

The Douai Manuscript—Six Shakespearean Transcripts (1694-95)

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Douai MS 7.87, so designated because it now forms part of the manuscript collections of the Douai Public Library, contains transcripts of six of Shakespeare's plays (*Twelfth Night*, *As You Like It*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Macbeth*), as well as transcripts of Lee's *Mithridates* (1678), Dryden's *Indian Emperor* (1667), and D'Avenant's *Siege of Rhodes*, Part II (1663). The present study is concerned only with the six Shakespearean transcripts.

Attention was first called to the Douai MS by B. M. Wagner in the *Times Literary Supplement* in 1934.¹ Professor Wagner, however, had not examined the MS, but depended on an entry in the catalogue of manuscripts in the Douai Public Library published in 1878.² Since that time, so far as I know, no one has examined the MS, Professor Harbage reporting it in his *Annals of English Drama* (1940) on the authority of Professor Wagner's article.³ This study, then, is in the nature of a report—an attempt to establish, so far as possible, the provenience of the MS and, by presenting a selection of readings from the six plays, to assess its significance for those scholars who are concerned with the history of Shakespeare's text in the theatre.

Because I have been unable to consult the Douai MS at firsthand, the following necessarily incomplete description (based on the Douai Library catalogue and on a microfilm of the MS) will have

¹ *Times Literary Supplement*, 4 Oct., 1934, p. 675.

² *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques*, Vol. VI (*Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Douai*, ed. C. Dehaisnes), 1878, pp. 477-478.

³ I have made some use of the Douai *Macbeth* transcript in my *Shakespearean Prompt-Books of the Seventeenth Century* (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1960), Vol. I, Part i, pp. 26-27. Since this was written Christopher Spencer has commented briefly on the Douai *Macbeth* in his currently published *Davenant's "Macbeth" from the Yale Manuscript* (Yale University Press, 1961), p. 31.

to serve.⁴ Bound in parchment, in a volume containing 317 leaves, each measuring approximately 220 by 170 mm., the nine transcripts appear in the following order:

[fol. 1r blank, but with a number of smudged and illegible scrawls] *Twelfth Night* (dated at end "Finis June 13 / 1694"), fols. 1v-31r; [fols. 31v-32r blank] *As You Like It* (dated at end "169 $\frac{1}{2}$ 9^o Martij"), fols. 32v-65v; [un-numbered blank leaf; fol. 66r blank] "The Famous Comedy of Errors / Written / by ye renowned poet Mr William / Shakespear" (dated at end "1694"), fols. 66v-93v; [unnumbered blank leaf; fol. 94r blank] *Romeo and Juliet* (dated at end "1694"), fols. 94v-130v; "Julius Caesar" (dated at end "1694"), fols. 131r-170v [fols. 131v, 132r blank]; "The Tragedye of / Macbeth." (dated at end "1694"), fols. 171r-209r [fol. 209v blank]; "Mithridates / King of Pontos / a Tragedy" (dated at end "1695"), fols. 210r-251r [fols. 251v, 252r blank]; "The Indian Emperor" (undated at end), fols. 252v-286v [fol. 287r blank]; "The / Siege of Rhodes / . . . / The Second part." (undated at end), fols. 287v-317r [fol. 317v blank].

Twelfth Night, *As You Like It*, and *Romeo and Juliet* are without titles, though a hand other than that of the scribe (or perhaps two different hands) has written opposite the beginning of the text on fol. 2r (right margin) "twelfth Night / or,^{4a} What [of] you Will. / (La Soirée des Rois, / ou ce que vous voudrez.) / Comedie de Shakespear". The MS is without catchwords, original foliation or pagination, the folio numbering recorded above being taken from handstamped foliation certainly dating from the nineteenth century. From the order of the dates appended to each of the first seven plays, it would appear that the plays were copied separately and then bound into a single volume. Thus *As You Like It*, which bears the date "169 $\frac{1}{2}$ 9^o Martij", although second in the collection, was presumably copied last of the six Shakespearean plays and immediately before *Mithridates* (dated "1695").

A single hand (Scribe A) is responsible for all nine transcripts, although a second hand (Scribe B) may be distinguished in a few added stage directions in *Twelfth Night*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Julius Caesar*, and probably *Comedy of Errors*. Scribe A uses a predominantly Italian script, with both Italian and Greek *e* forms and an occasional secretary *e*. He employs contractions freely ("wt", "wth", "yr", "yt") and frequently uses "ye" for "the". The spelling of Scribe A tends to be archaic for the 1690's, though one must recognize the influence of copy-text. He usually preserves "then" for "than", a spelling regularly modernized in the Fourth Folio (1685). Indeed, Scribe A follows his copy-text very closely, preserving unusual line arrangements with great care; in *Julius Caesar* he is influenced by his copy-text even to the extent of em-

⁴ A special letter of enquiry has received no answer from the library authorities.

^{4a} The letters within brackets are scored through in the MS.

ploying an abbreviated form of "con-" (5) found nowhere else in his transcriptions.⁵ Scribe B also uses an Italian script, rather more cramped and angular than that of Scribe A.

The question of provenience falls naturally into two parts: (1) the problem of the copy-text underlying each of the Douai transcripts; (2) the person (or persons) responsible for the form in which the plays appear and the reason for the preparation of such texts.

