

Traces of Jonsonian Neoclassical Editorial Convention in Shakespeare's Second Folio¹

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I. INTRODUCTION

Shakespeare's Second Folio (hereafter F2) offers a glimpse of how neoclassical editorial conventions came to be incorporated in contemporary dramatic publication. Neoclassical methods of textual editing were introduced into English plays by the beginning of the sixteenth century when humanist editions of ancient Greek and Latin dramatic works imported from Continental Europe became widely popular.² Features common to most of the humanist editions of ancient plays and humanist dramas are constituted by an argument and *dramatis personae* prefixed to the play (although the latter were occasionally omitted), the text of the dialogue of each scene printed as a unit without such interruption as made by stage directions, and names of the characters who participate in the scene which are listed in its beginning.³ John

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2 For the rise of humanist scholarly editions of classical dramas and scholar-dramatists' experimental works, see Julie Stone Peters, *Theatre of the Book, 1480-1880: Print, Text, and Performance in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 5-6, 15-40.

3 While the preparation of the *dramatis personae* and the argument originated from the Alexandrian scribal practice, the textual convention of dividing acts and scenes is a humanist invention for the neo-classical presentation of the dramatic text. However, Johannes Reuchlin's *Scenica Progymnasmata* (1498) contains neither an argument nor *dramatis personae*. See L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Clarendon

Lyly and Ben Jonson are generally regarded as pioneers of neoclassicism in English drama which came to flourish in the period between 1660 and 1800.⁴ The latter was the first English dramatist-editor to systematically apply to his printed plays both classical and humanistic editorial conventions which had been combined in the Continental humanist editions of the classical drama. The purpose of this paper is to show how a certain textual feature observed in the F2 text descended from Jonsonian neoclassical textual conventions.

II. THE PUBLICATION OF F2

The publication of F2 was undertaken by a consortium of six stationers, among whom John Smethwick and William Aspley were hold-overs from the First Folio (hereafter F1).⁵ The earliest record related to the F2 project is an entry of 19 June 1627 in the Stationers' Register (hereafter SR) which documents Dorothy Jaggard's assignment of all the estate and rights in copies of the Jaggards to Thomas and Richard Cotes.⁶ Thomas Cotes had been apprenticed to William Jaggard for eight years until January of 1606.⁷ Later that year Jaggard bought James Roberts's printing house in Barbican, part of which he had rented for the previous two years. It was this printing house in which Shakespeare's two folios, the first and the second, were to be produced. As the SR record shows, on the death of Isaac Jaggard in 1627, the press was inherited by Thomas Cotes, who, with the help of his brother, Richard Cotes, was the printer of F2.⁸ The Cotes's inheritance included Isaac Jaggard's

Press, 1991). See also note 2 above.

- 4 C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 'An Historical Survey of the Text', in *Ben Jonson*, ed. by C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 10 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925-50), IV, 46. For the development of neoclassicism in Europe, see Thomas Kaminski, 'Neoclassicism', in *A Companion to the Classical Tradition*, ed. by Craig W. Kallendorf (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 57-71.
- 5 *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (London: Printed by Thomas Cotes, for Robert Allot [, John Smethwick, William Aspley, Richard Hawkins, and Richard Meighen], 1632); Matthew W. Black and Matthias A. Shaaber, *Shakespeare's Seventeenth-Century Editors* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1937); 'What is the Second Folio of William Shakespeare?', in *Meisei University Shakespeare Collection Database* <<http://shakes.meisei-u.ac.jp/e-second.html>> [accessed 18 September 2016]
- 6 *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A. D.*, ed. by Edward Arber, 5 vols (London, 1875-1894), IV, 182.
- 7 *A Transcript*, II, 222; Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641-1667* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1907; repr. 1968), p. 53.
- 8 Edwin Elliott Willoughby, *A Printer of Shakespeare: The Books and Times of William Jaggard* (New York: Haskell House, 1934; repr. 1970), pp. 179-80; Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 51.

shared ownership of Shakespeare's F1 plays. In fact, between 1606 and 1626, *The English Short Title Catalogue* records only one book, the printing of which is attributed to Thomas Cotes. The book is Robert Stafford's *A Geographical and Anthological Description of All the Empires and Kingdomes* published in 1607,⁹ and we cannot trace the printer for the next twenty years. Thomas Cotes might have remained with the Jaggards and witnessed the printing of F1.

The F2 project was probably launched sometime in 1630 within the networks of the F1 syndicate. On 8 November 1630, the Cotes acquired Thomas Pavier's right in three plays of Shakespeare as well as some of his apocrypha by transfer from Robert Bird, one of Pavier's former apprentices.¹⁰ An SR entry of 18 November 1630 shows that Robert Allot, the principal publisher of F2, succeeded to the estate of Edward Blount and took over his right to the F1 plays on 26 June 1630.¹¹ An anonymous commendatory verse entitled 'An Epitaph on the admirable Dramaticke Poet, W. SHAKESPEARE.' included in the F2 preliminaries reappears with a different title, 'On Shakespeare' dated '1630' in the 1645 *Poems* of John Milton, whose father was a neighbor of the Cotes brothers.¹² By 1630, enough copies of F1 had probably been sold to warrant a second edition,¹³ and the publishers of F2 began recruiting new contributors of commendatory verses and an editor or editors who were to prepare the printer's copy for Thomas Cotes. F2 was published in 1632 by which year Edward Blount was deceased.¹⁴

When corresponding pages of the two folios, the first and the second, are set side by side, it is self-evident that F2 was set up from an annotated copy of F1. The arrangement of lineage mostly corresponds in the two books. Pagination also agrees except for some errors up to the end of histories as F1 *Troilus and Cressida* was a later insertion bearing no page numbers except 79 and 80 on one leaf. Even the correspondence of some errors in page

9 Robert Stafford, *A Geographical and Anthological Description of All the Empires and Kingdomes* (London: Printed by T[homas] C[otes] for Simon Waterson, 1607).

10 *A Transcript*, IV, 242; Allardyce Nicoll, 'The Editors of Shakespeare from First Folio to Malone', in *Studies in the First Folio, 1623-1923* (London: Milford, 1924), pp. 157-78 (p. 160); Gerald D. Johnson, 'Thomas Pavier, Publisher, 1600-25', *The Library*, 14 (1992), 12-50 (p. 17); Murphy, p. 52.

11 *A Transcript*, IV, 243.

12 John Milton, *Poems* (London, 1645), sig. B2^r; *Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (1632), sig. A6^r; Murphy, p. 52.

13 Peter W. M. Blayney, 'Introduction to the Second Edition', in *The Norton Facsimile: The First Folio of Shakespeare*, ed. by Charlton Hinman, 2nd edn, rev. by Peter W. M. Blayney (New York: Norton, 1996), p. xxxiii; Murphy, p. 51.

14 *DNB*, 'Edward Blount (*bap.* 1562, *d.* in or before 1632)'.

numbering in the two folios attests that erroneous numbers in F2 were copied from F1.

III. BLACK AND SHAABER'S ANALYSES OF F2 TEXTUAL ALTERATIONS

Most previous studies on F2 were undertaken and published in the early twentieth century, and according to Matthew W. Black and Matthias A. Shaaber, more than 600 among 1679 textual alterations made to the F2 text were implemented by Black's and Shaaber's contemporaries in their scholarly editions of Shakespeare plays.¹⁵ In 1937, providing a brief summary of the earlier studies in their *Shakespeare's Seventeenth-Century Editors: 1632–1685*, Black and Shaaber represent a consensus that a qualified editor was employed to prepare the F2 text for the purpose of improving its readability.¹⁶ Listing all the textual changes found in the F2 text, Black and Shaaber classify them according to a set of criteria in order to identify the intention and causes of those alterations. Their criteria are as follows: (1) Changes adopted by many contemporary editions which restore the correct sense; (2) Changes which restore the reading of an earlier text; (3) Intelligent emendations superseded by more authoritative readings; (4) Intelligible changes not adopted by most contemporary editors; (5) Mistaken and arbitrary changes.¹⁷ Under these criteria, they examine all the F2 textual alterations subdivided into six categories: (1) 'Thought' which affects the intention of the speaker; (2) 'Action' which is indicated by stage directions and speech prefixes; (3) 'Meter'; (4) 'Grammar'; (5) 'Style'; and (6) 'Punctuation'.¹⁸

In fact, such alterations as categorized into 'Thought', 'Grammar', and 'Punctuation' involve some sort of grammatical emendations in an attempt to elucidate the meaning and the context of the lines. In F1 *Measure for Measure*, the Duke's line appears as 'She should this *Angelo* haue married: was affianced to her oath'.¹⁹ The F2 editor inserted the preposition 'by' before 'oath' to

15 Black and Shaaber, p. 32. For criticisms by Edmond Malone in 1790 of the work of the F2 editor, see Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 192–93.

