SHAKESPEARE AS LITERARY DRAMATIST

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Illustrations

The legitimation of printed playbooks
in Shakespeare's time

When were printed playbooks first considered literature? When did playwrights first become authors? What are the cultural and material forces that shaped these processes? Scholarship has investigated these questions and proposed answers or, more often, taken certain answers for granted. In this chapter, I am going to suggest that these answers need to be refined or, in some cases, corrected.

The standard critical argument in the past has been that the concept of dramatic authorship emerges in the early seventeenth century with the advent of a new kind of scholarly writer, the first "self-crowned laureate," to use Richard Helgerson's designation, who was also a dramatist.[1] He was neither a professional writer of the sort of Robert Greene, who scraped a living with his pen, nor a writer in the service of a nobleman, like Samuel Daniel or Michael Drayton, nor a courtier or a gentleman writing to please his own private circle, like Sir Philip Sidney. Instead, he was a scholar interested in writing and bringing a new kind of self-confidence to the profession. In the more sweeping version of this argument, his advent in print is first signaled by the publication of Jonson's *Workes* in 1616. Commenting on the "conception of the nature and status of drama," one scholar has written that:

One man can be said to have ... changed literary history abruptly. This man, Ben Jonson, deserves his place in English cultural history not just for his brilliant hard-edged comedies, but also for his insistence that a play is literature. The moment that changed the conception of the nature and status of drama came in 1616. In that year Jonson published a folio of about a thousand pages containing nine of his plays, eighteen of his masques and entertainments, and a substantial body of his epigrams, panegyrics, and verse letters; he called this miscellany of traditional literary forms and dramatic texts *The Works of Benjamin Jonson*.[2]

[1] See Richard Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton and the Literary System* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983).
[2] John W. Velz, "From Authorization to Authorship, Orality to Literature: The Case of Medieval and Renaissance Drama," *TEXT: An Interdisciplinary Annual of Textual Studies*, 6 (1994), 204.

Another recent scholar has constructed a similarly smooth dichotomy between two situations, one before the publication of Jonson's Folio (when plays were on a level with pamphlets and ballads) and one after (when plays were included in *Works*):

Elizabethan dramatists enjoyed little prestige for their work; even the printed plays were regarded as ephemeral, as the linking of "pampheletes, playes and balletes" indicates in a 1559 parliamentary bill on press censorship. This was the situation which Jonson, determined to advance the dignity of playwriting, finally overturned by including his plays in the 1616 collection of his *Works*.[3]

Scholars who adhere to the more refined version of this argument resist this *fiat lux* account. They hold instead that dramatic authorship becomes visible gradually in such key documents as the title-page of *Every Man Out of His Humour* (Q1, 1600) or the address "To the Reader" in the 1605 quarto of *Sejanus*. The latter famously points out that the text contains "more than hath been Publickely Spoken or Acted," while the former states that "this Booke, in all numbers, is not the same with that which was acted on the publike Stage."[4] According to this view, the publication of the *Workes* in 1616 is only the culmination of what Jonson had begun at the turn of the century.[5]

[3] Gordon Williams, *Shakespeare, Sex and the Print Revolution* (London and Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Athlone, 1996), 7–8.

[4] For readings of the Q1 *Every Man Out of His Humour* title page, see David Riggs, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 65; Jonas Barish, *The Antitheatrical Prejudice* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 136–37. For *Sejanus*, see Philip Ayres, "The Iconography of Jonson's *Sejanus*, 1605: Copy-text for the Revels Edition," in *Editing Texts: Papers from a Conference at the Humanities Research Centre, May 1984*, ed. J. C. Eade (Canberra: Humanities Research Centre, Australian National University, 1985), 47–53, and John Jowett, "Jonson's Authorization of Type in *Sejanus* and Other Early Quartos," *Studies in Philology*, 44 (1991), 254–65. For Jonson's play quartos, see Robert S. Miola, "Creating the Author: Jonson's Latin Epigraphs," *Ben Jonson Journal*, 6 (1999), 35–48. See also Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship*.

[5] The provocation the term "Workes" represented for a volume consisting mostly of stage plays, and the reactions it triggered have been well documented. It may be indicative of how problematic a word it remained with regard to plays that when an octavo collection of Marston's plays was published in 1633 as "The Workes of Mr. Iohn Marston, Being Tragedies and Comedies," it was reissued later the same year as "Tragedies and Comedies." For the publication of Jonson's Folio, see Barish, *Antitheatrical Prejudice*, 138–40; Richard C. Newton, "Jonson and the (Re-)Invention of the Book," in *Classic and Cavalier: Essays on Jonson and the Sons of Ben*, eds. Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1982), 31–58; Joseph Loewenstein, "The Script in the Marketplace," *Representations*, 12 (1985), 101–15; Timothy Murray, *Theatrical Legitimation: Allegories of Genius in Seventeenth-Century England and France* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), chs. 3 and 4; Jennifer Brady and W. H. Herendeen, eds., *Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio* (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1991); Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 238–47; Mark Bland, "William Stansby and the Production of *The Workes of Beniamin Jonson*, 1615–1616," *The Library*, 20 (1998), 1–34; Douglas A. Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printing House: Drama and Authorship in Early Modern England*, Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture, 36 (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 104–39.

As a result of these accounts, it is often assumed that the gap between the printed text that has come down to us and what was performed did not start opening up before these Jonsonian publications. John Jowett, for instance, has argued that "*Every Man Out of His Humour* stands apart from all previously printed drama" and that "the gambit of offering a *non-theatrical* text had not been tried before."[6] I argue that the "evolving history of interaction between performance and print" does not begin with Jonson, but can be traced back at least as far as the 1590 octavo edition of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*.[7]

As early as the 1590s, we can witness a process of legitimation of dramatic publications leading to their establishment as a genre of printed texts in its own right rather than as a pale reflection of what properly belongs to the stage. Similarly, the dramatic author who, as Michel Foucault has taught us, was not born but made, was in the making considerably earlier than is often presumed.[8] Just as the legitimation of printed lyric poetry can be traced through a number of key publications[9] – from *Tottel's Miscellany* in 1557 to the 1633 editions of the poems of Donne and Herbert – so the publication of Jonson's and Shakespeare's plays in folio in 1616 and 1623 have a complex pre-history. When Shakespeare started working as a playwright, playtexts were not considered literary artifacts, written by an author, with a life on the stage *and* the page. Such a summary statement no longer applies half way through his career, however, and is even less true at the moment of his death.