The answer to the problem of copy-text is both simple and, at the same time, complicated. There can be no doubt that behind all the Douai Shakespeare transcripts lies the Second Folio (1632). The evidence for this statement is definitive.⁶ But when we have said this, we still have not solved the whole question. Are the Douai transcripts direct copies of a carefully marked-up copy of the Second Folio? Or are they copies of other MS transcripts, which in their turn go back to other copies or to the Second Folio itself? The evidence for most of the transcripts is far from clear and, before we consider the problem as a whole, it will be necessary to discuss the special case posed by the Douai *Julius Caesar*.

Nearly twenty years ago I published a study of a seventeenth-century MS version of *Julius Caesar* now preserved in the Folger Shakespeare Library.⁷ An examination of the Douai *Julius Caesar* shows conclusively that both MSS are derived ultimately from a common original and that this original was itself a MS based on

⁵ See below, note 7.

⁶ Although full proof cannot be offered here, an analysis of the readings in the several plays shows again and again agreement of the transcript with F2 against the other three folios, as a group, in pairs, or singly. The same relation to F2 also holds true so far as the quartos for *Romeo and Juliet*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Macbeth* are concerned. Four of the transcripts show readings which appear to link them uniquely with F2 (see *Macbeth*, III.i.13; III.ii.9; III.v.27; *Romeo and Juliet*, I.iii.61; *Julius Caesar*, I.iii.78; V.iii.95; *As You Like It*, I.iii.105, 108; IV.i.195). (All act, scene, and line references in Shakespeare's plays are to the *Cambridge Shakespeare*, 2nd ed., ed. A. W. Wright, 9 vols, 1891-93). It is possible, of course, that the editor-revisers (see below, p. 163 had access to other texts in addition to F2, and there are a number of readings in the transcripts which either return to F1 or anticipate F3 or F4. There is even an interesting cluster of readings in the Douai *Romeo and Juliet* (V.i.3, 25, 60, 62, 71, 76) which seems to suggest the influence of Q5 (1637). None of these readings, however, is beyond the long arm of coincidence, and most of them are of the kind that could have been independently arrived at. I consider the consultation of texts other than F2 to be highly unlikely, therefore, though such a view runs counter to that expressed earlier in my *Shakespearean Prompt-Books* (i,26), before I had studied the Douai transcripts as a group.

⁷ "Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*—A Seventeenth-Century Manuscript," *JEGP*, XLI (1942), 401-417.

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the text of the Second Folio.⁸ Of the two MSS, the Douai MS is closer to the Second Folio in certain significant spellings and in line arrangement; it is thus clear that the Douai MS is not derived directly from the Folger MS. That the Folger MS is not copied from the Douai MS can also be demonstrated.⁹ The Douai MS is dated at the end "Finis / 1694". In my earlier study I suggested 1665 or shortly thereafter as a probable date for the Folger MS. This dating, however, was admittedly based on inconclusive evidence, and the considerably later and definite date of the Douai transcript now makes the earlier dating of the Folger MS more than ever dubious. We cannot be sure, in fact, that the Folger MS is not a later transcript than the Douai MS.

The significance of the link between the Douai and Folger MSS is, of course, obvious for the light it might seem to throw on the problem of the immediate copy-text for the other five Douai Shakespeare transcripts: it suggests, in effect, that we should look to a manuscript source for all the Shakespeare plays. But the evidence, slight though it may be, does not seem to support such a conclusion. All the transcripts are what might be termed clean copy, which suggests that the copy-text from which they were transcribed was itself uncomplicated, running text, but occasionally readings occur which make me think that the scribe worked directly with the original F2 text. In *Macbeth*, (IV.iii.83), for example, the scribe first wrote "Quarrels unjust upon the good and loyal"; he then crossed through "upon" and insterted "against" above, "against" being the reading of F2. Some few lines later (1.113) the scribe started to write "Hath banish'd me from Scotland," but immediately after writing "Hath" he changed his mind, crossed it through, and immediately followed it with "have" (a reading which anticipates Rowe and most subsequent editors). In IV.iii.155, the scribe first wrote "leaves it", intending apparently to cut the following half-line; he then deleted "it" and continued with the Folio text. Again, in V.v.14, he revised Shakespeare's "slaughterous thoughts" to "Murderous thoughts", but it is clear from the MS that he began

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 403, for the copy-text provenience of the Folger MS. The two MSS share a great many characteristics in common: identical *dramatis personae* lists, even to the placing of Cicero, Flavius, and "Murellus" at the very end (for the implications of which see, *ibid.*, 415-16); the use of an abbreviated form of "con-" (5); the employment of a neo-classical method of scene division; agreement in particular spellings, errors, and hundreds of other variant readings against F2; etc.

⁹ Seven readings shared by the Folger MS and F2, but not found in the Douai MS, make it almost certain that the Folger MS cannot be a direct copy of the Douai MS.

to write some word beginning with "S", presumably "Slaughterous".

In *Romeo and Juliet* (I.i.218) the scribe first wrote "Cuts of all", deleted "of all", and gave the line as in F2 ("Cuts beauty off from all posterity"). In I.iii.99, he again made a false start, "but no dee", deleted "dee", and produced "but no Jot deeper will I dart my eye", a procedure which seems to suggest that he had before him the F2 text ("But no more deep will I endart mine eye"). Finally, at II.ii.23-25, lines which are omitted in the MS, the scribe nevertheless started to copy the beginning of line 23 ("See how") and then crossed it through.

