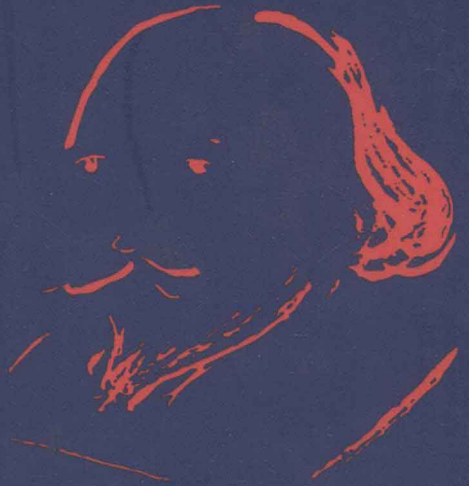


Shakespeare

THE EARLY
QUARTOS

The New Cambridge



The First Quarto of Othello

Edited by Scott McMillin

THE FIRST QUARTO OF OTHELLO

Edited by

SCOTT McMILLIN

Cornell University, New York

江苏工业学院图书馆
藏书章



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011-4211, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain

Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

<http://www.cambridge.org>

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First published 2001

Reprinted 2002

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeset by Ehrhardt

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

The first quarto of Othello / edited by Scott McMillin.

p. cm. – (The new Cambridge Shakespeare: The early quartos)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0 521 56257 0

1. Shakespeare, William, 1564–1616. Othello – Criticism, Textual. 2. Shakespeare, William, 1564–1616 – Bibliography – Quartos. I. McMillin, Scott. II. New Cambridge Shakespeare. Early quartos.

PR2829 .F47 2001

822'.3'3–dc21 00–067442

ISBN 0 521 56257 0 hardback

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE SHAKESPEARE

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ASSOCIATE GENERAL EDITOR: A. R. Braunmuller

From the publication of the first volumes in 1984 the General Editor of the New Cambridge Shakespeare was Philip Brockbank and the Associate General Editors were Brian Gibbons and Robin Hood. From 1990 to 1994 the General Editor was Brian Gibbons and the Associate General Editors were A. R. Braunmuller and Robin Hood.

THE FIRST QUARTO OF OTHELLO

This is the first modernized and edited version of the 1622 *Othello*. By taking this earliest published version of *Othello* as a book in its own right, Scott McMillin accounts for the mystery of its thousands of differences from the Folio version by arguing that the Quarto was printed from a theatre script reflecting cuts and actors' interpolations made in the playhouse. McMillin explains that the playhouse script was apparently taken from dictation by a scribe listening to the actors themselves, and thus reveals how *Othello* was spoken in seventeenth-century performance.

This edition, which consists of a detailed introduction, quarto text, select collation and textual notes, is an important book for scholars in Shakespeare and Elizabethan–Jacobean drama, with wide ramifications for other Shakespeare textual studies and for students of early theatre history.

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THE NEW CAMBRIDGE SHAKESPEARE THE EARLY QUARTOS

There is no avoiding edited Shakespeare, the question is only what kind of editing. A Shakespeare play first assumed material form as the author's bundle of manuscript sheets. The company of players required a manuscript fair copy of the play (apart from the individual actors' parts). Into the fair copy were entered playhouse changes, and the bookholder used it during each performance. However, none of Shakespeare's plays survives in contemporary manuscript form. There is one passage in the manuscript of *Sir Thomas More* by Hand D which has been ascribed to Shakespeare himself, but this attribution remains in serious dispute. In short, there is no direct access to Shakespeare's play-manuscripts – there is only print, and this implies editing, since the first printed versions of Shakespeare were mediated by compositors and proof-readers at least, and sometimes also by revisers, bookholders, editors, censors and scribes. The first printers used either the author's or a playhouse manuscript or some combination of the two, although for several plays they used a scribal transcript by Ralph Crane, who is known to have habitually effaced and altered his copy.

