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Bibliographical Notes

THE DATING OF Q₄ ROMEO AND JULIET REVISITED

THE TEXTUAL RELATIONSHIPS between the first four quartos of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, and the First Folio, are complex. I have attempted elsewhere to analyse the textual changes to Q₃ and Q₄, which both show evidence of thorough and careful editing,¹ and am currently analysing those between Q₁ and Q₂. However, the relationship between the Folio and Q₄, and hence the Folio and Q₁, of which Q₄ also appears to have knowledge, is radically uncertain. An analytical essay on the printing of the Folio by S. W. Reid (1982) concluded that the copy for the Folio was Q₃, carefully edited, but Reid considered the possibility that the editor might also have had access to Q₁, perhaps through the medium of Q₄.²

One impetus for Reid's essay was G. W. Williams's article of 1965, suggesting that Q₄ was printed by William Stansby for John Smethwicke in 1622,³ a hypothesis regarding the date that has become accepted as fact.⁴ This raises the immediate question of why Smethwicke, who was part of the group of publishers involved in producing the Folio in 1623, would want simultaneously to bring out a quarto edition. Smethwicke may well have seen the opportunity for a smaller-format, more affordable, and more usable text, yet three years earlier the Pavier quartos had been brought to an abrupt halt possibly in order to get rid of competition for the Folio.⁵ Another question is why, if Smethwicke was involved in the Folio, did the latter not base itself on Q₄, when such extensive changes had been made to it? Perhaps, as Jowett implies but does not state,⁶ because the two were being printed at the same time. The duplication of effort with regard to editing seems wasteful in the extreme, but as we find out more about the production of the Folio there may be an explanation. It has been suggested that the lack of 'W. Shakespeare' on the title-page of Q₄ (STC 22325) was, as with the Pavier quartos, a calculated omission designed to deflect attention from association

¹ Lynette Hunter, 'Why Has Q₄ *Romeo and Juliet* Such an Intelligent Editor?', in *Re-constructing the Book: Literary Texts in Transmission*, ed. by Maureen Bell and others (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 9–21.

² S. W. Reid, 'The Editing of Folio *Romeo and Juliet*', *Studies in Bibliography*, 35 (1982), 43–66.

³ George Walton Williams, 'The Printer and Date of *Romeo and Juliet* Q₄', *Studies in Bibliography*, 18 (1965), 253–54.

⁴ See, for example, *Romeo and Juliet*, ed. by Jill L. Levenson, The Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford, 2000), p. 113.

⁵ W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio: Its Bibliographical and Textual History* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 9–15.

⁶ John Jowett, 'Romeo and Juliet', in Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 288–305 (p. 289).

with the larger-format Folio.⁷ Yet Q4 also exists in a variant printing with the author's name on the title-page (STC 22325a), as if to capitalize on it.

The dating of Q4 to 1622 was derived from an analysis of the degradation of the final tailpiece device on sig. L4^v, on the basis of breaks in the tailpiece that appeared to occur progressively in other books printed by William Stansby from 1615 to 1623. However, on examination of several copies of Q4 (see below), undertaken in connection with a new edition of *Romeo and Juliet*, it has to be said that the endpieces are not uniform in appearance in respect of these breaks, nor are the printings of the endpiece in different copies of other books consistent. The following analysis suggests that it is impossible to date Q4 accurately on this basis, and that from the evidence of the tailpiece alone Q4 may have been printed any time from 1616 to around 1628.

TABLE 1

Date	STC	BL shelfmark	sig.	Breaks
1615	4496	c.75.d.12	A5 ^v	4
1616	14752	G.11630	G4 ^v	1, 4
1617	3143	8466.b.18	B4 ^r	1, 4
1618	22772	3939.a.61	B2 ^v	1, 2 (possibly 4)
	[not in] ⁸	1358.a.61	B2 ^v	1, 2, 4, 6
1619	3114	8468.aaa.36	A4 ^r	1, 2, 4, 6
			K2 ^r	1, 4, 6
			Cc3 ^r	1, 4
1620	22214	8462.1.15	d6 ^r	1, 2, 4, 6
			E2	1, 2, 4, 6
1621	22634	Two copies	copy 1 (G.11601)	copy 2 (631.m.7)
			¶¶	1, 4, 6
			G4 ^v	1, 4, 6
			L3 ^v	1, 4, 6
			T3 ^v	1, 4, 6
	879	1029.3.6	B ^v	1, 2, 4, 6
1622	7143	4405.k.3	A4 ^r	1, 2, 4
1622	13717	Two copies	copy 1 (4103.g.4)	copy 2 (1485.ff.13)
			Fff4 ^v	1, 4, 6
			Iii8 ^r	1, 2, 4, 6
1626	[not in] ⁹	G.16167	B ^v	1, 4, 6 (possibly 2)

⁷ Williams, 'Printer and Date', p. 254.