As You Like It shows little evidence of this kind, but one reading may perhaps be significant. In III.iii.55 (following the cutting of lines 42-55), the MS reads: "Cl: Amen. here comes Sir Oliver. [come-w]^{9a} / Enter Sir Oliver / come will you dispatch us?" In F2 "*Enter Sir Oliver Mar-text*" comes before "Heere comes *Sir Oliver:*". It appears that the scribe in allowing for the long cut and adjusting the stage direction (an adjustment made by most modern editors also) momentarily forgot that he had failed to include Sir Oliver's entry and began to write "come w" before Sir Oliver was on stage to be addressed. Such an argument, if admitted, suggests direct working with the F2 text.

Twelfth Night offers little more than *As You Like It* to substantiate a theory of immediate derivation from F2. Perhaps a reading at V.i.146-148 is the most suggestive. The scribe first wrote "here to unfold . . . w^t thou dost know of me". He then crossed through "of me" and concluded the speech as in F2. As the MS originally stood the reading makes fair sense, but only if the next line is omitted. This suggests (as in *Macbeth*, IV.iii.155) that he intended to cut line 149 and then changed his mind. To be able to do so, he would have needed the reading of the folio text before him.

The Comedy of Errors stands apart from the four plays just discussed (which I shall hereafter call Group A) in several ways. It shows no significant evidence of the kind I have been citing, and evidence of a different sort links it with the *Julius Caesar* transcript. The amount and kinds of cutting in Group A are relatively consistent. The amount of cutting in *Julius Caesar* and *Comedy of Errors* (hereafter called Group B) is extremely slight, even granting that *Comedy of Errors* is a very short play,¹⁰ and the general

^{9a} The letters within brackets are scored through in the MS.

¹⁰ Other acting versions of *Comedy of Errors* were considerably more heavily cut.

handling of the text in both plays, though the language of each is considerably modernized, is rather more conservative than that found in Group A. Moreover, only *Julius Caesar* and *Comedy of Errors* (the latter through Act III only) preserve the Latin act and scene headings found in the folio text. Group A regularly reduces the Latin forms to "Act I. Scene I.", etc. There is also one more point, which, though it does not directly link *Comedy of Errors* with *Julius Caesar*, sets it apart from the plays in Group A. It is the only play with a distinctive title: "The Famous Comedy of Errors / Written / by y^e renowned poet M^r William / Shakespear". The implications of this title, the several links with the Douai *Julius Caesar* transcript, and the slight additional evidence of what looks suspiciously like a misreading of manuscript copy-text at V.i.270 ("Caesars" for "Circes", immediately corrected by the scribe) incline me to postulate manuscript copy-text for *Comedy of Errors*, one closely related in origin to that used by the scribe in the Douai *Julius Caesar*.¹¹

I recognize, of course, that the sort of evidence I have offered to associate the plays in Group A directly with a heavily marked-up copy of F2 as copy-text is ambiguous. In no single case can it be proved that the apparent contact with F2 does not in fact arise as the result of changes made by the Douai scribe in the process of copying from another transcript which had preserved the folio readings in question. Against such a view, however, there is the evidence of the Douai MS of *Julius Caesar*, which shows that the Douai scribe seems to have indulged himself in very little deviation from his copy-text. Using the Folger MS as a control, I note only fifteen readings, all of them of a very minor nature, in which the Douai scribe diverged from his manuscript copy.¹² Therefore, in the absence of any compelling evidence to support manuscript copy-text for the plays in Group A,¹³ we must, I believe, allow that

¹¹ I would like to thank my former student, Miss Florence M. Sheehan, for the excellent collation of the Douai *Comedy of Errors* which she prepared for me as a term paper.

¹² One reading in the Folger MS (IV.iii.139 "your selfe" for F2 "your selves"), on which I based part of my argument for a theatrical provenience (p. 411), does not occur in the Douai transcript, which gives the F2 form. It seems likely, then, that the reading of the Folger MS is a scribal slip, although it is still possible to argue that the Douai scribe here corrected his text from the context of the preceding two lines.

¹³ There are, of course, very occasional readings in Group A which suggest the possibility of a misreading of a manuscript form, but none as compelling as those cited for the Folger *Julius Caesar* MS (p. 403) or the one noted above for *Comedy of Errors*. Another possible explanation for the links between the Douai *Julius Caesar* and *Comedy of Errors* should, perhaps, be considered;

the weight of evidence favors direct transcription from a marked-up copy of F2.

We may turn now to the second aspect of the provenience problem: the question of the identity of the editor-reviser, his relation to the Douai MS scribe, and the purpose for which the textual revisions were made. Is the editor-reviser the same person as the scribe? In the case of the plays in Group B, he almost certainly is not, but there is, I think, a fair possibility, if we do not accept MS copy-text for the plays in Group A, that for Group A the editor-reviser and the scribe are one and the same. Such identity might help to account for the generally clean quality of the Douai transcripts, a "running" quality which I otherwise find it difficult to square with transcription from a heavily marked-up printed copy.

The *Catalogue général* of the Douai Public Library associates the transcripts with one of the English Roman Catholic foundations at Douai ("Provient sans doute de l'un des couvents anglais de Douai."),¹⁴ and it is probably correct. The English-French title found on the first page of *Twelfth Night* is written in a hand (or hands) almost certainly not later than the first half of the eighteenth century. The MS can thus be given a French provenience at a relatively early date. Moreover its presence in the Douai Public Library, which contains a good many other MSS associated with the English "couvents" there, is most suggestive. And in the transcripts themselves, though very occasionally, it is true, one seems to detect possible Roman Catholic influence. In *Romeo and Juliet*, for instance, there is an almost consistent change of "Friar" to "Father", as applied to Friar Laurence or Friar John; and in *As You Like It* certain lines (III.iv.12-16) are cut which make jesting reference to "holy bread" and "a nun".