There are certain quartos which are abbreviated, apparently because they are reported texts or derive from playhouse adaptation. These early quartos are not chosen as copy-texts for modern critical editions and are not readily available, though indispensable to advanced students of Shakespeare and of textual bibliography. Alongside the standard volumes in the New Cambridge Shakespeare, editions of selected quarto texts are to be published in critical, modern-spelling form, including early quartos of *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, *Richard III* and *Othello*.

While the advanced textual scholar must work either with the rare, actual copies of the earliest printed editions, or with photo-facsimiles of them, there is more general interest in these texts and hence a need to present them in a form that makes them more generally accessible, a form that provides the most up-to-date and expert scholarship and engages with the key issues of how these texts differ from other quarto versions and from the First Folio, and to what effect. These are the precise aims of New Cambridge Shakespeare quartos.

Each volume presents, with the text and collation, an introductory essay about the quarto text, its printing and the nature of its differences from the other early printed versions. There is discussion of scholarly hypotheses about its nature and provenance, including its theatrical provenance, where that issue is appropriate. The accompanying notes address textual, theatrical and staging questions, following the spacious and handsome format of the New Cambridge Shakespeare.

BRIAN GIBBONS
General Editor

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many of my extensive debts to other editors and scholars will be apparent in the Introduction and the textual notes. I do wish to thank the staffs of the Folger Shakespeare Library and the British Library for countless acts of assistance. Sarah Stanton of the Cambridge University Press and Brian Gibbons, General Editor of *The New Cambridge Shakespeare*, have been generous in their help and expert in their review of the typescript at each stage of my work. I am fortunate to have received memorable advice, assistance, prodding or encouragement from John Astington, Peter Blayney, Roger Chartier, Andrew Gurr, Trevor Howard-Hill, Roslyn Knutson, Anne Lancashire, Jeremy Lopez, Barbara Mowat, Alan Nelson, Richard Proudfoot, Patrick Spottiswoode, Peter Stallybrass, Paul Werstine and Henry Woudhuysen.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Arden 3	<i>Othello</i> , ed. E. A. J. Honigmann, <i>The Arden Shakespeare</i> , third edn, Walton-on-Thames, 1997
<i>Beaumont and Fletcher</i>	<i>The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon</i> , ed. Fredson Bowers, 8 vols., Cambridge, 1966–96
Bentley, <i>Jacobean Stage</i>	Gerald Eades Bentley, <i>The Jacobean and Caroline State</i> , 7 vols., Oxford, 1941–68
Bevington	<i>Complete Works of Shakespeare</i> , ed. David Bevington, fourth edn, 1992
Blayney	Peter Blayney, <i>The Texts of King Lear and their Origins</i> , vol. 1, Cambridge, 1982
Bowers	Fredson Bowers, <i>On Editing Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Dramatists</i> , Philadelphia, 1955
Capell	<i>Mr William Shakespeare: His Comedies, Histories and Tragedies</i> , ed. Edward Capell, 10 vols., London, 1767–8
Chambers, <i>Shakespeare</i>	E. K. Chambers, <i>William Shakespeare: a Study of Facts and Problems</i> , 2 vols., Oxford, 1931
Coghill	Neville Coghill, <i>Shakespeare's Professional Skills</i> , Cambridge, 1964
Cox and Kastan	John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan, eds., <i>A New History of Early English Drama</i> , New York, 1997
F	<i>Mr William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies. Published according to the True Originall Copies</i> . London, 1623. First Folio
Furness	<i>Othello</i> , ed. Horace Howard Furness, <i>New Variorum Shakespeare</i> , Philadelphia, 1886
Greg, <i>Editorial Problem</i>	W. W. Greg, <i>The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare</i> , third edn, Oxford, 1954 (earlier edns in 1951, 1942)
Greg, <i>Folio</i>	W. W. Greg, <i>The Shakespeare First Folio</i> , Oxford, 1955
Hart	<i>Othello</i> , ed. H. C. Hart, London, 1903 (first Arden edition)
Hinman, <i>Othello</i>	<i>Othello 1622: Shakespeare Quarto Facsimiles No. 16</i> , ed. Charlton Hinman, Oxford, 1975
Honigmann	<i>Othello</i> , ed. E. A. J. Honigmann, London, 1997 (third Arden edition)
Honigmann, <i>Texts</i>	E. A. J. Honigmann, <i>The Texts of 'Othello' and Shakespearian Revision</i> , London, 1996
Kastan, <i>Companion</i>	David Scott Kastan, ed., <i>A Companion to Shakespeare</i> , Oxford, 1999
Kittredge	<i>Othello</i> , ed. George Lyman Kittredge, Boston, 1941
Knight	Charles Knight, ed., <i>The Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakespeare</i> , 8 vols., London, 1838–43
Maguire	Laurie Maguire, <i>Shakespearean Suspect Texts</i> , Cambridge, 1996
McMillin	Scott McMillin, <i>The Elizabethan Theatre and the Book of Sir Thomas More</i> , Ithaca, N. Y., 1987
McMillin and MacLean	Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, <i>The Queen's Men and Their Plays</i> , Cambridge, 1998