⁸ The book in question is Henry Smith, *Six Sermons (The Sinners Conversion, etc.)* . . . (London, 1618).

⁹ The book in question is *The Assize of Bread . . . Newly corrected and enlarged, etc.* (London, 1626).

Table 1 which takes account of an examination of British copies from 1615 to 1626 (the tailpiece device in the edition of Henry Peacham, 1618, shows a break 4).

It shows that all copies of Q4 from 1485.ff.13 at Iii8^r, which is the earliest copy with a break 1, and all copies by 1626. Yet as is shown by break 1, 2, 4, 6 from 1618 onwards, and as the breaks appear is highly variable.

The three copies of C (C.34.k.56, STC 22325), 1618, 1619, 1620 (Kings College, Cambridge, and the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, and Lawrence Green show breaks 1, 2, 4, 6 (STC 22325a). The copy at the Huntington Library, examined by me, shows breaks 1, 2, and 4, and an impression possibly filling the space between 2 and 4, showing all the breaks in the range does indicate is that the breaks are equally as likely to show up as to be absent, and little can be deduced from the evidence.

The one non-photographed copy proposed was the Folger I.16.1. These were confirmed by five other copies, appearing in the Huntington Collection, which date for such a collector would be any time from 1616 to 1626. Given that the variation in the breaks in the Huntington impression, there is no reason to suppose that it is in effect any time after 1616 and the printing of the Huntington Collection at I.16.1 (those recorded above).

All three copies of Q4 (Fig. 1), except that the B.16.1 Huntington copies have the break 1 (the tailpiece occurs), as do

¹⁰ Breaks 3 and 7 are contentious: the latter is right, as several observers working on the books I have inspected.

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6	
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6	
(G.11601)	copy 2 (631.m.7)
6	1, 4, 6
6	1, 4, 6
.6	1, 4, 6
.6	1, 4, 6
.6	
(4103.g.4)	copy 2 (1485.ff.13)
	1, 4, 6
, 6	1, 6
bly 2)	

· *Simmers Conversion, etc.* . . . (London, rected and enlarged, etc. (London, 1626).

Table 1 which takes account only of breaks 1, 2, 4, and 6,¹⁰ is derived from an examination of British Library copies of books printed by Stansby from 1615 to 1626 (the tailpiece had earlier been used by Walter Dight in his 1612 edition of Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britannia*, where it already exhibits break 4).

It shows that all copies have break 4 except possibly 3939.a.61, and 1485.ff.13 at l1i8^r, which is heavily inked. All copies from 1616 onwards have break 1, and all copies but two from part way through 1618 have break 6. Yet as is shown by break 2, which is sometimes visible and sometimes not from 1618 onwards, and as separate copies of one printing point up, whether the breaks appear is highly unpredictable.

The three copies of Q4 that I have consulted show breaks 1, 6 (BL, C.34.k.56, STC 22325), 1, 6 (Trinity College, Cambridge, STC 22325), and 1, 2, 4, 6 (Kings College, Cambridge, STC 22325a). Two copies held by the Huntington Library in San Marino and examined for me by Professor Lawrence Green show breaks 1, 4, 6 (STC 22325) and 1, 6, possibly 4 (STC 22325a). The copy at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington (STC 22325a), examined by my co-editor on *Romeo and Juliet*, Peter Lichtenfels, shows breaks 1, 2, and 4. The Trinity copy has heavy inking and a firm impression possibly filling in the breaks, whereas the Kings copy has good inking, showing all the breaks, although 2 is barely perceptible. What the range does indicate is that while all the variant copies show break 1, they are equally as likely to show the other breaks as not, so that no trends emerge and little can be deduced from their differences.