16 Black and Shaaber, pp. 1–50. Allardyce Nicoll's hypothesis that three separate persons were assigned to correct part of the text in the F2 project is not supported by the research data provided by Black and Shaaber. They assert that their data show 'a more general and uniform distribution of the kinds of alterations on which Mr. Nicoll based his inferences than he was aware of' (p. 25). As there is no evidence that the F2 text was edited by more than one person, I will hereafter refer to the F2 editor as singular. For Nicoll's supposition, see his 'The Editors', pp. 163–66.

17 Black and Shaaber, pp. 22–23.

18 Black and Shaaber, p. 24.

19 Sig. F6^v; TLN 1434–35. Through line numbers (TLN) are cited from *The Norton*

adjust its syntax.²⁰ He also supplied a negator for the Queen's speech in F1 *Love's Labour's Lost*, changing 'The rest will ere come in, if he be out' into 'The rest will ne're come in if he be out' so that it would correspond to the context of the dialogue.²¹ In 2 *Henry VI*, the subjunctive be-verb is added to Buckingham's line, 'Trust no body for feare you betraid' in order for the F2 text to read, 'Trust no body for feare you be betraid'.²² In order to remove inconsistencies from the Duke's request addressed to Friar Peter in F1 *Measure for Measure*, the F2 editor replaced the possessive pronoun 'your' with 'her' in the line reading 'First, let her shew your face'.²³ Also, he appears to have been alert to compositorial errors left in F1. The Ephesian merchant's speech referring to Egeon's arrival in Syracuse in F1 *The Comedy of Errors* reads, 'This very day a Syracusian merchant is apprehended for a riual here'.²⁴ In the F2 counterpart, 'a' and 'riual' are combined into one word with an insertion of another 'r' between them and 'u' is replaced by 'v': 'arrivall'.²⁵ In addition, the editor of F2 deciphers corrupted spellings of Greek mythological personages such as 'Hiperion,' restored from 'Epton' in *Titus Andronicus*.²⁶ Black and Shaaber's exhaustive examination enables profiling of the anonymous editor of F2. If the editing of F2 was entrusted to one person, he must have been a literary figure who was capable of reconstructing the meaning to be conveyed despite the textual errors of F1.

IV. F2'S OMISSIONS OF 'FLOURISH' AND 'SENNET'

What the editor did to the F2 text was explored by Black and Shaaber so exhaustively as to be recapitulated by present-day textual scholars such as Paul Werstine and Andrew Murphy.²⁷ Black and Shaaber's study also confirms that the F2 emendations 'have made a substantial contribution to the standard text of Shakespeare'.²⁸ However, a certain textual feature observed

Facsimile: The First Folio of Shakespeare, 2nd edn.

- 20 Sig. F6^v; Black and Shaaber, p. 99.
- 21 F1, sig. M3^v; TLN 2044; F2, M3^v. The speech prefix is changed into 'Prin.[cess]' in F2. Black and Shaaber, p. 99.
- 22 F1, sig. n6^v; TLN 2595; F2, p2^v. Black and Shaaber, p. 100.
- 23 F1, sig. G5^r; TLN 2541. The F2 counterpart reads, 'First, let her shew her face' (G5^v). Black and Shaaber, p. 100.
- 24 Sig. H1^v; TLN 165-66.
- 25 Sig. H1^v. Black and Shaaber, p. 102.
- 26 F1, sig. ee1^r; TLN 2342. F2, sig. gg3^v. Black and Shaaber, p. 138.
- 27 Paul Werstine, 'William Shakespeare', in *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research*, ed. by D. C. Greetham (New York: MLA, 1995), pp. 253-82 (p. 256); Murphy, pp. 9, 51-55.
- 28 Black and Shaaber, p. 50.

in the F2 text has not yet been fully examined. The F2 editor frequently omitted the stage directions for two kinds of sound effects, specifically, 'flourish' and 'sennet'. Black and Shaaber describe these omissions as 'arbitrary'.²⁹ Although they appear to have detected some motives underlying the omissions, the reasons behind the editor's arbitrary emendations have never been explained. From the viewpoint of modern editorial convention, it is unusual for an editor to erase printed text which records non-verbal elements of the play such as stage directions for sound effects because they would facilitate the reader's ease of understanding what is going on in the scene. Although Black and Shaaber did not recognize any principles on which the F2 editor's textual excision was based, there must have been some historical and cultural context in which his editorial decisions were made. Therefore, I consider it necessary to explore the F2 editor's motives for deleting the sound directions in the context of the seventeenth-century editorial tradition.

The F1 text contains 105 stage directions for 'flourish', amongst which 41 have been deleted from F2. As to the directions for 'sennet', among 18 in F1, 6 have been removed from F2. Table 1 details incidence of the two words referred to in stage directions in folio plays.

There are no instances of 'flourish' and 'sennet' in stage directions in F1 texts of eighteen plays. They include *The Tempest*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline*, *2 Henry IV*, and *Othello*, all of which are believed to have been set up from transcripts prepared by the professional scribe, Ralph Crane.³⁰ Among the comedies, three plays carry directions for 'flourish'. In *As You Like It* and *The Taming of the Shrew*, the sound direction occurring only once in F1 is retained in F2. F1 *All's Well That Ends Well* provides 7 instances of 'flourish', one of which has been marked for deletion in the F2 text. One of the 6 directions kept intact is a 'Flourish' preceding the entry of the Duke of Florence and his train (III. 1).³¹ Their exit is also marked by another 'Flourish' in the F1 text, while the direction has been completely removed from the F2 counterpart.³² All history plays except *King John*, *1 Henry IV* and *2 Henry IV*

29 Black and Shaaber, p. 225.

30 T. H. Howard-Hill, *Ralph Crane and Some Shakespeare First Folio Comedies* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1972); Gary Taylor and John Jowett, *Shakespeare Reshaped: 1606–1623* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), p. 240; E. A. J. Honigsmann, *The Text of 'Othello' and Shakespearian Revision* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 59–76.

31 F1, sig. V6^v; TLN 1372; F2, sig. V4^v. All the act and scene divisions are cited from *The Wadsworth Shakespeare*, ed. by G. Blakemore Evans and others, 2nd edn (Boston: Wadsworth, 1997).

32 F1, sig. XI^r; TLN 1400; F2, sig. XI^r.

Table 1 Occurrence of 'flourish' and 'sennet' in F1 and F2

Play	flourish			sennet		
	F1	F2	F1-F2	F1	F2	F1-F2
<i>The Tempest</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>The Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Measure for Measure</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>The Comedy of Errors</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Much Ado about Nothing</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>As You Like It</i>	1	1	0	0	0	0
<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i>	1	1	0	0	0	0
<i>All's Well, that Ends Well</i>	7	6	1	0	0	0
<i>Twelfth Night</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>The Winter's Tale</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>King John</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Richard II</i>	8	8	0	0	0	0
<i>1 Henry IV</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>2 Henry IV</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Henry V</i>	8	5	3	1	1 (sonet)	0
<i>1 Henry VI</i>	7	4	3	3	0	3
<i>2 Henry VI</i>	6	3	3	2	0	2
<i>3 Henry VI</i>	17	5	12	1	1 (sonet)	0
<i>Richard III</i>	4	3	1	2	1 (sonet)	1
<i>Henry VIII</i>	2	2	0	1	1 (sonet)	0
<i>Troilus and Cressida</i>	2	0	2	1	1 (sonet)	0
<i>Coriolanus</i>	9	9	0	2	2 (son(n)et)	0
<i>Titus Andronicus</i>	10	4	6	0	0	0
<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Timon of Athens</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Julius Caesar</i>	3	3	0	2	2	0
<i>Macbeth</i>	5	4	1	1	1	0
<i>Hamlet</i>	2	2	0	0	0	0
<i>King Lear</i>	4	1	3	1	1	0
<i>Othello</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Anthony and Cleopatra</i>	9	3	6	1	1	0
<i>Cymbeline</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	105	64	41	18	12	6