There cannot be any serious doubt, I believe, that the Douai transcripts were originally prepared for some kind of theatrical production, most probably of an amateur nature.¹⁵ The extent of the cutting, especially in Group A, the determined effort to modernize Shakespeare's language, and the additional stage directions, all point to a stage provenience. The performance of plays by

namely, that these two plays were the first to be copied by Scribe A (both dated 1694) and that he later became much freer in the treatment of his copy-text. On the whole, however, the evidence would not seem to favor this view.

¹⁴ P. 478.

¹⁵ See my discussion of this point for the Folger *Julius Caesar* MS (pp. 411, 415-16).

the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge was a long established tradition in English academic life, and from a report on the English College at Douai prepared in 1622 we learn that "In the classes of humanities, besides the ordinary lectures, there are compositions, disputations, declamations, and frequently dramatic exercises, poems, dialogues, etc., to test the young scholars."¹⁶ There are, moreover, several extant MSS of plays performed at one or another of the several religious foundations in Douai, one given in 1697 at the English College.¹⁷ Unfortunately, for our purposes, these are all composed in Latin, as I suspect were most of the "dramatic exercises" noticed above. Of plays performed in English I can find no record, but this is perhaps not entirely surprising and need not be considered fatal to the suggestion that the Shakespeare transcripts were prepared for some kind of school performance by the students of one of the English "couvents" at Douai. Here, I fear, the matter must rest.

II

The Douai transcripts are of interest to students of Shakespeare in the theatre for a number of reasons. A study of the many textual changes and cuts adds one more substantial chapter to our understanding of Restoration attitudes toward Shakespeare and the earlier Elizabethan drama generally. Although such a study is beyond the scope of this article, I have tried, in the detailed information recorded below for each of the plays, to present all the basic materials needed for such an assessment. The *Romeo and Juliet* and *As You Like It* transcripts are by many years the earliest examples we possess of acting versions of these plays. And the transcripts of *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, *Twelfth Night*, and *Comedy of Errors* represent versions independent of other Restoration acting texts. Finally, and not least significant, are the numerous readings in which the Douai transcripts anticipate the emendations proposed by the later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editors of Shakespeare.

Each of the plays is prefaced with a carefully prepared and remarkably complete list of *dramatis personae*, in which the interrelationships of all the principal characters are established. These are the earliest such lists for all the plays except *Julius Caesar* and *Macbeth*.

¹⁶ *The Douay College Diaries, Third, Fourth and Fifth, 1598-1654*, ed. E. H. Burton and T. L. Williams (London, 1911), I, 393.

¹⁷ *Catalogue général* (Douai), pp. 478-79.

Throughout the transcripts there is a definite, though not always very consistent, effort to modernize Shakespeare's language and syntax. Certain comparatively common Elizabethan words are modernized with some regularity: "I" (i.e., aye) to "yes", "and" (i.e., an) to "if", "mine" and "thine" to "my" and "thy", "alack" to "alas", "twain" to "two", "lack" to "want", "tarry" to "stay", "list" to "will", "sooth" to "truth", "albeit" to "although", etc. Rare or obsolete words are exchanged for more up-to-date and commonplace synonyms; inverted word order is ironed out; archaic idioms disappear or are reduced to contemporary usage; and there are frequent reversals of phrasing and word order, often for no apparent reason.

Allowing for the difference in the amount of cutting between Groups A and B, the editor-revisers frequently reveal that they worked with thought and some knowledge of the plays. In Group A the cuts are, on the whole, made without obvious loss of meaning or dislocation, and a comparison with other acting versions, either earlier or later, evidences a good deal of community of thought in the choice of particular passages for deletion. The editor-revisers also show considerable intelligence in dealing with corrupt or difficult passages, or in correcting what seemed to them slight inconsistencies in the text.

In the analytical tables for each of the six plays which conclude this study, I have included (a) total number of lines cut and total number of individual cuts (neither figure including the many shorter deletions of words or phrases); (b) the major cuts (of ten lines or more)¹⁸ and a list of scenes containing the largest number of individual cuts; (c) comparison in length, where possible, with other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century acting versions; (d) a selection of additional stage directions; and (e) selected readings of special interest and selected readings (apart from stage directions) which anticipate later edited texts. In compiling these tables I have been forced to apply a high degree of selection: for example, Act I of *Twelfth Night* has roughly 48 separate cuts ranging from one word to six lines and 139 verbal substitutions; Act I of *Macbeth* some 13 cuts and 82 verbal substitutions.¹⁹

¹⁸ A useful comparison may be made with the major cuts in the eighteenth-century acting versions recorded by C. B. Hogan in *Shakespeare in the Theatre, 1701-1800*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1952-57); for comparison with seventeenth-century versions see my *Shakespearean Prompt-Books of the Seventeenth Century*, of which only vol. I has yet appeared (the Padua *Macbeth*).

¹⁹ These figures must not be taken absolutely. They do not generally include cuts which have been replaced by some shortened form of the original, nor

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Twelfth Night

Lines cut: 266 (leaving a play of 2,163 lines); *total cuts:* 86.

Major cuts (ten lines or more): II.iv.50-56 (the song "Come away"); V.i.318-331 (Malvolio's remarks on the letter; see *Stage Directions*, below); 375-394 (the song "When that I was"). *Scenes containing the largest number of individual cuts:* I.iii (10); II.v (8); III.iv (18); V.i (12).

Length compared with other theatre versions: an unassigned and uncompleted prompt-book, second half of the 17th century, 2,413 (Folger); Smock Alley prompt-book (1676-82), 2,420; the Bell text (1773), 2,194.