MSR	Malone Society Reprint
NCS	New Cambridge Shakespeare
Norton	<i>The Norton Shakespeare</i> , ed. Stephen Greenblatt and others, New York, 1997
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
Oxford	<i>William Shakespeare, The Complete Works</i> , ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, Oxford, 1986
Parkes	M. B. Parkes, <i>Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West</i> , Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1992
PBSA	<i>Publications of the Bibliographical Society of America</i>
PMLA	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association</i>
Pope	<i>The Works of Shakespear</i> , ed. Alexander Pope, 1723–5
Q1	<i>THE Tragoedy of Othello, The Moore of Venice. As it hath beene diuerse times acted at the Globe, and at the Black-Friers, by his Maiesties Seruants. Written by William Shakespeare.</i> London, 1622. First Quarto
Q1c	Corrected state of the 1622 quarto
Q1u	Uncorrected state of the 1622 quarto
Q2	<i>THE Tragoedy of Othello, The Moore of Venice. As it hath beene diuerse times acted at the Globe, and at the Black Friers, by his Maiesties Seruants. Written by William Shakespeare.</i> London, 1630. Second Quarto
Qq	<i>Othello</i> Q1 and Q2 in agreement
Ridley	<i>Othello</i> , ed. M. R. Ridley, Cambridge, Mass., 1958 (second Arden edition)
Riverside	<i>The Riverside Shakespeare</i> , ed. G. Blakemore Evans and others, second edn, Boston, 1997
Rowe	<i>The Works of Mr William Shakespear</i> , ed. Nicholas Rowe, 6 vols., London, 1709
Saenger	Paul Saenger, <i>Space Between Words: the Origins of Silent Reading</i> , Stanford, Calif., 1997
Sanders	<i>Othello</i> , ed. Norman Sanders, Cambridge, 1984 (New Cambridge Shakespeare)
Sh. S.	<i>Shakespeare Survey</i>
SQ	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
Steevens	Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, eds., <i>The Plays of William Shakespeare</i> , 10 vols., London, 1773
Textual Companion	Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, with William Montgomery and John Jowett, <i>William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion</i> , Oxford, 1987
Theobald	Lewis Theobald, ed., <i>The Works of Shakespeare</i> , 7 vols., London, 1733
Walker and Wilson	<i>Othello</i> , ed. Alice Walker and J. Dover Wilson, Cambridge, 1957
Walker, Problems	Alice Walker, <i>Textual Problems of the First Folio</i> , Cambridge, 1953