contain stage directions referring to ‘flourish’. Among the seven plays, only *Richard II* includes no instances of ‘sennet’. In *Henry V*, F1’s ‘*Flourish*’ which marks the exit of the king’s train (II. 2) is replaced by ‘*Exeunt*’ in F2.³³ Also, while the entry of Chorus at the beginning of Act II is heralded by ‘*Flourish*’ in F1, the F2 editor erased this sound direction from the F2 text.³⁴ In F1 1 *Henry VI*, an exit of the king’s train is marked by ‘*Sennet. Flourish. Exeunt*’ (III. 1).³⁵ The two words, ‘*Sennet*’ and ‘*Flourish*’ have been removed from F2.³⁶ From ‘*Flourish and march*’ preceding the entry of King Edward, Richard of Gloucester, Clarence and soldiers in F1 3 *Henry VI* (v. 4), ‘*Flourish*’ has been removed from the F2 counterpart, which reads ‘*March. Enter Edward, Richard, Clarence, | and Souldiers.*’³⁷ Of the tragedies, ‘flourish’ occurs in stage directions in eight plays, although *Titus Andronicus* and *Hamlet* contain no instances of ‘sennet’. F1 *Titus Andronicus* carries a superfluous ‘*Flourish*’ preceding another offstage sound direction which reads, ‘*Then Sound Trumpets, and lay the Coffins in the Tombe*’ (I. 1).³⁸ The heralding ‘*Flourish*’ has disappeared from the F2 counterpart.³⁹ The omissions of ‘flourish’ occur most frequently in the three parts of *Henry VI*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra*. It may be no coincidence that ‘sennet’ is completely omitted from the first two parts of *Henry VI*.

Table 2 F2 omission of ‘Flourish’ (emphasis mine)

Text	SD	Play and location
(1) F1 <i>Flourish</i>		(<i>All’s Well</i> , III. 1, sig. X1 ^r , TLN 1400)
F2 [deleted]		(Sig. X1 ^r)
(2) F1 <i>Flourish</i>		(<i>Henry V</i> , II. 2, sig. h4 ^r , TLN 822)
F2 <i>Exeunt</i>		(Sig. I6 ^r)
(3) F1 <i>Flourish. Enter Chorus.</i>		(<i>Henry V</i> , II. 1, sig. h5 ^r , TLN 1044)
F2 [deleted] <i>Enter Chorus.</i>		(Sig. k1 ^r)

33 F1, sig. h4^r; TLN 822; F2, sig. I6^r.

34 F1, sig. h2^v; TLN462; F2, sig. I4^v.

35 Sig. l2^r; TLN 1404.

36 Sig. m4^r.

37 F1, sig. q3^v; TLN 2952–53; F2, sig. r5^v.

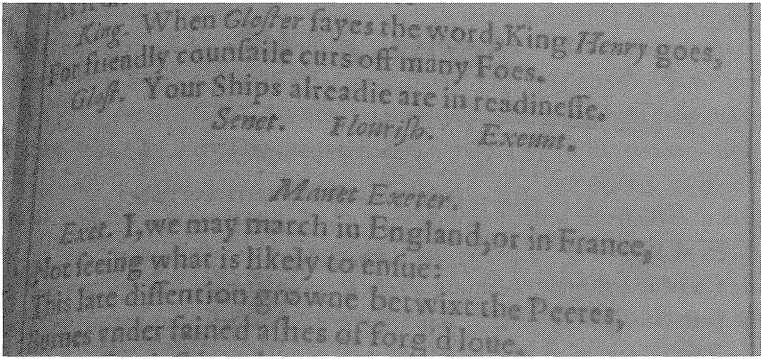
38 Sig. cc4^v; TLN 174–75.

39 Sig. ff1^r.

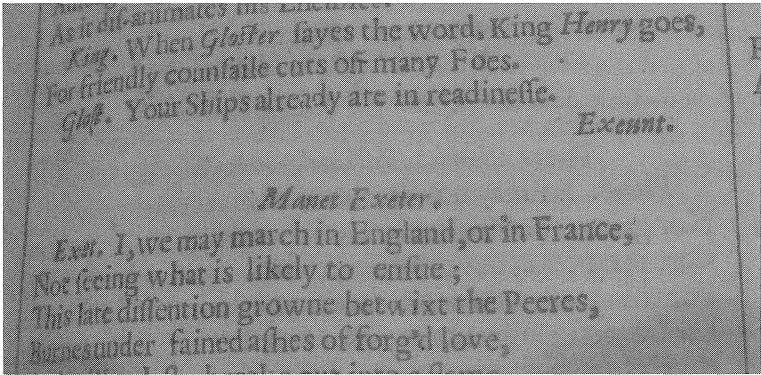
(4)	F1	<i>Sennet. Flourish. Exeunt.</i>	(1 <i>Henry VI</i> , III. 1, sig. 12 ^r , TLN 1404)
	F2	[deleted] <i>Exeunt.</i>	(Sig. m4 ^r)
(5)	F1	<i>Flourish, and march. Enter Edward, Richard, Clarence and Souldiers.</i>	(3 <i>Henry VI</i> , v. 4, sig. q3 ^v , TLN 2952-53)
	F2	[deleted] <i>March. Enter Edward, Richard, Clarence and Souldiers.</i>	(Sig. r5 ^v)
(6)	F1	<i>Flourish. Then Sound Trumpets, and lay the Coffins in the Tombe.</i>	(<i>Titus Andronicus</i> , I. 1, sig. cc4 ^v TLN 174-75)
	F2	[deleted] <i>Then Sound Trumpets, and lay the Coffins in the Tombe.</i>	(Sig. ff1 ^r)

The surrounding text of (4) in Table 2 above appears as in Figure 1.

Figure 1 F2 omission of 'Flourish' and 'Sennet' in 1 *Henry VI* (III. 1)



Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies (London, 1623), sig. 12^r, reproduced from the Meisei University Shakespeare Collection, MR0620



Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies (London, 1632), sig. m 4^r, reproduced from the Meisei University Shakespeare Collection, MR0121

V. TEXTUAL ALTERATIONS OF 'SENNET'

I have consulted microfilm page images of six copies of F2 on *Early English Books Online* (EEBO), and found no press variants in the omissions of the text.⁴⁰ Thus, from comparison between F1 and F2, it is self-evident that the F2 editor intentionally expurgated the stage directions for 'flourish' and 'sennet'. With regard to the reason for the latter's omission, Black and Shaaber suspect that the F2 editor did not understand the meaning of the word 'sennet'.

The word *sennet*, used in stage-directions to indicate a trumpet call, he evidently did not recognize: four times he struck it out, six times he changed it to *son(n)et*, and five times he let it stand. Whether he understood his substitute, *sonnet*, as the verse-form or as some derivative of the Latin *sonus* is a question.⁴¹

To be more precise, there are eighteen stage directions which refer to the word 'sennet' in F1. The word is removed from six of them, altered into 'son(n)et' in seven, and remains unchanged in five in F2.

Table 3 shows all the directions collated between F1 and F2, arranging the lines as they appear in each text. Before setting out to explore the editorial context in which the word 'sennet' as well as 'flourish' was excised from six F2 directions, I will consider the question as to whether the F2 editor understood the former's meaning.

The ground on which Black and Shaaber based their argument that the F2 editor did not recognize the word 'sennet' is his alteration of the word into 'son(n)et'. Although they did not mention this in their monograph, they may have been aware that *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (NED) did not record the use of 'sennet' after 1619. This has been pointed out by G. Blakemore Evans in an attempt to date 'the Padua *Macbeth* prompt-book'. He writes, 'by 1660 the technical theatre term "sennet" seems to have been completely obsolete; indeed the NED records no later use than 1619.'⁴² The period during which the word is reported to have been used corresponds to that indicated by *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama: 1580-1642*, which records references to 'sennet' in extant plays and plots dated between

⁴⁰ The copies consulted on EEBO are STC 22274-22274e. None of the previous studies on F2 addresses press variants across its copies.

⁴¹ Black and Shaaber, p. 41.

⁴² G. Blakemore Evans, 'General Introduction' in *Shakespearean Prompt-books of the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1960), p. 7. I am grateful to Professor Tomonari Kuwayama for drawing my attention to Evans's reference to the word.