Stage Directions: I.iii.132 "[Capers awkward /-ly" (Scribe B; cf. Collier MS); II.ii.14 "throws it down & Exit."; II.iv.49 "(Musick and Song:" (for "Musicke", but the text of the song is omitted); III.iv.34 "[to Maria" (Scribe B); 277 "to Fab.:" (Rowe); 281 "to Viola." (Capell); IV.i.24 "(strikes him)" (Rowe); 25 "(strikes Andrew)" (Rowe); V.i.283 "reads.—" (Rowe); 317 "O! read ye letter."

Readings of special interest and anticipations (from a total of 28) of later edited texts: I.iii.18 "any" (Pope); 21 "have halfe a year"; 31-32 "theres any drinck in Illiria and passage / in my throat:" 115 "back trip"; I.iv.8 "Duke" (for "Count"; MS makes this change frequently but not consistently; Rowe); 32 "shrill & sharp"; I.v.8 "lenten" (Rowe); 37-38 "besides you grow dishonest / I'll have no more of you."; 124-125 "heat mads him another makes him a foole and a third" (MS order attempts to create a logical order in terms of l. 123); 139 "he has" (Pope); 276 "action"; II.iii.52 "a true knight" (Rowe); 108 "art thou" (Rowe); 120 "to the field" (Rowe); 159 "an ass, I doubt it not" (MS destroys the pun); II.iv.120 "sonns" (Hanmer); II.v.36 "ye Stracci" (Lloyd conj.); 104 "wt a dish" (Rowe); 129 "born great" (Rowe); III.i.54 "construe" (Steevens); 54 "her" (Hanmer); 107 "musick from the starrs"; III.ii.57 "Sr Andrew" (Collier); III.iv.48 "wishd to see thee alwaies crossgartered" (at II.v.136 MS also reads "alwaies crossgartered" for Ff. "euer crosse garter'd"; Ff. here omit "euer" and MS thus makes the two passages consistent); 168 "orchard wall"; 221-222 "your opposite is a devill incarnate." (for "your . . . withall."); 282 "oaths sake" (Capell); IV.ii.50-51 "might perchance inhabite an owl"; 65 "all well delivred" (cf. Collier MS); 105-106 "good fool doe wt I bid thee," (for "By . . . Light:"); V.i.35 "mind of 1, 2, 3,"; 188 "he has" (Pope); 277 "he has" (Malone); 358 "thrust" (Theobald); 368 "convenes" (anon. conj.).

As You Like It

Lines cut: 477 (leaving a play of 2,131 lines); *total cuts:* 82.

Major cuts (ten lines or more): II.v complete scene, 59 lines (scene between Amiens and Jaques); II.vii.35-87 (Jaques and the Duke, on Jaques' desire to become a Fool; see below for substitute lines); 174-190 (the song "Blow, blow"); III.ii.178-188 (part of Rosalind's demand as to Orlando's identity);

verbal changes which are the result of rewriting a whole passage. The same warning must be given for the other statistics in this study: they are only as accurate as the minutely detailed nature of the materials and the limitations of space have permitted. The printed text quoted in the analytical tables is that of F2 (1632), unless there is some reason for referring to the four folios (Ff.) generally, in which case F1 (1623) is used.

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III.iii.4-28 (Audrey and Touchstone on "poetical"; see below for substitute lines); 42-55 (Touchstone on horns); 63-81 (Jaques' interference in Touchstone's marriage plans; see below for substitute lines); V.i complete scene, 58 lines (scene between Touchstone, Audrey, and William); V.iii complete scene, 38 lines (scene between Touchstone, Audrey, and two Pages). *Scenes containing the largest number of individual cuts*: I.i (6); I.ii (6); II.iii (7); II.vii (7); III.ii (18); III.iii (8); IV.i (10).

Length compared with other theatre versions: Drury Lane (1773, in Bell), 2,175.

Stage Directions: II.i "Enter Old Duke" (for "Enter Duke Senior"; described in the "Drammatis Personae" as "Ferdinand Old Duke of Burgundy Banish [*sic*] by his Brother"; both place and name are un-Shakespearean); II.ii "Enter new Duke" (for "Enter Duke"; described in the "Drammatis Personae" as "Frederick his Brother ye Usurper of Burgundy."); II.iv.62 MS adds "Enter Corin." (added to get Corin on stage again after F2 "Exeunt" at l. 41); II.iii.87 "Enter Orlando his sword drawn." (Theobald); II.vii.167 "Enter Orlando bearing Adam"; III.ii.112 "Cælia reading" (cf. Steevens); 277 "Exit Jaq." (Rowe); IV.ii.10 MS omits the song, but notes "Musick and Song, after which / Exeunt."; V.ii.104 "can (to Sil:)" (Capell); 104 "could. (to Ph:)" (Johnson); 110 "meet (to Orla:)" (Johnson; but MS gives all from "I will content" to "meet" as directed to Orlando); 111 "meet, [to S]" (Johnson); V.iv.11 "E: to Ph: you" (Rowe); 110 "to ye D: to you" (Rowe); 111 "yours. (to Orl:)" (Rowe).