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INTRODUCTION

The textual problem

Othello remains a textual mystery.¹ Not published at all for nearly twenty years after its first recorded performance, then published twice within the space of approximately a year, the Quarto of 1622 and the Folio of 1623 (Q1 and F hereafter) present the same play in the same order of events, even the same order of speeches for the most part, yet the texts differ from one another on thousands of points. Some of these differences are prominent. Each text lacks some lines present in the other. Most noticeably, F has about 160 lines which Q1 does not, with some of the F-only passages running ten or twenty lines. But it is the thousands of tiny differences which form the heart of the mystery. One can make reasonable surmises as to why Q1 does without parcels of dialogue present in F, but why should Q1 use scores of commas and colons where F uses periods, or dozens of contractions where F uses uncontracted forms, or hundreds of perfectly good words where F uses *other* perfectly good words? Here is Emilia in Q1, refusing to hold her tongue at 5. 2. 233–4:

Em. 'Twill out, 'twill: I hold my peace sir, no,
I'll be in speaking, liberall as the ayre,

Here is the F version:

Emil. 'Twill out, 'twill out. I peace?
No, I will speake as liberall as the North;

As Greg remarked, an essay could be written about these lines, but the first question about the two versions is why should they differ in such numerous and trifling ways. Emilia's meaning does not change from one to the other, but who made up the variation between 'liberall as the ayre' and 'liberall as the North'? Was it an author, tinkering with his text? An actor, letting one version slide into the other through a slip of memory? A scribe, writing his own variations on his copy-text? A compositor, struggling with an illegible manuscript? There is no way to be sure, yet there are hundreds of examples like this, in addition to the differences of punctuation and lineation, which are as significant as the substantive differences. Many of the tiny variations do not matter in themselves, but in their accumulation they demand an explanation for their number and smallness, a theory of their punctiliousness.

For abbreviations throughout these notes, please refer to 'Abbreviations and conventions' at the beginning of this volume.

¹ An earlier version of the first half of this introduction appeared as 'The *Othello* Quarto and the Foul-Paper Hypothesis' in *SQ* 51 (2000), 67–85.

Q1 and foul papers

The 160 lines included in F but not in Q1 are rich in metaphor and verbal energy, and no one doubts that they are Shakespearian. The textual theory proceeding from this observation has usually taken F to be our best representation of the play the author intended to write and Q1 to be a useful but inferior representation, perhaps a theatrical version abridged for the stage, or (more frequently) a first draft which Shakespeare then enlarged with some of the 160 lines and touched up in other ways. The dozen or so lines present in Q1 and not in F present no great problem to the argument that F gives the fullest version of Shakespeare's design, for small accidental omissions were common in the process by which any play-text reached print.

The larger problem lies in the minute variations of punctuation and wording. The usual solution, recognizing that authors change some things as they work, that play-house bookkeepers touch up some details relating to stage presentation and that scribes and compositors make mistakes and take occasional liberties with their copy-texts, has been to call these agents together and imagine various hands making many small adjustments and errors in one text or the other. Thus the tiny differences are accommodated under the general principle of 'accidents happen' (no edition of *Othello* can do without this principle), and the larger differences remain the primary evidence for determining on what kinds of manuscript they happened. As a result, with the 160 lines unique to F leading the way, and with the hordes of small variations following at a reasonable distance, F has been the favoured text in most editions of *Othello* on the grounds that it is the most authentic Shakespearian version among the early printed texts. The leading hold-out to this trend was M. R. Ridley, whose Arden edition of 1958 (the second Arden *Othello*) insisted on the possibility that F might contain revisions and interpolations by various hands, Shakespeare's among others, their contributions being indistinguishable from one another. So Ridley used Q1 as his favoured text, to the consternation of most Shakespearians of his own time and later, who are optimistic enough to believe that an authentic Shakespearian *Othello* can be determined and that the foundation of the determination is F. Thus F is the basis of the first Arden edition, edited by H. C. Hart; of the Cambridge edition of 1957, edited by Alice Walker and J. Dover Wilson; of the New Cambridge edition of 1984, edited by Norman Sanders; of the one-volume Complete Shakespeares known as the Riverside, the Bevington, the Oxford and the Norton; and of the recent third Arden, edited by E. A. J. Honigmann, whose textual argument will be taken up shortly.