Table 3 Editorial treatment of 'sennet' in F2 (emphasis mine)

I. 'Sennet' deleted

	Text	SD	Play and location
(1)	F ₁ <i>Senet. Flourish. Exeunt.</i> <i>Manet Exeter.</i>		(1 <i>Henry VI</i> , sig. 12 ^r , TLN 1404-05)
	F ₂ [deleted] <i>Exeunt.</i> <i>Manet Exeter.</i>		(Sig. m4 ^r)
(2)	F ₁ <i>Senet. Flourish. Exeunt.</i> <i>Manet Vernon and Basset.</i>		(1 <i>Henry VI</i> , sig. 13 ^r , TLN 1720-21)
	F ₂ [deleted] <i>Exeunt.</i> <i>Manent Vernon and Basset.</i>		(Sig. m5 ^r)
(3)	F ₁ <i>Scena Secunda.</i> <i>SENNET.</i> <i>Enter King, Gloucester, and Exeter.</i>		(1 <i>Henry VI</i> , sig. 15 ^v , TLN 2332-34)
	F ₂ <i>Scena Secunda.</i> [deleted] <i>Enter King, Gloucester, and Exeter.</i>		(Sig. n1 ^v)
(4)	F ₁ <i>Sound a Sennet.</i> <i>Enter the King, Duke Humfrey, Cardinall, Bucking-</i> <i>ham, Yorke, Salisbury, Warwicke,</i> <i>and the Duchesse.</i>		(2 <i>Henry VI</i> , sig. m4 ^v , TLN 487-90)
	F ₂ [deleted] <i>Enter the King, Duke Humfrey, Cardinall, Bucking-</i> <i>ham, Yorke, Salsbury, Warwicke,</i> <i>and the Duchesse.</i>		(Sig. n6 ^v)
(5)	F ₁ <i>Sound a Senet. Enter King, Queene, Cardinall, Suffolke,</i> <i>Yorke, Buckingham, Salisbury, and Warwicke,</i> <i>to the Parliament.</i>		(2 <i>Henry VI</i> , sig. n1 ^v , TLN 1292-94)
	F ₂ [deleted] <i>Enter King, Queene, Cardinall, Suffolke, Yorke,</i> <i>Buckingham, Salisbury, and Warwicke,</i> <i>to the Parliament.</i>		(Sig. o3 ^v)
(6)	F ₁ <i>A Senet. Exeunt Prince, Yorke, Hastings, and Dorset.</i> <i>Manet Richard, Buckingham, and Catesby.</i>		(<i>Richard III</i> , sig. r6 ^r TLN 1735-36)
	F ₂ [deleted] <i>Exeunt Prince, Yorke, Hastings, and Dorset.</i> <i>Manent Richard, Buckingham, and Catesby.</i>		(Sig. t2 ^r)

II. 'Sennet' altered into 'Son(n)et'

	Text	SD	Play and location
(7)	F ₁ <i>Senet. Exeunt.</i> <i>Enter Chorus.</i>		(<i>Henry V</i> , sig. k2 ^r , TLN 3366-67)
	F ₂ Sonet. <i>Exeunt.</i> <i>Enter Chorus.</i>		(Sig. l4 ^r)
(8)	F ₁ <i>Senet. Here they come downe.</i>		(3 <i>Henry VI</i> , sig. o5 ^r , TLN 233)
	F ₂ Sonet. <i>Here they come downe.</i>		(Sig. q1 ^r)
(9)	F ₁ <i>Sound a Sennet. Enter Richard in pompe, Buc-</i> <i>kingham, Catesby, Ratcliffe, Louel.</i>		(<i>Richard III</i> , sig. s3 ^v , TLN 2488-89)
	F ₂ <i>Sound a Sonnet. Enter Richard in pompe, Buc-</i> <i>kingham, Catesby, Ratcliffe, Lovel.</i>		(Sig. t5 ^v)

(10)	F ₁	<i>Scena Quarta.</i> <i>Trumpets, Sennet, and Cornets.</i> <i>Enter two Vergers, with short siluer wands; [...]</i>	(<i>Henry VIII</i> , sig. v2 ^r , TLN 1331-49)
	F ₂	<i>Scena Quarta.</i> <i>Trumpets, Sonnet, and Cornets.</i> <i>Enter two Vergers, with short siluer wands; [...]</i>	(Sig. x4 ^r)
(11)	F ₁	<i>Senet. Enter Agamemnon, Nestor, Vhysses, Diomedes, Menelaus, with others.</i>	(<i>Troilus and Cressida</i> , sig. ¶ 1 ^r , TLN 454-55)
	F ₂	<i>Sonnet. Enter Agamemnon, Nestor, Vhysses, Diomedes, Menelaus, with others.</i>	(Sig. aa3 ^r)
(12)	F ₁	<i>A Sennet. Trumpets sound.</i> <i>Enter Cominius the Generall, and Titus Latius: be tweene them Coriolanus, crown'd with an Oaken Garland, with Capitaines and Souldiers, and a Herald.</i>	(<i>Coriolanus</i> , sig. aa5 ^r , TLN 1059-63)
	F ₂	<i>A Sonnet. Trumpets sound.</i> <i>Enter Cominius the Generall, and Titus Latius: betweene them Coriolanus, crown'd with an Oaken Garland, with Capitaines and Souldiers, and a Herald.</i>	(Sig. dd1 ^v)
(13)	F ₁	<i>A Sennet. Enter the Patricians, and the Tribunes of the People, Lictors before them: Coriolanus, Menenius, Cominius the Consul: Scicinius and Brutus take their places by themselves: Coriolanus stands.</i>	(<i>Coriolanus</i> , sig. aa5 ^v , TLN 1239-43)
	F ₂	<i>A Sonnet. Enter the Patricians, and the Tribunes of the People, Lictors before them: Coriolanus, Menenius, Cominius the Consul: Scicinius and Brutus take their places by themselves: Coriolanus stands.</i>	(Sig. dd2 ^r)
III. Unchanged			
(14)	Text	SD	Play and location
	F ₁	<i>Sennet. Exeunt. Manet Brut. & Cass.</i>	(<i>Julius Caesar</i> , sig. kk1 ^v , TLN 115)
(15)	F ₂	<i>Sennet. Exeunt. Manent Brut. & Cass.</i>	(Sig. ll5 ^v)
	F ₁	<i>Sennit.</i> <i>Exeunt Caesar and his Trainee.</i>	(<i>Julius Caesar</i> , sig. kk2 ^r , TLN 316)
(16)	F ₂	<i>Sennit.</i> <i>Exeunt Caesar and his Trainee.</i>	(Sig. ll6 ^r)
	F ₁	<i>Senit sounded. Enter Macbeth as King, Lady Lenox, Rosse, Lords, and Attendants.</i>	(<i>Macbeth</i> , sig. mm4 ^r , TLN 992-93)
(17)	F ₂	<i>Senit sounded. Enter Macbeth as King, Lady Lenox, Rosse, Lords, and Attendants.</i>	(Sig. oo2 ^r)
	F ₁	<i>Sennet. Enter King Lear, Cornwall, Albany, Gonerill, Regan, Cordelia, and attendants.</i>	(<i>King Lear</i> , sig. qq2 ^r , TLN 37-38)
(17)	F ₂	<i>Sennet. Enter King Lear, Cornwall, Albany, Gonerill, Regan, Cordelia, and attendants.</i>	(Sig. rr6 ^r)

	<i>A Sennet sounded.</i>	(Anthony and Cleopatra, sig. x5 ^v ,
F1	Enter Caesar, Anthony, Pompey, Lepidus, Agrippa, Mecnas,	TLN 1352–54)
(18)	<i>Enobarbus, Menes, with other Capitaines.</i>	
	<i>A Sennet sounded.</i>	
F2	Enter Caesar, Anthony, Pompey, Lepidus, Agrippa, Mecnas	(Sig. zz3 ^v)
	<i>Enobarbus, Menas, with other Capitaines.</i>	

1589 and 1619.⁴³ These data shed some light on what Black and Shaaber's assumption implies. What they believed is that somebody not old enough to know what 'sennet' meant was involved in editing the F2 text around 1630. This might provide a possible explanation for why the F2 editor deleted the word 'sennet': he simply did not understand it. Yet, it does not explain why he removed 'flourish'.

Another possibility is that the F2 editor rewrote the word 'sennet' into 'son(n)et' because he preferred to use the latter as a spelling variant of the former. In fact, the variant form 'sonnet' is used to mean 'sennet' in the 1604 quarto of *The Tragicall Historie of Doctor Faustus*. The stage direction reads, 'Sound a Sonnet, enter the Pope and the Cardinall of Lorraine | to the banquet, with Friers attending.'⁴⁴ In the 1609 and 1611 editions, the word 'Sonnet' is altered into another variant 'Sinet'.⁴⁵ Although the corresponding stage direction is not included in the 1616 version, the so-called B-text of *Faustus*, the B text itself calls for 'Senit' at two other places in the play.⁴⁶ The variant spellings of 'sennet' occurring across different editions of *Faustus* demonstrate that there was no standardized form of spelling the word, and compositors as well as writers including scribes and editors employed their preferred spellings.⁴⁷ Therefore, it is highly possible that in the Second Folio of Shakespeare, the alteration made to 'sennet' reflects the editor's spelling preference, and that 'son(n)et' was used to mean a set of musical notes 'as a signal for the ceremonial entrance or exit of a body of players'.⁴⁸

'Sonet', identified as an obsolete word in the *OED*, used to mean 'song,

43 Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama: 1580–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 191.

