
THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

President: JOHN BIDWELL, The Morgan Library & Museum

Vice President: IRENE TICHENOR

Secretary: DAVID R. WHITESELL, American Antiquarian Society

Treasurer: R. DYKE BENJAMIN, Lazard Asset Management

Delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies:

DAVID L. VANDER MEULEN, University of Virginia

Executive Secretary: MICHÈLE E. RANDALL

P. O. Box 1337, Lenox Hill Station, New York, NY 10021

Telephone (voice/fax): (212) 452-2710

E-mail: bsa@bibsocamer.org

COUNCIL

Class of 2008

WILLIAM BAKER

ANTHONY BLISS

EUGENE S. FLAMM

PATRICIA FLEMING

JOHN NEAL HOOVER

JAMES N. GREEN

JAMES E. MAY

BARBARA SHAILOR

ARTHUR L. SCHWARZ

DEIRDRE C. STAM

DANIEL J. SLIVE

CAROLYN L. SMITH

Class of 2010

Sylvia Plath, Ted Hughes, and the Myth of Textual Betrayal

By STEPHEN ENNISS

"I Scornfully Rejected the Terms": Wyoming Territory's Public Printing, 1870-74

By ROBERT D. ARMSTRONG

De Hamel, Christopher, and Joel Silver. *Disbound and Dispersed: The Leaf Book Considered.* (MICHAEL RYAN)

Malkin, Mary Ann O'Brian. *Dancing by the Book: A Catalogue of Books, 131-1804, in the Collection of...* (MICHAEL LAIRD)

Monaghan, E. Jennifer. *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America.* (DAVID J. SILVERMAN)

Rummonds, Richard-Gabriel. *Printing on the Iron Handpress, and Nineteenth-century Printing Practices and the Iron Handpress, with Selected Readings.* (T. H. HOWARD-HILL)

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

JAMES N. GREEN, Library Company of Philadelphia, Chair

JEFFREY P. BARTON, The Brooklyn Historical Society

T. H. HOWARD-HILL, University of South Carolina, Editor of the *Papers*

WILLIAM STONEMAN, Houghton Library, Harvard University

DAVID L. VANDER MEULEN, University of Virginia

DAVID R. WHITESELL, American Antiquarian Society

THE PAPERS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

VOLUME ONE HUNDRED ONE

MARCH 2007

CONTENTS

Adaptation and/or Revision in Early Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet*

By LYNETTE HUNTER

5

The Name of the Author: Additional Light on the Publication of *Ivanhoe* and the Scott-Constable Relationship

By JANE MILLGATE

55

Sylvia Plath, Ted Hughes, and the Myth of Textual Betrayal

By STEPHEN ENNISS

63

"I Scornfully Rejected the Terms": Wyoming Territory's Public Printing, 1870-74

By ROBERT D. ARMSTRONG

73

BOOK REVIEWS

De Hamel, Christopher, and Joel Silver. *Disbound and Dispersed: The Leaf Book Considered.* (MICHAEL RYAN)

91

Malkin, Mary Ann O'Brian. *Dancing by the Book: A Catalogue of Books, 131-1804, in the Collection of...* (MICHAEL LAIRD)

93

Monaghan, E. Jennifer. *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America.* (DAVID J. SILVERMAN)

95

Rummonds, Richard-Gabriel. *Printing on the Iron Handpress, and Nineteenth-century Printing Practices and the Iron Handpress, with Selected Readings.* (T. H. HOWARD-HILL)

97

Southall, Richard. <i>Printer's Type in the Twentieth Century: Manufacturing and Design Methods.</i> (ALAN MARSHALL)	100
Thomas, Martyn, John A. Lane, and Anne Rogers. <i>Harry Carter, Typographer.</i> (KAY AMERT)	102
Watry, Maureen. <i>The Vale Press: Charles Ricketts, a Publisher in Earnest.</i> (WILLIAM S. PETERSON)	104
Wendorf, Richard. <i>The Scholar-Librarian: Books, Libraries, and the Visual Arts.</i> (MICHAEL RYAN)	105
Younger, Helen, Marc Younger, and Dan Hirsch. <i>First Editions of Dr. Seuss Books: A Guide to Identification;</i> and Richard H. F. Lindemann. <i>The Dr. Seuss Catalog: An Annotated Guide to Works by Theodor Geisel in All Media, Writings about Him, and Appearances of Characters and Places in the Books, Stories and Films.</i> (ANDREA IMMEL)	108

SHORT REVIEWS

111

Editor of the Papers: T. H. HOWARD-HILL, University of South Carolina
Managing Editor: TRAVIS GORDON

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America (ISSN 0006-128X) is published quarterly by the Society, 233 East 70th Street, 5P, New York, NY 10021. Third class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, P. O. Box 1537, Lenox Hill Station, New York, NY 10021.

Subscriptions are available only through membership in the Society (\$65.00 per year for individuals, \$75.00 for institutions, and \$20.00 for students; residents outside the U.S. should add a \$5.00 surcharge for postage). Back numbers are available from Periodicals Service Company, 11 Main Street, Germantown, NY 12526 (phone: [518] 537-4700; fax: [518] 537-5899; email: psc@backsets.com). CLAIMS: no claims for issues will be accepted after six months from date of issue.

Contributions to the *Papers* may deal with books and manuscripts in any field, but should involve consideration of the book or manuscript (the physical object) as historical evidence, whether for establishing a text or illuminating the history of book production, publication, distribution, or collecting, or for other purposes. Studies of the printing, publishing, and allied trades are also welcome.

Contributors should submit their text in any standard word-processing program. Those preferring to submit electronically should e-mail the editor at <RalphCrane@msn.com>, attaching the text as an *.rtf file.

We follow the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th edition, in matters of general style. In bibliographical collation or pagination statements, contributors should follow the Greg-Bowers formulary, but in all cases should employ the option of bracketed letters or figures, not italics, to indicate inferred paging or signing (e.g., [27] p. and [A]₄, not 27 p. and *A*₄). Our typeface does not always allow clear distinction of italic from roman in isolated figures and letters.

ADDRESSES AND PHONES

Business and Advertising: P. O. Box 1537, Lenox Hill Station
 New York, NY 10021 PHONE/FAX: (212) 452-2710

E-MAIL: bsa@bibsocamer.org

Submissions to the Papers and Books for Review: Prof. T. H. Howard-Hill
 Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208

PHONE/FAX: (803) 777-7046

E-MAIL: RalphCrane@msn.com

Visit the Society's website at <http://www.bibsocamer.org>

Printed and published, in part, with monies derived from the George Watson Cole Publication Fund and The Lathrop Colgate Harper, Litt.D., Trust Fund.

ISSN 0006-128X

COPYRIGHT © 2007 BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA
 ALL RIGHTS RESERVED • COMPOSED BY TRAVIS GORDON

1,200 COPIES PRINTED BY THE ASCENSUS PRESS, SOUTH FREEPORT, ME 04078

Garrett Scott, Bookseller

Post Office Box 4561
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

Specialist in first editions of literature, social history, and odd Americana, largely before 1920, with unusual books in various fields.

CATALOGUES ISSUED. WANT-LISTS WELCOMED.



phone: (734) 741-8605
fax: (734) 741-8606
www.gsbbooks.com



MAC DONNELL RARE BOOKS

9307 GLENLAKE DRIVE
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78730, USA
512-345-4139

Literary First Editions, Manuscripts, and
Presentation & Association Copies
English & American Literature
of the 19th & 20th Centuries

CATALOGUES ISSUED ~ VISITORS BY APPOINTMENT ~ APPRAISALS



info@macdonnellrarebooks.com
browse our books at
macdonnellrarebooks.com



Adaptation and/or Revision in Early Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet*

LYNETTE HUNTER

THE printed book is a material site for cultural, social, economic, and political history. In other words, when we come to understand the book bibliographically, we reconstruct it into an object that negotiates from the moment of the present and with documents of history to which we have access today. Hence we make a relation between the past and the present that becomes our interpretation or understanding of the book. This concept of a "material" book has a slightly different emphasis to that found in bibliographical study of *Romeo and Juliet* in the late twentieth century, and it creates a process that encourages the bibliographer to look to social and cultural contexts that suggest specific areas of complexity for the state of the text.

The work of D. F. McKenzie has been central to developing ideas about the material book.¹ He argued that "all bibliography, properly speaking, is historical bibliography,"² and claimed a relation between reading practice and the book, saying that the "border between bibliography and textual criticism, on the one hand, and literary criticism and literary history on the other" does not exist (23). The study undertaken here will look at the way that a study of the border between bibliography

1. For other essays inspired by McKenzie's outlook, see *Reconstructing the Book: Literary Texts in Transmission*, ed. M. Bell et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

2. D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), 12. The essays in this book date from the Panizzi Lectures of 1986 and expand on McKenzie's ideas in the Sanders Lectures of 1976.

Lynette Hunter (Department of Theatre and Dance, Room 228 Wright Building, University of California, Davis, CA 95616) is Professor of the History of Rhetoric and Performance.

and textual criticism, on the one hand, and literary criticism and the performance history of theatre practice, on the other, can open out alternative pathways to understanding the relation between Quarto One (Q₁) and Quarto Two (Q₂) of *Romeo and Juliet*. The bibliographical material in this essay³ does not seek truth or authorial intention in texts but “their [the texts’] testimony as defined by their historical use.”⁴ The second main coordinate for this essay is the work of Randall McLeod, whose unerring sense of potential significance in places that suddenly shift from unlikely to helpful, offers a good example in practice of work elaborating on the material book.⁵

In this essay the bibliographical and textual editing analysis of the first two publications of *Romeo and Juliet*, Q₁ and Q₂, is complemented by experience of modern theatre practice in Europe and North America and by historically constituted knowledge of theatre practice, especially acting, in sixteenth-century London.⁶ However, although there are ac-

3. At the same time, much of this work derives from editing, with Peter Lichtenfels, *Romeo and Juliet* for Arden 1994–2005, and for Ashgate from 2005–6. I worked for many years with Professor John Barnard in the Institute for Textual Studies at the University of Leeds, and Peter Lichtenfels is an internationally recognized theatre director. Through our combined knowledge and experience, we have found that “Editors make, as well as mend” (McKenzie, as in above, 39). Curiously this has meant that the wording of the Q₂ “What’s in a name” speech, which our edition uses, is not an attempt at authenticity but the result of substantial and considered editorial work in bibliography and theatre practices to make available historical testimony. It may appear to be a gesture of duplication, but in effect it is one of making a text for an audience of today.

4. Mackenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, 29. These views are partly echoed by Margreta DeGrazia and Peter Stallybrass, in “The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text,” *SQ* 44 (1993): 254–83, who say “These older forms return as active agents calling our own forms into question” and “past forms...return to try present standards” (257); see also the introduction on “Recovering History” by Jonathan Dollimore, in *Political Shakespeare: Essays in Cultural Materialism*, ed. J. Dollimore and A. Sinfield (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1985).

5. From “The Marriage of Good and Bad Quartos,” *SQ* 33 (1982): 421–31, to more recent essays such as “Where Angels Fear to Tread” by Random Cloud, in *Ma(r)king the Text*, ed. J. Bray et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 144–92, Randall McLeod has imaginatively opened up the world of analytical bibliography, typography, and textual editing. I am particularly indebted to his creative readings of the editorial tradition.

6. All quotations from *Romeo and Juliet* are taken from the edition accompanying *Approaches to Reading “Romeo and Juliet”*: *The Reader, the Actor and the Editor*, Lynette Hunter and Peter Lichtenfels (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

counts of the practices of sixteenth-century theatres, the practices themselves are ephemeral, so the argument necessarily and anachronistically hypothesizes from a mixture of present practice and contemporary document. At the same time, one of the ways that theatre experience and knowledge come together with the bibliographical is that both can address the interrelationship of these two early quartos in their attempt to understand a material text.

The essay does not argue that “legitimate” texts have to be performance texts,⁷ but that the interrelationship between the quarto texts is made more complex because of the theatrical, and that the concepts of memorial text, abridgement, and revision, are an implicit recognition of elements from the theatre that hover ghost-like behind our literary and bibliographical understanding of the text. These concepts are central to the consistent and pressing questions bibliographers, book historians, and textual editors have asked about the transmission of the play, focused on the question: what is the relationship between Q₁ and Q₂? The two texts are quite different, Q₂ being approximately 30 percent longer than Q₁, having 2,986 lines to Q₁’s 2,215 or so,⁸ with many substantial differences, particularly to the part of Juliet, and over 2,000⁹ smaller changes. While it has been stated that these variants do not help us to understand Q₁, I would suggest that they might when significant patterns can be recognized.¹⁰ What this essay hypothesizes is that one edition is not a revision of the other, nor is one an abridgement or redaction

7. See T. H. Howard-Hill, “Modern Textual Theories and the Editing of Plays,” *The Library*, 6th ser., 2 (1989): 89–115, and G. T. Tanselle, “Textual Criticism and Literary Sociology,” *SB* 44 (1991): 83–143, for a discussion of related issues.

8. D. Farley-Hills, “The ‘Bad’ Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*,” *SSurv* 49 (1996): 28. 9. Jill Levenson makes a passing reference to “more than fifteen hundred changes” *Romeo and Juliet*, Oxford World Classics (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 121.

10. The Malone Society Reprint, vol. 163 (Oxford Univ. Press, 2000) of *Romeo and Juliet* Q₁, prepared by Jill Levenson and Barry Gaines, checked by Thomas Berger and Richard Proudfoot, states categorically, “The textual variations between Q₁ and the longer texts printed in Q₂ and the Folio (...); cast no light on the circumstances of its publication and furnish no evidence about the origins of the text printed by Q₁.” There is no argument offered for this statement, yet significance deduced from numbers of textual occurrences, with and without formal statistical analysis, can suggest and affirm pattern recognition. This is a procedure of critical awareness that has been able to contribute to bibliographic methodology when derived from literary appreciation, and this essay extends that contribution to the critical awareness based on theatrical knowledge.

of the other,¹¹ but that they may well stem from an earlier manuscript, which may itself not be the "original," by way of a number of performance elements including scripts constructed for theatre production. Q₁ has elements of theatre adaptation and dramaturgy, while Q₂ has elements from the theatre but mainly of a writer's hand, whether it be Shakespeare's or some other's is impossible to tell.