Readings of special interest and anticipations (from a total of 40) of later edited texts: I.i.4 "James" (for "Jaques"; so also in "Drammatis Personae" list as the name for the middle brother); 83-84 MS substitutes "he's still Sir at ye Doore."; 129-130 "and my professedemie" (for "a secret . . . brother."); I.ii.93 "decree" (Pope); 125 "hear" (for "see"; cf. various emendations); 147 "young Sir" (for "Mounsieur"); 149 "her" (for "them"; Rowe); 168 "that has no honor to loose," (for "that was never gracious."); 251 "lesser" (Globe, Spedding conj.); I.iii.33 "no nor for his own?" (for "Why should I not?"); 92 "hath not?" (for "No, hath not?"; cf. various comments on the pointing); II.i.16 "bookes in trees, tongues" (cf. III.ii.5, which suggests that the change has been made for consistency); II.ii.10 "Hesperia" (Warburton); 53 "let me goe with you." (follows l. 55 in MS); II.iv.1 "merry" (Theobald from Warburton); 44 "a stones head"; II.vi.5 "comfort thy heart a little" (cf. anon. conj.); 8 "comforted" (Collier MS); II.vii.35-87 MS substitutes: "D Shall we sit down and tast the sweet provision / bountifull fortune has bestowd on us. / J: with all my heart my stomack's ready for you. / They prepare to eate"; 139 "play." (Pope); III.ii.23 "meat" (for "meanes"); 135 "her" (Rowe); 210 "garagantuas" (cf. Pope, "Garagantua's"); 219 "a good" (Steevens); 291-293 "he stands still with some, ambles wth others, trots with others / and gallops in fine with others."; 353 "desolution"; III.iii.4-28 MS substitutes: "Au. yes I warrant you but does mine please you? I am not / faire. / C: If thou were thou wert not honest; beauty and honesty can / never lye coupled."; 63-81 MS substitutes: "J: wt motley dost thou mean to be married? get thee then / to church and have a good priest and be not botchd up by / such a bungler as this is. / Cl: if we be not well married I shall have the better excuse /

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to leave my wife hereafter.”; III.v.20 “eyes have” (Pope); 66 “her” (Hanmer); IV.i.16-17 “computation”; 51 “can make” (Hanmer); 76 “out of my” (Collier MS); “lett him try you.” (cf. Collier MS); IV.iii.2 “and here’s no Orland.” (cf. Ritson conj.); 56 “these lines” (for “*this love*”); 88 “owners” (Capell); 103 “oake” (for “old Oake”; Pope); 164 “sir” (Pope); V.ii.7 “Nor her sudden” (Rowe); 64 “meaning” (Dyce); 75 “look on him; love him, for he worships you” (anon. conj.); 91 “obedience” (Malone conj.); 93-95 MS omits “so am” in all three speeches, bringing the refrain in line with the earlier ones; V.iv.4 “and hope they fear” (Gould conj.); 25 “doubts all cleer. come wth me sister” (cf. Collier MS); 109 “her” (Malone); 134 “thus things” (cf. Collier MS); 142 “you are wellcome daughter” (cf. various suggestions); 158 “them” (for “him”; Rowe); Epilogue 7 “can” (Pope).

The Comedy of Errors

Lines cut: 18 (leaving a play of 1,735 lines); *total cuts:* 12.

Major cuts: none.

Length compared with other theatre versions: “Nursery” prompt-book (ca. 1673), 1,375; Smock Alley prompt-book (before 1700), 1,208; the Bell text (1774), 1,565; Hull’s version, revised text (1793), 1,544.

Stage Directions: I.i “Enter . . . and others.” (for “*Enter . . . other attendants.*”); I.ii.8 “gives him mony” (¶ Scribe B); 92 “(beats him.” (Collier MS); 94 “Exit running” (Collier MS); III.i “Enter Antipholis Sereptus Dromio Eph.” (for *Enter Antipholis of Ephesus, his man Dromio*,”; the MS regularly distinguishes the two brothers, in the “The names of the Actors.” and in the text, as “Antipholis Sereptus” and “Antipholis Erotus”, or by some abbreviated form of these); IV.iv.18 “(beats Dromio” (Pope); 50 “(beats pinch” (¶ Scribe B; cf. Dyce).

Readings of special interest and anticipations (from a total of 48) of later edited texts: I.i.104 “helpless” (Rowe, also Smock Alley); 120 “misfortune” (Collier MS, Dyce); “seek thy life” (see various emendations); I.ii.12 “Till then” (Collier MS); 93 “Gods” (Hanmer); II.i.17 “has its bounds” (Rowe, “its”); 64 “you come home” (Theobald); II.ii.53 “next time” (Capell conj.); 93 “false” (Ingleby conj.); 110 “your sweet” (for “some sweet”; Collier MS); 119 “thus” (Rowe); 138 “wouldst” (Hanmer); 174 “stronger” (F4); 185 “this masked fallacie” (see various emendations); 192 “elvish sprights” (Pope); 203 “my eye” (for “thy eye”; Collier MS); III.i.13 “my skin” (Collier MS); 27 “and a more” (Keightley); 31 “Jinn” (Dyce); 89 “Besides ye long experience of her wisdom” (see various suggestions; Rowe, “her” and again in l. 91); III.ii.16 “attaint” (Rowe); 28 “comforts”; 57 “where” (Rowe); 66 “I am for thee” (Gould conj.); 120 “her hand” (Rowe); 121-123 MS places these lines on France after the passage on England (ll. 124-127), perhaps because of the reference to France in l. 127; 161 “of selfe’s wrong” (Pope, “of”); IV.i.8 “owing” (Pope); 12 “Please you to” (cf. Rowe, Pope); 17 “her” (Rowe); 74 “pay for that” (Rowe); “a right” (Rowe); IV.ii.19 “its will” (Rowe); 61 “If He” (Malone); IV.iii.55-56 “master if you goe, and expect spoonemeat, speake for a long spoone.” (cf. various suggestions); IV.iv.75 “rigour of your” (cf. Rowe, Collier MS); 84 “thou not” (Capell); 89 “are” (Rowe); 101 “those false”

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(Rowe); 150 "see" (Capell); V.i.68 "therefor" (Singer); 69 "clamour" (Capell); 81 "his" (Collier, Walker conj.); 86 "have quite bereft thy husband of his wits" (cf. Collier MS, Keightley); 121 "deep" (for "depth" of F1, F2); 148 "strange" (Dyce, Malone conj.); 174 MS omits "to him," (Capell); 347 "rafter"; 365 MS places this line after l. 367; 400 "and at" (Collier MS); 404 "Come to a Gossips feast, come, come with me." (cf. Keightley); 421 "senior" (Rowe).