44 Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragicall Historie of Doctor Faustus* (London, 1604), sig. D2^r. *OED* cites this stage direction as an example of a spelling variant of 'sennet'.

45 Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragicall History of the Horrible Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* (London, 1609), sig. D2^r; Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragicall History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* (London, 1611), sig. D3^r.

46 Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragicall History of the Horrible Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* (London, 1616), sigs E3^r, E4^r.

47 For the absence of norms of spellings in the period, see Anthony G. Petti, *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. 29, 31.

48 *OED*, 'sennet'.

melody' or 'music' between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries.⁴⁹ It derives from the same Latin word 'sonus' as 'sonnet' which Black and Shaaber interpret to mean a 'verse-form'.⁵⁰ On the other hand, 'sennet' may derive from 'signet', another obsolete word, meaning 'signal'.⁵¹ As noted in the *OED*, 'signet' does not imply any connotations of a musical sound. Departing from its derivation, 'sennet' came to signify 'a set of notes on trumpet or cornet'.⁵² The fact that 'sennet' acquired the meaning of 'a set of musical notes' may be attributed to some confusion between the two words, 'sennet' initially as a spelling variant of 'signet', and 'son(n)et' which originally means a musical sound. What is suggested by the change of the word 'sennet' into 'son(n)et' in F2 is that the latter was still used as a spelling variant of 'sennet' in the 1630s.

The F2 editor who made the spelling change might not have been as young or ignorant as Black and Shaaber imagined. Because he knew what 'sennet' meant, he might have decided to modify the spelling seven times and to delete the whole word six times. The textual change from 'sennet' to 'sonnet' is explained by the editor's spelling preference, but the question as to why the whole word was removed from six directions needs to be considered in light of editorial convention in contemporary dramatic publication. In fact, it was not the first time that the folio text had been subject to the excision of sound effects. Almost all the directions for offstage sounds had already been removed from at least seven plays of the F1 text. As Gary Taylor pointed out in 1993, such directions as 'alarum, chambers, flourish, knock, music, noise, sennet, and trumpet' are almost completely absent from the F1 texts of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline*, *2 Henry IV*, and *Othello*.⁵³ As stated above, all the seven plays as well as *The Tempest* in F1 are considered to have been set up from the printer's copy prepared by Crane. A later discussion will show that Crane most probably deleted all the directions calling for offstage sound effects in the process of introducing massed entries into the F1 plays under the influence of Ben Jonson's editorial convention. This convention may have influenced the F2 editor, and prompted him to remove the stage directions for 'flourish' and 'sennet'.

49 *OED*, 'sonet'.

50 See note 41 above.

51 *OED*, 'signet', 5.

52 See note 48 above.

53 Gary Taylor, 'Swounds Revisited: Theatrical, Editorial, and Literary Expurgation', in *Shakespeare Reshaped: 1606-1623*, pp. 51-106 (p. 72).

VI. INTERPRETATIONS OF THE ABSENCE OF OFFSTAGE DIRECTIONS

The absence of offstage directions in a printed play has often been attributed to the provenance of its copy-text. As many of the stage directions for music and properties added by the bookkeeper for theatrical use occur in the left margins of extant playbooks, textual scholars have been inclined to suspect that such theatrical annotations 'might easily lead to conflation in a printed text'.⁵⁴ For example, in Act II Scene 3 of F1 *Macbeth* where the regicide of Duncan is discovered by Macduff, one of the latter's speeches is closed with a line 'Ring the Bell', which is immediately followed by a stage direction reading '*Bell rings. Enter Lady*'.⁵⁵ Pointing out that the last three words printed as part of Macduff's speech had been inserted in the margin of a playbook by theatre personnel for 'the Bell to be rung', Lewis Theobald edited them out from his 1733 edition.⁵⁶ His view was elaborated on by W. W. Greg who considered 'Ring the Bell' to be a duplicate note added by the theatre personnel as an emphasis of the authorial direction, '*Bell rings*'.⁵⁷ The theory of duplicated directions was employed by some editors such as John Dover Wilson and Kenneth Muir to explain that repeated occurrences of stage directions for '*Hoboyes*', '*Torches*', and '*fighting*' in the play originated in the theatrical script.⁵⁸ In addition, at the end of Act III Scene 5, there are two well-

54 W. W. Greg, *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1942), p. 37; William B. Long, 'Stage-Directions: A Misinterpreted Factor in Determining Textual Provenance', *Text*, 2 (1985), 121–37 (pp. 129–30). Possible print reflections of such theatrical notes are found in John Ford, *'Tis Pitty Shee's a Whore* (London, 1633), sig. I3^v, where an entrance direction for Giovanni and an offstage sound of 'Florish' are printed in the left margin of the main text. For a more recent study on manuscript plays, see Paul Werstine, *Early Modern Playhouse Manuscripts and the Editing of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

55 Sig. mm3^v; TLN 835–36.

56 *The Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. by Lewis Theobald, 7 vols (London, 1733), v, 385–472 (p. 415). For later adoption of Theobald's change, see *Macbeth*, ed. by Kenneth Muir (London: Methuen, 1951; repr. London: Thomson, 2002), pp. xiii, 64; *Macbeth*, ed. by A. R. Braunmuller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 153, 241, 247; *William Shakespeare, The Complete Works: Compact Edition* ed. by Stanley Wells and others (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988; repr. 1998), p. 984; *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion*, ed. by Stanley Wells and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987; repr. London: Norton, 1997), p. 545.

57 W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio: Its Bibliographical and Textual History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955; repr. 1965), p. 394.

58 *Macbeth*, ed. by John Dover Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947; repr. 2008), p. 88; *Macbeth*, ed. by Muir (2002), p. xiii; *Macbeth*, ed. by Braunmuller, p. 247. See also note 56 above. Greg infers that the annotation of '*Hoboyes, and Torches*.' was mistakenly added at the beginning of l. 6 (sig. mm1^v; TLN 431) by the bookkeeper who corrected it by repeating the same directions at the beginning of l. 7 (sig. mm2^r; TLN 471). The recurrence of '*fighting*' in two successive directions for

known directions that call for a song, ‘*Musicke, and a Song.*’, and ‘*Sing within. Come away, come away, &c.*’, which are printed with two lines of Hecate’s speech in between.⁵⁹ Editors often considered the second direction to have been copied from the first by theatre personnel in preparation for the stage and simply deleted the words ‘Sing within’.⁶⁰ William B. Long has warned against a possible error caused by an attempt to discriminate in a printed play a theatrical hand from authorial directions that often include references to offstage sound effects and properties.⁶¹ However, as shown above, such references to offstage sounds or to properties in stage directions in a printed play have been used as evidence that its copy-text descended from a theatrical manuscript or a transcript of it.

Therefore, a paucity of those directions in printed plays has been frequently regarded as an indication that their copy-texts descended from authorial manuscripts which had not received theatrical annotations. T. H. Howard-Hill asserted ‘directions for music and properties’ were indications of stage production, and he ascribed the lack of offstage directions of the F1 texts of *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* to authorial drafts which he considered were the source for Ralph Crane’s transcript.⁶² Also, considering ‘directions for disguise or the sounding of trumpets’ to be ‘necessary in prompt-copy’, J. W. Lever explained that ‘they do not appear’ in F1 *Measure for Measure*, ‘because they were not in the rough draft’.⁶³ Furthermore, the absence of such directions in the play did not convince Brian Gibbons of the revived argument of Oxford editors ‘that Crane’s copy was the playhouse “book”’.⁶⁴

Their hypothesis that the lack of offstage directions could be traced back to the author’s manuscripts was refuted by Gary Taylor. He contends that Shakespeare wrote some notes calling for sound effects because ‘all of the printed texts apparently set from Shakespeare’s own papers. — good quartos, and the Folio texts of *Comedy, All’s Well, Henry V, and Timon* —

Macduff’s and Macbeth’s exit and re-entry at the end of v. 8 (sig. nn4^f; TLN 2476–77) has been considered to reflect a revision in the staging of Macbeth’s death.