I argue that the first people who had a vested interest in the rise of dramatic authorship were not the playwrights themselves but the London printers, publishers, and booksellers eager to render respectable and commercially profitable what was initially an enterprise with little or no prestige.[10] A comparison with the printed poetry of the age is instructive. Much of it was published in popular miscellanies. If we recall that all but two of the Elizabethan miscellanies seem to have been collected under the supervision of a publisher or printer, we realize just how central their agency was in the formation of Elizabethan poetic taste and practice.[11] Addressing the difficulty of legitimizing printed playbooks, Wendy Wall writes:

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[6] Jowett, "Jonson's Authorization of Type," 256.   [7] Ibid., 264.

[8] Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?," trans. Catherine Porter, in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 101–20.

[9] See Marotti, *English Renaissance Lyric*, especially ch. 4 on "Print and the Lyric," 209–90.

[10] For the sake of clarity, I am using the word "publisher" to refer to the person who commissioned and financed a book project, a use that is anachronistic considering the *OED* dates 1654 the earliest occurrence of the word with this meaning.

[11] Elizabeth W. Pomeroy, *The Elizabethan Miscellanies: Their Development and Conventions* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), 20.

Theatrical texts were even more unauthorized than poetic texts, for exactly opposite reasons: they were seen as illegitimate and vulgar trivial events rather than as elite but trivial noble "sport." . . . Legitimating the authority of the theatrical book was an even more arduous task than the business of legitimating the private forms of printed poetry. For the theatrical script was not only subject to multiple sites of production and protean textual practices, but it was also associated with a socially suspect cultural domain.[12]

The social cachet of plays was low, their aim mere entertainment and their realization by nature collaborative and subject to constant change. Transferring them from the playhouse to the printing house and supplying them with an authorizing author and a stabilizing single text was no easy undertaking. The performance of this task, rather than any authorial transgressions, brought about the formation of the dramatic author.[13] In this sense, the rise of dramatic authorship actively fostered by playwrights after the turn of the century is, I argue, only part of a trajectory which presupposes a shift in the making of and attitude toward dramatic publications before Jonson's plays started being printed.

I thus situate in the late sixteenth century rather than in the early seventeenth century the moment when published playbooks first legitimate themselves by emphasizing their non-theatrical features and by tying themselves to an authorizing originator. It could be objected that the difference between earlier accounts and mine is minor and of little consequence. Only a decade separates the first quarto of *Every Man Out of His Humour* from the earliest edition of *Tamburlaine*, and even Jonson's *Workes* are published only a quarter of a century after Marlowe's two-part play. So does the difference matter? I believe that, in the crucial case of Shakespeare, it does. In one account, Shakespeare is a passive figure in the emergence of dramatic authorship, uninvolved in and indifferent to it, in direct opposition to the innovator Ben Jonson. In the other account, Shakespeare is aware of, affected by, and an active participant in the theater's gradual emancipation from an existence that is confined to the stage. I argue that the traditional narrative that diametrically opposes Shakespeare and Jonson, the former indifferent to print, the latter loathing the stage, needs to be interrogated.[14] In

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[12] Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 89.

[13] See Foucault's well-known arguments that "Texts, books, and discourses really began to have authors . . . to the extent that authors became subject to punishment, that is, to the extent that discourses could be transgressive" ("What Is an Author?," 103).

[14] For two relatively recent formulations of this narrative, see Richard Dutton, *Ben Jonson, Authority, Criticism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 44, and David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare After Theory* (New York and London: Routledge, 1999), 75–77.

chapter 3, I demonstrate that, contrary to what we have often been made to believe, Shakespeare was far from indifferent to the publication of his plays. This chapter establishes the cultural forces that are likely to have contributed to Shakespeare's attitude toward the existence of his plays not only on stage but also on the page.

One of the purposes of the present chapter is to refine and supplement some of the earlier work upon which it builds. Jeffrey Masten, in particular, has provided an incisive treatment of how dramatic authorship was negotiated, produced, and contested in Renaissance Drama.[15] Yet, it seems to me that Masten and others underestimate the extent to which the process that turned collaboratively produced theatrical scripts into authorized literary drama was already under way. In particular, I take issue with Masten's assertion that "play-text quartos printed early in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries generally did not record the presence of an author or authors."[16] As we will see, this statement is too sweeping when applied to the whole period, and simply wrong as far as the early seventeenth century is concerned. Masten's argument that the early quartos "pass themselves off as representation of a theatrical event" also seems to me to hide a more complex truth. The claim on the title page of *Tamburlaine* according to which the two parts are printed "as they were sundrie times shewed vpon Stages in the Citie of London," is immediately contradicted by the publisher's address "To the Gentlemen Readers." Similarly, while the first quarto of *Hamlet does* promise a play "As it hath beene…acted," the second quarto *does not*, announcing instead "the true and perfect Coppie." From very early on, the apparatus of early quarto playbooks enacts a tension between the playhouse and the printing house as stationers simultaneously try to capitalize on the popularity of stage plays and appropriate them to their own medium.

The first section of this chapter is an introductory consideration of the evolving concept of dramatic authorship in Shakespeare's London. While its aim is to provide the basis for the following discussion in this and the next chapter, readers familiar with the scholarship on the topic may wish to skip it and pass directly to the second section. In it, I investigate how the title pages of printed playbooks in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth

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[15] See Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama*, Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture, 14 (Cambridge University Press, 1997), especially chs. 1 and 4. See also de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*, and Leah S. Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Readings and Its Discontents* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988).

[16] Masten, *Textual Intercourse*, 113.

century negotiate the rise of dramatic authorship. Finally, I concentrate on the 1590 edition of *Tamburlaine* and the 1592 edition of *The Spanish Tragedy* as early examples of printed playbooks that open a gap between a play's two forms of existence, in the theater and in print.

