.

After all, whether the manuscript was originated from Shakespeare's foul papers, or a promptbook, or a scribal copy, is a hypothesis. There is no extant copies of Shakespeare's original manuscript (except that of *Sir Thomas More*); and every bibliographical theory so far has been built upon hypothetical analysis. We are still not certain what Shakespeare wrote. In the case of Q1 *Othello*, nothing is certain about the textual problems and all the details have not yet fully investigated on the publication history itself.

CHAPTER TEN

A New History, A New Reading

The New Bibliography is a critical movement that W.W. Greg and his textual colleagues had developed in the early twentieth century to systematize the editing of Elizabethan drama by analyzing all aspects of textual transmission and by formulating principles for editing. Greg and the New Bibliography were to remain unassailable for thirty years. But serious challenges to New Bibliography first came in 1975 with an article by Constance B. Kuriyama, followed by articles from Michael Warren and Randall McLeod (1981), and books by Scott McMillin (1987) and David Bradley (1992).[1] The main argument used there was that the notions of' bad Quartos, ' ' foul papers, ' ' memorial reconstructions, ' and the like, were merely intellectual constructs, hypotheses based not on the scientific method for which the New Bibliography had been renowned, but on assumption and critical prejudice.

The most influential argument aimed at discrediting the basic tenets of the New Bibliography is, in Maguire's review,[2] a paper by Paul Werstine in 1990. Werstine's main point is that the textual categories of' foul papers 'and' memorial reconstruction ' are " hypothetical constructs that have yet to be empirically validated with reference to any extant Shakespeare quarto. "[3] Yet Werstine never ignores how much the modern editors have been owed to Greg's theory, and " so much of what follows will take issue with the direction that Greg set. "[4] What Werstine suggests is that we should relocate ' the general theory ' in its historical context and call the presuppositions into question.[5]

W.W.Greg began to develop his theory of the production and reproduction of early modern plays in manuscript in a 1926 article, " Prompt Copies, Private Tran-

scripts, and the ‘ Playhouse Scrivener. ’ ”[6] In *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* (1942) and *The Shakespeare First Folio* (1955), the theory appears to be grounded upon a objective survey of extant dramatic manuscripts. But Greg’s theory is, as Werstine argues, “ logically a priori ... to any survey of the manuscripts and chronologically prior to his own limited survey of them in *Dramatic Documents* (1931). ”[7] Greg classified the manuscripts into three categories : Class A contains what he called promptbook proper, or transcripts of them ; Class B has manuscripts prepared for some private purpose ; and Class C includes a miscellaneous collection. Greg assumed that the ‘ foul paper ’ was the final form of the play as the author intended it, while the phrase had been originally used to describe“ a text that is incomplete in relation to the text of a theatrical manuscript ”[8]by Edward Knight in his transcribing for a patron the manuscript of *Bonduca* by John Fletcher.[9] Greg defined‘ foul papers ’as a“ draft ”containing“ the text substantially in the form the author intended it to assume though in a shape too untidy to be used by the prompter, ”[10] or “ the text of a play substantially in its final form. ”[11]

Greg’s classification of manuscripts, his assumption of the class of “ authoritative playhouse manuscripts, ” and his appropriation of the ‘ foul paper ’ had established what is still accepted by many present editors as the general theory of the production and reproduction of early modern plays in manuscript.[12] The contribution of the New Bibliography was, as Melchiori reviews, “ that of showing how from a printed text it is possible to reconstruct the state of the original manuscript with all its accretions and corrections. ”[13] In order to establish the copy that went to the printer, the New Bibliographers engaged in “ what was essentially detective work ”; and yet the theories were “ basically constructive. ”[14] However, Werstine criticizes that “ generations of editors have been able simply to reproduce Greg’s judgements and arguments. ”[15] Werstine offers that an editor should “ set aside Greg’s theory and cope with the extant dramatic manuscripts in their variety and disuniformity. ”[16] After the serious challenges to New Bibliographic work in the late twentieth century, the

scholarly consensus in the 90's is, as Anthony Hammond summarized for the Conference on Editorial Problems in 1988, that" an Elizabethan dramatist's usual practice was to produce a complete script in foul papers form, following which a fair copy would be prepared, either by the author or a scribe, and that this copy would be annotated and altered to fit the play for the stage, a process which might involve all kinds of adaptations, including modifications in response to censor's demands. "[17]