BACKGROUND

Romeo and Juliet exists in four quartos and one folio from 1597 to 1623 or a little later. Quarto One (Q₁, 1597) and Quarto Two (Q₂, 1599) are distinctly different texts. Quarto Three (Q₃, 1609) is a corrected and lightly edited version of Q₂, Quarto Four (Q₄, c.1616–26) is a careful and intelligently edited version of Q₂ that used Q₃ and probably had access to Q₁.¹² The Folio (1622/3) is a pragmatically edited version of Q₃. Q₁ was printed in 1597 by John Danter and Edward Allde, and Q₂ was printed in 1599 by Thomas Creede for Cuthbert Burby, and most editors of the play have taken the Folio (1623) as following Q₂ (or Q₃) but con-sulting Q₁.¹³ The history of the three main editions, Q₁, Q₂, and the Folio, demonstrates a competition for authority, with the eighteenth century gradually favoring Q₂ rather than the Folio, and with mid-nineteenth-century editions becoming preoccupied with further author-ization of Q₂ at Q₁'s expense. After Arthur Pollard's division of the early Shakespearean quartos into "good" and "bad," the focus of twenti-eth-century analysis was on demoting Q₁, most cogently in H. R. Hoppe's 1947 *The Bad Quarto of Romeo and Juliet*, which argued that Q₁ was a memorial text reported by two actors in the company.

Hoppe's work drew on and fed into the wider context of Shakespeare studies in which many scholars were refining the characteristics of me-

11. Some of the earlier attempts to define which is which have been influenced by the work on *King Lear* in *The Division of the Kingdoms: Shakespeare's Two Ver-sions of "King Lear,"* ed. G. Taylor and M. Warren (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1983); but questionable assumptions are made, especially about performance: see R. Clare "Who is it that can tell me who I am?: The Theory of Authorial Revi-sion between the Quarto and Folio Texts of *King Lear*," *The Library* 17 (1995): 34–59.

12. "Why has Q₄ *Romeo and Juliet* such an intelligent editor?" in *Reconstructing the Book*, 9–21; see also Eric Rasmussen, <http://www.uv.es/~fores/RasmussenEric.uk.html>, for the possibility of 1621–2.

13. For a more detailed account of the editorial tradition, see Hunter and Licht-enfels, *Approaches to Reading "Romeo and Juliet."*

morial text.¹⁴ More recently Kathleen Irace has argued that Q₁ is based on memorial reporting from three actors, two of whom had acted in the earlier, longer version that became Q₂ (see below, Q_{1/2}),¹⁵ yet in Laurie Maguire's attempt to make the study of potentially memorial texts more methodical, the conclusion is that Q₁ is not reconstructed from memo-ry.¹⁶ Jill Levenson has helpfully changed the nature of the debate and suggested that "memorial" work might be more constructively under-stood to include, for example, "Shakespeare's recollection of the original play as he revised it; or an actor's attempt, as he copied an allowed manu-script, to supply it with missing lines from his observation of perform-ance(s); or actors' recreation of scripts from their individual parts or 'sides.'"¹⁷ This attempt to engage a more complex understanding of the effects of theatre practice on dramatic texts is commendable; neverthe-less the methodology for assessing the presence and impact of memorial practices is still underdeveloped.

The argument of this essay is somewhat different and works from the knowledge that texts are rarely produced by one person and that texts for the theatre are probably never produced alone. While it may be of contextual interest to distinguish a particular writer's involvement in a play, because it can help the actor's and reader's work on cultural materi-ality, the fact that others are also involved is still often treated as a prob-lem. Indeed, the participation of other writers, actors, dramaturges, and printing-house workers does make critical response more complex. It opens up far more about the production, dissemination, and consump-tion of the play, and gives a reader or theatre practitioner more to engage with in constituting the materiality of the text for today. The inclusion of insights from theatre practice in this essay is simply another way of looking at the issues that Q₁ has raised since Pope considered it in the eighteenth century. The existing scholarly work on memorial texts is a recognition that theatre practice does play a part, not only in a critical

14. For example, a few years after Hoppe's book, W. W. Greg drew many of the arguments together in *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942), 61–4.

15. Kathleen Irace, *Reforming the "Bad" Quartos: Performance and Provenance of Six Shakespearean First Editions* (London: Associated Univ. Presses, 1994).

16. Laurie Maguire, *Shakespearean Suspect Texts: The "Bad" Quartos and Their Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), 301–2.

17. Levenson, 120.

but also in an editorial understanding of the text, and that it needs far more attention. This essay attempts to add to that larger approach.

Q₂, as the supposed direct precursor of the Folio, has a rather different editorial history to that of Q₁, with editors more concerned to prove its authorial authenticity than its corrupt nature.¹⁸ Most editions argue that "Q₂ text independent of Q₁ derives ultimately from Shakespeare's own manuscript."¹⁹ This may well be the case, but it is impossible to prove. The essay below argues that there is evidence of theatre practice, and of rewriting that may or may not be Shakespeare's in this text. A number of elements used to "prove" the memorial status of Q₁ are in fact indistinguishable from an argument that could be used to "prove" the memorial status of Q₂. For example, the frequent difference of single words that retain their semantic content, such as "thrall"(Q₁) and "debt"(Q₂), which has been considered a sign of authorial change in other plays, has recently been challenged²⁰ and could as argued below, originate either in the printing house or on the stage. There is no certain way of distinguishing whether these differences are authorial or from someone in the theatre or in the printing house. Bibliographic analysis has been carried out backing up the idea that Q₂ was set from an "independent manuscript."²¹ Paul Werstine commented to Levenson that it may have been transcribed.²² And in an article that makes a lot of sense of theatrical practice, Janette Dillon summarizes the debates in the early 1990s against the "memorial text/foul papers" and the "theatre/author" binaries and argues that "Potential links between texts and authors do not automatically sever links between those texts and playhouses...."²³

18. Jay Halio laments this fact, in "Romeo and Juliet in Performance," in *Shakespeare in Performance, A Collection of Essays*, ed. F. Occhiogrosso (London: Association of Univ. Presses, 2003), 58.

19. Levenson, 122.

20. Eric Rasmussen, "The Revision of Script," in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. J. Cox and D. Scott Kastan, foreword by S. J. Greenblatt (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1997), 441-60, argues that contrary to John Kerrigan's assumption that "small additions, small cuts and indifferent single-word substitutions" indicate authorial revision ("Revision, Adaptation, and the Fool in *King Lear*" in *Division of the Kingdoms*, 196), this simply does not hold, 452.

21. P. Cantrell and G. W. Williams, "The Printing of the Second Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* (1599)," *SB* 9 (1957): 107-28.

22. Levenson, 124.

23. Janette Dillon, "Is There a Performance in this Text," *SQ* 45 (1994): 77-8.

Nevertheless, any reader reading for detail is faced with the issue of how much the compositors of Q₂ consulted Q₁, because there are passages (particularly that from 1.2.51-1.3.36) that are unusually close to Q₁ especially in their use of capital letters and italic font, so it is highly likely that Q₁ was used as the copy for this section.²⁴ Although it is possible that the compositors only had the printed pages with this section on it, it is also possible that they had a copy of the whole of Q₁.²⁵ So was Q₂ printed from Q₁ but collated with other manuscript papers,²⁶ or was it printed from manuscript with occasional consultation of Q₁?²⁷ This has been the traditional question asked of the Q₁/Q₂ relationship, and it is worth pausing to find out why it is considered important.²⁸ One answer is that readers, critics, and editors are concerned to identify whether Q₂ was the text closest to what Shakespeare "really wrote" and therefore the most legitimate text. This essay asks the traditional question but does so in order to better understand the relations between theatre and printing-house practice, because that knowledge will inform our present constitution of the material text.

There are details in the Q₂ script outside of the passage noted above, such as the retention of brackets at 5.3.242,²⁹ that point to the possibility

24. G. Blakemore Evans, *Romeo and Juliet* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1984). This New Cambridge edition was a radical breakthrough in the editing of Q₂ because for the first time it began to make visible the differences between the five early editions: Q₁-4 and Folio. The Oxford text, published in 1987, continues that move by producing a collation that clarifies the differences between Q₁ and Q₂ with some reference to Folio variants, with the associated edition of 2000 offering, as does our edition for Ashgate, a parallel Q₁ text.

25. For analyses of the extent to which Q₂ follows Q₁ see G. Duthie, "The Text of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*," *SB* 4 (1951-2): 3-29, and R. Hosley, "Quarto Copy for Q₂ *Romeo and Juliet*," *SB* 9 (1957): 127-41.

26. The first detailed argument for this position came from G. Hjort, "The Good and Bad Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Love's Labour's Lost*," *MLR* 21 (1926): 140-6.

27. Greg, 62-4; and Evans, 209.

28. R. Hosley presented the view dominant during the middle of the twentieth century: that Q₁ had "corrupted" Q₂, and hence editors needed to determine the extent of this "corruption" ("The Corrupting Influence of the Bad Quartos on the Received Text of *Romeo and Juliet*," *SQ* 6 [1953]: 11-33).

29. Both Q₁ and Q₂ use brackets around a short phrase in the Friar's speech at 5.3.242, "so tutored by my art," although in otherwise completely different places. Q₁ puts them around asides "as I take" (2.4.175), vocatives "My lord" (4.2,

of extended use of Q₁, but the sheer number of differences between the two texts indicates that it would have been exceptionally difficult to print Q₂ directly from the earlier edition. As a result of classical editorial work,³⁰ I found around 1,500 (or so) differences that affect significance in these editions and well over 500 more related to differences of lesser significance to my reading, such as spellings with the feminine "e" ending. Even if only half the differences had been marked up on the Q₁ pages, many sections of the text would have been difficult to read, and the rest of the differences would have sent the compositor backwards and forwards to the manuscript. Someone reading the manuscript out loud while the compositor cross-checked with the printed Q₁, would probably have complicated things rather than helped.³¹ It may have been the case that either the playhouse or printing house sent the material to a scribe for copying,³² but there are three major repetitions that are difficult to explain if we do not imagine that the manuscript contained substantial editor's or writer's changes, and not those that a copyist scribe would be likely to make after the fact.

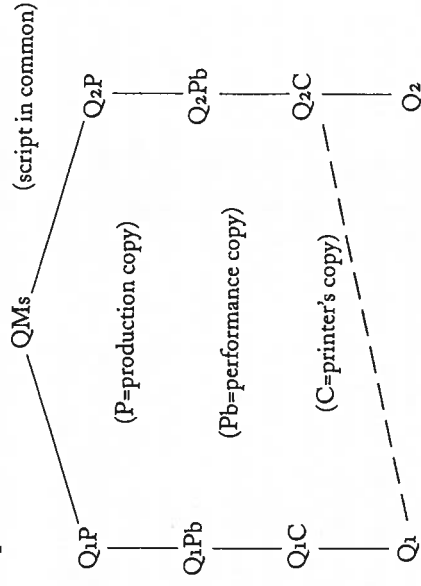
significant information such as "Whose present sale is death in Mantua" (5.1.~60), and explanations "loathing a second contract" (5.1.~238). Q₂ tends to consistently only put them around asides "exquisite" (1.1.227) or change of address "What" (1.5.87). Having brackets around "so tutored by my art" is inconsistent with Q₂ use, but quite possible in Q₁. Yet the Q₂ version of the Friar's speech is thoroughly different to that of Q₁ and would have added two lines to the length of the Q₁ speech were there not two excessively long lines that break the meter as set at the conclusion. Given this last fact, perhaps the compositor used the printed Q₁ to cast off this very long speech and added the brackets he noticed. More likely, both manuscript copies Q₁C and Q₂C (see p. 13) simply retained the brackets as they do with those at Pro. 2, from Q₁Pⁿ and Q₂Pⁿ (see p. 42), which derived from an earlier manuscript. For a discussion based on the study of the different uses of brackets (or lunulae), see John Lennard, *But I Digress: The Exploitation of Parentheses in English Printed Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), chapter one "1494-1640: Translating into print," 10-51.

30. See Lynette Hunter, "The Dating of *Q4 Romeo and Juliet* Revisited," *The Library*, 7th ser., 2 (2001): 281-85; and "Why has *Q4 Romeo and Juliet* such an Intelligent Editor?" in *Reconstructing the Book*, 9-21.

31. D. Farley-Hills suggests that the compositor needed "someone to read out the text to him, a least in the most difficult passages" and cites an account of this practice in "continental Latin publications" in the period (33).

32. J. Dover Wilson argues that the copy was prepared by an "apparently incompetent or inexperienced scrivener" employed by Creede, "The New Way with Shakespeare's Texts: II. Recent Work on the Text of *Romeo and Juliet*," *SSurv* 8 (1955): 90.

This essay suggests that Q₂ may well derive from a manuscript that was a rewritten version of the same script that was cut and adapted for Q₁. But the analysis suggests further complexity, producing the following possible simplified stemma.³³



The stemma introduces the probability of theatre production having an effect on the printer's copy for both Q₁ and Q₂ and assumes that Q₁ and Q₂ would have been printed from manuscript copy, Q₁C and Q₂C, respectively. Since most previous editorial work has studied the possible relationships between QC and Q, it is primarily the status of QP and QPb and their effects on QC that this essay will explore.

To repeat D. F. McKenzie's argument, there is no border between bibliography, textual criticism, literary criticism, and literary history; and this essay argues, there is also no border with theatre practice.³⁴ In the following, both literary criticism and theatre practice are used to illuminate questions of bibliography and textual editing.³⁵ As the history of

33. However, we are well aware that bibliography, like any other analysis, depends on the "ability to construct from apparently insignificant experimental data a complex reality that could not be experienced directly," C. Ginzburg, *Cheese, Myths, and the Historical Method*, trans. J. Tedeschi and A. Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1986), cited by D. Greetham, "Textual Forensics," *PMLA* 111, no. 1 (1996): 43.

34. This is explicated in the third Panizzi Lecture, where McKenzie lays out elements of theatre practice in a way analogous to printing house practice (*Bibliography*, 50).

35. In one sense this essay extends W. W. Worther's idea of an independent performance tradition into editorial consideration (see W. W. Worther, *Shakespeare and the Authority of Performance* [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997], 23).

the bibliographical reasoning hints, there is an insistent concern with the possibility that actors or people working as dramaturges preparing the text for production in the theatre (who may or may not have been the actors) have affected the text. In one sense this is to be expected. Actors always play to their strengths as productions of *Romeo and Juliet* with performances by Garrick or Cushman or Olivier/Gielgud demonstrate.³⁶ Even in an age of much greater anxiety about the author's text, and with a text as intricate as *Travesties* by Tom Stoppard, Philip Gaskell has documented the many changes that may occur in rehearsal and in performance.³⁷ The argument between those who think Q₁ has been set either from a memorialized text or from a "redacted" or cut and abridged text, opens up the possibility that in fact Q₁ is not only a printing house product, but a result of both actors' memories and a dramatuge's judgement. It is also likely to have been affected by decisions made in rehearsal and performance.³⁸

As provocative is the status of Q₂, which as noted above has until recently been thought to have been set from the "author's foul papers." Apart from the fact that there is no evidence of the existence of Shakespeare's "foul papers,"³⁹ that they are a bibliographical artifact conceptualized to answer the need for authorial process and ultimately legitimation, there is no reason to imagine that this is the only possibility. The overwhelming desire to prove authorial provenance has tangled for over a century with the issue that Q₂ appears to use Q₁ as copy from 1.2.51 to 1.3.36. However, there are many additional points of contact between the two editions. Q₂ itself may well have been affected by rehearsal and performance, but it shows more clearly a writer's hand. Although there is little indication of whether this is author, dramaturge, or scribe, the presence of a writer of some kind tells us more about the possible prac-

36. Garrick, for example, extends the ending of the play to enable an emotionally charged exchange between a dying Romeo (himself) and Juliet. Charlotte Cushman, who played Romeo for many years opposite her sister, cut even more of the sexual suggestiveness from the text than Bowdler. See Jay Halio, in "*Romeo and Juliet* in Performance," 60-1.