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century London, title pages were more than front covers. The speaker of John Davies of Hereford's *Paper's Complaint* derides those who "pester Poasts, with Titles of new bookes."[17] Similarly, in an address prefacing *The Terrors of the Night* (1594), Thomas Nashe complains that "a number of you there bee, who consider neither premisses nor conclusions, but piteouslie torment Title Pages on euerie poast, neuer reading farther of anie Booke, than Imprinted by Simeon such a signe."[18] Title pages were thus put up on posts and elsewhere, serving publishers as crucial tools for the marketing of books. As Philip Gaskell pointed out, the type for title pages was often kept standing after the printing of the book, allowing for easy reuse if additional advertising was needed.[19] The title page, contrary to the text it announces, is thus usually the publisher's rather than the writer's.[20] McKerrow called it "an explanatory label affixed to the book by the printer or publisher."[21] The term "explanatory" hardly covers the uses to which title pages were put, however, and needs to be supplemented by "panegyric" considering they often praise books in the most laudatory terms. The provenance and aim of title pages also explains the many inaccuracies they contain of which the notorious "Mariana" – instead of "Marina" – in Q1 *Pericles* is only the most famous example. Clearly, accuracy about a book's contents mattered less to publishers than the promotion the title page guaranteed. As Janette Dillon has put it succinctly: "Title pages are devised in order to sell books, not to make precise

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[17] Line 97, quoted from *The Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, 2 vols. (London: Privately Printed, 1875–77, rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1967), II.76.

[18] Sig. A4, quoted from *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. Ronald B. McKerrow, 5 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1904–10), I.343. The examples could be multiplied: Jonson, addressing the bookseller in the third epigram of his Folio (1616), instructs him to have his book "lye vpon thy stall, till it be sought; / Not offer'd, as it made sute to be bought; / Nor haue my title-leafe on posts, or walls, / Or in cleft-sticks, aduanced to make calls / For termers, or some clarke-like seruing-man, / Who scarse can spell th'hard names" (*The Works of Ben Jonson*, eds. C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925–52), VIII.28). The practice was still current in the eighteenth century: see Pope's *Epistle to Doctor Arbuthnot*, lines 215–16 and *The Dunciad*, line 40.

[19] Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 116.

[20] On printers' copy for title pages, see also Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Texts of "King Lear" and Their Origin: Nicholas Okes and the First Quarto* (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 259–62.

[21] Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), 91.

scholarly statements about the texts they preface."[22] Being at the crossroads of the books' fictional contents and their economic reality, they thus allow inferences about the dynamics of the marketing of printed playbooks in Elizabethan England.

A comparison of the original title pages of Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and Ben Jonson's *Volpone* yields instructive insights. The title page of *Tamburlaine* contains type that is spread out over a total of twenty lines, making up a disorderly whole that requires substantial attention for a full appreciation. The title page of *Volpone*, in contrast, is of classicist simplicity, generously spaced out and easily appreciable. The main part of the title page, taking up the upper two-thirds, is occupied by no more than seven words, the five important ones (Ben Ionson, Volpone, The Foxe) in big roman capital letters, the other two in smaller, lower-case type. The far more unruly bulk of language on *Tamburlaine*'s title page seems to change somewhat randomly not only from one size to another, but also from italicized to non-italicized and from roman to black letter (see Figures 3 and 4).[23]

If we try to distinguish the kind of information the two title pages contain, other differences can be pointed out. The front page of *Tamburlaine* communicates information of a variety of kinds, notably about:

– the title: "Tamburlaine the Great"
– the play's contents: "Who, from a Scythian Shephearde, by his rare and woonderfull Conquests, became a most puissant and mightye Monarque. And (for his tyranny, and terrour in Warre) was termed, The Scourge of God. Deuided into two Tragicall Discourses"
– performance, more specifically where the play was performed: "as they were sundrie times shewed vpon Stages in the Citie of London," and by whom: "By the right honorable the Lord Admyrall, his seruantes"

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22 Dillon, "Is There a Performance in This Text?," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 45 (1995), 79.

23 Note that black-letter type was growing old-fashioned by the end of the sixteenth century and was superseded by Roman type which had been introduced to the London trade in 1509 by Richard Pynson (see D. F. McKenzie, "Printing in England from Caxton to Milton," in *The Age of Shakespeare*, ed. Boris Ford, The New Pelican Guide to English Literature, 2, rev. edn (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982), 211). Mark Bland has argued that black letter "remained the predominant English language typeface until a combination of Italianate fashion, economic prosperity and type replacement finally changed the typography of literary publications in the years between the Armada of 1588 and the plague of 1593" ("Appearance of the Text," 94). If we bear in mind the relationship between typography and meaning to which a number of scholars have recently paid attention, the mixture of roman and black-letter type on the 1590 title page is in itself a resonant source of meaning. See, for instance, Harry Graham Carter, *A View of Early Typography up to about 1600* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969) and W. C. Ferguson, *Pica Roman Type in Elizabethan England* (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate, 1989). For early modern playbooks and the shift from black-letter to roman type, see Bland, "Appearance of the Text," 105–7, and Blayney, "Publication of Playbooks," 414–15.

Tamburlaine
the Great.

Who, from a Scythian Shephearde,
by his rare and woonderfull 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 Dif-
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.

Figure 3. Title page of the first octavo edition of *Tamburlaine*, 1590 (*STC* 17425),
published anonymously.

BEN: IONSON

his

VOLPONE

Or

THE FOXE.