The new generation of critics has demolished ahistoric and hypothetical aspects of the New Bibliography ; and at the same time they have cultivated wider and deeper cultural and textual layers of ground of Elizabethan drama. Playwrights and scripts have been therefore relocated within the social and material circumstances in which Elizabethan drama was enabled and inhibited. They have been recognized within the determining context in which plays were written, produced, performed, sold, published, patronized, read, censored and exploited by the powerful, and watched and listened to by a socially diverse population. Authorship, collaboration, theatre companies, performance, touring, book trade, publication, patronage, audiences, readers, and censorship have been under careful scrutiny. The analysis of the complex social process of literary production has enabled a new vision and appreciation of Elizabethan dramatic milieu ; and at the same time we have come to face the reality that ' what Shakespeare really wrote ' is the notion created by modern editors' textual desire. As Honigmann confesses in editing *Othello* , Shakespearean textual problems have still not been solved. An edition can never give us what the author wrote because we do not have the evidence which would suggest that there finally was such a definitive thing. " Every time an editor amends a text, " the editor of *The Oxford Shakespeare* notes, " he is, to an extent, reconstructing its author in his own image. "[18] Readers and editors, whether conscious or not, have reinvented what they imagine Shakespeare really wrote.

The publication history of *Othello* has revealed the cultural process of literary production ; yet the textual mystery remains to be explored by patient textual scrutiny from future editors, and from non-passive readers who keep an eye on how the text has been edited. Our reading of Shakespeare will never be completed.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

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2. Peter Blayney, *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (Washington, D.C. ; Folger Library Publications, 1991), p.15.
3. Charlton Hinman, *The Norton Facsimile : The First Folio of Shakespeare* (New York : W.W. Norton, 1968)
4. Anthony Hammond, " The Noisy Comma : Searching for the Signal in Renaissance Dramatic Texts, " in *Crisis in Editing,* ed. Randy McLeod (New York : AMS Press, 1994), pp.203-49.
5. John Kerrigan, " The editor as reader : constructing Renaissance texts, " in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England,* eds. James Raven and Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge : Cambridge UP, 1996), pp.102-24.

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1. Edwin Elliott Willoughby, *The Printing of the First Folio* (Oxford U.P. for the Bibliographical Society, 1932), pp.28-29 ; pp.33-38 ; pp.52-53.
2. L. Kirschbaum," Walkley's Supposed Piracy of Wither's *Workes* in 1620, " *The Library* (1938-39), XIX, 339-46.
3. E.A.J. Honigmann, *The Texts of ' Othello ' and Shakespearian Revision* (London : Routledge, 1996), p.22. As for the details of the lawsuit between Walkley and Everard, see Appendix B, pp.152-56.
4. *Ibid.,* pp.22-23.
5. *Ibid.,* p.27.

6. W.W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio : Its Bibliographical and Textual History* (Oxford : Oxford U.P., 1955), p.357.
7. *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602 to 1640,* ed. W.A. Jackson (1957), 110.
8. W.W. Greg, *First Folio,* pp.15-16.
9. *Ibid.,* p.24.
10. *Ibid.,* p.24.
11. *Ibid.,* p.24.
12. See, for example, Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners : The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard U.P., 1993), p.21.
13. The Pavier quartos include : *The Whole Contention* (n.d.) [the variant versions of *2nd* and *3rd Henry VI* were grouped together under this title], *Pericles* (1619), *A Yorkshire Tragedy* (1619), *The Merchant of Venice* (1600), *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1619), *King Lear* (1608), *Henry V* (1608), *Sir John Oldcastle* (1600), and *A midsummer Night's Dream* (1600). As for the publication history, see Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print* (Cambridge : Cambridge U.P., 2003), pp.36-41 ; and for a concise analysis of the Pavier quartos, see Berger and Lander's essay, " Shakespeare in Print, 1593-1640, " in *A Companion to Shakespeare,* ed. David Scott Kastan (Oxford : Blackwell, 1999), pp.395-413, esp. pp.403-405.
14. Murphy, *Shakespeare,* pp.40-41 ; see also, *William Shakespeare : A Textual Companion,* eds. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (London : W.W. Norton, 1997), pp.35-36.
15. Honigmann, *Texts,* pp.26-27.
16. *The First Quarto of Othello , The New Cambridge Shakespeare,* ed. Scott McMillin (Cambridge : Cambridge U.P., 2001).
17. The title page : " A Pleasant conceited comedie called, loues labors lost. As it was presented before her highness this last Christmas. Newly corrected and