All of these editions have called upon Q1 for certain features, however. Q1's stage directions are fuller and more descriptive than F's and give a welcome sense of the play's theatrical quality. Q1's dialogue is sharpened by oaths appropriate to the military society depicted in the play, but these either do not appear in F or appear in milder forms. On the small points of individual words, phrases or punctuation, Q1 can be clear on some points left fuzzy or garbled in F. The editorial tradition has decided that F is preferred but not infallible, and where it seems to fall away from Shakespearian authenticity, Q1 is waiting as the back-up text for a better reading.

In my view, that approach has worked well for F but has made Q1 into a repository

of hope and desire among Shakespearian editors, who in the past fifty years have increasingly found the earlier text a reflection of the author's original manuscript of the play, his 'foul papers', exactly what one would like to have for a back-up text. The assumptions and reasoning behind the foul-paper hypothesis for Q1 are deeply questionable, as I shall try to show in the paragraphs that follow. Q1 is as remarkable for its punctuation and lineation as it is for its substantive variations from F, for example, and these 'accidentals' cannot have been the playwright's handiwork. No one has realized this point more fully than E. A. J. Honigmann, whose book on *The Texts of 'Othello' and Shakespearian Revision* I have found both indispensable for its detailing of the Q1 evidence and disagreeable for its determination to convert those details into evidence for the foul-paper argument after all. But Honigmann stands in the line of scholarship that goes back to Greg, and to see how Q1 was manoeuvred into place as a reflector of foul papers, one must read Greg first. It is what every editor should do. One learns humility by discovering that achievements like Greg's and Honigmann's work on *Othello* are (in one's opinion) wrong.

I shall follow their arguments closely, because the evidence they dealt with in advancing the foul-paper hypothesis is often the same evidence which leads to a different conclusion, that Q1 *Othello* comes from a theatre-script on which Shakespeare may never have left a mark in his own hand.

Greg sets the standard

Greg's *The Shakespeare First Folio* of 1955 proved to be the decisive study in establishing the foul-paper hypothesis. Earlier in the 1950s, Alice Walker had argued that Q1 proceeds from a theatrical manuscript written by a scribe who introduced vulgarizations remembered from hearing the play in performance. Thus Q1 was, for Walker, 'contaminated' by the stage and distinctly removed from authorial papers.¹ Greg, who had favoured a foul-paper origin for Q1 at least as early as the 1939 Clarke Lectures which became *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* (1942), found Walker's argument answerable in his *First Folio* book and restated his position: the signs of foul papers are unmistakable, and although some evidence does not square with this view (Greg was careful to lay out the contrary evidence), Walker's hypothesis of a theatrical origin for Q1 leaves serious questions unanswered and cannot be accepted.²

This statement of the foul-paper argument soon carried the day, with a growing appreciation of the likelihood that it was a scribal copy of the foul papers which eventually reached the printing house. Ridley agreed with Greg on the foul-paper origin of Q1 (if not on much else) in his Arden edition of 1958. The one-volume student editions of Shakespeare mentioned above reflected Greg's theory of Q1 *Othello* (although the Riverside reserved judgement on the question of foul papers). Norman Sanders's 1984 Cambridge edition of *Othello* accepted foul papers or a scribal copy of foul papers for Q1, as did the Wells-Taylor *Textual Companion* of 1987, and, most

Walker's views on *Othello* will be found in 'The 1622 Quarto and the First Folio text of *Othello*', *Sh. S.* 5 (1952), 16-24; *Problems*, pp. 138-61; and Walker and Wilson, pp. 121-35.

² Greg, *Folio*, pp. 357-74.

recently, E. A. J. Honigmann's new Arden edition of 1997, for which his *The Texts of 'Othello' and Shakespearian Revision* is a companion book. That foul papers lie behind Q1, probably at the remove of a scribal transcript, is now the standard editorial position.