—— *Simul & iucunda, & idonea dicere vitæ.*
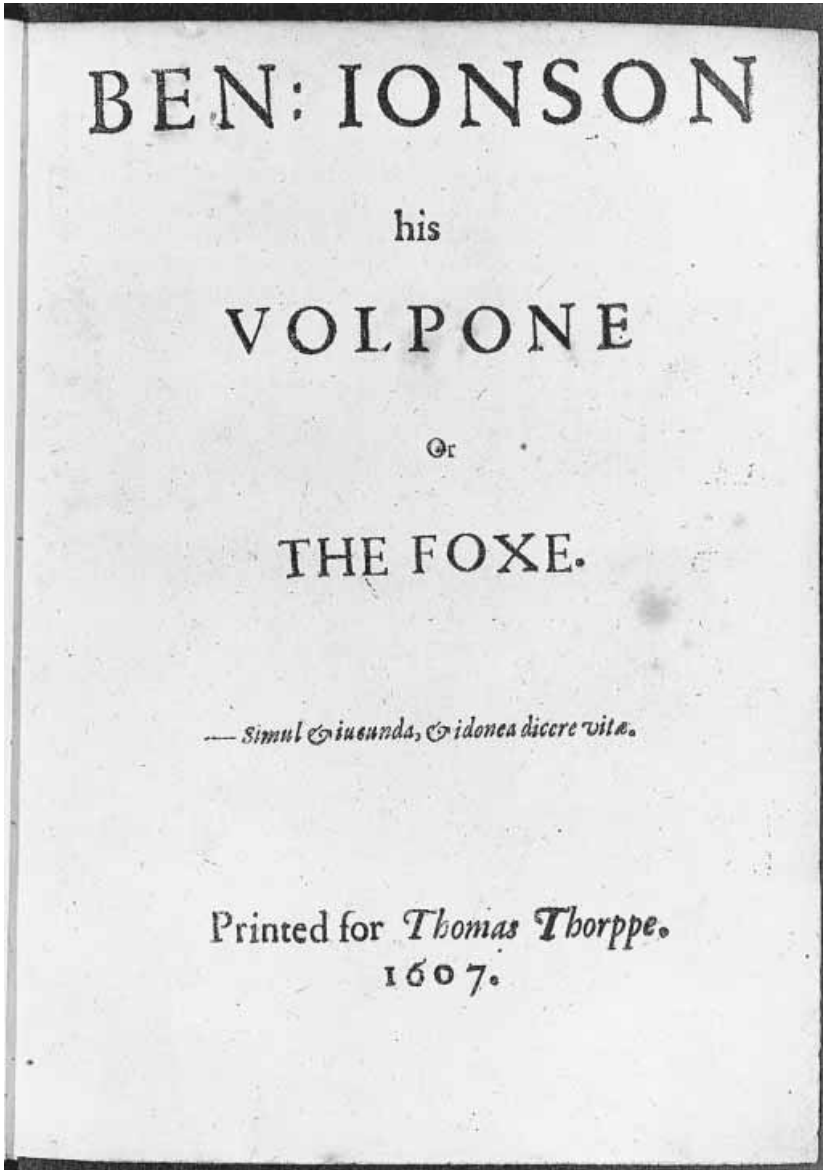
Printed for *Thomas Thorppe.*
1607.

Figure 4. Title page of the first quarto edition of *Volpone*, 1607 (*STC* 14783), attributed to Ben Jonson.

–   publication, in particular which edition: "Now first, and newlie pub-
    lished"; the place of publication: "LONDON"; the publisher: "Printed
    by Richard Ihones"; the precise place of publication and sale: "at the
    signe of the Rose and Crowne neere Holborne Bridge"; and the date of
    publication: "1590."[24]

The wealth of information on the title page of *Tamburlaine* is perhaps as
surprising for a modern reader as the information it withholds. For what
is conspicuously absent, of course, is any indication of the play's author.[25]
Indeed, by using the word "author," I am imposing a concept that would
not have applied to the text of a public stage play in 1590. What authorizes
Marlowe's play according to its original title page is emphatically not its
writer (or "author") but rather a variety of other figures: Tamburlaine,
coming first on the title page in type substantially bigger than what follows;
the players – patronized by the Lord Admiral – who had performed the play;
and the publisher Richard Jones. This fascinating authorizing conglomerate
thus ranges from the English aristocracy via the London playhouse and
printing houses to a Scythian shepherd and conqueror turned fictional
character.

What is the marketing strategy discernible behind the title page of
Tamburlaine? What seems to have been supposed to whet a customer's
appetite was the exotic and extravagant protagonist. That the play was per-
formed "sundrie times," on not just one but several stages by one of the
leading companies of the day, the Lord Admiral's Men, was further counted
on to boost sales.[26] Reminiscences of a live performance of what was clearly

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[24] The book could of course have been bought in many different bookshops. What the indication
      on the title pages does is "to inform *retailers* where a book could be purchased *wholesale*" (Blayney,
      "Publication of Playbooks," 390). Blayney has shown that Greg was instrumental in entrenching
      the mistaken belief that the sale of a book was restricted to one exclusive retailer (390).

[25] By the most conservative standards of cataloguing, *Tamburlaine* would in fact have to be regarded
      as an anonymous play. The first unambiguous attribution, some forty-five years after the play's
      composition, is in Robert Henderson's *The Arraignment of the Whole Creature, At the Barre of
      Religion, Reason, and Experience* (1632) (*STC* 13538.5; here and below, *STC* refers to A. W. Pollard
      and G. R. Redgrave, comp., *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and
      Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad*, 1475–1640, 2nd edn [London: The Bibliographical
      Society, 1976–1991]) followed by ascriptions in the catalogues of Francis Kirkman (1671), and Gerard
      Langbaine (1687); see J. S. Cunningham, ed., *Tamburlaine*, The Revels Plays (Manchester University
      Press, 1981), 7–8.

[26] Recent performance seems to have been of importance for the marketability of an early playtext. In
      1584, when Lyly went into print with plays which had only just been performed before the Queen,
      they went through two (*Sappho and Phao*) or even three (*Campaspe*) editions in the same year, while
      the four plays by Lyly printed in 1591/92, after performance at Paul's had stopped, remained without
      further reprints until Blount's collection *Six Court Comedies* of 1632. Moreover, in the address "To the
      Reader" in the first quarto of *The Family of Love* (1608), an anonymous playwright – Middleton's
      authorship has been convincingly disputed by MacDonald P. Jackson in *Studies in Attribution:*

one of the early potboilers in London's theaters could also be expected to recommend the book to customers. These customers were clearly not expected to buy *Tamburlaine*, however, because they knew about Marlowe, had seen or read plays they knew to be his, had enjoyed them and wanted more.[27]

The contrast to the title page of *Volpone* could hardly be more obvious. Not only is the author's name present, but it is printed first and biggest, the capital letters extending from the very left to the very right of the page. The play, the other information deemed worthy of presence, is quite literally subordinate to the author's name, coming second and in smaller type though also in capitals. While the concept of authorship does violence to the original title page of *Tamburlaine*, it does justice to that of *Volpone*. Indeed, "the author and his work" is what the title page suggests. Little else beside remains: year of publication, the publisher, and the motto in the language of learning, suggesting that the transaction proposed is from a scholarly author to an educated reader. Accordingly, no mention is made of players and playhouses.