37. Philip Gaskell, "Travesties," in *From Writer to Reader: Studies in Editorial Method* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

38. Jay Halio states this assertively in "*Romeo and Juliet* in Performance," 59.

39. Paul Werstine, "Foul Papers" and 'Prompt-Books': Printers copy for Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*," *SB* 41 (1988): 232-46.

tices of textual transmission.⁴⁰ One of the most important differences between Q₁ and Q₂ is the presence of material relating to the law in Q₂, and rather surprisingly, narration, forenarration, and renarration, are central to the relationship between the two, so our bibliographical understanding of the material text returns us to literary critical analysis. At the same time there are certain patterns of textual difference that can be appreciated more fully when interpreted in the light of theatre experience.

THE ARGUMENT OF THE ESSAY

The opening analysis will consider the differences between Q₁ and Q₂ in terms of the lengths of character parts, ends of scenes, and specific sections of verse, as well as significant differences in the presence or absence of narration. These elements make up an argument for the presence of a common manuscript, QMs, that need not be an originating authorial script, and for scripts intermediate between that manuscript and the printed editions. Some of the elements indicate changes that would have been made for a production by a writer or someone in the theatre company. The large number of this type of change between Q₁ and Q₂, and significant differences in the patterns of change, suggest that the productions intermediate to Q₁ and Q₂ were using scripts, or parts of scripts, already different from each other, yet with enough elements in common to argue for the common source, QMs. These scripts for production I have called Q₁P and Q₂P. The argument of the essay progresses to study the extensive number of differently written passages from one text to another, as well as their effect on structure, that suggest that people who were not writers produced Q₁P, but that Q₂P shows evidence of a writer's hand at work. At the same time other elements indicate changes in these scripts that may well have resulted from theatre performance rather than been in the script from which the production was prepared. The differences between Q₁ and Q₂ also throw up sets of changes that indicate performance sources and different performance sources for each edition. The resulting records of the performances of these productions I have called Q₁Pb and Q₂Pb. Hence some changes are prior to production (Q₁P, Q₂P) and others follow it (Q₁Pb, Q₂Pb), but both contribute to the copy (Q₁C, Q₂C) for the printed editions.

40. Grace Ioppolo argues that Q₂ is a revision by Shakespeare in *Revising Shakespeare* (London: Harvard Univ. Press, 1991), 93.

The essay then moves on to an analysis of the small but consistent differences at the level of word and phrase, and surveys these differences in terms of what they might tell us about the written and theatrical sources for Q₁C and Q₂C used in Q₁ and Q₂ printing and about the relationships that may exist between Q₁P/Q₁Pb and Q₁C and Q₂P/Q₂Pb and Q₂C. In doing so, it explores the consistent similarities between the two texts, in order to consider the theory that one or the other text may have been mediated by an actor with a specific part. It also considers the implications of repeated text within Q₂, the differences in comic material, and the suggestive comparison of prose and verse layout. The exploration will close with a discussion of act five, which in many ways is anomalous in comparison with the rest of the play, and will assess the possibility that Q₂ act five may be revision.

QMS, Q1P AND Q2P:

PRODUCING SCRIPTS FOR PRODUCTION

Additions or Cuts: Characters

One of the most obvious differences between Q₁ and Q₂ is the enlarged size of Juliet's part in the latter. The sections of this enlarged part that are in Q₂ and not in Q₁ often involve wordplay, which, as will later be explored, usually leads either to large differences or clear similarity because of the necessary interaction of phrases, sentences, and dialogue. But a more marked category of difference is the soliloquy. *Romeo and Juliet* is one of the earliest printed texts of Shakespeare's plays to present the part of a woman on stage alone, and in Q₂ Juliet has three complex and rhetorically sophisticated soliloquies at 2.5.1-16, 3.2.1-33 and 4.3.15-58 (in Q₁: 4 lines, 4 lines, and 13 lines, respectively), and three shorter ones at 3.5.60-4 (not in Q₁), 3.5.235-42 (as Q₁), and 5.3.161-9 (4 lines in Q₁). In addition there are substantial sections of her scenes with other characters that are different: with Romeo in 2.2.120-35 (not in Q₁), 2.5 with the Nurse (Juliet in Q₁ = 18, in Q₂ = 4); Nurse in Q₁ = 23, in Q₂ = 37), two instances with Capulet Mother in 3.5 (Juliet in Q₁ = 16, in Q₂ = 31; Capulet Mother in Q₁ = 27, in Q₂ = 29), with the Friar in 4.1 (Juliet in Q₁ = 21, in Q₂ = 49). There are similarly proportioned differences to the lengths of Q₁ and Q₂ whenever Juliet is onstage with characters elsewhere.

In other words Q₁ has much less Juliet than Q₂ — but why? The way this question is usually phrased is to ask whether this difference is an

addition to Q₂ or a cut in Q₁?⁴¹ It is possible that the soliloquies were cut because they represent one of the first presentations of active female desire and sexuality on stage and were considered inappropriate.⁴² However, soliloquies may as easily be added as cut, and the pattern of additional or absent material in the part of Juliet and of other characters suggests that it may not be as simple as this. There may in effect be both additions and cuts.

The most immediate rationale for the differences is that Q₁ represents a text for productions that do not have a suitable cast member to play Juliet. The character is rhetorically sophisticated and would have to have had an enormous range of acting skills to cope with the shift from girl to woman, from comedy to tragedy, from lyric, to classical, to gothic genre.⁴³ The alternative perspective is of course that the company was joined by a gifted actor who could handle the part, whereupon it was expanded. Whether a common QMs was cut to shorten Juliet's part or expanded to lengthen it is difficult to assess. However, one might want to argue, in favor of Q₁ cuts, in other words, cuts to QMs to produce Q₁P, that many of Juliet's soliloquies provide balancing topics to those found in Romeo's speeches, for example the references to Phaeton in 3.2 that recall Romeo's references at the end of Q₂.2.2; the description of love at the start of 2.5 that resonates with Romeo's description at the start of 2.2; or the extended treatment of death and decay in 4.3 that lays the ground for Romeo's apostrophe to death just before he kills himself in 5.3. Many critics have noted the exceptionally balanced structure of the Q₂ text around each character,⁴⁴ perhaps best displayed in the central scenes of 3.2 and 3.3, which also present Juliet swiftly arriving at a logic of justification for Romeo (3.2.1.05-6) that is labored toward by the

41. Robert E. Burkhardt, *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos: Deliberate Abridgement Designed for Performance by a Reduced Cast* (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1975) 22-6; see also D. Farley-Hills.

42. Mary Bly, "Bawdy Puns and Lustful Virgins: The Legacy of Juliet's Desire in Comedies of the Early 1600s," *SSurv* 49 (1996): 97-110.

43. It is not surprising that there has been a long tradition of mature actors playing the part, despite the recent fashion for younger women and girls to play it, which may reflect a current cultural obsession with youth or a hard-headed pitch at consumer culture.

44. Robert O. Evans, *The Osier Cage: Rhetorical Devices in "Romeo and Juliet"* (Lexington: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1966).

Friar who eventually reaches exactly the same justification at 3.3.136-7. It is tempting to assume, by the way of current aesthetic expectation, that "balance" is at the center of the writing project and therefore this material allocated to Juliet's part in Q2 must have been there from the start, and that Q1P was directly cut from either an original manuscript or from the copy behind Q2 (Q2P or Q2C). I will deal with the difficulties of hypothesizing the latter later on in this essay.

The most difficult evidence to handle in the argument for cuts by Q1 are scenes with Juliet and other characters that are extensively diminished rather than simply eliminated.⁴⁵ For example, Juliet's dialogue with her mother in 3.5:

Q2: Juliet: Yet let me weep for such a feeling loss.
 Capulet Mother: So shall you feel the loss but not the friend
 Which you weep for.
 Juliet: Feeling so the loss,
 I cannot choose but ever weep the friend.
 Capulet Mother: Well, girl thou weepst not so much for his death
 As that the villain lives which slaughter'd him.
 Juliet: What villain madame? (3.5.74-80)

is rendered in Q1:

Juliet: I cannot choose, having so great a loss.
 Capulet Mother: I cannot blame thee
 But it grieves thee more that Villaine lives
 What villain Madam?
 or Q2:
 Capulet Mother: I'll send to one in Mantua
 Where that same banish'd runagate doth live
 Shall give him such an unaccustom'd dram
 That he shall soon keep Tybalt company.
 And then I hope thou wilt be satisfied.
 Juliet: Indeed I never shall be satisfied...
 ...hath slaughter'd him. (3.5.87-93)

and Q1:

Capulet Mother: Content thee girl, if I could find a man
 I soon would send to Mantua where he is,
 That should bestow on him so sure a draught

45. Contrary to the implication in Irace, Juliet's lines are quite different in the speeches that are retained in Q1.

As he should soon bear Tybalt company.

Juliet: Find you the means and I'll find such a man.

The second example shows Q1 apparently confusing Juliet's answer because the line does not make sense coming from her, especially in light of Capulet Mother's previous speech. Hence the difference between the two editions may mark a point where QMs has been cut and the suturing of dialogue into Q1P is awkward. However, the first example and several others in Q1 seem to have been written far more simply in the first place. Although these occasionally show evidence of clumsy structure, one cannot eliminate the possibility that QMs was rewritten to allow for the development of the part in Q2. The differences in Juliet's part in Q2 not only emphasize the growing stature and formality of the character as it develops through the play, but underline the sophistication of her skill at doublespeak, saying one thing while signifying another to herself and the audience or reader, which is vital to the semiotics of her apparent death and entirely constructs the religious quandary she is in. This last point, which provides a justification for her suicide, is analogous to another strand of differences to be taken up in the final section, which have to do with the material about religion present in Q2 but absent from Q1.

However, a number of other characters figure more prominently in Q2 than in Q1, including Montague Father, Capulet Father, Capulet Mother, Benvolio, and Paris. The differences in the presentation of these parts are less complex than those concerned with Juliet's and present less ambiguity for the argument for cuts in Q1. All the lines present in Q2 and not in Q1 tend to anchor the social world of the character rather than provide any new information. Montague Father has much of his talk about the diseased nature of the world completely eliminated in Q1, thereby simplifying his character part and breaking the parallels with Romeo's "other" father, the healer Friar Lawrence. Also in Q1 Capulet Father is presented as an unpleasant and cruel patriarch, a caricature of the "bad father." One of the first differences to his part is his speech to Paris in 1.2 about whether Paris can marry Juliet. Q2 includes four lines not in Q1:

Q2: Capulet Father: And too soon marr'd are those so early made.
 Earth hath swallow'd all my hopes but she,
 She is the hopeful lady of my earth.
 But woo her gentle Paris, get her heart,

My will to her consent is but a part,
And she agreed, within her scope of choice
Lies my consent and fair according voice. (1.2.13-19)

Q₁: Capulet Father: But too soon marr'd are those so early married.
But wooe her gentle Paris, get her heart,
My word to her consent is but a part.

Q₂ makes the effort to present Capulet Father as having invested a lot into his daughter because he has lost all his other children, at the same time as phrasing this investment as if she were his property, a "lady of my earth" implying an inheritor of his lands as well as a child of his loins. The final two lines make it clear that Capulet Father at this stage expects to have a reasonably open discussion with Juliet and leave the choice of marriage partner to her: a touch that gives the actor playing Capulet Father something to work with when, after Tybalt's death, Capulet Father makes "a desperate tender" of Juliet to Paris, and leads to his appalling behavior in 3.5. Q₂ emphasizes his age (1.5.21, 26), his laughable tendency to use bad rhetoric from school textbooks (3.5.126-8), and his slightly anarchic enthusiasm (4.2.39-45). It also provides the character with the verbal tic of incoherent repetition that surfaces when he gets angry (1.5.84-7, 3.5.141, 143-5, 149).

None of these elements, nor the development of Capulet Mother's grieving first for Tybalt and then for Juliet, or the lines in Q₂ that foreground Paris's youthful self-centeredness, are important to the story. Technically they could have either been added to QMs eventually to produce Q₂P or cut to produce Q₁P. However, at a number of places in Q₁ where the lines are shorter or simply not there, there are instances of repetition and incoherence. The example quoted above of Capulet Father at 1.2.13-19, in Q₁ leaves the ungainly and unnecessary repetition of "But" at the start of each of the first two lines. In fact Q₁ seems insensitive to the irritation of adjacent repetitions of apparently trivial words back/backwards (1.2.46), soon/soon (2.3.28), so/so (3.4.23). To stay with this scene: the Q₁ opening is truncated and without Capulet Father's three Q₂ introductory lines, which leaves Paris to open the scene with "Of honorable reckoning are they both | And pittie tis they live at ods so long," a curious thing to say to Capulet Father since "they" refers to him and Montague Father. A similar instance at the end of 3.1 reduces "Let Romeo hence in haste | Else when he is found, that hour is his last. | Bear this body and attend our will | Mercy but murders, pardoning

those that kill" (3.1.196-9) to the nonsensical "Pittie shall dwell and govern with us still: | Mercy to all but murders, pardoning none that kill." These banal incoherences and repetitions at the site of a reduction in lines hint at the presence of a hand or hands that are cutting a text and failing to create a well-made transition to the shorter version. Since the differences result from an attempt to shorten the text, these transitions suggest two likely sources for change. They could be made by someone who was not a writer, possibly an actor or a member of the company assigned to shorten the play prior to production (Q₁P) or by an actor during performance leading to changes recorded in Q₁Pb for Q₁C.