The turning point of Greg's argument deserves examination, for there the trouble in the foul-paper hypothesis can begin to be seen. The paragraph in question occurs on p. 360 of *The Shakespeare First Folio*, shortly before Greg turns to Walker's argument. Greg is discussing Q1's ample stage directions, which he is interpreting through a framework constructed from the basic tenets of the New Bibliography. Formulated by McKerrow, Pollard, Greg himself and others over the previous half century, the New Bibliography held that certain kinds of stage directions – vague ones and erroneous ones – are signs of foul papers. Such faulty stage directions cannot have been written by the bookkeeper in his prompt copy, according to New Bibliographical reasoning, for bookkeepers (who combined something like the roles of prompter and stage-manager in modern terminology) required accuracy on these matters. Faulty stage directions came either from the author's first draft, when his intentions were still being formulated and bits of guesswork were left in his papers, or from a 'memorial reconstruction' later in the play's career pieced together for irregular purposes by persons who could be expected to get some details wrong. The trouble-spots were signs either of foul papers or of 'bad' quartos, in other words, and if a text could be saved from the category of 'bad', it could be assigned to the category of the 'foul', foul being finer than bad by virtue of being much closer to the author's original manuscript. Thus when Q1 *Othello* reveals a vague 'two or three' in an exit direction at 1. 3. 120, another vague 'and the rest' in an entrance direction at line 171 in the same scene and an erroneous entrance for Desdemona early in this scene, at line 47, Greg, convinced that the quarto is not 'bad', was sure these imperfections 'can only be his' – i.e., the author's, in his foul papers. Moreover, the 'Messenger' designated in a stage direction at the beginning of this scene seems to be inconsistent with the 'Sailor' designation for the same character in two speech-prefixes; and another 'Messenger' in a stage direction at 2. 1. 51 seems to be 'an imaginary character'. Prompt copy for Greg did not tolerate such imperfections, which are signs of the false starts and early guesswork characteristic of authorial foul papers.¹

Yet there are contradictions in the evidence from a New Bibliographical perspective, and Greg does not ignore these. The vexing problem is that there are signs of *other* textual origins in Q1 as well, according to the New Bibliographical categories – signs of prompt copy after all, and even signs of a manuscript prepared for presenta-

¹ These points took hold. 'No prompter could let anything so imprecise stand in his prompt-book', Ridley wrote of the stage directions 'two or three' and 'and the rest' (Ridley, p. xlii). Bringing in a 'Messenger' who is then called 'Sailor' in speech-prefixes is 'muddled' for Stanley Wells, and the second 'Messenger' problem is 'nonsensical' (*Textual Companion*, p. 476). These errors therefore must come from foul papers. Q1's error in naming Desdemona in the entrance direction at 1. 3. 47 'tells against prompt-book copy' for Wells. That most of these clues occur in one scene (1. 3) might have raised some doubts about the foul-paper hypothesis for the entire play, but this concentration of presumed authorial signals seems not to have been noticed. Honigmann, *Texts*, follows this line of reasoning, and seeks new evidence in addition, which will be discussed below.

tion to a private patron. The approximately 160 lines present in F but not in Q1 seem to reflect theatrical cuts in a prompt book. There are act divisions and 'literary' stage directions in Q1, which indicate copy dressed up for a reader, perhaps for a private patron. '*Enter Brabantio in his night gowne, and seruants with Torches*', '*Enter Duke and Senators, set at a Table with lights and Attendants*', '*they kisse*', '*Enter a Gentleman reading a Proclamation*', '*The Moore runnes at Iago. Iago kills his wife*' – such directions have touches of description rare in printed texts of the period. Thus Q1 *Othello* brings together characteristics which, according to the New Bibliography, do not blend. Q1 tantalizes the scholar with a combination of clues, bearing signs of foul papers *and* prompt copy *and* private transcript.