Before the beginning of Shakespeare's dramatic career, the playwright's name, like Marlowe's in the 1590 edition of *Tamburlaine*, is typically absent from the title page of a printed playbook. Long after the rise of dramatic authorship and the canonization of a good many dramatists, most emphatically Shakespeare himself who, to a large extent, has come to stand for what exactly an author is, such a situation may seem surprising. That the seemingly timeless concept of authorship was not only renegotiated in Shakespeare's, but remains subject to change in our own time, is perhaps best illustrated by a comparison that can simultaneously shed light on the artistic status of playwrights before Shakespeare's time. Modern screenwriters, like sixteenth-century playwrights, are known by insiders and experts but ignored by the multitude. There is a general awareness that they exist, but little curiosity about their specific contribution to the final product. As playwrights in the sixteenth century and screenwriters in the twentieth century are little known and their achievements little appreciated, so prominent actors (the "Puppets…that spake from [their] mouths" to quote

Middleton and Shakespeare, Salzburg Studies in English Literature (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1979), 103–9 – complains that the play is published: "Too late, for that it was not published when the general voice of the people had seald it for good, and the newnesse of it made it much more desired, then at this time: For 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" (quoted from Greg, *Bibliography*, III.1207).

[27] McKerrow (*Bibliography for Literary Students*, 93) has pointed out that the mention of an author's earlier work on title pages did not begin, some exceptions granted, until the eighteenth century.

Robert Greene's fit of jealousy) have fame in abundance.[28] A particularly
eloquent document to illustrate the relative prominence of actor and play-
wright is the play *A Knack to Know a Knave*, performed by the Lord Strange's
Men in 1592 and published in 1594.[29] The play is not only "anonymous"
(and has remained so),[30] but the title page points out that it "hath sundrie
tymes bene played by Ed. Allen and his Companie. With Kemps applauded
Merrimentes." While the playwright authors what the actors speak, Edward
Alleyn and William Kempe, two of the most famous actors of the 1590s,
here serve to authorize the playtext an anonymous playwright has pro-
duced. This ironic reversal finds its modern equivalent in the marketing of
spin-off novels based on recent box-office hits which appeal to the poten-
tial customer with a picture of the star actor(s) or actress(es) on the front
cover.

   Comparing the repertory systems in Elizabethan theater and Hollywood
cinema, G. K. Hunter writes that "The Elizabethan system, like the
Hollywood one, put [the writers] at the bottom of the pile."[31] The *auteur*
theory in the fifties and early sixties promoted by François Truffaut and
others further accentuated the view that it was the director, not the writer,
who was the author of a film.[32] If screenplays by F. Scott Fitzgerald, William
Faulkner, Nathanael West, Aldous Huxley, and Graham Greene have been
studied in depth, this is precisely because their authors were not first and
foremost screenwriters. Even the screenplay for the 1999 Academy-Award-
winning *Shakespeare in Love* – which was published by Faber and Faber and
boasted impressive sales figures – owed much of the attention it attracted
to its dramatist co-author Tom Stoppard. It is true that the Dictionary of
Literary Biography series has recently published two volumes on American
screenwriters, but what their editor says does nothing to refute the sug-
gested parallel between Elizabethan playwrights and modern screenwriters:
"The American screenwriter has received very little serious study. Even
among film scholars, emphasis has most often been placed on the director

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[28] *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*, ed. Carroll, line 934. The Hollywood equivalent of Greene's view of
the players, the "Hollywood-as-destroyer legend" (3), is the subject of Richard Fine's *West of Eden:
Writers in Hollywood 1928–1940* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993).

[29] E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), IV.24–25.

[30] Of course, the very word "anonymous" is anachronistic, anonymity being an attribute of people, not
of texts, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century (see Masten, *Textual Intercourse*, 12–13,
and Emma Smith, "Author v. Character in Early Modern Dramatic Authorship: The Example of
Thomas Kyd and *The Spanish Tragedy*," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 11 (1999), 133).

[31] G. K. Hunter, "The Making of a Popular Repertory: Hollywood and the Elizabethans," in
Shakespearean Continuities: Essays in Honour of E.A.J. Honigmann, eds. John Batchelor, Tom Cain,
and Claire Lamont (London: Macmillan, 1997), 249.

[32] Fine, *West of Eden*, 6–7.

rather than the writer," Randall Clark writes.[33] The important number of "anonymous" printed playbooks in Elizabethan England suggests a similar lack of interest in playwrights in the late sixteenth century. Yet, as the status of printed playbooks underwent an emancipation during Shakespeare and Jonson's lifetime, so that of the screenplay may currently be changing. On the same page, Clark writes, on the one hand, "Although it is a written work, the screenplay is not composed to be read. It is not meant to exist apart from the motion picture," and, on the other hand, "over the past decades, the status of the screenwriter has changed, and the screenplay has emerged as a new form of literature."[34] The contrast between the two statements is instructive, for the publication of playbooks in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries reveals the same ambivalence toward their status. In the following, it may be well to keep in mind the contradictory attitude of seeing as "not composed to be read" what has nevertheless emerged, or is emerging, "as a new form of literature."

In the years between the publication of *Tamburlaine* and *Volpone*, publishers seem to have increasingly realized that another way of turning playtexts into more respectable printed matter was by naming the author on the title page. As Wendy Wall has pointed out, playtexts were "unruly bulks of language, whose collaborative process of creation complicated their states as marketable commodities."[35] Associating plays with a single source of origin and authority meant legitimating plays by dissociating them from the disreputable commercial playhouses where players, shareholders, theatrical entrepreneurs, and playwrights collaborated. Significantly, the Puritan pamphleteer William Prynne used the designation "playhouse books" throughout his antitheatrical *Histrio-mastix*, thus attempting to discredit playtexts by linking them to the playhouse rather than to their authors.

   The fact that many of the plays were not only collaboratively staged and produced but also collaboratively written, complicated this process of authorization. In fact, only slightly more than one out of three plays paid for by Henslowe for the Lord Admiral's Men was not written collaboratively.[36]

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[33] Robert E. Morsberger, Stephen O. Lesser, and Randall Clark, eds., *American Screenwriters*, Dictionary of Literary Biography, 26 (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1984), and Randall Clark, ed., *American Screenwriters*, 2nd series, Dictionary of Literary Biography, 44 (Detroit: Gale Research company, 1986). I quote from volume 26, page ix.

[34] Morsberger, Lesser, and Clark, eds., *American Screenwriters*, ix.

[35] Wall, *Imprint of Gender*, 89.