Romeo and Juliet

Lines cut: 971 (leaving a play of 2,004 lines); *total cuts:* 174.

Major cuts (ten lines or more): I.i.11-31 (quarrelling between the servants); 102-113 (Benvolio's account of the quarrel); 171-180 (Romeo's oxymorons); I.ii.20-33 (Capulet's account of the projected feast); I.iii.19-60 (the Nurse's ramblings); 82-96 (Lady Capulet's praise of Paris); I.iv.37-104 (quibbling between Mercutio and Romeo, including the Queen Mab speech); I.v.1-13 (servingmen's chatter); II.iii.67-80 (Friar Laurence's scolding of Romeo); II.iv.10-35 (quibbling between Mercutio and Benvolio); 51-96 (quibbling between Romeo and Mercutio); 106-114 (quibbling with the Nurse); 141-165 Nurse's comments on Mercutio); 188-206 (Nurse's teasing of Romeo); II.vi.6-15 (Friar Laurence's admonition against haste); III.i.5-33 (banter between Mercutio and Benvolio); 149-172 (Benvolio's account of the fight); III.ii.5-19 (part of Juliet's apostrophe to night); III.iii.119-134 (part of Friar Laurence's reprimand of Romeo); III.v.87-103 (Lady Capulet and Juliet on Tybalt's killer); IV.i.6-16 (Paris on Juliet's grief for Tybalt's death); 55-65 (Juliet's threat to kill herself); IV.ii.1-10 (Capulet with the servingmen); IV.iv.1-24 (Capulet's fussing over the wedding preparations); IV.v.96-142 (Peter and the Musicians). *Scenes containing the largest number of individual cuts:* I.i (15); II.iv (12); III.i (13); III.iii (11); III.v (18); IV.i (12); IV.v (12).

Length compared with other theatre versions: Theophilus Cibber's version (1748), 2,155; Garrick's version (in Bell, 1773), 2,087.

Stage Directions: I.i.33 "Enter Abraham and another / Servants to ye Mountagues." (cf. Daniel); I.ii "Enter Capulet Count Paris / and a Servant." (cf. Rowe); I.v.91 "Rom: to Jul:—" (Rowe); II.iv.141-165 MS omits and substitutes: "N: pray you Sir a word (they whisper"; III.i.46 "fidlestick (Draws)" (cf. Rowe, Collier); III.i.81-83 "They draw and / fight Romeo steps / between them." (cf. Rowe, Capell); III.v "above" (for "aloft"; Rowe); "Lark warbles" (Scribe B); 20 "warbles again]" (Scribe B); 64 "Lady. at ye Doore." (cf. Capell); 81 "asunder. (aside" (Hanmer); IV.iii.23 "(Lyes down a penknife" (cf. Johnson); V.iii.21 "(Steps aside." (cf. Capell); 53 "(Steps forth" (cf. Capell); 70 "(Fight." (cf. Rowe); 71 "Pet: behind." (cf. Hanmer); 83 "(he enters the vault" (cf. Theobald); 116 "(takes the Poison"; 119 "(Drincks" after "love," (cf. Theobald); 120 "Dies." (Theobald); 139 "—Goes on & calls) Romeo" (cf. Capell); 144 "—Enters" (cf. Capell); 147 "J: awakes" (cf. Pope); 168 "dagger (takes Romeos dagger" (cf. Capell); 169 "sheath. (stabs her selfe" (cf. Ff.); 169 "dye. (dyes" (cf. Capell).

Readings of special interest and anticipations (from a total of 47) of later edited texts: I.i.117 "peep'd" (Pope, Q1); 120 "runneth"; 120 "ye Citty"