augmented By W. Shakespeare. ”

18. Douglas A. Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printing House* (Cambridge : Cambridge U.P., 2000), p.59.
19. Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse* (Cambridge : Cambridge U.P., 1997), pp. 113-55.
20. The speaker of John Davies of Hereford's Paper's Complaint derides those who “ pester Pasts, with Titles of new bookes, ” quoted from *The Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford,* ed. Alexander B. Grosart, 2vols. (London : Privately Printed, 1875-77, rpt. New York : AMS Press, 1967), II. 76.
21. W.W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration.* 4 vols. (London : Bibliographical Society, 1939-59), vol. III. p.1209.
22. Peter Blayney,“ The Publication of Playbooks, ”in *A New History of Early English Drama,* eds. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York : Columbia U.P., 1997), p.385.
23. Greg includes masques, pageants and entertainments, closet and academic plays, Latin plays and translations published as literary texts in his calculation ; on the other hand, Blayney adjusts the number by subtracting all of them because he considers what we would usually call ‘ plays ’ are only those written for professional public performance by both adult and juvenile companies.
24. Blayney, *Publication,* pp.412-13.
25. *Ibid.,* pp.388-89.

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2. Blayney, *Publication,* pp.396-405.
3. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London ; 1554-1640 A.D.,* ed. Edward Arber, 5vols. (London : n.p., 1875-79 ; Birmingham : n.

p.1894), 1 : xxxviii.

4. *Ibid.,* 2 : 807-12 ; 4 : 528-36.
5. Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels* (London : Mcmillan, 1991),pp.148-62.
6. Blayney, *Publication,* pp.398-400 ; Greg, *Bibliography,* 1 : 15-21.
7. Graham Pollard, " The Early Constitution of the Stationers' Company, " *The Library,* 4th ser., 18 (1937-38) : 254-59.
8. Blayney cites four cases : among them are, for example, the license granted to Mulcaster's *Positions ... for the Training up of Children* (1581)and the one for Hopton's *Concordancy of Years* (1612 and 1615) ; Blayney, *Publication* , p. 399.
9. Greg and Boswell, *Records,* lxix, 57.
10. Leo Kirschbaum, *Shakespeare and the Stationers* (Columbus : Ohio State U.P., 1955), pp.61-74.
11. Blayney, *Publication,* p.401.
12. *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1602 to 1640,* ed. William A. Jackson (London : Bibliographical Society, 1957), p.149.
13. *Ibid.,* p.171, 471, 224, and 478.
14. Arber, *Transcript,* 4 : 530.
15. W.W. Greg, " The Spanish Tragedy—a Leading Case?, " *The Library* (1925) : 47-56.
16. One surviving manuscript that shows Tilney at work in this role is *Sir Thomas More* .
17. Andrew Gurr," Maximal and Minimal Texts : Shakespeare v. the Globe, "*Shakespeare Survey* 52 (1999), 68-87.
18. Blayney, *Publication,* p.385.
19. *Ibid.,* p.392.
20. Arber, *Transcript,* II., 651-52, III. 575.
21. *Ibid.,* III. 226.