Cuts and Additions: Ends of Scenes and Sections of Verse

Other evidence for the process of cutting in Q₁ may be drawn from two primary ways in which Q₁ is different from Q₂. Many of the lines in Q₂ that are not in Q₁ occur at the end or toward the end of scenes, either scenes formally marked in modern editions or informally marked closures of movements within formal units. In 1.1 alone there are several examples: at the end of the exchange between the servants just before Benvolio's entrance (1.1.44-9 are not in Q₁); at the end of Benvolio's discussion with Montague Father about what Romeo has been doing (1.1.136-46, not in Q₁), and at the end of the scene (1.1.208-29, not in Q₁). In each case the excluded material is arguably immaterial to the story, having no effect on the action and providing only additional humor or figural density that constructs the social world of the characters (disease and neoplatonism in these cases). After Capulet Mother and the Nurse have asked Juliet if she would like to marry Paris in 1.3, Q₁ cuts to the chase and eradicates Capulet Mother's labored but strategically full analogy of the body to the book (which will recur several times in the play, e.g., 3.2.83-4 [also not in Q₁], 3.3.97), reduces the servant's lines at the end of the scene and ignores the final couplet. Similar reductions or deletions occur at the end of 2.2 (186-90), 2.3 (89-90), 2.4 (187-210), 3.1 (reduces 184-99 to 9 lines), 3.2 (reduces 132-43 to 4 lines), 4.1 (reduces 99-125 to 2 lines), 4.3 (30-58), 4.4 (23-7), 5.1 (reduces 81-6 to 4 lines), and 5.2 (reduces 25-9 to 3 lines). It is unlikely that an actor, dramaturge, or manager would have added this material to produce a script behind Q₂. Furthermore, the lines present in Q₂ often fit seamlessly with the topics that are developed elsewhere in the text and do so in a style consistent with surrounding material. Although it is possible

that a writer might have tenaciously worked through the text adding bits to the ends of scenes, it seems more likely to me that the pattern suggests that once the action has been defined, someone was looking for ways to cut a complex and sophisticated scene. It might be argued that Q₁ was cutting directly from copy used for Q₂, but as this essay goes on to suggest, there is evidence that this is not the case and that there were intermediate stages between the script used by Q₁ and the copy behind Q₂.

A second manner in which Q₁ differs from Q₂ in terms of quantity of lines offers a slightly different rationale for the possibility of cuts in Q₁. 3-3, in common with many other scenes, has one large cut but many small ones. The large omission, of the Friar's allegory of birth, heaven, and earth (3-3.117-33), would have been easy to cut, or indeed add to Q₂P, as long as the whole passage were kept together, because it amplifies throughout on the three topics, and partial changes would have collapsed the structure (the differently written text at 3-5.132-7 of a speech from Capulet Father does exactly this, the Q₂ pattern of "sea," "wind," and "bark" being disoriented by partial cuts in the Q₁ version). But the smaller differences in 3-3 are less predictable. For example (strike through indicates loss in Q₁):

And world's exile is death. ~~Then "banished"~~
~~Is death misterr'd: Calling death "banished"~~
 Thou cut'st off my head... (3-3.20-1)

or
 And steal immortal blessing from her lips
~~Who, even in pure and vestal modesty~~
~~Still blush, as thinking their own kisses sin~~ (3-3.37-9)

or
 Art thou a man? Thy form cites not thou art.
~~Thy tears are womanish, thy wild acts denote~~
 The unreasonable fury of a beast. (3-3.108-10)

or
 But thou slewest Tybalt. There art thou happy
 The law that threaten's death becomes thy friend
~~And turns it to exile. There thou art happy.~~ (3-3.138-40)

This is to deal only with the shorter cuts in this scene, which might include the crux familiar to *Romeo and Juliet* scholars of

Q₂ This may flies do, when I from this must flie,
 And sayest thou yet, that exile is not death?
 But Romeo may not, he is banished.

Flies may do this, but I from this must flie:
 They are freemen, but I am banished (3-3.40...)

Q₁ But Romeo may not, he is banished
 Flies may doe this, but I from this must flye.

My argument with these examples is that it does not appear practical to treat the differences as additions in Q₂ either from the printed Q₁ or from a manuscript that was close to it, either Q₁P/Q₁Pb or Q₁C. With the possible exception of 3-3.138-40, the other Q₂-only lines include words that complete the scansion or complete the thought. If the Q₂ version of the crux at 3-3.40 were made up to the five lines, why would anyone add before the Q₁ lines as well as after them? It is possible that an enthusiastic actor could have muddled the lines and extended the speech before and after, but it is unlikely that an actor would have added the sophisticated, internally resonant words and phrases not in Q₁, that also occur in other speeches (for example, the correspondence of 3-3.138 with 5-1.73-4). In my view it is more probable that a cut was made to produce Q₁ either from a manuscript that had something in common (QMs) with that used at some point to produce the printer's copy for Q₂; or, and less likely only because of the two year separation between the publishing of Q₁ and Q₂, from Q₂P/Q₂Pb or Q₂C. The passage is a complete topical unit that a writer would probably develop as a whole rather than pad out before and after.

The crux is different in this respect to the duplication of lines from 2.2 to 2.3 in Q₂:

Romeo:
 The grey-eyed morn smiles on the frowning night,
 Check'ring the eastern clouds with streaks of light,
 And darkness fleckled like a drunkard reels
 From forth day's pathway, made by Titan's wheels. (2.2.187-90)

Friar Lawrence:
 The grey-eyed morn smiles on the frowning night,
 Check'ring the eastern clouds with streaks of light,
 And fleckeld darkness like a drunkard reels
 From forth day's path and Titan's fiery wheels: (2.3.1-4)

Here I would suggest that it is possible that a common manuscript (QMs) gave them to the Friar, for the literary critical reason that the words refer to Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* in which "man" stumbles

through life,⁴⁶ as the Friar stumbles through this play (2.3.90, 5.3.122). The attribution could then have been followed by the manuscript(s) behind Q₁ and the block of lines added to Romeo's part either in working up QMs for Q₂P or post-performance in Q₂Pb. However, it is just as possible that QMs had both blocks of text, and as Randall McLeod suggests, was using the repetition as "*im*Personal expression; that the speech primarily tells the time...; or that it creates an *ambiance verbal-ly*...; or that it serves to close or open a scene in a play"; and that it is hence "*dramatically* or *scenically* functional, and not immediately *mimetic*."⁴⁷ If QMs did have all eight lines, then people preparing Q₁P would have a clear opportunity to cut one set of four in order to shorten the play. The third major crux at 5.3.108ff is a different story, one to which I shall return in the final section.

There are several occurrences of shorter passages in Q₁ (2.6, 3.4, 4.2, end of 5.1, 5.2) where instead of the examples of clumsy rewriting above, the text disrupts scansion, leaves untidy half lines, and introduces redundant repetition. These suggest the kinds of changes made by actors in performance, resulting in Q₁Pb and inflecting Q₁C, which will be discussed at greater length below. The larger cuts and adaptations in Q₁ are more consistent with a text being prepared for a shorter production and generating Q₁P. Yet the question still remains: is it cut from Q₂P/Q₂Pb or Q₂C, or a previous QMs?

Cuts and Additions: Narrations

As for Q₂: there is no certain answer as to whether it is either an enlargement of an earlier script (QMs) also used for Q₁, or whether the copy used to print it (Q₂C, or a production on which that copy was based Q₂P/Q₂Pb) represents the basic script from which Q₁ was cut. However, there is a pattern of differences between Q₁ and Q₂ that might shed some light on the relationship. If the part of Juliet is one of the distinctive differences between Q₁ and Q₂, the other startling difference apparent from literary analysis is the absence in Q₁ of any re-narration,

46. This connection is noted in Fleur Rothschild, "Recovering *Romeo and Juliet*: A Study of Critical Responses to the Play from 1597" (PhD thesis, King's College London, 1997).

47. Randall McLeod (as Random Cloud), "What's the Bastard's Name?" in *Shakespeare's Speech-Heading: Speaking the Speech in Shakespeare's Plays*, ed. G. W. Williams (London: Associated Univ. Presses, 1997), 135.

fore-narration, and implicit or explicit explanatory narration, except for the fore-narration of the first prologue (shorter in Q₁ by 2 lines, with no explicit reference to the deaths of Juliet and Romeo, which would give away the plot), a truncated version of Benvolio's retelling of the duels in 3.1 (reduces 154-77 to 19 lines), and the rewritten re-narration of the entire story by Friar Lawrence (5.3.230-68). The reason these absences are startling is that there are so many of them and they are so consistent. There are five large re-narrations present in Q₂ but not in Q₁ (1.1.106-13, 2.4.188-212, 4.2.25-30, 5.1.19-21, 5.3.171-80) and four substantial fore-narratives present in Q₂ but not in Q₁ (3.3.149-53, 4.1.99-106, 4.1.107-25, 4.5.6-78).

Smaller absences from Q₁ group around implicit and explicit narrative explanations. Act five has an unusually large number of lines that act as narrative explanations. Explicit examples include Romeo's reference to the Friar's letter (5.1.31-2), which is key to the breakdown of the whole plan, the Friar's reference to his letter (5.2.4), the explanation by Friar John of why he was not able to deliver the letter (5.2.5-12), Balthazar's reasoning for staying in the churchyard (5.3.43-4), Paris's comments on why he distrusts Romeo (5.3.49-57), the Friar's explanation to Juliet that his letter failed to reach Romeo (5.3.153-9), Balthazar's defence of why he didn't deliver Romeo's letter to Montague Father (5.3.275-6) — which delivery may have saved Romeo's life, the Page's recounting of what happened between Paris and Romeo (5.3.280-4), and the Prince's recapitulation of the evidence (5.3.286-94). To these can be added examples of implicit explanation: Romeo's exhortations to Balthazar to leave (5.3.22-39), which alert Balthazar and the audience to the seriousness of Romeo's intent; Romeo's two commands to Paris not to threaten him and to keep the peace (5.3.59-66), which diverts the responsibility for the ensuing fight to Paris; and Romeo's description of Juliet's beauty (5.3.84-120), by which he unwittingly tells the audience she is about to recover from the sleeping draught.

The passages in Q₂ have at least two effects. The first is that the sense of time passing, having passed, or being about to come, that is conveyed by the density of the lines when present in Q₂, constructs a different textual involvement into questions of fate and fortune and adds an imbrication of human action with physical time. Their absence in Q₁ renders the action much more in the present time. The second effect of the presence of the material in Q₂ is that it becomes central to the topics of

law and human judgement, of proof and evidence, and to concepts of outlawry and criminality, which are explored throughout the play. At the same time their absence in Q₁ renders Q₁ more like a fable, a story with little contextual inflection, more determined by external forces. If many of the forenarrations are attempts at prediction — and, if you like, on the Friar's part, of social engineering — the renarrations often display the vulnerability of human intent. The renarrations are also the sites where characters can be evaluated or judged, either by the audience or by other characters on stage. For example, what do we do with Benvolio's renarration at 3.1? One may read the text as truthful, yet this depends entirely on how the duels have been staged. In Q₁ he is more clearly a liar, presenting Mercutio as reluctant to fight, presumably to encourage the Prince to condemn Tybalt.

It is possible to view these changes as cuts by a Q₁ hand rigorously trying to get the script behind the Q₂ (Q₂P/Q₂Pb or Q₂C) play to the “two hours' traffic of our stage” (1Cho.12). However, there is a further group of related differences problematizing this issue that occur at the level of word and phrase and make little sense as cuts because they have so little impact on the running time of a production.

These differences range from the omission of Peter's casual reference to wanting “the law on my side” (2.4.151) to Juliet's foregrounding of the doubleness of law and power when she claims, ambivalently, “Henceforward I am ever rul'd by you” (4.2.22). Act three, scene one has possibly the highest number of these smaller changes, and their density makes them appear significant. In Mercutio's opening speeches, several short passages (3.1.17–18, 21–2, 30–2) about quarrelling are absent in Q₁ and could possibly be cuts, but why cut Benvolio's lines that exhort Mercutio and Tybalt not to fight (49–52). The lines do not provide new information, because the Prince commands peace in 1.1, but their inclusion would add suspense. Similarly, Romeo's request to Mercutio to “put thy rapier up” (3.1.83), which only involves one and a half lines, is absent, as is his request that Tybalt be “satisfied” with his statement that he now respects the name “Capulet” (3.1.70–1); the two-line repetition of Benvolio's warning to keep the Prince's peace (3.1.87–8) is gone, as is the citizen's brief reference to obeying the Prince's order (3.1.141). If regarded as additions rather than cuts, these changes clearly foreground the issue of civil law and individual constraint. The line describing Mercutio for the first time in the play as “the Prince's near ally” (3.1.111) occurs

in both Q₁ and Q₂, yet as suggested above by the Q₁ bias of Benvolio's re-narration, Q₁ does not refer to the ambiguous legal position in which the Prince finds himself. Q₂ includes the Prince's lines “Romeo slew him, he slew Mercutio. | Who now the price of his dear blood doth owe?” (3.1.183–4), foregrounding the Prince's personal dilemma as kinsman to Mercutio and complicating his subsequent judgement.

Nor does Q₁ include much dialogue leading up to the first street fight between the Montagues and the Capulets, so that there is no explicit taunt from Tybalt, no uttering of Benvolio's significant name (good will) (1.1.63), and no demonstration of the involvement of the citizens in the fight (although whether they are breaking up the fight or using it as an excuse for a brawl is up to the production) (1.1.69–72). Nor is there any of the criticism of the ludicrous basis for the fight, implicit in the mockery by Montague Mother and Capulet Mother of their husbands (Q₂, 1.1.73–8). As in 3.1, the Prince's call to order in act one is simpler and shorter in Q₁ (omitting lines 1.1.80–3, 90–3). Similarly, later in the play, the Friar's attempt to persuade Romeo that the law “becomes thy friend” (3.3.138–9) and that he will be welcomed back from Mantua with the Prince's pardon (3.3.151) are also both missing from Q₁.

The text of Q₂ has many more of these lines and phrases that emphasize both the difference between a feudal family-based civil world and a civic order based on law and the separation between socially approved behavior and individual desire. It seems unlikely that Q₁ would want to cut this action-packed argument about the law and its constraints on the individual, especially in the 1590s when the law was becoming a real social force,⁴⁸ and there is no evidence, as there was for the differences related to characters, of clumsy stylistic suturing or bridging. In Q₁, the absence and difference, particularly of the smaller words and phrases from Q₂ that underline the unlikelihood of cutting, indicate that it is probably produced from a text different from those immediately leading to Q₂. We know from evidence above and from the many similarities between Q₁ and Q₂ that it is likely that at some point in transmission there was a common script (QMs). The lack of legal material in Q₁, particularly at the level of word and phrase, suggests that it had been derived from a QMs that did not include this material. Just so, the presence of so many of these detailed elements about the law in Q₂, implies

48. S. Mukherji comments on this change in “Lawful Deed: *All's Well That Ends Well*,” *SSurv* 49 (1996): 199.

a substantially different version of the text intermediate from the QMs that Q₁ and Q₂ have in common. The kind and amount of detailed change suggests the presence of a writer carefully revising the text. Actors do not today add systematically to a text — the occasional line, yes, but not usually such focused change. (However, it is possible that it could happen, and with further study it might indicate a radically different sixteenth-century production method.) In addition, there is some evidence that, as today, actors usually learned their lines on their own,⁴⁹ so there would be little opportunity for the collective change necessary to such sustained difference across many parts to be produced simply in performance. Hence, I would deduce that this particular material was introduced for a production script Q₂P rather than added by actors in performance and recorded in Q₂Pb for Q₂C. Indeed the acute social problems that emerged during 1595–7 may bespeak a pressing recognition to include commentary on the social divides and aristocratic behavior that was disrupting London.⁵⁰

Significant for the argument of this essay, the differences in narrations and in the topical field of the law suggest not only the existence of Q₂P, but also that Q₁ derives from material prior to Q₂P and Q₂C, material that is here being designated QMs — although it is entirely possible that there were different states of this prior material given that there is considerable evidence that the play was written prior to 1595 and not published for the first time until 1597.