[36] Carol Chilington Rutter, ed, *Documents of the Rose Playhouse*, 2nd edn, The Revels Plays Companion Library (Manchester University Press, 1999), 128. A comprehensive examination of the collaborative writing of playtexts is Masten, *Textual Intercourse*. See also Masten's "Authorship and Collaboration,"

Acknowledging the extent of collaboration on title pages would no doubt have failed to convey the impression of authorship publishers tried to foster. Some simple figures confirm this: for the three-year period from the autumn of 1597 to the summer of 1600, collaborated plays accounted for nearly 60 percent (thirty out of fifty-two) of the plays written for the Lord Admiral's Men.[37] Yet of the thirty-two playbooks published during the same years, thirteen are said to be by a single author, nineteen are published anonymously, while not a single one acknowledges multiple authorship on the title page.[38] For the total forty-year period from 1584 to 1623, only 13 of the 111 plays attributed to a playwright or playwrights acknowledge multiple authorship, that is less than 12 percent (see Appendix A).

The extent to which the creation of the dramatic author in early printed playbooks preceded the creation of the dramatic author in the playhouse can be inferred from a letter dated March 4, 1698, in which Dryden comments on a playbill for a performance of Congreve's *The Double Dealer*. What Dryden is particularly interested in is the seemingly unremarkable fact that the playbill contains the words: "Written by Mr Congreve." Dryden points out that "the printing an Authours name, in a Play bill, is a new manner of proceeding, at least in England."[39] Unless we want to argue that Dryden is mistaken, this indicates that, while as early as the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the majority of title pages bore the dramatists' names, it took another century until playbills started acknowledging the playwrights. Throughout the seventeenth century, the documents advertising printed playbooks, on the one hand, and those announcing theatrical performances, on the other, thus seem to have a significantly different attitude toward the playwright. Playbills keep reflecting the theatres' communal enterprise in which the playwright(s) do(es) not occupy a privileged position. From the 1590s, title pages, in contrast, show the stationers' effort to tie playbooks to a playwright who authorizes the playtext much as a poet authorizes a book of poetry.

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in *A New History of Early English Drama*, eds. Cox and Kastan, 357–82; Brooks's chapter " 'What Strange Production Is At Last Displaid': Dramatic Authorship and the Dilemma of Collaboration," in *Playhouse to Printing House*, 140–88; and Heather Hirschfeld, "Early Modern Collaboration and Theories of Authorship," *PMLA*, 116 (2001), 609–22.

[37] Neil Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), 57–58.

[38] It seems significant that Robert Allot, in his anthology *England's Parnassus* (1600), attributed all passages from plays written in joint authorship to one of the playwrights only, often to the most famous one (see Robert Allot, comp., *England's Parnassus*, ed. Charles Crawford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), xxxii).

[39] John Dryden, *Letters*, ed. Charles E. Ward (Durham, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1942), 113. For a list and illustrations of some of the earliest British playbills, see Ifan Kyrle Fletcher, "British Playbills Before 1718," *Theatre Notebook*, 17 (1962–63), 48–50.

This process of authorization was gradual and dependent upon dramatic genre. From very early on, certain kinds of dramatic publications acknowledged the writers' identity and were published with the usual trappings of more respectable publications, with dedications, in collections, even as part of "works."[40] These plays, however, had not been written for and performed on the public stage. Among these belong: academic Latin dramas such as William Gager's *Meleager* (1592) and *Ulysses Redux* (1592); the translations of Seneca's plays by Jasper Heywood, Alexander Neville, John Studley, Thomas Nuce, and Thomas Newton, published first separately and subsequently in a collection between 1559 to 1581; translations of other ancient plays such as Maurice Kyffin's version of Terence's *Andria* (1588); translations of modern continental plays like Anthony Munday's *Fedele and Fortunio* (1585) – from Luigi Pasqualigo's *Il Fedele* (1576) – or Thomas Kyd's and the Countess of Pembroke's renderings of Garnier's *Cornélie* and *Antoine*; other closet tragedies such as Samuel Daniel's *Cleopatra* (1594); Inns of Court tragedies like Thomas Hughes's *Misfortunes of Arthur* of 1587; and George Gascoigne's *Supposes* and *Jocasta* which were part of the quarto collections of 1573, 1575, and 1587. Gascoigne's and Daniel's plays were even included in collections entitled "Works" long before Jonson's publication with the same title of 1616.[41] What all of these dramatic texts have in common is that they were associated neither with the disreputable acting profession nor with the stigma of commerce.

As for plays of the commercial stage, sixteen plays performed before paying audiences – public and private theaters together – were published between 1584 and 1593 in a total of twenty-three editions. Only one of these plays indicates the playwright's full name, not on the title page, but at the end of the text, in the so-called "explicit": *Edward I* by "George Peele Maister of Artes in Oxenford." The title pages of Robert Wilson's plays (*The Three Ladies of London* and *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*) bear the playwright's initials. All other playbooks (Lyly's *Sapho and Phao*, *Campaspe*, *Endimion*, *Galathea*, and *Midas*, Peele's *The Arraignment of Paris*, Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda*, and *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*, *The Troublesome*

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[40] For dedications prefacing printed playtexts, see Virgil B. Heltzel, "The Dedication of Tudor and Stuart Plays," *Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie*, 65 (1957), 74–86.

[41] Gascoigne's "Works" were published in 1575. See Marotti, *English Renaissance Lyric*, 223–25, for a fine discussion of the 1573 and 1575 editions of Gascoigne, the first suggesting a gathering of miscellanies, the second the works of an author. Daniel's *Cleopatra* was included in collected editions in 1594, 1595, 1598, 1599, 1601–2, 1605, 1607, 1611, and 1623, which were similarly called "Works" from 1601 to 1602. For other collections of dramatic texts printed in the first third of the seventeenth century, see Brooks, *Playhouse to Printing House*, 197–98.

Raigne of King John, *Arden of Faversham*, and *Fair Em*) were published anonymously.

It is hardly by chance that Peele is the only playwright whose authorship is acknowledged before 1594. His Oxford degree, duly mentioned, gave him the social respectability which most people associated with the commercial stage lacked. As early as 1582, Peele contributed commendatory verses to Thomas Watson's *Hekatompathia*, and, three years later, he seems to have been called upon to write the annual Lord Mayor's show of which two pageants have survived.[42] In 1589, Nashe called Peele "the chiefe supporter of pleasance nowe liuing, the *Atlas* of Poetrie, & *primus verborum Artifex*: whose first encrease, the arraignment of *Paris*, might pleade to your opinions his pregnant dexterity of wit, and manifold varietie of inuention; wherein (*me iudice*) he goeth a steppe beyond all that write."[43] When *Edward I* was published in 1593 with his name on the title page, Peele was clearly an established figure.