59 F1, sig. mm6^f; TLN 1464–67.

60 *Macbeth*, ed. by Wilson, pp. 51, 88; *Macbeth*, ed. by Muir (2002), p. 100; *Macbeth*, ed. by Braunmuller, p. 186. See also Muir’s introduction to the tenth edition of Arden Shakespeare reprinted in 1977 (p. xi).

61 Long, ‘Stage-Directions’, pp. 125–26, 129–30.

62 Howard-Hill, pp. 113, 118–19.

63 *Measure for Measure*, ed. by J. W. Lever (London: Methuen, 1965; repr. 2008), p. xxiv.

64 *Measure for Measure*, ed. by Brian Gibbons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991; repr. 2003), p. 204. For the argument about the provenance of Crane’s copy-text, see *Textual Companion*, p. 468.

contain directions for offstage sounds'.⁶⁵ This claim corresponds with Long's research findings. On the basis of his detailed investigation into 'sixteen surviving manuscript playbooks' from early modern England, Long writes, 'theatrical personnel most often add words to the left margin [...] and nearly all of these are repetitions of the playwright's words.'⁶⁶ This evidence strengthens Taylor's argument that such stage directions as refer to offstage events had existed in the copy-text which Ralph Crane used to prepare a printer's copy for F1. If this was the case, they must have disappeared after Crane edited the text to be read. Therefore, Taylor ascribes the absence of directions for offstage sound effects in the folio plays transcribed by Crane to his editorial intervention.⁶⁷

Crane most probably removed those offstage directions under the influence of Jonsonian editorial convention. While he was employed by the King's Company between around 1619 and 1623 to produce transcripts of their plays,⁶⁸ he worked for individual playwrights such as Ben Jonson, Thomas Middleton, John Webster, and John Fletcher. His earliest extant manuscript is Jonson's *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, and apparently the scribe acquired a Jonsonian style of textual presentation.⁶⁹ In his *Ralph Crane and Shakespeare First Folio Comedies* (1972), T. H. Howard-Hill details 'conspicuous similarities between the general features' of Crane transcripts and Jonson's holograph manuscripts. They are represented by their idiosyncratic use of apostrophes and spellings coupled with the neoclassical convention of massed entries.⁷⁰ The influence of Jonsonian textualism is conspicuously reflected in Crane's introduction of massed entries into some F1 plays of Shakespeare.

VII. JONSONIAN CONVENTION OF MASSED ENTRIES AND SUPPRESSION OF INTERNAL STAGE DIRECTIONS

Massed entries are lists of the names of characters provided at the beginning of each scene in which they appear. Jonson first adopted the system of massed entries in the quarto editions of *The Fovntaine of Selfe Love, or Cynthia's Revels* (1601) and *Poetaster, or the Arraignment* (1602) on the model of Continental

65 See note 53 above.

66 Long, 'Stage-Directions', pp. 122–23, 129–30.

67 See note 53 above.

68 The plays, transcripts of which he prepared for the Company during this period, include Fletcher and Massinger's *Sir John Van Olden Barnavel* (1619), *The Prophetess* (1622), *The Spanish Curate* (c. 1622), Thomas Middleton's *Women Beware Women* (c. 1621; printed in 1657) and Fletcher and Rowley's *The Maid in the Mill* (1623).

69 DNB, 'Ralph Crane' (fl. 1589–1632).

70 Howard-Hill, *Ralph Crane* (1972), p. 10.

humanist editions of classical Greek and Latin comedies.⁷¹ Massed entries are neither onstage directions for actors to enter the stage nor offstage ones for any other theatre personnel to prepare costumes and properties. They serve the reader as a reduced version of *dramatis personae* appearing in each scene. In 'an apologetically Dialogue' post-fixed to *Poetaster* in the 1616 folio (hereafter F), the heading of the massed entries for 'NASVTVS, POLYPOSVS, AVTHOR' reads, 'The Persons'.⁷² It is obvious that the heading 'The Persons' is a contracted form of 'The Persons of the Play', the very wording of which is used to designate the *dramatis personae* prefixed to all the folio plays except for *Every Man out of His Humour*.⁷³

The system of massed entries enabled Jonson to suppress separate stage directions for later entries. The suppression of individual entry directions appears to have promoted the elimination of other internal stage directions included in the text of the dialogue. The quarto text (hereafter Q) of *Sejanus, His Fall* (1605) shows how Jonson developed the system of massed entries in order to completely exclude internal stage directions for both entrance and exit.⁷⁴ The play is divided into five acts. The text of each act is subdivided by a row of massed entries at each point where a new character joins in the dialogue.

There are no numerical indications of scene divisions. Each row of massed entries is centred in a column with a blank line both above and below them. The textual function of massed entries is to clarify those who are on the stage and who engage in the dialogue which follows. Instead of marking exits of the characters, Jonson chose to remove their names from the massed entries set at the head of the next block of the dialogue. Close to the end of Act I, after Drusus strikes Sejanus and leaves the stage with Arruntius and others, Sejanus delivers a soliloquy. Instead of marking the exit of the other characters, Jonson placed the name of Sejanus alone in the centre to indicate that he is the only one left on the stage.⁷⁵

71 Ben Jonson, *The Fountaine of Selfe Love, or Cynthia's Revels* (London, 1601); Ben Jonson, *Poetaster, or the Arraignment* (London, 1602); Herford, and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, IX, 46; Howard-Hill, p. 20. For the influence of the humanist editions of ancient drama on the 1616 Jonson Folio, see Mark Bland, 'William Stansby and the Production of The Workes of Benjamin Jonson, 1615–1616', *The Library*, 20 (1998), 1–33 (pp. 24–25).

72 Ben Jonson, *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* (London, 1616), sig. Ff6^v.

73 The *dramatis personae* of the eight plays in the 1616 folio are headed with 'The Persons of the Play'. They occur in Jonson, *The Workes* (1616), sigs A2^v, P6^v, Z5^v, Gg6^r, Pp2^v, Xx6^v, Eee2^v, Kkk5^v. Only in *Every Man out of His Humour* are the *dramatis personae* titled 'The Names of the Actors' (G2^v).

74 Ben Jonson, *Sejanus, His Fall* (London, 1605).

75 Jonson, *Sejanus*, sig. C4^v.

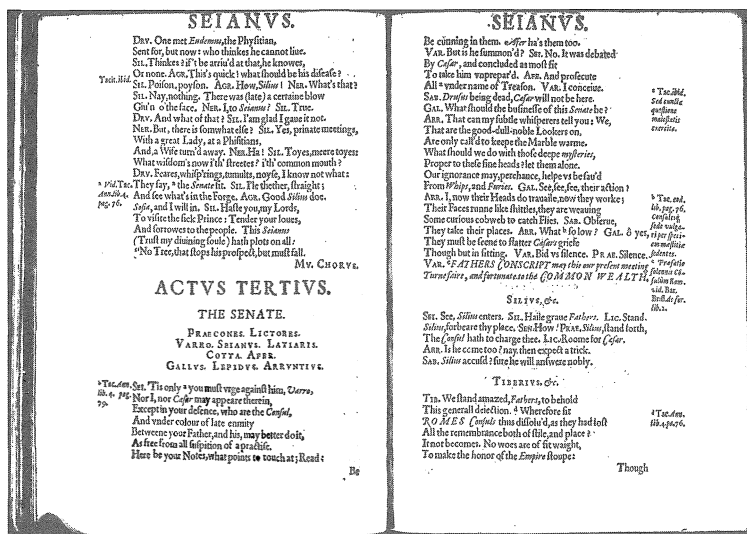


Figure 2 Massed entries in Ben Jonson, *Sejanus, His Fall* (London, 1605), sigs E3^v-E4^r, EEBO

In this text, there are no directions which refer to properties and music except for textual indications of the chorus of musicians presented at the end of each act. The author's confession of his failure to include 'a proper *Chorus*' in his address 'To the Reader' suggests that it was not performed on the stage.⁷⁶ The textual indications of the chorus of musicians demonstrate that Jonson intended to present his printed play in imitation of the neoclassical format of drama.