Q₁P, Q₂P, AND PRODUCING SCRIPTS Q₁Pb AND Q₂Pb
FROM PERFORMANCE

Rewritings and Structural Issues: Actors on Stage

Connected to these questions is an entire field of differences that are neither significant cuts nor additions, but differently written passages that are often slightly shorter in Q₁. Here I would like to suggest that a question arises as to whether these are the result of theatre practices in performance. If we could first look at a number of scenes that are neither changed in line number nor much different between Q₁ and Q₂ in order

⁴⁹ See the discussion in Tiffany Stern, *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

⁵⁰ Chris Fittes, "The quarrel is between our masters and us their men": *Romeo and Juliet*, Dearth, and the London Riots," *ELR* 30, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 154–83.

to explore the reasons for difference where it occurs: these include the second part of 1.2 and the first part of 1.3, 2.3, 2.4 except the conclusion, the first half of 3.3, and the first part of 4.1. The second part of 1.2 remains roughly the same, although there are, contrary to accepted opinion, a number of small changes to punctuation, spelling, and words, but the similarities have been put down to the likelihood that Q₁ was here used as copy for Q₂.⁵¹ The primary argument for this, apart from a low level of change elsewhere, is that when the text moves to 1.3, the Nurse's part is in italics in Q₁ as well as in Q₂, yet when the Nurse's part continues to be rendered in Q₁ 1.3 in italic, Q₂ reverts to the more expected roman type, and it may be important that this occurs at a sheet change in printing. The scenes 2.3 and 3.3 with Romeo and the Friar are remarkably similar between Q₁ and Q₂, except for the few cuts outlined above and the addition of the material on returning from Mantua with the Prince's pardon. Yet 2.6, the other scene in which the two characters are present, and to which this essay will later return, is completely different.

Lines in 2.4 are not cut until the end except for one unit of wordplay (2.4.56–7) and one or two small phrase omissions. Similar to 1.4, which also contains extensive punning, this kind of dialogue can only be cut by excising the entire unit of linguistic wordplay (for example, 1.4.16–28 or 1.4.32–4), and it is likely that the actor playing Mercutio was particularly talented in this style. The humorous and graphic erotic exchanges, which in both scenes move toward the pornographic, were doubtless crowd pleasers as they are today, and would probably not be excised in the shortening of a play. Significantly, Mercutio's other scene, 3.1, is similar in pattern until he ceases witty repartee and turns serious in his fight with Tybalt, after which difference abounds. For analogous reasons (although there are minor variations at word level) Paris's exchange with Juliet in 4.1 is largely the same in both texts because the display of Juliet's doublespeak depends on tight scripting, yet the scene demonstrates large differences between Q₁ and Q₂ after this exchange. These scenes are "set pieces," linguistic firework displays that would have been anticipated by the audience. Just so, Capulet Father's angry tirade in 3.5 is one of the few sections of that scene that is not drastically shorter in Q₁. One might hypothesize that here again was a set piece of rhetorical flourish expected by the public and therefore not changed while the following material is. However, there are a number of places where actors seem

⁵¹ Evans uses the phrase "admittedly set from Q₁," 208.

clearly to have simply forgotten where lines come from and have transposed them into another place — although which location is preferable (Q₁ or Q₂) is probably a production decision for an editor or director of today (see Q₂:1.5.24-6 and Q₁:3.4.6-7, Q₂:5.1.64-5 and Q₁:2.5.1-14, Q₂:1.1.96 and Q₁:3.1.145-61, Q₂:3.2.88 and Q₁:2.5.19), and they could just possibly be forgotten repetitions. The occurrence of these instances of similarity involving extensive wordplay, in amidst passages otherwise much shorter, is highly unlikely to be the result of printing house practice, but it could indicate someone cutting around the wordplay for Q₁P, and just as easily they could result from the actor on stage shortening a part where tight wordplay was not involved, generating Q₁Pb.

At the same time, there are a number of scenes that, despite being only a little shorter in length, are not only slightly but substantially different between Q₁ and Q₂. These include 2.6, 3.4, 4.2, 5.2, and the end of 5.1. In most of these the Q₁ version is slightly shorter and offers some evidence of being cut. Just as the scenes containing Juliet with another character are shorter and differently written in 2.5, 3.2, 3.5, 4.1, and 4.3, often resulting in the kind of awkwardness found in 3.5.64-125 (see above), these complete small scenes (the end of 5.1 with the Apothecary and Romeo is arguably a different scene) are playable, but the Q₁ dialogue lacks the poetic sophistication and dynamic of Q₂. Take 3.4: apart from several outright cuts (5-7, 10-11, 15-17, 21-2), there is a difference in verse layout that often breaks the scansion of the iambic pentameter:

Q₂: Sir Paris I will make a desperate tender
Of my child's love. I think she will be rul'd
In all respects by me; nay more, I doubt it not (12-14)

and

Q₁: Sir Paris! I'll make a desperate tender of my child
I think she will be rul'd in all respects by me

Q₂: Monday! ha ha! Well, Wednesday is too soon (19)

and

Q₁: Oh then Wednesday is too soon

Q₂: Go you to Juliet ere you go to bed (31)

and

Q₁: Wife go you to our daughter ere you go to bed

In Q₁ 3.4 Capulet Father is reduced to redundant repetition of line 25 with an additional "some half a dozen friends and make no more ado," and of line 28 with "wife gette you to your daughter" two lines later. Scene 4.2, which has the honor of being one of the few longer scenes in Q₁, is present in a loose style that breaks the metre and leaves several dangling half lines that are consistently balanced and tied up in Q₂.

Q₂'s Juliet: Nurse, will you go with me into my closet
To help me sort such needful ornament
As you think fit to furnish me tomorrow? (4.2.32-4)

Reads in Q₁:

Juliet: Nurse, will you go with me to my closet
To sort such things as shall be requisite
Against tomorrow.

Capulet Mother: I pree thee do so, good Nurse go in with her
Helpe her to sorte Tyres, Rebatoes, Chaines
An I will come unto you presently.

Nurse: Come sweetheart, shall we go:

Juliet: I pree thee let us.

Also missing from Q₁:4.2 is Capulet Father's enthusiastic urge to go and tell Paris of Juliet's consent himself, as well as his apparently ineffectual calls for servants, and his potentially scandalous offer to "play the housewife for this once" (4.2.43).

Leaving aside 5.1 for the moment, Q₁:5.2 has analogous elements, although it is shorter as are most of the differences in Q₁. For example, take Friar John's explanation:

Q₂: And finding him, the searchers of the town

Suspecting that we both were in a house

Where the infectious pestilence did reign,

Seal'd up the doors and would not let us forth

So that my speed to Mantua there was stay'd (5.2.8-12)

Q₁: Whereas the infectious pestilence remained

And being by the searchers of the towne

Found and examined, we were both shut up

Q₂'s shared line

Friar Lawrence: Unto my cell.

Friar John: Brother I'll go and bring it thee. (5.2.22)

reads in Q₁:

Friar John: Well I will presently go fetch thee them.

“well” padding out the line to ten beats. The sense that in Q₁ the verse is being cut to the chase in a swift and fairly robust rewriting is also demonstrated in the following comparison:

Q₂:

Friar Lawrence: Now must I to the monument alone.

Within this three hours will Juliet wake.

She will beshrew me much that Romeo

Hath had no notice of these accidents,

But I will write again to Mantua

And keep her at my cell until Romeo come

Poor living corse, clos'd in a dead man's tomb.

(5.2.23-9)

reads in Q₁:

Friar Lawrence: Now must I to the Monument alone

Least that the Ladie should before I come

Be winked from sleep. I will lye

To free her from that Tombe of miserie.

These differently written scenic elements in Q₁, which have some elements in common with other substantial differences in shorter passages, such as Benvolio's renarration of the duels in 3.1, are not credible if attributed to a skillful writer producing scripts leading to Q₂. They lack the metrical tension and the detail, and give little to the actor to work with. Nor does it seem plausible, given the range of cuts, metrical layout and vocabulary differences, and character context, that any writer would take Q₁ and add words intricately here and there to improve and lengthen the text. A writer would probably find it easier and more efficient to take the entire short unit and revise it wholesale, especially with these small linking scenes that are necessary to the story but not central to the drama. Far more likely, it is that the differences result from adaptations made by managers, actors, or an actor with this responsibility, in an attempt to shorten an earlier text for Q₁P, or by the actor in performance producing Q₁Pb leading to Q₁C. For example, the final comparison of the end of 5.2 would have been easy to shorten by cutting 25-7 and starting 28 with “But” rather than “And.” Instead, a wholesale and simplified version is produced as if the actor playing the part has been told to “make it shorter.”

The occurrences of these differently written passages again suggest the textual stemma drawn above that posits texts prior to the productions that led to Q₁ and Q₂ (Q₁P and Q₂P); and posits possible texts (Q₁Pb and Q₂Pb) that resulted from these performances — one text that had been cut and adapted for the performance leading to Q₁C and another text revised by a writer leading to Q₂C, both inflected by performance practice. The rest of this essay will put forward a rationale for many Q₁ differences originating not only in the printing house but also in theatre practice either prior to production or generated by performance, and will consider the argument that many Q₂ differences are attributable to both theatre and printing-house practice as well as a writer's hand.

COPY FOR Q₁ AND Q₂: A DIFFERENT KIND OF DIFFERENCE

Most of the comparative work on Q₁/Q₂ has been carried out with regard to the larger differences between the two texts,⁵² and the few studies that focus on the smaller differences often argue that they are not significant.⁵³ Yet a major area of difference between Q₁ and Q₂ consists of the minute elements of the text such as contractions, prepositions, relative pronouns, tense, modifiers, articles, apostrophes, degree, number, inversions, and “substantive” individual words — upward of 700 detailed changes. It is of course possible that the differences were made by a writer,⁵⁴ but this essay argues below that it is more probable that others are also associated with them. It is generally held that most of these differences are made either by writer, editor, scribe, proof-reader, or compositor, and there is certainly evidence for these differences being associated with the script-based changes these people could have effected. Yet many of the differences can also be put down to actors working on the text, even actors with specific dramaturgical skills, and given the huge number and particular kinds of differences between relatively

52. For example, see Irace.

53. For example, A. Hart, *Stolne and Surreptitious Copies, a Comparative Study of Shakespeare's Bad Quartos* (Melbourne: Melbourne Univ. Press, 1942, rpt, 1970), which provides the data for D. Farley-Hills.

54. Jay Halio insists that this kind of change indicates an author “tinkering” with the text (“Handy-Dandy: Q₁/Q₂ *Romeo and Juliet*,” in *Shakespeare's “Romeo and Juliet”: Texts, Contexts, and Interpretation*, ed. J. Halio [London: Associated Univ. Presses, 1995], 129-30).

insignificant words, this essay would posit the actor as a major player in this process.⁵⁵ The following analysis is not intended to deny changes by people producing the printed text, but simply to argue for the likelihood of changes also being introduced by people producing the performance.

To begin by looking at words and short phrases that have been treated by editors as substantive, of which there are around 200, they fall into different main categories: (1) words the actors may have read but have changed; (2) words the actors may have read but have misremembered; (3) words the actors may have remembered but which are misheard by the scribe or compositor; (4) words the compositor or scribe may have misread from manuscript copy (authorial or scribal); or (5) words the writer may have changed. But these neat categories can easily overlap, and there are a number of others. Several examples where Q₂ uses a "more difficult" word could be either a compositorial or an acting change toward the "less difficult." In other words, the hypothesized QMs rather than Q₂ may be the source for the "more difficult" (all the following pairs are shown with Q₁ first, Q₂ second; line references are to Q₂): female/fennel (1.2.29), cunning/coying (2.2.101). Others are far more likely to be a writer revising or the actor alone, making changes that end up in Q₂: resemblest/counterfeits (3.5.131), wrong/slander (4.1.33), because a compositor (or scribe) would be unlikely to make up a word so completely different in visual appearance, whereas an actor might simply misremember and substitute the semantically similar but easier word, and a writer might, however unlikely, make a conscious decision to do so. A similar argument for change by the actor could be made for metaphorical shifts such as war/blood (1.4.100), voice/tongue (2.2.162), and sight/eyes (2.2.75). Other changes appear to be more to do with written transmission. An actor would be less likely than a compositor or scribe to confuse honour/humour (1.1.120), hour/honour (1.3.67 and 68) or conjugation/commination (5.3.68), because although they

55. For a statement concerning the impact theatrical practice could have on texts, see McKenzie, 15ff. and 50; see also Margreta deGrazia, "The Essential Shakespeare and the Material Book," *Textual Practice* 2 (1988): 69–86. Janette Dillon, "Is There a Performance in this Text?" *SQ* 45 (1994): 74–86, offers a more specific critique of the assumptions made by critics valorizing theatre performance. Recently Tiffany Stern has argued that most changes to a script were made by managers before accepting it and by actors privately studying their parts before coming together with the rest of the cast (12).

sound the same, they mean something quite different, yet because of their visual similarity they could easily be misreadings of handwriting.

A large number (~30) of so-called substantive changes occur between words that sound similar and look similar, hence making it impossible to distinguish between an aural or written transmission: sycamore/Syramour (1.1.119), lumping/limping (1.2.28), done/dun (1.4.39), filmes/Philome (1.4.66), kinsman/cousin (3.1.114), prettie/prates (4.5.126), defy/deny (5.1.24). Another large group of changes (~50) are similar in sound or phrasing and therefore potentially actor changes, but less likely to be mistaken in handwriting: engage/endart (1.3.99), saile/sute (1.4.113), saint displease/maid dislike (2.2.61), dove/day (2.1.10), poxe/plague (3.1.92, 101, 108) mere/deer (3.3.28), the times/our times (3.5.53), heart could/thought would (3.5.182), flattering eye/flattering truth (5.1.1), let me rest/give me leave (2.5.25). A final group (~30) which could also be attributable to actors would be the many changes of a word to another that is similar in meaning and length: raised/made (1.1.188), fool/wretch (1.3.44), thrall/debt (1.5.117), force/side (1.4.100), smiles/laughs (2.2.93), fiery/burning (2.3.40), small/weak (2.3.19), dead/gone (3.2.69).