22. Blayney, *Publication,* pp.397-98.
23. Harold Love, *Scribal Publications in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1993), p.67.
24. Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge : Cambridge U.P., 2003), pp.108-40.
25. *Ibid.,* p.109 ; and also see, Appendix A.
26. W.W. Greg, *Bibliography,* vol. III, p.1213.
27. *Ibid.,* pp.1206-07.
28. *Ibid.,* p.1213.
29. Erne, *Shakespeare,* p.91.
30. Leeds Barroll, *Politics, Plague and Shakespeare's Theatre* (Ithaca : Cornell U.P., 1991), p.173.
31. Erne, *Shakespeare,* p.109.
32. *Ibid.,* p.64.

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1. Brooks, *Printing,* pp.173-77, which based on the data in Alfred Harbage's *Annals of English Drama, 975-1700,* revised by S. Schoenbaum (London : Methuen, 1964).
2. Gerald Bentley, *The Profession of Player in Shakespeare's Time, 1590-1642* (Princeton : Princeton U.P., 1971), p.15.
3. *Ibid.,* p.16.
4. *Ibid.,* p.16.
5. Brooks, *Printing,* pp.179-80.
6. *Ibid.,* pp.181-82 ; " Receved of Wylliam greffeth for his lycense for pryntinge of a Trag [e] die of GORBODUC where [of] iij actes were Wretten by Thomas Norton and the laste by Thomas Sackvyle ", cited in Arber, *Ibid* ., p.296.
7. Erne, *Shakespeare,* p.42.

8. Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and The English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca : Cornell U.P., 1995), p.210.
9. *Ibid.,* p.228, 39n.
10. J.W. Saunders, " The Stigma of Print : A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry, " *Essays in Criticism* 1 (1951) : 139-64.
11. Marotti, *Manuscript,* pp.223-25 ; pp.302-08.
12. George Gascoigne's " A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres, " ed. C.T. Prouty, *University of Missouri Studies,* vol. 17, No. 2 (1942 ; reprint, Columbia : Univ. of Missouri Press, 1970), p.47.
13. Marotti, *Manuscript,* P.50.
14. Arthur Marotti, *John Donne : Coterie Poet* (Madison : Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1986) ; " ' Love is not Love ' : Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences and the Social Order, " *ELH* 49 (1982), 396-428 ; and " The transmission of Lyric Poetry and the Institutionalizing of Literature in the English Renaissance, " in *Contending Kingdoms : Historical, Psychological, and Feminist Approaches to the Literature of Sixteenth-Century England and France,* ed. Marie-Rose Logan and Peter L. Rudnytsky (Detroit : Wayne State U.P., 1991), 21-41.
15. Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender* (Ithaca : Cornell U.P., 1993), pp.74-79.
16. *Ibid.,* pp.79-82.

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2. George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589 ; facsimile, Menston, U. K. : Scolar Press, 1968), pp.43-44, 49.
3. Julia Boffey, *Manuscripts, of English Courtly Love Lyrics in the Later Middle Ages, Manuscript Studies* 1 (Woodbridge, Suffolk : D.S. Brewer, 1985), pp. 134-35.
4. *Ibid.,* pp.15-17.

5. *Ibid.,* pp.15-19.
6. On the custom of keeping commonplace books, see R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries from the Carolingian Age to the End of the Renaissance* (1954 ; reprint, New York : Harper & Row, 1964), pp.265-75.
7. Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1993 ; 2001), p.177.
8. Broadly defining ' answer ' poetry, E.F. Hart distinguishes four different sorts of verse :" the answer proper, in which the theme of arguments of a poem are criticized as a whole, or (more usually) refuted one by one ";" imitations "; " extension poems [that] develop or amplify some idea, image, or characteristic feature of rhythm or style of the original poem "; and " mock-songs. "E.F. Hart, " The Answer-Poems of the Early Seventeenth Century, " *RES,* n.s., 7 (1956) : 19-29.
9. *The Arundel Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry,* 2vols. ed. Ruth Hughey (Columbus Ohio, 1960, 1 : 44-45.
10. Marotti, *Manuscript,* p.142.
11. *Liber Lilliati : Elizabethan Verse and Song, Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poetry 148,* ed. Edward Doughtie (London : Associated U.P., 1985), p.165.
12. H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1996), pp.159-61.
13. *Ibid.,* Introduction.
14. Love, *Scribal,* pp.218-29.
15. Laurence A. Cummings, *John Finet's Miscellany* (Washington University, PhD, 1960), pp.61-62.
16. *Ibid.,* pp.27-32, 45-46.
17. Woudhuysen, *Sidney,* pp.261-62.
18. Cummings, *Finet's,* pp.9-14.
19. *Ibid.,* pp.504-8.