Greg resolves this dilemma by eliminating two of its elements and leaving only foul papers standing as a reasonable choice. The prompt book with its theatrical cuts he eases out of the picture by imagining that the foul papers themselves contained marks for *intended* cuts, which were recognized and obeyed by an alert compositor. This deft move allows one to admit the 'theatrical cuts' phenomenon without having to admit the theatre itself, on the grounds that authors like Shakespeare, a man of the theatre if there ever was one, would naturally use their foul papers to record second-thought theatrical revisions after they completed their first drafts. Thus foul papers become foul-papers-touched-up-with-the-author's-second-thoughts as a way of accounting for evidence of theatrical abridgement. There are no actual foul papers in Shakespeare's hand against which to test this notion, which is thus free to absorb the apparent cuts as 'intentions' without being troubled by matters of fact.

The private-patron possibility is more difficult to erase, for the 'literary flavour' of the descriptive stage directions and act divisions have no place in the Shakespearian foul papers imagined by the New Bibliography, not even at the level of 'intention'. Greg deals with the private-transcript possibility by bringing it fully into view and then sending it into oblivion with a neat turn of phrase. It comes into view (p. 360) when he notes that the literary stage directions and act divisions 'might be helps to the reader added by someone who had seen the play performed and was preparing a copy for a private patron'. He sends it packing with the next sentence: 'such a person could be the book-keeper'. By converting the transcriber into the bookkeeper, Greg reduces the possible types of manuscript to two, for the book the bookkeeper kept was the prompt book. Greg can then proceed as though all transcriptions are prompt-book transcriptions. Since he has already cast doubt on a prompt-book transcription for Q1 (because of the vague stage directions mentioned above, which only an author would have written), and since the apparent theatrical cuts among the 160 lines missing from Q1 can be explained away (on grounds that the foul papers were marked for *intended* cuts), the foul-paper hypothesis seems to survive as the logical choice. Now forgotten, after having been glimpsed in one sentence, is the transcriber preparing a copy for a private patron. Once he has been converted into the bookkeeper, the three possibilities Greg had carefully brought into view are reduced to two, and a binary system of alternatives comes into play, ranging from foul papers to prompt book and back again, with foul papers winning on every rebound.

Economy in the New Bibliography

Paul Werstine has shown that a characteristic move in the logic of the New Bibliography is to frame textual problems according to the most economical line of transmission, from author (foul papers) to acting company (prompt book) to printing house.¹ This economy creates a binary logic, with foul papers and prompt copy as the active terms. Left out of consideration when the binary reasoning does its work are other kinds of copy, such as transcripts made for private patrons, or transcripts made for later revivals of the play. Scripts made for private patrons or for revivals break the economical chain of agents, a chain which ideally remains confined to the author, the prompt-book scribe and the printer. Other scribes must sometimes be admitted. Greg's foul-paper hypothesis for *Othello* recognizes that the manuscript directly behind Q1 might well have been a scribal copy of Shakespeare's foul papers. But a scribe outside the economical line of transmission – a scribe preparing a copy for a private patron, for example, or one preparing a script for a later revival of the play – is either not brought into consideration, or is brought in only to be dismissed in a move like the one I have outlined above.

The non-economical scribe is a problem because under his hand the text proliferates. He writes an 'extra' script, it passes to a private patron and there is no telling where it might go next. In this regard, the non-economical scribe is like the actors, who also generate additional text as they receive their 'parts', memorize their lines and deliver those lines many times in performance. Their performed versions of the text are multiple, uncountable and subject to the vagaries of memory, so the actors are either left out of the economy of the narrative or are counted in to explain error-prone printed texts thought to be 'memorial reconstructions' or 'bad' quartos. Greg's 'someone who had seen the play performed and was preparing a copy for a private patron' is rather like the actors in the difficulty he presents for New Bibliographical thinking, and the quick disappearance of this 'someone' from the paragraph in which Greg mentioned him is a trim example of preserving the author/bookkeeper dichotomy at the heart of New Bibliographical logic.