Many of these differences, when considered on their own, have been taken to be authorial changes to Q₂, although it has never been explicitly clear whether the "author" of Q₂ was writing the base manuscript (a putative Ms that usually is not explicitly substantiated or is conflated with "foul papers"), the script in common to Q₁ and Q₂ (QMs), revising Q₁ or correcting it (a favored theory), or engaged in adaptation and/or revision before or after production (which would be the primary way that this essay would argue for a writer's intervention in Q₂). The scale of the substantive differences suggests that the differences are more arbitrary than would be those introduced by a writer, especially since they occur in roughly the same proportion throughout the entire play (~9/100 lines) and writers have been shown to focus on specific parts of a text, especially the beginning. The huge number of remaining differences affirms a similar arbitrariness that may indicate theatre/printing house changes rather than authorial revisions. Singular and plural differences (only a few examples are mentioned here) are fairly evenly balanced: yeare/years (1.3.35), eyes/eye (2.2.20), vow/vows (2.3.58), accents/accents (2.4.29), lights/light (3.3.140), yeares/year (2.2.169). Tense equally so: brake/broke (1.3.36), create/created (1.1.175), dreamt/dream (1.4.73), lo- geth/loges (2.3.32), talked/talk (4.1.7). There seems little significant

pattern in changes to adjectival or adverbial form: below/so low (3.5.55), needfull/needy (3.5.105), ever/never (3.5.194); or in prepositions: of/on (1.1.1), with/by (1.2.46), like/as (1.5.45), over/on (1.4.72), as/then (2.2.162-3), at/by (2.2.168), off/from (2.3.30), by/with (2.3.36), off/to (2.4.6), or/of (4.1.72), unto/to (4.2.31), in/to (5.3.270). There is a slight tendency for Q₁ to use more elision marks, hyphens, and contractions, all of which could be put down to printing house style or compositorial habit. Slightly more ambiguous is the Q₂ use of "O" for "Ah," "An" for "And," "On" for "One," and "A" for "He." Q₂ also has many more occurrences of "O" (150 as against 73 in Q₁ including "Ah").

In contrast is the Q₁/Q₂ difference in degree: weaker/weakest (1.1.15), bitter/bitterest (1.5.91), unworthier/unworthiest (1.5.92), dearest/dearer (3.2.66). Although literary critical arguments can be made for the superlatives of the first three examples, it is the last that is the most interesting because the Q₂ version is grammatically unexpected. Q₁ reads "My dear loved cousin, and my dearest Lord," offering a simple progression, while Q₂ reads "My dearest cousin and my dearer Lord," thoughtfully implying that even a superlative is overcome by something "dearer" and sliding between the meanings of "costly" and "intimate": a change I would attribute to a writer.

A similarly thoughtful set of differences may be found in alternative word orderings in Q₂. Relatively insignificant inversions such as (Q₁ examples occur first, Q₂ second; line references are to Q₂): could Juliet/she could (1.3.36), not yet/yet not (2.2.58), now that jest/this jest, now (2.4.63), I would/would I (2.2.187), herbs, plants/plants, herbs (2.3.16), she not/not she (3.3.93), do you need/hol need you (4.3.6), occur as frequently as significant examples: untimely forfeit of vile death/some vile forfeit of untimely death (1.4.111), ring yet/yet ringing (2.2.74), And Tybalt cries, and then on Romeo calls/And Tybalt calls and then on Romeo cries (3.3.100), If thou wilt have it so...I am content/I am content so thou wilt have it so (3.5.18), slack to slow/slow to slack (4.1.3), holy reverent/reverend holy (4.2.31), some such speeding/such soone-speeding (5.1.60), weary takers life/life-wearie taker (5.1.61). Yet I would argue that in each case of a significant inversion, Q₂ offers the more generative reading either semantically, syntactically, or metrically. This implies, especially in the longer instances, the Q₂ difference probably has more to do with a writer than an actor or a scribe or a compositor.

The noted significance of some of the low-level grammatical changes

of degree and word order is interesting, especially given that the changes to "substantive" words rarely move out of the connotative field, and may as likely be an actor's change or misremembering. There are three exceptions to this: hate/love (3.1.59), hates/hearts (3.1.190), hate/heart (3.2.73). Of these the first could be an actor's change; the latter two could be scribal or compositorial, or possibly a misremembering. But this cluster in 3.1 and 3.2 and the statistical significance of the three occurrences of a semantic shift away from "hate," provides some evidence for the hypothesis that a writer is at work at some point in the transmission that yields Q₂C. However, many of the minute changes are highly unlikely to have been made by a writer, and while some may be based in the printing house, others are as likely or more likely to have been the result of theatre practice. Hence the differences could indicate theatre practice change from a hypothesized QMs toward the simpler Q₁C, or revision from QMs to a more sophisticated Q₂ — but even Q₂ has evidence of the kind of change that theatre practice would introduce. This essay will conclude by arguing that in effect both theatre adaptation and writer's revision took place in producing both Q₁ and Q₂, even if there is more evidence for a writer's hand in Q₂.

COPY FOR Q1

Theatre Practice?

The interesting thing about Q₁, as demonstrated above, is that it shows evidence of cutting, and clumsy suturing along those cuts, as well as both pragmatic shortening and poor rewriting. This speaks to me about several hands being involved in the construction of the text. As argued above, the cuts and pragmatic shortenings could most probably be assigned to people in the theatre specifically charged with making the play shorter — generating Q₁P; but the poor rewritings open the possibility not only of actors clumsily trying to condense lines, but also of memorial transmission, with the performance generating Q₁Pb. Most of these smaller differences would be unlikely to have been made by a dramatist or someone shortening or extending the script, for length is not usually affected. In effect, the minute Q₁ differences appear to present the kinds of casual simplifications that actors can easily make if there is no one there to keep them to the rigors of the script. Theatre practice confirms that the most difficult words for the actor to get accurately are

precisely details such as prepositions.⁵⁶ There is also a little more evidence for change by the actors in the use of the more modern “who” and “when” for “that” and “which” (the modern form occurring in the ratio Q₁:Q₂ = 6:1) and a slight tendency to more formal vocabulary in Q₂. These small changes indicate that Q₁ may record English as spoken in London with changes to words into what we would recognize as modern day English driven by the Chancery and Inns of Court, rather than the English spoken in the regions, including that of Stratford.

To explain the many differences in Q₁C that could be attributed to actors, one may turn not only to performance and the presence of Q₁Pb, but also to memorial transmission; and I hypothesize that at some point between QMs and Q₁C at least part of the text was memorially transmitted or written down from a performance or a rehearsal.⁵⁷ While the parts of Romeo, Mercutio, and Paris are closer to those in Q₂ than some other parts, which suggests memorial transmission, their Q₁ dialogue still contains many of these minute changes that are typical of actors and that could indicate scribal notation of performance. I also suspect that the actors of these more stable parts may have acted in a production of the play in which they rehearsed with either the writer or a master of the play present who was working closely with the script and keeping them to their parts.

Memorial Transmission?

Kathleen Itrace argues that of the three actors playing the parts of Romeo, Mercutio, and Paris, two, Romeo and Mercutio, had probably played in earlier performances of the play, because their parts are much closer to Q₂. This observation leads to a plethora of possible interventions into

56. Private communication from theatre director Peter Lichtenfels. This point was discussed widely at the research meeting “The Fifth Wall,” at the London Globe Theatre, October 2002; see *Shakespeare Language and the Stage: The Fifth Wall* (London: Thomson, 2005).

57. At this stage in the development of a methodology for understanding the interaction between theatre practice and textual change, it is difficult to distinguish precisely between changes that may have been introduced by actors on stage or by actors remembering. However, there is undoubtedly a realm, which deserves further study, in which the actor performing will be constrained by other actors on the stage in their introduction of change, while the actor remembering can be affected by the absence of other actors in this process, thus producing different kinds of change.

the script that eventually became Q₁C. The first possibility, one considered by many critics, is that these three actors memorially transmitted the text to a scribe or directly to the printing house, rendering their own parts fairly accurately — although with the smaller changes that actors frequently make — and attempting to render the parts of others. Most of the scenes in which they play are also rendered fairly accurately. In other words, they remembered the words of the actors working with them on stage, and it is clear that the elements of wordplay, or close dramatic interaction, are the most similar to those in Q₂. The exception to this are the areas of cutting, which is logical — after all, if the part of Juliet is cut then Romeo’s will probably be cut in those scenes with her even if it does contain wordplay.

The poorly written sections that do not make the play shorter may have resulted from this memorial transmission of others’ parts, and those sections do tend to concentrate on Capulet Mother and Father who are not often in scenes with the three parts to which memorial transmission is attributed — although it is the case that Capulet Father’s part in 1.2 and 3.4 with Paris is poorly rendered, and the whole of 2.6, which includes Romeo, is quite different. Furthermore, this does not account for the probability of doubling. It is unlikely that the part of Romeo would have been doubled with another, yet the parts of Paris or Mercutio could double with that of the Prince, and while the Prince’s part is simply cut in 1.1 and 3.1, in 5.3 it is often poorly written. There may be other explanations for the poor writing in act five, since as I hope to demonstrate, differences in act five are anomalous throughout.

However, there are alternatives to the hypothesis of a completely memorial text, which are themselves hypothetical and which I introduce here to broaden the scope for our understanding of how this edition may have come to be as it is. A second possibility is that these three actors had written parts that were left with the company, and when the play was being reconstructed, say during one of the plague years from 1594 to 1596 when Shakespeare was probably out of London, the actors of other parts were called on to reconstruct their speeches, which they did with less accuracy because they did not have the written prompt. Whether this reconstruction was then written down prior to the performance (Q₁P) or there was a scribal notation of a rehearsal or performance (Q₁Pb) is a moot point. It is interesting that Q₁ has elements that make it easier to tour than Q₂: it is shorter, has a sharper generic focus

on romance, less contextual material about urban life, and can be doubled/tripled into a smaller cast. Also interesting is that the parts of Romeo, Mercutio, and Paris, are parts for younger men, who may have been assembled with a cast of actors who were prepared to tour the play outside of London, while the older or more well-known actors stayed in town or retreated to country homes. Hence a third possibility is that the company may have consisted of three actors who had played the parts before and several others who had not and that the performance was written down in rehearsal or performance.

Yet another possibility is that the whole company attempted to reconstruct the play from an earlier performance, and the actors playing Romeo, Mercutio and Paris had recently played in the Q₂ version, while the other actors were recalling from an earlier production of the shorter text. The problem with this is that the parts of Romeo and Paris in 5.3 are different to those in Q₂, which produces the scenario of someone cutting the reconstruction, *after* it had either been written or performed. A counterargument to this arises from the number of anomalies that result from comparing act five in Q₁ with that in Q₂. As noted above, the Romeo/Paris exchanges are different in 5.3, as is the Romeo/Apothecary dialogue in 5.1. The Prince's part is cut in earlier scenes but rewritten in act five, and the same occurs with the Friar's part (for example, it is cut in 3.3 but rewritten in 5.3). If we take the anomalous situation caused by comparison of act five between the two editions of the play out of the equation, by attributing these differences to changes in the material informing Q₂ (about which I say more below), then it is possible that the version of the text in act five Q₁ represents an earlier state, or possibly QMs. Therefore the script resulting from this possibility would have been prepared from an already shortened production acted in by the other actors.

Because of the similarity of the parts of Romeo, Mercutio, and Paris, between Q₁ and Q₂, there is a high probability of the people playing these roles having been involved in some way in the transmission of the text that generates Q₁. For example, they may have been in a company producing Q₁P to which they bring either their memory of the text or their written parts, in a production that is written down by a scribe to produce Q₁Pb, or in a printing house that is using them effectively as Q₁C either by composing from oral speech or more likely composing from a scribal notation of these actors' memory of the whole play. This

evidence of theatre practice informing Q₁ has occupied many critics. What the analysis of this essay attempts to do is suggest that there are other elements of theatre practice that may well have been involved and are not dependent on the theory of memorial transmission.

Manuscript Transmission

It is not likely that any text leading to Q₁P, whether it was constructed for that particular production or an earlier one, was verbally transmitted to the actors, because the amount of detailed change would have been difficult for an actor who had played it before to memorize without a script, and an actor new to a role would usually have needed the written part. So the adapted version would have been copied by a scribe at least into parts, even if not also copied wholesale into a production copy for prompting. I would argue that Q₁C existed in manuscript medium either as Q₁P or Q₁Pb and that the text was not directly memorially transmitted at the printing house. A distinctive bibliographical fact that indicates at least some manuscript transmission, is the appearance of the Nurse's part in 1.3 in italic, thought by many commentators to be the compositor following a scribal copy of the part in italic hand. It may be that this was one of the few pieces informing the Q₁P script that led to Q₁C that was written down at all, the actors involved in a memorial transmission possibly having in hand the character's "part,"⁵⁸ or possibly having a part that had been "worked up" by an able comic actor to such an extent and so successfully that it was decided to record it separately.⁵⁹ However there is further evidence for manuscript copy for Q₁.

The inclusion of extensive stage directions in Q₁ can also argue for written copy for Q₁C,⁶⁰ since actors transmitting a text are unlikely to provide stage directions of this detail, especially since they occur in many different scenes, such as 4.3 in which Juliet is alone and the actor playing Juliet has never been considered one of the actors potentially involved in a transmission. Indeed a number of Q₁ stage directions are

58. Evans, 207.

59. Much as has been suggested for Mercutio's "Queen Mab" speech, which may have been circulated on broadsheet.

60. For cautionary analysis of the provenance of stage directions see Alan Dessen, "Stage Directions as Evidence: The Question of Provenance," in *Shakespeare, Text and Theater: Essays in Honour of Jay L. Halio*, ed. L. Potter and A. Kinney (London: Associated Univ. Presses, 1999).

in the spoken text of Q₂. At the opening of 5.3, Q₁ notes that Paris enters with "flowers and sweet water" but only mentions flowers in the following speech. In Q₂ the stage direction is simply "Enter Paris and his Page" but both flowers and water are mentioned in the longer speech (5.3.12-14). Immediately afterward, Romeo enters with a Q₁ stage direction that mentions a "torch." The stage direction in Q₂ is "Enter Romeo and Peter," but in a line not in Q₁, Romeo asks Balthazar to give him the "light." It is as if, in shortening QMs, Q₁P had had to insert stage directions to ensure production details. These would have been most likely to survive through to Q₁C if they were written down.