The one non-photographic copy consulted when the 1622 dating was proposed was the Folger Library copy, which was indeed said to have breaks 1, 2, 4. These were confirmed by the author of that article from photographs of five other copies, apparently similar to the Kings copy. The earliest likely date for such a collection of breaks, from the copies analysed in Table 1, would be any time from 1618, the first year in which all four breaks occur. Given that the variation in the visibility of the breaks depends on inking and impression, there is no reason why they could not all have occurred earlier, in effect any time after 1615, although the combination is not likely until after 1616 and the printing of STC 14752, Jonson's *Workes* (the copy in the Brotherton Collection at Leeds University Library shows the same breaks as those recorded above).

All three copies of Q4 consulted in England have the same watermark (Fig. 1), except that the BL copy has a different watermark in sheet E. Both Huntington copies have the same predominant watermark in sheet L (where the tailpiece occurs), as does the Folger copy. Although nearly all the books

¹⁰ Breaks 3 and 7 are contentious: do they occur on the left (as stated in the original analysis) or on the right, as several observers working with me have noted? Break 5 is uncertain: it is difficult to identify in the books I have inspected.

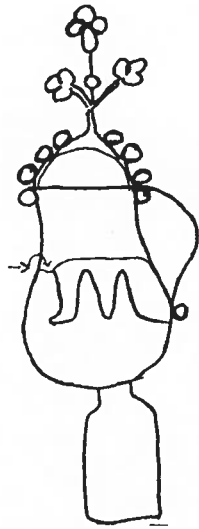


FIG. 1. The watermark in Q4 *Romeo and Juliet* (author's own drawing).

catalogued by the BL as printed by Stansby between 1611 and 1636 were briefly studied for the present investigation (a total of over 170), no match was found for either watermark (although two 1625 matches were found for his undated *Hamlet* quarto, C.34.k.3, namely watermark 1 in 3935.d.7, sheet D, and watermark 2 in 104.e.57, sheets A, B).¹¹ The primary watermark in Q4 was similar to one in paper used in 1618 (4474.c.26, sheet G), and that in sheet E of the BL copy was similar to one used in 1616 (3938.aaa.27, sheet T),¹² but neither provided an exact match¹³ and no conclusions can be drawn.

Q4 *Romeo and Juliet*, which could thus have been printed from 1616 onwards, but more likely from 1618, was probably printed no later than 1626 when Stansby appears to have stopped using the tailpiece device. For example, his 1629 printing of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Politie* (STC 13717, BL 493.i.20) replaces this tailpiece in every instance with one of two other hermaphrodite devices that he had been using alongside this one for many years. Detailed typographic or ink analysis may finally solve the question of dating; the point of this study is to indicate that the relationship between Q4 and the First Folio remains highly uncertain. This indeed is the conclusion

¹¹ These books are *Querimonia Europae, divisa in libros duos* (London, 1625, STC 10570), and *Usurie araigned and condemned* . . . (London, 1625, STC 24558).

¹² These books are John Barlow, *A Christians Last Day is his Best Day. A sermon* . . . (London, 1618, STC 1438), and Thomas Beard, *A Retractive from the Romish Religion* . . . (London, 1616, STC 1657.5).

¹³ Mark Bland, author of 'William Stansby and the Production of *The Workes of Beniamin Jonson, 1615-16*', *The Library*, vi, 20 (1998), 1-33, kindly looked through his collection of Stansby watermarks for matches in the 1615-18 period but found none.

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¹⁴ S. W. Reid, (1983), 118-25.

¹⁵ See Hunter,

¹⁶ Reid, 'The E the Folio and Q

of S. W. Reid's second essay (1983) on quarto copy for the Folio.¹⁴ Setting up an intentionally specious argument, that the Folio might have used both Q₃ and Q₄, he asks why 'Jaggard would have used another quarto to supplement Q₃ [. . .] when generally he seems to have relied on Shakespeare's company to provide suitable copy' (p. 124). This does have a possible answer: that Smethwicke, the publisher of Q₄, was also involved in the Folio publication, and might therefore have suggested it. However, with the dating of Q₄ now in question, the possibility that the latter was either not yet published, or had been published much earlier and was no longer available, modifies the premises of Reid's careful analysis.