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(Theobald); 127 "humour" (Q2); 127 "him" (Theobald); 142 "learn't" (cf. Rowe); 209 "unharm'd" (Pope, Q1); 233 "serve for but a note" (Seymour conj.); I.ii.42 "persons out" (Capell); 69 "lovely" (Rowe); I.iii.13 "teeth ont"; 15 "but mine with soles of lead" (for "I . . . Lead"); 23 "you should" (Capell); 99 "but no jot deeper will I dart my eye"; I.iv.28 "prick love for pricking you, and beat it down"; I.v.79 "sit" (Johnson); 91 "unworthy" (Pope, Q1); 115 "chink" (Rowe, Pope); II.ii.59 "utterance" (Malone, Q1); 101 "then those yt looke more sower and seem more strange."; 103 "had you not heard before I was aware"; 152 "suite" (Q4); 159 "tassel gently" (Rowe); II.iii.32 "salutes my eares?" (cf. Rowe); II.v.6 "black" (Collier MS); 46 "no no. this is not wt I askd thee."; II.vi.19 "idle" (Malone); 34 "sum up halfe"; III.i.116 "more dayes black fate, on this day does depend"; III.ii.121 "rereguard"; III.iii.40-42 MS omits l. 42 and arranges in order 41, 40, 43 (Gould conj.); 140 "happy too."; 143 "but like a Sullen and hard hearted wretch"; 163 "here's Sir, a ring" (cf. Daniel conj.); III.v.13 "know it well" (Pope); 243 "I have power enough to dye"; IV.i.85 "in his tombe" (Malone conj.); 121 "O give me give me tell me not of fear" (cf. Pope, Theobald, Lettsom conj.); 122-123 "in this be strong, / resolve it and I'll"; IV.ii.26 "becoming" (Rowe); 32 "much bound unto" (Steevens, Q1); 41 "her up" (Hudson); IV.iii.45 "Alas alas" (Pope); IV.v.60-61 "uncomfortable grief why camest thou so / to murder quite our nigh solemnity?" (cf. Gould conj.); 81 "All in her" (Rowe); V.i.60 "strong spreading stuff" (for "soone speeding geare"; "soon spreading" Q5); 76 "pay" (Q1); V.iii.4 "holding thine" (Capell); 8 "hearst some approach."; 108 MS retains "come lie thou in my armes," then cuts to "here here will I"; 120 "thus by my love" (for "Thus with a kisse"); 185 "ye" (Capell); 208 "too early downe" (for "now early downe").

Julius Caesar

Lines cut: 25 (leaving a play of 2,425 lines); *total cuts:* 8.

For further detailed information the reader is referred to my treatment of the Folger *Julius Caesar* MS (*JEGP*, XLI (1942), 401-417). The following stage directions are added (by Scribe B) in the Douai MS: II.ii.124 "[aside" (Rowe); 128-129 "[aside" (Pope); V.ii.284 "[Ghost descends"; V.v.5 "[whispers him" (Rowe); 8 "[whispers Dar:" (Capell).

Macbeth

Lines cut: 196 (leaving a play of 1,888 lines); *total cuts:* 52.

Major cuts (ten lines or more): I.v.1-11 (Macbeth's letter; see *Stage Directions*, below); II.iii.1-20 (the Porter's soliloquy; see *Readings*, below); 24-39 (the quibbling between Macduff and the Porter); III.i.75-85 (the beginning of Macbeth's talk with the Murderers). *Scenes containing the largest number of individual cuts:* III.i (6); III.iv (7); IV.ii (9).

Length compared with other theatre versions: Padua prompt-book (1625-35), 1,792; D'Avenant's version (1674), 2,124; Smock Alley prompt-book (ca. 1680), 1,732; Garrick's version (1744), 1,846; Lee's version (1753), 1,857.

Stage Directions: I.iii.48 "(Aside)" (Rowe); I.v "alone reading a letter." (for "alone with a Letter."; the letter is omitted); II.iii "Enter a Porter dressing himselfe. / Knock all the while."; 16 "downe (wounds Banquo"

(cf. Rowe, Theobald, etc.); III.iv.8 "Enter a Murtherer." (for "Enter first Murtherer."); IV.i.150 MS prefaces this line with "(pauses)"; V.viii.34 "Enter again and Macbeth is slain." (for "Enter fighting, and Macbeth slaine.").

Readings of special interest and anticipations (from a total of 50) of later edited texts: I.i.3-4 MS reverses line order; 5 "'fore set o th' Sun." (cf. D'Avenant); I.ii.6-7 "the newes of this great broyle / how didst thou leave it?"; 14 "quarrel" (Hanmer); 25 "gives" (Pope); 38-39 "for doubly they redoubled stroakes on the foe."; I.iii.97-98 "hail / came puffing posts" (for "Tale / Can post with post"; cf. Rowe); I.iv.51 "not night" (Warburton); I.vii.1 "if it were well, when 'tis done," (cf. D'Avenant); 5 "might be the all and end all" (cf. Rowe); 28 "'o' th' other side" (Hanmer); 44 "doe it you dare not and yet fain you would"; II.i.14 "officers" (Rowe); 46 "and on thy glistering blade small drops of blood"; II.ii.33-34 "not thought of / after" (cf. Hanmer); 50 MS places "Ile goe no more:" after "dare not." in l. 52; II.iii.1-20 MS substitutes: "P: here's a knocking indeed: who's there in the name of / belzebub? anon; anon; I am coming. (Opens the doore.)"; II.iv.33 "Colmeshill" (Rowe); III.i.22 "tak't" (Warburton MS, Keightley); 90 MS after "for ever" adds: "I know you are conuincd / 'twas Banquo brought you to this misery" (original lines to cover the cut of ll. 75-85); III.ii.9 "Dolefull frenzies (for F2 "Sorryest Francies"); 38 "eternall" (Pope); III.iv.17 "good too" (cf. Long MS); 64 "impostures" (Johnson conj., Capell); 124 "augurs" (Theobald); III.v.11 "weyward" (Pope); 21 "black and fatal" (cf. Pope); IV.i.28 "silver'd" (Rowe); 93 "to Dunsiman high hill" (cf. Pope); IV.iii.113 "have banish'd" (Rowe); 195 "catch" (Rowe); 237 "we nothing want but leave. Hellish Macbeth" (for "Our . . . Macbeth"); V.i.62 "of his" (Pope); V.iii.3 MS originally read "faint" (cf. Walker conj.), altered to F "taint"; 28 "but dare" (Reed); V.viii.34 "dambd be he" (Pope); 41 "his prowess had confirmd" (cf. various suggestions); 71 "wts needfull" (Hanmer).