Complexity in Transmission

Whether Q₁C was itself produced from either memorial or written copy, in practice the changes in the process of production/performance generate a pattern that is open to many reiterations, so that a text for an initial production or Q₁P, when adapted for another production becomes Q₁P², then Q₁P³ and so on (Q₁Pⁿ) depending on how many written adaptations exist before Q₁Pⁿ⁻¹, which becomes the basis for the production behind Q₁C. Changes resulting from memorial transmission could be introduced at any point in the reiteration, and changes resulting from performance could accumulate from one production to another. Just so, a cut and adapted version of the play may be the product of several productions. It is of course quite likely that any changes by actors in performance (Q₁Pb) could be introduced between say Q₁Pb¹ and Q₁P², and that Q₁Pb¹ may well have become Q₁P². Similarly, either Q₁Pⁿ⁻¹, the script for the production, or Q₁Pbⁿ⁻¹, the script resulting from the performance, may have been the actual copy for Q₁. Even if the script used as Q₁C was the physical script used in the production prior to performance (Q₁Pⁿ⁻¹), either a prompt copy or a collection of parts, the differences generated by actors cannot be discounted since they could have been introduced in earlier productions and incorporated into the script used in the production informing Q₁C (i.e. Q₁Pⁿ⁻¹ = Q₁Pbⁿ⁻²). Hence Q₁C may not be directly from memorial copy or from a specific production but may record details from any performance copy Q₁Pbⁿ that has memorial and performance elements already embedded in the text.

The transmission of dramatic texts is complex, but its complexity should not be ignored simply because of the difficulty. Although a text from one performance (say Q₁Pb¹) may be in fact the same text used by the next production of the play (Q₁P²), it is important to distinguish

between the states that the script occupies in each case not only because different kinds of textual change may be made in each state as outlined above, but also because being aware of the different states alerts us to the possibility of change. Simply assuming that the text generated by one performance will become the next production text, which may well be the case, eliminates complexity and potential. Similarly, Q₁Pⁿ may in some cases be identical to Q₁Pbⁿ, but conflating them deprives one of a conceptual tool for thinking about some of the processes of how dramatic texts come into being. This is the methodological rationale for the argument of this essay.

In the above account there is one large additional element relevant to Q₁, and a number of bibliographical puzzles that I will take up in the next section on Q₂. The additional element is 2.6, which is substantially different throughout between Q₁ and Q₂. The usual explanation for these differences is that it was missing in the Q₁C given to the printer and had to be written in by a different writer. H. R. Hoppe first suggested that Henry Chettle was the "reporter-versifier" of 2.6 and many critics have concurred.⁶¹ While other rewritings have been attributed to Henry Chettle, who may have been involved in Danter's Q₁ printing venture, they are quite small and could also have been scripted by an actor or the company. However, why would an entire scene be missing from the one copy given to Danter? This cannot be explained by suggesting that the printer received the "parts" of the play to work from. The actors playing Romeo, Juliet, and the Friar would presumably each have their "part" and it would have been a terrible waste of costly paper to write out each scene on a separate sheet, so if their parts were available for earlier and later scenes, they would be likely to contain at least some of this one. Why didn't Danter simply send to the London-based company to get hold of the writer or an actor who could remember the scene. If he were printing the play for the company, it is reasonable to expect that they would be helpful. Perhaps they were not in London while the play was being printed,⁶² or they were too busy and given the

61. Hoppe, as above, also suggested that Q₁ was a memorial text based on evidence of substitution, transposition, vulgarization of language, repetition, phrase, recollection, anticipation, and borrowings from other plays.

62. The Lord Chamberlain's Men did tour during 1596 and 1597, and on 28 July 1597 all London theatres were closed and the company toured Faversham, Rye, Dover, Bristol, Bath, and Malborough; see Peter Davison, *The First Quarto of King Richard III* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), 39.

pressure on Danter that caused him to collaborate with Alde, perhaps he could not wait and asked Chettle to reconstruct the scene. Perhaps Chettle has little to do with this rewriting, for critics have linked him with the printed production of the play most persuasively through his stage directions.⁶³ Perhaps some actors in the company improvised the scene and a scribe took it down along with the rest of the play (hence Chettle or another writer may well have simply been asked to "brush it up") and the writer, impressed, rewrote it into the manuscript used for Q₂. The question is insoluble at present, but is a salutary reminder of the extent to which theatre texts are collaborative pieces of work, the transmission of which is highly complex.

COPY FOR Q₂

The Printing House and the Writer's Hand?

Despite considerable evidence of theatre practice inflecting Q₂C, there are several bibliographical indications that Q₂ was set from manuscript rather than from actors attempting to speak the scripts. One is the use of the numeral "2" (1.5.40), which if orally transmitted would probably have been set as "two."⁶⁴ There are also missing words in the text at 2.1.38, possibly at 2.2.162 and at 4.3.43, for the first Q₁ has "et cetera," which is generally taken to mean "arse"; the second may be a missing "mine," found in Q₁, and for the third Q₁ has the word "shroud." An actor would not leave these as blank. The same year in which Q₂ was printed, Creede also printed *The Historie of Two Valiant Knights* with "arse" set in a speech on F₁ (this play also contains the character "Neronis," which may explain the Q₂ misprint of Nerona for Verona on A₄'), so the printing house that printed Q₂ seems not to have had a problem with the word. And there would have been no problem with "mine" or "shroud." The gaps are more likely to represent in the first instance a

63. John Jowett, "Henry Chettle and the First Quarto of 'Romeo and Juliet,'" *PBSA* 92 (March 1998): 53-74.

64. After an examination of eight plays printed by Creede in the period 1598 to 1600 held in the British Library, I was unable to find a single other instance of numerals being used unless they were distinguishing parts in speech prefixes such as "1 Sold" or "2 Mus. [no period in text]" Whenever numbers were used with nouns, as in this example, the number was spelled out, and there is certainly enough space on this line to do so.

reluctance on Shakespeare's part to use the word "arse," a word that does not occur elsewhere in his plays, or an editorial change, or, especially in the third example, an occasion of the writer scratching out a word to the point that the compositor could not read it. Hence the latter leaves it blank assuming that it can be filled in at proofing, which is easily possible for "mine" and "shroud" because they are at the ends of lines.

The spelling in Q₂ is possibly indicative of a manuscript copy with certain idiosyncracies, although it is difficult to know whether to attribute them to writer, dramaturge, scribe, or compositor. In any event spelling is highly contentious, but some potentially significant differences are listed here in the interests of remaining open to argument. For example, in comparison with Q₁, the printed Q₂ text has among others (first example = Q₂, second = Q₁) "fier" for "fire" (3 times), "sainct" for "saint," "bewtie" for "beauty" (3 times), "hudwinct" for "hoodwinckt," "broyle" for "brawl," "gransire" for "grandsire," "ottamie" for "atomic," "brest" for "breast" (2 times), "violl" for "vial," "goship" for "gossip" (2 times), "threed" for "thred," "obsolved" for "absolved" (2 times), "noyse" for "noise." There are also a number of spellings that may demonstrate dialect differences from London English, such as "swoong" for "swong," "strooke" for "stroke," "roong" for "rung," "promp" for "prompt." Many of these are corrected by the 1607 Q₃, which otherwise remains slavishly close to the typography of Q₂,⁶⁵ and hence were presumably thought of, eight years later, as errors or old-fashioned or regional. But several of these spellings occur elsewhere in books set by Creede in 1599: "broyle" (A₃'), "bewtie" (A₃', H₂'), "noyse" (D₁'),⁶⁶ "yoong" (B₄'), and "strooken" (C₂').⁶⁷ Q₂ also has a number of clear errors in typography, differing from Q₁ in examples such as "Nerona" for "Verona," "stal" for "shall," "padon" for "pardon," "Twou" for "thou," "friendshid" for "friendship," "blanisht" for "banished," "Petrach" for "Petrarch," "chapels" for "chaples," and a number of simple misreadings that produces spelling oddities including "mistesses" for "mistresses," "kisman" for "kinsman," "selfe weild harlottry" for "self-wild harlotry," "Pylat" for "Pilot."

65. Lynette Hunter, "The Dating of Q₄ *Romeo and Juliet* Revisited," *The Library*, 7th ser., 2 (2001): 281-5.

66. *The Historie of Two Valiant Knights*, sold by Thomas Creede, 1599.

67. T. Lodge and R. Greene, *A Looking Glas for London and England*, sold by William Barley, 1599.

Some of the different spellings have been thought of as "Shakespearean," but as several commentators have noted, this is exceptionally difficult to deduce since typical examples such as "noyse" are found elsewhere and represent spellings retained from the earlier part of the sixteenth century.⁶⁸ However, a further detail hints at a connection with the writer or possibly a scribe who has seen a performance: at 1.4.23 the speech prefix for Mercutio is "Horatio." Even were the same actor cast to play such different parts, he would be unlikely to confuse them, nor would a compositor. Yet the parts, in their role as the leading part's close friend, are similar enough to a reader, audience member, or spectator-scribe, and might even have been confused by the writer had *Hamlet* been playing while he was preparing the manuscript for Q2. Mercutio's lines are not included in Q1, which may represent an addition to the manuscript for Q2, or an error in copying in Q1.

Possibly even more telling of the writer's revising hand in Q2 are the speech prefixes for Capulet Mother. These vary throughout the play, whereas they remain constant in Q1, where they appear as "Moth." or "Mo. [period in text]" In Q2 especially in 3-5, they appear to be being used to indicate the multiplicity of selfhood: "La." or "Lady" while the character speaks to Juliet about Tybalt's death, "Mo." and "M." while she tells Juliet about the marriage to Paris Capulet Father has arranged, "La." when Capulet Father tries to deal with Juliet, "Wi." or "Wife" when she interrupts his rudeness to the Nurse, and "Mo." again after her husband has departed and she tells Juliet that she will get no help from her. Randall McLeod, in "What's the Bastard's Name?" argues in the context of *All's Well* that when Shakespeare called a character onto stage he entered into a relationship with that character that suggests the "inherently social nature of drama and theatre...." The different speech headings layer the world of the text with significance — perhaps most interestingly here when Capulet Mother is called into being as "Mother" when she relates to Juliet as someone aligned with Capulet Father. She also becomes the scolding "Wife" when she attempts to criticize her husband's treatment of the Nurse. The speech prefixes indicate a set

68. A. C. Partridge comments in this way on J. Dover Wilson's claim that "noyse" is "Shakespearean" (*Orthography in Shakespeare and Elizabethan Drama: A Study of Colloquial Contractions, Elision, Prosody and Punctuation* [London: Edward Arnold, 1964], 61).

toward a particular kind of social role or subjectivity in the playwright's relationship with the character.⁶⁹

Other evidence for the writer's hand may be found in the nearly exact repetitions at various points in the Q2 text, two of which I have noted above: the repetition of 2.3.1-4 with "The grey-ey'd morn" (Q2, 2.2.188-91), of "This may flies do, when I from this must fly" by "Flies may do this, but I from this must flie" (3.3.40), a third, "I will believe | Shall I believe" (5.3.102-3), and a fourth, "Depart again ... O true apothecary. | Thy drugs are quick. Thus with a kiss I die" (5.3.108-120), which inserts "Depart again ... O true Apothecarie | Thy drugs are quick. Thus with a kiss I die" as four lines immediately before line 108. Q1 does not have the first repetition at 2.2/2.3, giving the lines to the Friar, and it shortens the second to two lines eliminating the near-repetition. The Q1 versions of the third and fourth examples are also different, shortening the entire section from 5.3.102-20 to 10 lines beginning "O I believe..." and ending "O true Apothecarie...die." Most editors now consider these repetitions as an artifact produced by the compositor working from a manuscript with "lightly scored through" sections that the writer had intended to delete.⁷⁰ While it is difficult to be so sure of the status of these repetitions, the last example is telling and may encourage a belief that the compositorial copy (Q2C) is a revised manuscript. Yet all but the last work well in theatre practice (and there is at least one theatrical solution to this last), which is not surprising in a play with the number of renarrations and forenarrations in the Q2 version.⁷¹ None of these points about repetition clarifies the theatrical impact on the production of the script. Yet at the same time that they all suggest the possibility of revision, they also indicate differences that might well have been brought about by actors or people related to the theatre company.

69. Randall McLeod, "What's the Bastard's Name," 139.

70. Ernst Honigmann, *The Stability of Shakespeare's Text* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press), 129-32; Brian Gibbons, *Romeo and Juliet* (London: Methuen, 1980), 15-16; R. McLeod "The Marriage of Good and Bad Quartos," *SQ* 33 (1982): 421-31; Evans, 211.

71. In a curious early slip of critical guard, or more likely on the way to another insight, R. McLeod, writing as Random Cloud, states that it is clear that in any production involving Shakespeare, one of the versions would have been cut ("The Marriage of Good and Bad Quartos" *SQ* 33 [1982]: 427). McLeod's point, though, is that editions could retain the duplications because they demonstrate the writer at work.

Theatre Practice?

The one area where it may be possible to think of Q₂C as having material added to QMs as a result of theatre practice is in the scenes with straight comedy actors as I presume the Nurse might have been, and the character of Peter was, which we know from Q₂'s attribution in 4.5 of Peter to Will Kemp. The Nurse has significantly more to say in Q₂ in 1.3, 2.4, 3.2, and 4.5. These are often scenes that include Juliet, and we have seen that on the whole Q₁ has less dialogue in her scenes, so why not, as with other examples, consider the absence of material in Q₁ as a cut from QMs rather than an addition in Q₂? — primarily because most of the other scenes in which Juliet is present and which are shortened in Q₁, are rewritten rather than simply cut. In contrast, the Nurse's lines usually remain roughly the same in Q₁ but have more material in Q₂, as if the part has developed and Q₂ is working from a script (Q₂C) that has added material the actor has worked up and tested out generating Q₂Pb^a. Furthermore, given the attachment of Q₁ to set pieces and erotic and obscene wordplay, it is unlikely to have deleted the Nurse's additional lines in Q₂, most of which are humorous and usually sexual in content. In contrast Peter's part is not developed very much by Q₂ except in the latter part of 4.5 when he speaks to the Musicians. This may indicate an actor who is used to continually improvising on a text rather than working it up. As noted, Q₂ explicitly calls on "Will Kemp" to play Peter (4.5.100), and from what we know of Kemp's interaction with the audience, improvisation is certainly possible.⁷²

Another change that indicates that Q₂ is not working directly from Q₁ but from Q₂C (or Q₂P^a-1/Pb^a-1) is the shift in Q₂ layout of the parts of the Nurse, Peter, and Mercutio, from Q₁ prose to Q₂ verse, a shift that this essay suggests is as likely to be made by a writer as an actor. It is highly unlikely that either would choose to render lines already in verse as prose, so whatever Q₁ was working from probably had these lines in prose. However, the movement from prose to verse may have several causes. For example, a writer may find the iambic rhythm embedded in a nearly iambic pentameter speech (1.5.111-16 or 2.5.63-5). Or a script may be worked up by actor or revised by a writer into blank verse (much of 2.5). Even Q₁ recognizes the serious register into which the Nurse moves at the end of 2.5 by rendering her speech as verse (2.5.69-78), and

72. W. W. Worthen, "Shakespearean Performativity," in *Shakespeare and Modern Theatre*, ed. M. Bristol and K. McLuskie (London: Routledge, 2000), 117-41.

continues it in verse until the return to comedy in 4.3-4.5. In contrast Q₂ retains a verse layout for the Nurse throughout the comedy of 4.4 and 4.5, in keeping with its additional material for the Nurse, which allows her later in 4.5 to participate in the tragic lament (which she does not do in Q₁). Q₂ is also interesting for the extent to which it renders the dialogue of servants in verse lines, even when they are not iambic (for example 1.1.8-9, 1.5.1-2, 3-5, 14-15), especially the end of 4.5 with Peter and the Musicians, which editions usually take back to the prose, generating possibly inappropriate generic assumptions.