The convention of massed entries came to be adopted, if not consistently, in some later print editions or transcripts of seventeenth-century English plays.⁷⁷ Crane's involvement with post-Jonsonian texts has been discussed since the 1920s, and Howard-Hill established in 1972 that Crane introduced massed entries into the Shakespeare folio texts of *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *The Winter's Tale*, the Malone Manuscript of *A Game at Chess* and the first quarto of *The Duchesse of Malfy*.⁷⁸ Relying on

76 Sig. ¶ 2^r

77 Among them were Q *Othello* (1622), Webster's *The Tragedy of the Duchesse of Malfy* (1623), the FI texts of *Two Gentlemen*, *Merry Wives*, *Winter's Tale*, 1 *Henry IV* and 2 *Henry IV*, and the Malone Manuscript of *A Game at Chess* (c. 1625). See Greg, *Editorial Problem*, pp. 70, 109, 116, 129, 136–37, 141, 151, 175–76; Howard-Hill, p. 21; Thomas Middleton, *A Game at Chess*, ed. by T. H. Howard-Hill and others, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. ix.

78 Howard-Hill, pp. 21, 112–13, 118, 129–30, 139. Previous discussions about why

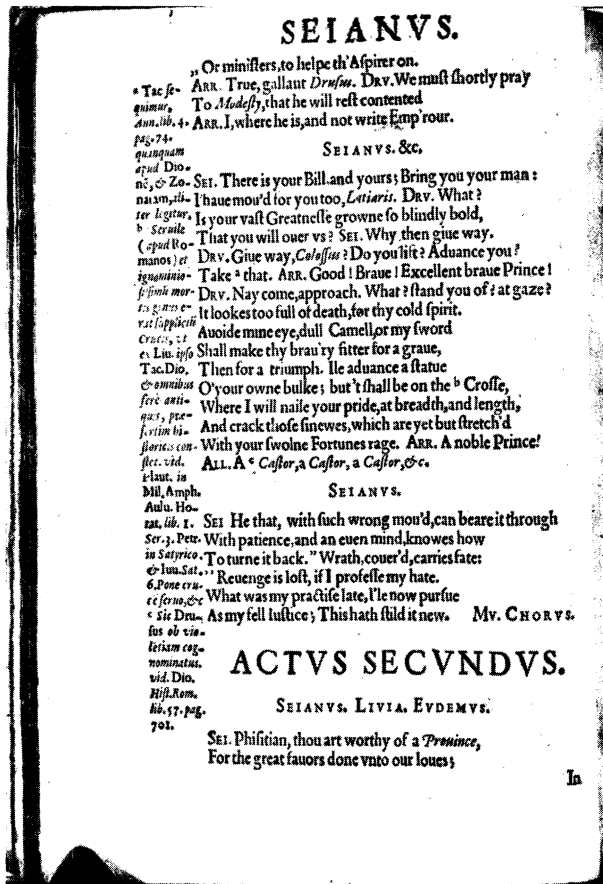


Figure 3 Omission of exit directions and an indication of 'MV. CHORVS' at the end of Act I in *Sejanus* (1605), sig. C4^v, EEBO

Howard-Hill's study on Crane's textual practices, in 1996, E. A. J. Honigsmann confirmed in his *The Texts of 'Othello' and Shakespearian Revision* that the FI texts of *Othello* and *2 Henry IV* were also set up from Crane's copy-texts.⁷⁹ In the latter play, the system of massed entries is partially employed.

Although Gary Taylor states that stage directions for offstage sounds are completely absent from the FI texts of the seven plays set up from Crane's

and how massed entries found their way into printed plays of Shakespeare are summarised in Amy Bowles, 'Dressing the Text: Ralph Crane's Scribal Publication of Drama', *RES*, 67 (2016), 405–27 (pp. 414–15).

79 Honigsmann, *The Texts of 'Othello'*, pp. 59–76, 165–68.

transcripts,⁸⁰ in *2 Henry IV*, there are two such directions associated with the employment of music and offstage sounds. One entry direction in II. 4 reads 'Enter Musique'.⁸¹ The other appears in the final scene of Henry V's coronation along with the entry of the King with his train. It reads, '*The Trumpets sound. Enter King Henrie the | Fift, Brothers, Lord Chiefe | Iustice*'.⁸² John Jowett observes that the F1 play preserves 'no stage directions which do not involve an entry or exit', and that the scribe refined his copy-text 'in a "literary" manner' by removing "'theatrical" apparatus'.⁸³ The entry direction for musicians may have dispensed with a bare direction for music. Although Falstaff's reference to 'A merrie Song' and his order to 'Pay the Musitions' suggest that a song accompanied by music continues to be sung during the dialogues of about 150 lines, there are no separate directions either for a song or for music.⁸⁴

In contrast, '*Trumpets sound.*' preceding Henry V's processional entry has been added in the process of revising stage directions. In the counterpart 1600 quarto text (Q), the direction appears without the heralding fanfare: '*Enter the King and his traine.*'⁸⁵ Instead, a direction of the same wording as F1, '*Trumpets sound*' is incorporated in an earlier procession immediately followed by an entry of Falstaff and his companions. It reads, '*Trumpets sound, and the King, and his traine passe ouer the | stage: after them enter Falstaffe, Shallow, Pistol, | Bardolfe and the Boy.*'⁸⁶ The fanfare and the King's procession are not included in the F1 counterpart, the text of which reads, 'Enter Falstaffe, Shallow, Pistoll, Bardolfe, and Page.'⁸⁷ Eleanor Prosser, noting that 'the Folio's omission of the first procession most certainly does not reflect adaptation for the stage', considers the F1 text to have been derived from the author's drafts.⁸⁸ Jowett points out that 'Q might retain a first intention later abandoned, or a change of intention within the foul papers themselves' and attributes F1's omission of the processional entry to authorial revision. He writes, 'it is entirely characteristic of a prompt-book text to sort out staging problems (and correspondingly unlikely that a scribe would be

80 See note 53 above.

81 F1, sig. g5^v; TLN 1247.

82 F1, sig. gg7^r; TLN 3247-49.

83 John Jowett, 'Cuts and Casting: Author and Book-Keeper in the Folio Text of "2 Henry IV"', *AUMLA*, 72 (1989), 275-95 (p. 283).

84 F1, sigs. g5^v (TLN 1301), g6^r (TLN 1401).

85 William Shakespeare, *The Second Part of Henrie the Fourth* (London, 1600), sig. K4^v.

86 *2 Henrie the Fourth*, sig. K4^r.

87 Sig. gg7^r; TLN 3211.

88 Eleanor Prosser, *Shakespeare's Anonymous Editors: Scribe and Composer in the Folio Text of 2 Henry IV* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981), p. 48.

concerned with them).⁸⁹

Although Jowett considers Q's double processions to cause 'staging problems', the first one is presented in the style of a dumb show, therefore, it does not affect the flow of the performance. In fact, except F1's omissions of oaths, the speeches surrounding the two entry directions completely correspond to each other in the two editions. Therefore, the textual variance in the stage directions between Q and F1 appears to be more concerned with the reading of the text than its staging. As already cited above, Q's second processional entry, 'Enter the King and his traine' is changed into '*The Trumpets sound. Enter King Henrie the | Fifth, Brothers, Lord Chiefe | Iustice*'. While removing the first procession from the F1 text, the reviser added the trumpet fanfare to the second direction for the King's entry to be understood as a procession for the coronation ceremony. In both Q and F1, the fact that the coronation ceremony is taking place within the scene is clearly indicated by Pistol's speech: '*There roared the sea, and trumpet Clangor sounds*'.⁹⁰ After some rehearsals and actual stage performances, there would be no need for actors and theatrical personnel to be informed by the F1's revised direction of the King's procession which occurs following Pistol's reference to the fanfare. It seems most likely that the F1's processional entry is revised for the convenience of the reader. The change was made as a result of the omission of the dumb show of the earlier procession. Considering that the copy-text of F1 2 *Henry IV* was prepared by Crane, who 'could have removed "theatrical apparatus" in his copy',⁹¹ it seems well within the possibility that the scribe revised the two directions.

Some other textual evidence provided by Q 2 *Henry IV* also corroborates the view that stage directions for offstage sounds were removed from the F1 counterparts. The Q text, which is thought to have been printed from authorial drafts, contains three directions for offstage sound effects.⁹² They are 'shout.' (IV. 2), 'Alarum' (IV 2), and 'Trumpets' (V. 5).⁹³ Crane's copy-text for the F1 play is believed to have been either a theatrical script or another scribal manuscript of the theatrical script staged after 1606.⁹⁴ Long's research

89 Jowett, 'Cuts and Casting', p. 284-85.

90 2 *Henrie the Fourth*, sig. K4^v. The F1 counterpart reads '*There roar'd the Sea: and Trumpet Clangour sounds*.' (sig. gg7^r; TLN 3245-46).