20. Doughtie, *Lilliati,* Rawlinson Poetry 85.
21. Cummings, *Finet's,* pp.104-5.
22. Edward Doughtie, "John Ramsey's Manuscript as a Personal and Family Document," in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts,* ed. W. Speed Hill (Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991), pp.251-88.
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24. *Ibid.,* p.43.
25. John Harington, *Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington,* ed. Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia : Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), No. 424, 320.
26. *Ibid* ., p.164.

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2. *Ibid.,* 1 : 2.
3. Barnabe Googe, *Eclogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets,* STC12048 (1563), ed. Judith M. Kennedy (Toronto : Univ. of Toronto Press, 1989), 38.
4. George Pettie, "The Preface to the Readers," *Introduction to Steven Guazzo,* STC 12422 (1581), trans. George Pettie, reprint ed. Charles Whibley (New York : Alfred A Knopf, 1925), 8-9.
5. See, for example, W.A. Ringler Jr., "Sir Philip Sidney : The Myth and the Man," in *Sir Philip Sidney : 1586 and the Creation of a Legend,* ed. Jan van Dorsten, Dominic Baker-Smith, and Arthur Kinney (Leiden : E.J. Brill / Leiden U.P. for the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, 1986), pp.3-15.
6. Wall, *Imprint,* pp.33-34.
7. Marotti, "Shakespeare's Sonnets as Literary Property," in *Soliciting Interpretation,* ed. Elizabeth D. Harvey and Katharine Eisaman Maus (Chicago : Univ.,

of Chicago Press, 1990), pp.143-73.

8. *Ibid.,* p.143.
9. Gabriel Harvey, "Pierce's Supererogation," in *Elizabethan Critical Essays,* edited with an introduction by G. Gregory Smith, 2vols. (1904 : reprint, Oxford U.P., 1959), 2 : 265.
10. Samuel Daniel, *Poems and A Defense of Ryme,* ed. Arthur Colby Spragne (Chicago : Univ. of Chicago Press, 1930), p.9.
11. Cited in Marotti, *Manuscript,* p.233.

CHAPTER SIX

1. *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James, Keeper of the Bodleian Library,* ed. G. W. Wheeler (Oxford : Oxford U.P., 1926), p.220.
2. *Ibid.,* p.40.
3. *Ibid.,* p.222.
4. Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print* (Cambridge : Cambridge U.P., 1997), p.1.
5. Wheeler, *Bodley,* pp.219-22.
6. Ian Philip, *The Bodleian Library in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,* Lyell Lectures, Oxford, 1980-81 (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1983), pp.32-33.
7. Wheeler, *Bodley,* pp.219-22. Two playbooks, however, did in fact found their way into the collection of the Bodleian : the 1620 Library catalogue lists Robert Dabourne's *A Christian Turn'd Turke* (1612) and Thomas Heywood's *The Four Prentices of London* (1615). Bodley had died in late January, 1613, and, as Kastan observes, "their presence seems more likely to be accidental than to mark a change of library policy." [David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge : Cambridge U.P., 2001), p.139 5n.]
8. *Ibid.,* pp.7-8.
9. F.J. Furnival, "Sir John Harington's Shakespeare Quartos," *Notes and Queries*

9 (1890), 382-83 ; E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage,* 4vols. (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1923), vol. III, p.183.