A more complex situation is presented by the movement between prose and verse for the part of Mercutio. Most critical attention has been paid to the "Queen Mab" speech, which is in verse in Q₁ and in prose in Q₂, with G. Blakemore Evans's explanation of incorrect casting-off presenting itself as probably the most plausible explanation among many⁷³ and implying that it was in verse in Q₂C. Mercutio's part is indeed elsewhere more usually rendered as verse in Q₂, with several sections of the text moving away from the Q₁ prose in 1.4, 2.1 and 3.1. The most marked difference is in 2.1 in which Mercutio's part, as opposed to Benvolio's, is in Q₁ all in prose except the opening two lines and the final speech. Here again there may be a bibliographical answer; for the final speech in Q₁ moves to verse at the top of D₁^r, while the rest of the speech is printed in prose on C₄^r. C₄^r may well have been set last, while another compositor had already started on setting D₁^r. The Q₁ speeches are not shorter, but simply laid out consecutively. So the compositor of Q₁ C₄^r may have found that he had too much material to set the rest of the speech in verse and end where D₁^r began, and decided to save space by setting the text as prose, thus saving four lines. There is an empty line below the opening stage direction at the top of the page, which is not the case for any other stage directions on sheet C. The space may have been left because once having made the decision to render these speeches in prose to save three lines, the compositor was going for consistency and felt that this was the easiest place to lose the fourth extra line: the foot of the page may have looked rather obvious.

Nevertheless, in Q₁ 3.1 Mercutio is rendered entirely in prose while Q₂ has in verse 53-4 (not in Q₁), 56-8, 72-3, 91-3 (not in Q₁), 94-5, and 107-10. Apart from 56-8, none of these speeches includes much word-play, yet the two speeches remaining in prose in this central part of the

73. See Evans, 210.

scene, 76-81 and 96-105, are indeed extensive examples of punning and surreal association. As a completely hypothetical conjecture, I do wonder whether speech rendered in prose in this play signalled to particular actors a licence to play with or on the words, and that the movement to verse, which often includes material not in Q_1 , was an attempt to stabilise parts of the dialogue that had settled into a distinct form during rehearsal or performance.⁷⁴ This pattern of moving from prose to verse does indicate that there may well have been some adaptation of an earlier manuscript, and the move from prose to verse could have occurred at any point from Q_2P^1 to Q_2P^{n-1}/Q_2Pb^{n-1} to Q_2C . Along with other elements examined above it suggests the presence of a Q_2P independent from Q_1P , and a Q_2P , which, analogous to my argument for the case of Q_1 , in the form Q_2P^{n-1}/Pb^{n-1} , may also have been Q_2C . The kinds of differences that there are between Q_1 and Q_2 , however, also suggest that these adaptations from prose to verse that led to Q_2C are as likely to have been made by a writer as by an actor.

Revision in Act Five?

In contrast, evidence for Q_2 writer's revision occurs in act five, which as previously demonstrated, contains many of the contextual additions about the law that are more likely to have been made by a writer than an actor, compositor, or scribe. At the same time, a number of differently written passages leave the Q_1 text shorter — or the Q_2 text longer. What is unusual about them, as noted above, is that they occur in scenes in which Romeo is present.⁷⁵ Changes to the scenes that include Romeo in acts one to three (the part is not present in act four) are nearly all simple absences by comparison with the Q_2 text. The differently written passages in Q_1 :5.1 could either represent the initial manuscript, or shortenings due to theatre practice or editorial abridgement, as with several examples given above. But no actor who played the part would self-consciously produce a meaningless line such as "The Law is not thy Friend, nor the Lawes friend" (Q_1) instead of "The world is not thy friend, nor the world's law" (Q_2 :5.1.72), nor is it likely that the writer of such otherwise sophisticated text would do so. Here again are instances of Q_1 working from a text quite different from a writer's QMs , and

74. Eldred Jones, ed., *Orature in Africa Today* (London: J. Currey, 1992).

75. Irace notes, and we confirmed, that apart from "cuts," the scenes with Romeo in them remain largely the same in acts one to three (142).

inflected by Q_1P/Q_1Pb . Hence many of the differences producing shorter elements in Q_1 :act five can be more plausibly attributed to a scribe or a nonacting member of the company, listening to a performance and recalling or transmitting it incorrectly.

However, 5.3 is an altogether different story partly because of the pattern of differently written lines that make no difference to length (Q_2 : 5.3.23, 5.3.56-7, 5.3.62-3, 5.3.64, 5.3.70, 5.3.89). In each case the Q_1 version is stylistically clear and unproblematic, but the Q_2 version has the effect of making the text available to the actor more proactive and immediate, generating stylistic markers typical of Shakespearean text, which often "directs" the actors, tells them what to do. Differently written longer passages also occur frequently: at Q_2 , 5.3.33-4, 5.3.77-81, 5.3.102-5, 5.3.116-17. In each case again, the Q_1 version is unproblematic, but the Q_2 version contains added material that the actor can use to work on body memory in rehearsal. The increased verbal complexity and figural density of Q_2 engages the actor in more wide-ranging work on the text. For example, the addition of "And that the lean abhorred monster keeps | Thee here in dark to be his paramour" (5.3.104-5) can have the effect of moving the verse from an abstract address (Q_1) to a more personal imputation that imbricates the character of Romeo with a personification of Death, so that the verse becomes something about the character — part being developed by the actor and not independent of him. This Q_2 strategy is unlikely to be constructed by anyone but a sophisticated writer, Shakespeare or not. Because so many of these differences, which have little to do with length, occur when the parts of Romeo and Paris are involved, usually markers of highly consistent text in earlier acts, the hypothesis arises that Q_2 :5 is generated from a version of the text (QMs) that has been rewritten just like the legal material described above, and raises the possibility that other act five differences are the result of revision.

The second "scene" in 5.3, between Friar Lawrence and Balthazar and then between the Friar and Juliet, retains a few common lines and general similarity; however, Q_2 is quite different in detail. Balthazar's text in Q_1 often breaks the iambic pentameter and contains short and overly long lines (Q_2 line numbers for relevant Q_1 lines: [5.3.123] and [130]). Both his part and Friar Lawrence's are shortened and simplified in the process. Similar patterns of rewriting occur when the Friar enters the tomb and speaks to Juliet: Q_1 has unmetrical and short or long lines

compared to Q₂'s regularity. Q₁ differences shorten and tend in the process to eliminate figural devices and description. Even when unusually it lengthens, as with Juliet's final lines, Q₁ erases imagery. Q₂ reads, "Yea noise? then I'll be brief. O happy dagger | This is thy sheath, there rust and let me dye. [period in text]" (5.3.168-9). The lines are rendered in Q₁ as "I, noise? then must I be resolute. | O happy dagger thou shalt end my fear | Rest in my bosom, thus I come to thee." Q₁ in this case may well be an actor remembering the lines as rendered in Q₂, and possibly from a common earlier version, in terms of the three semantic units they make up: "Yea noise? Then I'll be brief." "O happy dagger | This is thy sheath," and "There rust and let me die" but filling each out to make a full line.

The third "scene" in 5.3, when the Officers of the Watch enter after Juliet's death and are followed by the Prince, the Capulets, and the remaining characters of the play still alive, is in Q₁ different in much the same manner of condensation and change. There is also an additional twist at the start, which has the Prince entering first, discussing with the Watch and only then being followed by the Capulets. In Q₂ the Capulets enter immediately after the Prince and hear the Watch's explanation before Montague arrives. The Prince in Q₁ concludes with:

Come seal up your mouthes of outrage for a while,
And let us seek to find the Authors out
Of such a hainous and sold scenee mischance.
Bring forth the parties in suspition.

While Q₂ reads:

Seal up the mouth of outrage for a while,
Till we can clear these ambiguities,
And know their spring, their head, their true descent,
And then will I be general of your woes,
And lead you even to death, mean time forbear,
And let mischance be slave to patience,
Bring forth the parties of suspicion.

(5.3.215-21)

The Q₂ lines remind the audience of the connections between Prince, civic state, family and father — the "head" or source of unrest or peace; they recall the twenty-third Psalm and extend the Prince's gradual adoption of a concept of Christian justice rather than "an eye for an eye" retribution. They are also syntactically and semantically more complex than Q₁, which latter is unlikely to represent simplifying changes intro-

duced by the sophisticated writer of most of this play. The topical focus of Q₂ differences are also coincident with those found in Juliet's part in Q₂. If the Prince, the law, and civic order have a direct impact on the lives of the men in this play, the domestic power over women, children, and servants is clearly held by the father. Yet after Juliet's experience of her father's treatment in 3.5, she puts him aside and turns to God (3.5.205-8), explicitly calling on the power of prayer (4.3.3-5) and on the possibility of an afterlife (5.3.164), all lines not in Q₁; similarly absent is the Friar's speech reinforcing his commitment to God's will (4.5.65-78).

This presence of religious reference in Q₂ is parallel to the presence of legal reference discussed at length above, and I would suggest by analogy, is more likely to result from writerly addition than to have been painstakingly cut from Q₁. Apart from 5.3.295-309, the remainder of 5.3, including the evidence from Friar Lawrence, Balthazar, and the Page (see 280-4 rewritten to 3 lines in Q₁, or 286-94 rewritten to 3 lines in Q₁), is similarly either extended in a writerly manner by Q₂, or differently written and/or shorter in Q₁, in ways more easily attributable in that first edition to actors or theatre companies. It looks as though Q₁ has been shortened and adapted from a previously written version (QMs) that did not contain the legal and religious material in Q₂. Hence it also implies that Q₂ was revised from an earlier version. However complex this argument, what does not seem to be in doubt is that both editions are infected not only by writerly intervention and printing house practice, but also by theatre practice.

SUMMARY

The occurrences of different length, whether cuts or additions of large or small units, and of different writings, can generate a textual stemma that posits a text, QMs, prior to both manuscript copy for Q₁ and for Q₂. The hypothesis is that between the QMs text and Q₁/Q₂ there were scripts produced for productions (Q₁P/Q₂P) and generating scripts based on the resulting performances (Q₁Pb/Q₂Pb), one of which was cut and adapted to inform productions (Q₁Pⁿ/Q₁Pbⁿ) that led to copy (Q₁C) for Q₁ while another was rewritten or revised to inform productions (Q₂Pⁿ/Q₂Pbⁿ) that led to copy (Q₂C) for Q₂. In addition to printing-house changes, the former was mainly worked on by actors or other theatre workers and the latter also by a writer, be it Shakespeare, another writer, or a dramaturge. Both Q₁ and Q₂ also demonstrate in the many

hundreds of smaller differences between the two editions evidence of changes that could have occurred in the processes not only of transcribing or printing, but also of performing.

Q₁ may well derive from an adapted version of an earlier text of the play (QMs: not necessarily the "original"), which would have been cut and rewritten to shorten its length. The excision of the parts of characters other than Juliet may be deduced from the awkward suturing of the text around material absent from Q₁ but in Q₂. Other absences of the ends of scenes, and differently written shorter passages that are stylistically uneven, also argue for cuts made by a person or persons who were not writers to generate a shorter script for performance (Q₁Pⁿ). Although memorial transmission is likely to have been involved at some stage, the adapted version would have been copied by a scribe at least into parts, even if not also copied wholesale into a production copy. The evidence that theatre practice also inflected the copy for Q₁ (i.e. Q₁C) comes mainly from the nature of the smaller differences between Q₁ and Q₂, several sets of which are likely to derive from actors in performance or actors remembering their parts. The production behind Q₁ was either written down from performance (Q₁Pⁿ⁻¹) into copy for Q₁ (Q₁C) or annotated from the production copy (Q₁Pⁿ⁻¹). Q₂ gives some evidence of being changed from QMs, especially, in contrast with Q₁, by the presence of narration, renarration and forenarration and the addition of detailed and seamless extension of text on the law and religion, to produce a script for performance (Q₂P). The shift from prose to verse in both layout and rewriting, added comic material, evidence of rewriting in act five, and possibly the extended part of Juliet, can also suggest that the copy for Q₂, Q₂C, was also at some point inflected by theatre practice, again suggesting a Q₂Pⁿ⁻¹ or Q₂Pⁿ⁻¹, which may or may not have been the physical Q₂C script.

Theatre practice makes bibliographical work on dramatic texts more difficult, not less. The genealogies become more complex, but also more substantial. The relationship between Q₁ and Q₂ *Romeo and Juliet* does not require "solving," nor can it be "solved" by thinking about theatre practice, but the impact of the theatre may provide a further site for talking about the cultural materiality of the text.

The Name of the Author: Additional Light on the Publication of *Ivanhoe* and the Scott-Constable Relationship

JANE MILLGATE

THOUGH the complex saga of the troubled printing history of Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* has been charted in some detail both in a 1994 article of my own and in Graham Tulloch's meticulous 1998 edition of the novel in the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels,¹ concrete evidence as to certain crucial details has up to now been lacking. Much of the missing evidence can, however, be obtained from an important collection of correspondence that has recently come to light. Belonging to the Earl of Rosebery and consisting in the main of communications between John and James Ballantyne — Scott's agent and printer — and the partners in the publishing firm of Archibald Constable and Company,² the collection illuminates many aspects of the author-publisher-printer relations involved in the production of Scott's novels. It establishes in particular the precise date at which it was decided to ascribe *Ivanhoe* to the Author of Waverley rather than to a new narrator

1. Jane Millgate, "Making It New: Scott, Constable, Ballantyne and the Publication of *Ivanhoe*," *Studies in English Literature* 34 (1994): 795–811; Graham Tulloch, ed., *Ivanhoe* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1998).

2. The collection was placed on temporary deposit in the National Library of Scotland in 2004 as TD 311.4, and I am grateful to Lord Rosebery for making it available and to Iain Gordon Brown of the National Library for drawing it to my attention.

Jane Millgate (Victoria College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont. M5S 1K7; jane.millgate@utoronto.ca) is the author of *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist and Scott's Last Edition: A Study in Publishing History*. Her *Union Catalogue of Walter Scott Correspondence* is available on the National Library of Scotland website: www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/scott/index.html.