An unprecedented number of plays was printed at the end of a period of plague in 1594 of which eighteen had been written for and performed before a paying audience. While only one of the sixteen playbooks printed during the previous ten years indicate the playwright's full name, the proportion rises to seven out of eighteen for the plays published in 1594.[44] The playwrights nominally mentioned are Marlowe (*Edward II* and *The Massacre at Paris*), Marlowe and Nashe (*Dido, Queen of Carthage*), Robert Wilson (*The Cobler's Prophecy*), Thomas Lodge (*The Wounds of Civil War*), Robert Greene (*Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*), and Lodge and Greene (*A Looking-Glass for London and England*). With the exception of two of Marlowe's plays, all title pages add an indication of rank to the author's name, again suggesting that a claim to social respectability served to legitimize the authorship of stage plays.[45] That Marlowe is an exception may well be significant: after his recent death, Marlowe was a figure of some

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[42] Charles Tylor Prouty, ed., *The Life and Work of George Peele*, 3 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), I.71.

[43] The "Preface" to Greene's *Menaphon* (1589) is quoted from McKerrow, ed., *Works of Thomas Nashe* III.323.

[44] The eleven plays that were published anonymously are Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*; *The First Part of the Contention*, a "bad" quarto of Shakespeare's *2 Henry VI*; *The Taming of a Shrew*, a "bad" quarto, a source play, or an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*; Lyly's *Mother Bombie*; *Orlando Furioso*, *The Wars of Cyrus*, *The True Tragedy of Richard III*, *The Battle of Alcazar*, *Selimus*, *The Life and Death of Jack Straw*, and *A Knack to Know a Knave*.

[45] The same applies for the legitimation of poetic miscellanies. For instance, even though substituting initials for names, *The Phoenix Nest* of 1593 mentions the contributors' rank after the initials. Note, though, that not all indications of rank need have been correct, and that some publishers did not shy away from attributing to the authors they published a social status they did not have. Several title pages added the title of "gentleman" to Thomas Nashe's name as he himself points out in *Strange*

notoriety which the publishers may well have tried to profit from by men-
tioning his name.[46]

The process of authorizing printed plays by providing them more and
more often with named authors continued after 1594 in much the same way.
During the last years of the century, the ratio of "anonymously" published
plays was only just over 50 percent, swiftly falling below in the early years
of the seventeenth century. Between 1601 and 1616, there is not a single
year in which the majority of printed playbooks failed to attribute the
plays to their authors. By the second decade of the seventeenth century,
playbooks published without any indication of authorship had become
exceedingly rare, totaling less than 10 percent. The claim that "play-text
quartos printed early in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries
generally did not record the presence of an author or authors" thus does
hardly justice to the gradual establishment of the concept of dramatic
authorship during Shakespeare's lifetime.[47] In spite of what critics have held,
the early publication history of Elizabethan drama suggests that the rise of
the dramatic author did not have to wait until Ben Jonson clamorously
announced his agency in the publication of his plays.

Nor do we have to wait until the advent of Ben Jonson to witness the
first printed playbooks that present themselves as readerly rather than as
theatrical. Far from apologizing for the medium in which they appear,
printed playbooks thereby start vindicating their existence in print and as
books. To illustrate this, I will return to the 1590 edition of *Tamburlaine*,
more specifically to Richard Jones's address "To the Gentlemen Readers:
and others that take pleasure in reading Histories":

Gentlemen, and curteous Readers whosoever: I haue here published in print for
your sakes, the two tragical Discourses of the Scythian Shepheard, *Tamburlaine*,
that became so great a Conquerour, and so mightie a Monarque: My hope is, that
they wil be now no lesse acceptable vnto you to read after your serious affaires and
studies, then they haue bene (lately) delightfull for many of you to see, when the
same were shewed in London vpon stages: I haue (purposely) omitted and left out

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Newes (1592): "it hath pleased M. Printer, both in this booke and *pierce Pennilesse*, to intaile a vaine
title to my name, which I care not for, without my consent or priuitie I here auouch" (McKerrow,
ed., *Works of Thomas Nashe*, 1.311–12; see also 111.128). To give another example, Robert Wilson,
who seems to have been an actor as well as a playwright, is a gentleman according to the title page
of *The Cobler's Prophecy* of 1594, though it is doubtful that he was indeed of that rank.

[46] That the 1594 Marlowe publications may have had something to do with the playwright's death and
its notoriety is also suggested by the now lost elegy by Nashe on the death of Marlowe which seems
to have been part of some copies of the first quarto of *Dido, Queen of Carthage*.

[47] Masten, *Textual Intercourse*, 113.

some fond and friuolous Iestures, digressing (and in my poore opinion) far vnmeet for the matter, which I thought, might seeme more tedious vnto the wise, than any way els to be regarded, though (happly) they haue bene of some vaine cōceited fondlings greatly gaped at, what times they were shewed vpon the stage in their graced deformities: neuertheles now, to be mixtured in print with such matter of worth, it wuld prooue a great disgrace to so honorable & stately a historie: Great folly were it in me, to commend vnto your wisedomes, either the eloquence of the Authour that writ them, or the worthinesse of the matter it selfe; I therefore leaue vnto your learned censures, both the one and the other, and my selfe the poore printer of them vnto your most curteous and fauourable protection; which if you vouchsafe to accept, you shall euermore binde mee to imploy what trauell and seruice I can, to the aduauncing and pleasuring of your excellent degree.

> Yours, most humble at commaundement,
> R. I. Printer[48]

The address contains a sharp dichotomy: on the one hand, there are the "fond and friuolous Iestures" (the spelling of the last word being an obsolete variant of "gestures," but perhaps also containing the additional idea of "jests" with its low-comedy implications) "gaped at" by "vaine cōceited fondlings" (foolish persons, perhaps with the additional suggestion of groundlings); on the other hand, there are the "honorable & stately" histories or "tragical Discourses," written by an "Authour," to be read by "Gentlemen, and curteous Readers" after their "serious affaires and studies," and submitted to their "learned censures." Much of the rhetoric Jonson was to employ later on is already present here.

Jones goes out of his way to stress that the play on stage does not correspond to the play in print. His address from "The Printer to the Reader" prefacing his edition of *Promos and Cassandra* had already shown awareness of the respective specificity of print and stage twelve years earlier. Yet, while the address of 1578 contains an implied apology (piece out with your imagination what print, as opposed to the stage, cannot supply), the address of 1590 offers a solution (I have purposely omitted crude stage action which would have disgraced the printed playtext).