10. T.A. Birrell, " Reading as Pastime : The Place of Light Literature in Some Gentlemen's Libraries of the Seventeenth Century, " in *Property of a Gentleman : The Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library, 1620-1920,* ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester : St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1991), p.113-31.
11. Nicolas K. Kiessling, *The Library of Robert Burton* (Oxford : Bibliographical Society, 1988), 43, 87.
12. Heidi Brayman Hackel, " ' Rowme ' of Its Own : Printed Drama in Early Libraries, " in *A New History of Early English Drama,* ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York : Columbia U.P., 1997), p.122.
13. Frank Taylor, " The Books and Manuscripts of Scipiole Squyer, Deputy Chamberlain of the Exchequer (1620-59), " *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* 25 (1941), 137-64.
14. T.N.S. Lennam, " Sir Edward Dering's Collection of Playbooks, 1619-1624, " *Shakespeare Quarterly,* 16 (1965), 145-53.
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17. W.W. Greg, " Entrance, license and publication, " *The Library,* 25 (1944), pp. 1-7.
18. Blayney, *Publication,* p.412.
19. *Ibid.,* p.387.
20. Hackel, *Rowmes,* p.124. For an overview of probate inventories and the methodological problems they raise, see Leedham-Green, *Books,* xi-xiv ; and Sears Jayne, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance* (Berkeley : Univ. of Cali-

fornia Press, 1956), p.9-15.

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22. Peter Clark, " The Ownership of Books in England, 1560-1640 : The Example of Some Kentish Townsfolk, " cited in Lawrence Stone (ed), *Schooling and Society : Studies in the History of Education* (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins U.P., 1976), p.98.
23. *Ibid.,* p.103.
24. Marotti, *Manuscript,* p.227, 36n.
25. Blayney, *Publication,* pp.124-25.
26. *Ibid.,* pp.422, 6n.
27. Henrietta C. Bartlett and Alfred W. Pollard, ed., *A Census of Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto, 1594-1709,* 2nd. ed. (rev. New Haven : Yale U.P., 1939 ; New York : AMS ; rep. 1971), p.25.
28. F.R. Johnson, " Notes on English Retail Book-prices, 1550-1640, " *The Library,* 5th ser., 5 (1950-51) : 91, 109.

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1. Margery Corbett and R.S. Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece* (London : Routledgte & Kegan Paul, 1979), pp.145-50.
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3. Corbett, *Frontispiece,* p.150.
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6. Blayney, *Publication,* pp.414-15.
7. W.W. Greg, *Bibliography,* vol. I, p.xviii.
8. Zachary Lesser, " Walter Burre's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* , " forthcoming in *English Literary Renaissance.* Cited in Brooks, *Printing,* p.45. Ibid., p.45.
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13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. Barbara A. Mowat, " Constructing the Author, " in *Elizabethan Theatre : Essays in Honor of S. Schoenbaum,* eds., R.B. Parker and S.P. Zitner (Newark : Univ. of Delaware Press, 1996), pp.93, 97, 110.
16. Ben Jonson, *Catiline* in *Ben Jonson,* eds., C.H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson, 11vols. (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1925-52).
17. Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist* in *Ben Jonson.*
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20. *Ibid.,* p.1209.
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22. *Ibid.*
23. Martha Straznicky, " Closet Drama, " in *A Companion to Renaissance Drama,* ed. Arthur Kinney (Oxford : Blackwell, 2002), p.422.
24. Anthony Scoloker, *Daphantus, or The Passions of Love,* STC21853 (London : 160), sig. Asv, cited in Wall, *Imprint,* p.1.

25. Brooks, *Printing* , pp.55-56.
26. Gerald Eades Bentley, *The Profession of Dramatist in Shakespeare's Time, 1590-1642* (Princeton : Princeton U.P., 1971), p.279.
27. Richard Dutton," The Birth of an Author, "in *Text and Cultural Change in Early Modern England,* eds. Cedric C. Brown and Arthur Marotti (New York : St. Martin's Press, 1997), p.158.
28. Greg noted that it had sometimes been doubted whether the dedicatory epistle a and the adress to the reader were actually written by Heminge and Condell and that the pieces may have been composed by Edward Blount. Blount had served his apprenticeship with William Ponsonby, who published Spenser and Sidney. Blount took over his business when Ponsonby died in 1603. In Greg's phrase, Blount was " a man of some literary aspiration "; and, in fact, he had been a friend of Marlowe and published Marlowe, Montaigne and Cervantes.