The later editors and scholars who have accepted Greg's foul-paper hypothesis for Q1 have also had to accept his erasure of the possible agents of proliferation: the later scribes who may have prepared copies outside the direct line of transmission, and the actors who certainly performed *Othello* before the publication of Q1.² This may seem a surprise to readers of E. A. J. Honigmann's book on the *Othello* texts, which spends much time reviewing the habits of scribes and compositors, but when it comes to the

¹ 'Narratives About Printed Shakespeare Texts: "Foul Papers" and "Bad" Quartos', *SQ* 41 (1990), 65–86. See also Barbara Mowat, 'The Problem of Shakespeare's Text(s)', in *Textual Formations and Reformations*, ed. Laurie E. Maguire and Thomas L. Berger (Newark, Del., 1998). For further scholarship on the handling of manuscripts in the theatres, see the essays by Werstine ('Plays in Manuscript'), Eric Rasmussen ('The Revision of Scripts') and Jeffrey Masten ('Playwrighting: Authorship and Collaboration') in Cox and Kastan, and William B. Long, 'Perspective of Provenance: the Context of Varying Speech-Heads', in *Shakespeare's Speech Headings*, ed. G. W. Williams (Newark, Del., 1997), pp. 21–44. For a discussion of the economical transmission of text and its problems, see the 'Post-Script' in Gary Taylor and John Jowett, *Shakespeare Reshaped* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 237–43.

copy for Q1, Honigmann is interested only in the one scribe admitted by Greg, the probable copyist of the foul papers. Here is Honigmann bolstering the case for a foul-paper origin for Q1 and disregarding the non-economical scribes who might have prepared copies for various situations: 'Was Q printed from an authorial manuscript or from copy at one remove from the author, or was it printed from seriously flawed copy?' 'Copy at one remove from the author' is the first interesting phrase, for it tries to cover various kinds of transcripts that might have been prepared during the approximately twenty years that elapsed between the writing of the play and the entry of *Othello* in the Stationers' Register in 1621. Greg's 'someone who had seen the play performed and was preparing a copy for a private patron' would fit here. Why does Honigmann specify 'at one remove from the author'? As it turns out, he favours a transcript made as late as 1621 (*Texts*, p. 41), but this is still thought of as at one remove from the author, i.e., a copy made from the foul papers. A transcript made for the third or fourth revival of *Othello* (which was a popular play and was performed at court in 1604, in London and Oxford in 1610 and again at court in 1612–13, to count only the performances on record) might be three or four removes from the foul papers. A transcript made for a private patron who was himself interested in the third or fourth revival of the play might be a copy of a copy of a copy. The theatre generates text from time to time during the life of a successful play, and Honigmann's 'copy [made] at one remove from the author' does not allow for this fact of the theatrical profession. A play normally undergoes some theatrical revisions for revivals, owing to changes of casting or circumstances of production, and new 'books' would sometimes have been copied for the revivals. This possibility should be kept in view for Q1 *Othello*, as should the possible transcript made for a private patron, but Honigmann's 'at one remove from the author', like Greg's conversion of the private-patron script into the prompt-book script, has the effect of clearing away the proliferations and preserving the foul-paper/prompt-book dichotomy.

Copies made at more than one remove from the author are 'seriously flawed' in Honigmann's formulation – the second interesting phrase. This is where the actors become agents of proliferation. For 'seriously flawed' turns out to mean, one page further along, 'bad' quartos, i.e., texts proceeding in some irregular way – piracy, perhaps – from the memories of actors who had performed the play. Honigmann footnotes Alice Walker's argument at this point, but disposes of the 'bad'-quarto possibility for Q1 on the grounds that it is unlike the 'bad' quartos we know of. The 'alternatives to a "bad" text provenance' are 'foul papers or a scribal copy of foul papers' (*Texts*, p. 34). Thus foul papers, perhaps at the one remove of a scribal copy, are locked into place as what we are left with if the 'bad quarto' possibility can be denied (and it can). The only thing left if one does not think Q1 a 'bad' quarto is 'foul papers or a scribal copy of foul papers'. What of a theatrical copy made for a later revival? What of a copy of *that*, made for a private patron? They have dropped out of the argument. I shall try to demonstrate below that Q1 *Othello* does indeed proceed from the acted version of the play, not by the way of a 'bad' quarto but by the way of