Commentators disagree whether the omissions concern comic material (by Marlowe or someone else) of the kind extant in *Doctor Faustus* or only interpolations by actors who "speak … more than is set down for them."[49] Bowers believed that the additions originated in the playhouse and were very successful so that Jones – who did not have access to this material – felt the need to invent a reason for not including them.[50] Fuller has added

[48] Greg, *Bibliography*, 111.1196.   [49] *Hamlet*, 3.2.39.
[50] Fredson Bowers, ed., *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 1973), 1.75.

that at 2,508 and 2,532 lines, the two parts seem too long to have contained lengthy additional comic scenes of the kind in *Faustus*.[51] Una Ellis-Fermor believed that some comic fragments of the kind referred to by Jones survive in the extant text (for instance 2.4.28–35 and 3.3.215–27 in Part One).[52] Ethel Seaton shared this view and suggested that the misnumbering of scenes in the first edition may indicate the cutting of entire comic scenes.[53] Recent work that takes into account Richard Jones's working methods during his entire career considerably strengthens the view that, interventionist publisher that he was, Jones may well have applied the scissors himself.[54] Whatever Jones is referring to, what is important in this context is that he distinguishes between material for the stage and material for the page. The idea of some performance critics that playtexts are scripts that are solely designed for, or even reflect, performance would have seemed wholly strange to him. The passages that were "greatly gaped at" are precisely omitted in print. While Marotti, analyzing the passage from manuscript to printed poetry, has identified a "recoding of social verse as primarily *literary* texts in the print medium," Jones's preface announces a first recoding of a playtext as a primarily *literary* text in the print medium.[55] It is significant that the first distinct attempt to drive a wedge between stage and page as early as 1590 is that of a publisher. It suggests that the printers' and publishers' commercial strategies thus preceded, and quite possibly helped bring about, the playwrights' artistic self-consciousness as writers – later even "authors" – of playtexts that could be printed and read.[56]

Jones's address and title page call the two parts of *Tamburlaine* "tragical Discourses." David Bevington suggested that Marlowe may have written the "prologue" at Jones's request (announcing a "stately" tragedy "with high astounding terms").[57] If we further recall Jones's reference to comic material in the original performances, we realize that his intervention may have considerable generic consequences. Would a theater audience in the

[51] David Fuller, ed., *Tamburlaine the Great Parts 1 and 2*; and Edward J. Esche, ed., *The Massacre at Paris with the Death of the Duke of Guise* (Oxford University Press, 1998), xlix. The prologue to *Tamburlaine* is quoted from Fuller's edition.

[52] *Tamburlaine the Great* (London: Hesperides Press, 1930), 104, 134.

[53] See Seaton's review of Ellis-Fermor's edition in *The Review of English Studies*, 8 (1932), 469.

[54] See Kirk Melnikoff, "Richard Jones (fl. 1564–1613): Elizabethan Printer, Bookseller, and Publisher," *Analytical & Enumerative Bibliography*, 12 (2001), 153–84.

[55] Marotti, *English Renaissance Lyric*, 218.

[56] See also Robert Weimann's fine analysis of the competing claims of "pen" and "voice" in Jones's address (*Author's Pen and Actor's Voice: Playing and Writing in Shakespeare's Theatre*, edited by Helen Higbee and William West, Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture, 39 (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 59–62).

[57] See Bevington, *"Mankind" to Marlowe*, 200–2.

late 1580s have thought of *Tamburlaine* as a tragedy, as a history, or rather as something generically more mixed? While Jones considered the comic bits as "digressing," the spectators who "greatly gaped" at them may well have thought differently. Generic descriptions were notoriously loose at the time: *Troilus and Cressida*, for instance, was variously called a comedy (address in the 1609 quarto), a tragedy (First Folio), or a history (title page of the 1609 quarto). Nevertheless, it may be well to recall that the entry in the Stationers' Register on August 14, 1590 has "twooe commical discourses of TOMBERLEIN the Cithian shapparde."[58] The generic categories within which *Tamburlaine* was placed by Jones in 1590 and has been placed by critics since may reflect a *Tamburlaine* for the page as opposed to the stage.

The publication history of Shakespeare's plays suggests that comedies were less popular reading matter than tragedies or histories. Five comedies – *Love's Labour's Lost*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *Much Ado about Nothing* – found their way into print during his lifetime.[59] Of these, only *Love's Labour's Lost* was reprinted before Pavier and Jaggard tried to publish a collection of Shakespeare plays in 1619. The tragedies and histories fared very differently: *1 Henry IV* went through six, *Richard III* through five editions in Shakespeare's lifetime, and both had an additional edition before the publication of the Folio. *Richard II* received five, *Hamlet* four, and *Romeo and Juliet*, *Titus Andronicus*, *The First Part of the Contention* (*2 Henry VI*), *Richard Duke of York* (*3 Henry VI*), and *Henry V* three editions before 1623.[60] As we will see below, there is considerably more evidence suggesting that tragedies and histories were deemed more respectable reading matter than comedies or generically mixed plays.[61] This may lend further

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[58] Arber, *Transcript*, 11.558.

[59] Three explanations need be added: firstly, I here adopt what seems today the majority view that *The Taming of a Shrew* (published 1594) is to be treated as an independent play and does not derive from Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*; secondly, I do not, contrary to Heminge and Condell, count *Troilus and Cressida* among the comedies, though with the single edition of 1609, it, too, would conform to the point I am making; thirdly, I here exclude Shakespeare's "*Love's Labour's Won*," which may have been an independent play of whose only edition no copy has survived (see chapter 3, page 82).

[60] *2 Henry IV* is in fact the only one of the twelve histories or tragedies printed during Shakespeare's lifetime which appeared in a single edition before the First Folio. I here assume, with the Oxford editors, that the fourth, undated quarto of *Hamlet* was published before 1623 (see Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, with John Jowett and William Montgomery, *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 396). My count assumes that the undated fourth quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* was printed before 1623. Note, though, that Lynette Hunter has recently argued that it may have appeared in any year between 1618 and 1626 ("The Dating of Q4 *Romeo and Juliet* Revisited," *The Library*, 7th series, 2 (2001), 281–85).

[61] See chapter 6, pages 142–43.