    Yet Greg also referred to the theory of Ben Jonson's authorship. It was first suggested by George Steevens in a note in the 1803 *Variorum* (i. 166), which begins with the quotation from *Batholomew Fair* and ends, " Perhaps Old Ben was author of the Players' Preface ". The theory was brushed aside by Pollard (*Folios and Quartos,* p.122) ; and the advanced arguments in the 1821 *Variorum* by Boswell were rejected by Simpson (*Ben Jonson,* xi. 140-4). E.K. Chambers, however, supported Jonson's authorship (*William Shakespeare,* i. 142). Greg thought Jonson's claim better than Blount's. [W.W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio : Its Bibliographical and Textual History* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1955), pp.17-21 ; pp.26-27.]
29. Straznicky, *Closet Drama,* p.422.
30. Virgil B. Heltzel, " The Dedication of Tudor and Stuart Plays, " *Wiener Beitrage zur Engliscyhen Philologie,* 65 (1957), 74-86.
31. *Ibid* ., pp.80-81.
32. McMillin, *Quarto,* p.49.

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2. Honigmann, *Texts,* p.103.
3. McMillin, *Quarto* , pp.17-27.
4. *Ibid.* , pp.17-27.
5. McMillin, " Re-enter the Stage Direction, " *Shakespeare Survey* 29 (1976), 123.
6. McMillin, *Quarto,* p.30.
7. *Ibid.,* p.30.
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10. *Ibid.,* p.1208.
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12. *Ibid.,* p.1208.
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14. *The New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare : The Poems,* ed. Hyder Edward Rollins (London : J.B. Lippincott Company, 1938), pp.533-38 ; see also Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors* (1612) and *Refutation of the Apology for Actors* (1615), ed. Richard H. Perkinson (New York : Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1941), pp.xii-xiii.
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18. Edward Topsell, " To the Reader " in *The Historie of Serpents* (1608), cited in Honigmann, *Texts,* p.57.
19. E.E. Willoughby, *A Printer of Shakespeare : The Books and Times of William Jaggard* (London : Allan & Co., 1934), p.4.

20. Blayney, *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (Washington, D.C. : Folger Library Publications, 1991), p.xxviii.
21. Willoughby, *Printer,* pp.42-43.
22. David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge : Cambridge U.P., 2001), pp.57-60.

CHAPTER NINE

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2. *Ibid.* p.227.
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4. *Ibid.,* p.5.
5. *Ibid.,* p.143.
6. E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare : A Study of Facts and Problems,* 2vols. (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1930).
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CHAPTER TEN

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The Publication of the First Quarto of *Othello* : synopsis

Yoshiko Ono

Almost all English Books printed before eighteenth century vary to some extent from copy to copy. Shakespeare's first Folio published in 1623 best illustrates the unsettled nature of a printed text. The printing-house used to correct proof during the course of printing, and then assemble corrected and uncorrected sheets indiscriminately. Owing to this printing-house practice, it is highly probable that no two copies of a sixteenth century book could be identical.

The idea of a book embodying the final, perfected text was not a Renaissance one. Historical study of manuscript and print culture reveals the unstable nature of the text construction itself. The manuscript culture fostered communal authorship, a turning back and forth of scripted messages between writers. In a system of manuscript circulation of literature, individual text was permeable, editorially open to amendments. In the case of play texts, they designed to change as the conditions of performance change. It was the task of the print shop to customize a play so as to make it readable. From its very first appearance as text the play had been edited, mediated by agents other than the author.

This study will relocate the production history of the first quarto of *Othello* in the complex social process of the text's production. The publisher, censorship, publication, book trade, copyright, authorship, collaboration, collection, and readership will be examined as the social and material circumstances in which the publication of *Othello* was enabled. The final goal is to see how the quarto had been published in the network of the manuscript and print culture in the early modern England.

この「研究叢書」は、所員の推進する学際的共同研究および個人研究の成果を継続的に刊行することにより、もって、新たな文化の創造と学術の進歩に寄与しようとするものである。

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