91 See note 89 above.

92 *Henry IV, Part 2*, ed. by René Weis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 90-91.

93 2 *Henrie the Fourth*, sigs G3^r, G3^v, K4^r.

94 *Henry IV, Part 2*, ed. by Weis, pp. 93-99; Taylor, 'Swounds Revisited', pp. 66-70. The F1 text has been cleared of profanity in compliance with the 'Acte to Restraine Abuses of Players' which was passed by an English Parliament in 1606 to prohibit an actor from speaking 'the holy Name of God or of Christ Jesus, or of the Holy Ghoste

demonstrates that authorial manuscripts were used as a playbook, and that the author's stage directions were rarely changed by theatrical personnel in preparation for the stage.⁹⁵ If this was the case with Shakespeare's drafts of 2 *Henry IV*, the three authorial directions for offstage sounds printed in Q were most probably retained in the playbook which was at two or three removes from F1. Therefore, the absence of the directions from F1 attests that they were excised by Crane in the process of producing a text of more literary kind.

Thus, Crane's suppression of stage directions for music and other offstage sounds in his transcripts of the other folio plays may safely be attributed to his intention to eliminate theatrical elements from the dramatic texts. Expurgation of stage directions for music and offstage sound effects is not idiosyncratic to Crane's procedure of preparing a literary transcript of a play. There seems to have been a general tendency to discriminate between stage directions for theatrical use and those for the use of reading as evidenced by the convention of massed entries in the neoclassical textual tradition in dramatic publication. The quarto text of Lyly's *Endymion* (1591) is reported to have derived from an author's edited copy.⁹⁶ The text presents massed entries and sparse internal stage directions. Furthermore, it omits songs and a dumb show that are included in the 1632 version published in a collection of six court comedies by Edward Blount.⁹⁷ David Bevington, the editor of the Revels Plays' edition, ascribes the omission of the dumb show to Lyly. While he observes that 'the omission of the dumb show at II. 3. 67. 1-12 seems especially to underscore the literary nature of this text', he interprets the omission as the author's intention not to present the text as 'a record of theatrical performance'.⁹⁸ There was certainly a tendency to eliminate theatricality from stage directions in conventional textual practice when reproducing a literary dramatic text for publication. Although the differentiation between theatricality and literariness seems to have been made rather arbitrarily, the editor, whether he was an author or a scribe, seems to have expurgated those directions which are 'not necessary for sense in reading the play'.⁹⁹

The convention of eliminating offstage sound directions came to be

or the Trinitie' on the stage. For the 1606 act, see E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), IV (1923; repr. 1967), 338-39.

95 Long, 'Stage-Directions', pp. 124, 126.

96 David Bevington, *Endymion*, by John Lyly (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 3; John Lyly, *Endymion: The Man in the Moone* (London, 1591).

97 See note 96 above. John Lyly, *Six Court Comedies* (London, 1632), sigs C7^v-C8^r, D2^r, E2^{r-v}, E4^r.

98 Bevington, p. 4.

99 See note 98 above.

adopted independently of massed entries. It is most evident in plays published by Henry Herringman in 1660s, one of which is the 1661 quarto (Q) of *The Mayor of Quinborough*.¹⁰⁰ The quarto play omits twenty stage directions for music and noises out of twenty-four present in an earlier version of the play preserved in two manuscripts.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, scholars never took into consideration the possibility that an unknown editor removed the twenty offstage sound directions from the quarto version. R. C. Bald believed that the absence of the stage directions for sound effects in Q represented a feature of authorial rough drafts that had not received theatrical annotations. On the other hand, Grace Ioppolo argued that music had not been employed in later performances of *Mayor of Quinborough*, as the quarto version includes no stage directions for it. However, more detailed research of the play has corroborated that the omissions of the sound directions were, in fact, later excisions made in the process of editing the text for publication.¹⁰²

VIII. EDITORIAL INTERVENTION BEYOND THE CALL OF DUTY IN F2

Although none of the stage directions for music and for other sound effects have been removed from F2, the two words, 'flourish' and 'sennet', were repeatedly deleted. We do not know whether the F2 editor knew Ralph Crane prepared the printer's copy of F1's eight plays for the press. However, the F2 editor evidently did not have to erase any directions for 'flourish' and 'sennet' from *The Tempest*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline*, *2 Henry IV*, and *Othello* because Crane most probably had already struck them out. The two directions are not included in the F1 texts of *Much Ado about Nothing*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Twelfth Night*, *King John*, *1 Henry IV*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Timon of Athens*. The plays in which either or both of the directions appear(s) in F1 but is or are omitted in F2 are *All's*

100 Thomas Middleton, *The Mayor of Quinborough: A Comedy* (London, 1661). It is worth noting that the plays by John Dryden and those by Robert Howard which were published by Herringman between 1664 and 1667 contain no stage directions either for music or for offstage sound effects.

101 The Folger Shakespeare Library possesses the Lambard Manuscript (MS J. b. 6), whose text is represented in Thomas Middleton, *Hengist King of Kent; or the Mayor of Queenborough*, ed. by R. C. Bald (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938). Portland Manuscript is owned by the University of Nottingham's Hallward Library (MS Pw V20). The text is reproduced in Thomas Middleton, *Hengist, King of Kent, or the Mayor of Queenborough*, ed., by Grace Ioppolo (Oxford: Malone Society Reprints, 2003).

102 Mariko Nagase, 'Literary Editing of Seventeenth-Century English Drama' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Birmingham, 2012) <<http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/3628/>>, pp. 115-79.

Well, *Henry V*, the three parts of *Henry VI*, *Richard III*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra*. The F2 editor's omissions of the two words are concentrated in the three parts of *Henry VI*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra*. These plays, in total, include 30 among 41 omissions of 'flourish' and all of six omissions of 'sennet' in F1.

Nevertheless, why did he not expunge all the remaining directions for 'flourish' and 'sennet' preserved in F2? The answer to the question remains a matter of speculation. It is possible that the F2 editor simply neglected to erase 64 instances of 'flourish' and 12 of 'sennet'. However, considering his entire editorial achievements in the F2 text, there is a more plausible explanation. As stated earlier, Black and Shaaber's study demonstrates that the most important duty assigned the F2 editor was to restore the correct meaning from the corrupted text. Most of the text he modified contained either compositorial misreadings or typographical errors. The editor was expected to devote himself to correcting errors and not to changing any part of the text that made sense. The point to be made here is that the F2 editor was fully aware that stage directions calling for 'flourish' and 'sennet' were not the kinds of errors he was commissioned to remove. His seemingly arbitrary textual excision of 'flourish' and 'sennet' may imply that he recognised he was acting beyond his commission and decided to leave more than half the directions untouched. His textual excision clearly shows, however, his intention to reduce the number of references to the two words in stage directions. His editorial practice of suppressing these stage directions does not, in fact, enhance readability of the text. The excision itself is more concerned with the visual presentation of the text. Possibly he presumed it necessary to reduce such theatrical traces as indicated by 'flourish' and 'sennet' in order to recreate the play texts in the shape of a neoclassical literary work.

IX. CONCLUSION

The omission of offstage sound directions in F2 is important because it presents counter-evidence to the long-held view that a paucity of stage directions in a printed play is a sign that its copy-text descends from authorial rough drafts. Misjudgement of the cause of textual omissions has led to misunderstandings about the contemporary staging of the play and the provenance of the text. What the F2 text of Shakespeare offers is indisputable evidence that a seventeenth-century editor struck out theatrical directions. Although the F2 editor's textual treatment indicates that he recognized the editorial convention of suppressing theatrical factors, he did not go as far as altering any entry directions into a style of massed entries. Obviously, in preparing the printer's copy of F2, he employed the practice of omitting stage

directions independently of the editorial convention of massed entries. Indeed, the independent application of the editorial excision testified by F2 has also been detected in the F1 plays set up from Crane transcripts and is observed in plays published in England during and after the Interregnum period. This lets us infer that the excision of stage directions for offstage sound effects had come to be adopted by the 1630s and passed down to later generations of editors of seventeenth-century dramatic publication. Given that the purpose of employing massed entries was to suppress theatrical traces from the reading text, it is not an overstatement to say that the F2 editor's practice of excising 'flourish' and 'sennet' descended from the neoclassical editorial convention of massed entries that were first established by Ben Jonson in English drama. Thus, what F2 of Shakespeare presents in the omissions of 'flourish' and 'sennet' may be described as vestiges of Jonsonian neoclassical conventions of play editing.