All this leaves the editor today in a more rather than less difficult position. Q₄ appears to have been set from the marked-up copy of Q₂ used by Q₃, to which further changes had been made probably after consultation of Q₁.¹⁵ (Q₃ was printed in 1609 by John Windet, for whom Stansby at that time worked.) If Q₄ was published before the Folio, and was accessible to its printer, Jaggard, some changes present in the Folio could be explained, but not the omission of corrections made by Q₄ to Q₃, unless the compositors were working from dual copy. This latter hypothesis would make it less likely that one of the texts they were using was the copy marked up to serve as setting copy for Q₄, because that would presumably be considered the 'best' copy. If Q₄ had been printed but was not accessible to Jaggard's printing house, then it may indicate that while individual printers like Stansby seem in this case to have had a policy of retaining old marked-up copy, there was little exchange between establishments. Or it may simply be that Jaggard's printing house had decided that Q₄'s changes were unreliable. If Q₄ were printed after the Folio, then again, given that no changes made in Q₄ seem clearly to derive from it, did it use the marked-up copy of Q₃ by convention because it was available in-house, or did it decide that the Folio's changes were unreliable? These hypotheses are based on the assumptions that the changes in Q₄ and the Folio were carefully introduced,¹⁶ and that attention would have been paid to printings considered reliable or of interest.

Of course, the two editions could have been printed at exactly the same time: which begs a whole series of other questions about what Smethwicke thought he was doing, which in turn invites a closer study of his printing business.

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LYNETTE HUNTER

leo and Juliet (author's own)

etween 1611 and 1636 were total of over 170), no match 1625 matches were found for atermark 1 in 3935.d.7, sheet 1 The primary watermark in 74.c.26, sheet G), and that in 1 in 1616 (3938.aaa.27, sheet and no conclusions can be

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¹⁴ S. W. Reid, 'McKerrow, Greg, and Quarto Copy for Folio *Romeo and Juliet*', *The Library*, vi, 5 (1983), 118-25.

¹⁵ See Hunter, 'Why Has Q₄ *Romeo and Juliet* Such an Intelligent Editor?'

¹⁶ Reid, 'The Editing of Folio *Romeo and Juliet*', and Hunter, *ibid.*, argue for this care in the case of the Folio and Q₄, respectively.

A SCOTTISH SEXTO IN FOURS AND TWOS

BRITISH PRINTERS' GRAMMARS of the hand-press period typically offer illustrations for a huge array of imposition schemes within a large number of formats. Savage, for example, provides 133 imposition schemes for sixteen formats, as well as an additional twenty for imposing Hebrew texts.¹ But it is not obvious, on the one hand, how many of Savage's schemes were taken over from earlier grammars rather than reflecting those in use in the early part of the nineteenth century. On the other, it is not obvious how 'practical' many of the schemes were: take, for instance, the seventeen schemes for imposing in eighteens (Savage, 60-62, 64-67, 69-78), ten of which, in producing gatherings of fewer than eighteen leaves, involve transposing pages before perfecting, while three (70, 75, 78) result in two blank leaves. David Paisey wonders whether the production of a book in one of the more uncommon formats, imposed according to one of the more convoluted imposition schemes, constituted a test of skill forming part of the transition from apprentice to journeyman.² Be that as it may, it appears unlikely that the more complex schemes (assuming that they can actually be identified from bound volumes) were used for commercial publications: what purpose, for example, would be served by producing an eighteenmo by half-sheet imposition in such a way as to create three gatherings, of five, two, and two leaves (Savage, 76)?

Nonetheless, books *are* occasionally found in what are recognizably uncommon formats. In such instances the format is likely to be determined by the need to produce a leaf of a particular shape or of particular dimensions — e.g. road-books or (music) table books. Paisey's oblong decimo is a case in point: the orientation was determined by the need to accommodate parallel texts in eight languages, and the decimo format (I have suggested) by a desire to produce, from a standard sheet, a volume of such dimensions as would allow it to fit in a pocket.³

On the evidence of an exemplar in the Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne, another publication imposed in an unusual format, in order, it would seem, to produce a leaf of particular dimensions, was the type-facsimile of Samuel Rowlands, *The Letting of humours blood in the head vaine*, printed by James Ballantyne in Edinburgh in 1814 and published originally in at least eight editions between 1600 and 1613 (STC 21392.7-21397). The facsimile is of the edition of 1611 (STC 21396), and by virtue of an introduction by Sir Walter Scott it is included as item 71 in the

¹ William Savage, *A Dictionary of the Art of Printing* (London, 1841), pp. 335-410.

² David Paisey, 'Decimo: Reflections on Some Rare Formats', in *The Italian Book 1465-1800: Studies Presented to Dennis E. Rhodes on his 70th Birthday*, ed. by Denis V. Reidy (London, 1993), pp. 161-74 (pp. 170-72).

³ B. J. McMullin, 'Paisey's Oblong Decimo', *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin*, 20 (1996), 224-25.