Full Length Research Article

STAGE DIRECTIONS: FROM PAGE TO PLAYHOUSE

*Shokhan Rasool Ahmed

Department of English, University of Sulaimani, Sulaimani-Kurdistan, Iraq

ABSTRACT

Stage directions are a new research area among scholars of early modern drama. 'Stage direction' is a term that invites the reader of a play to imagine the written dialogue as dramatic action staged in the theatre. Stage directions can be remnants of a text used for performance, or equally, they may be put in after performance, to evoke action for readers. In other words, they may survive from original guidance notes to performers to direct their movement, or their purpose may be to recreate that movement in the reader's imagination. Stage directions - for instance, 'exit', 'enter', 'descend', and 'above' - are susceptible to revision and to error. The stage directions in Shakespeare's early modern editions can be of both types, both 'fictional' and 'theatrical'. In more recent editions, editorial policy can partly shape how the reader imagines, say, *Macbeth* taking place both on stage and in Scotland at the same time. Stage directions in modern editions are often printed in square brackets to indicate alterations and additions. This is designed, as Jowett puts it, 'to highlight the problem in staging and invite the reader to consider possible alternatives to the words enclosed within them'.[1] In this paper I will analyse the meaning and status of stage directions in printed texts. The main focus will be on whether the stage directions in these surviving texts, are written by the author himself, the theatre scribe, members of the theatre companies, or later editors, paying particular attention to the early texts of Middleton's *The Witch* and Shakespeare's later plays as evidence of performance practice.

INTRODUCTION

It is important to focus on the types of early texts used by theatre Companies and the playwrights in the early performances before investigating of the stage directions in the surviving texts of Middleton's *The Witch*, Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* and *The Tempest*. Some of the dramatists sold their plays to playing companies who then produced three different kinds of manuscript. First, there was a 'book', the author's 'foul papers' (his first complete draft) which was used by a company's 'book holder'. A 'book holder', prompter or stage manager is someone who supervises rehearsals and prompts. 'Foul papers' or 'Fair papers' (clean copies), produced by the author himself could later be given to a scribe to transcribe before printing. However, during the Renaissance period, most of the plays were only written for performance and not intended for publication. Second, there was a 'plot' which, 'mounted on a card, was kept in the tiring house and which listed the players required for each scene'.

Third, there were the 'parts'; actors of early modern theatre never received the whole text of the plays in which they were to perform, but only parts of the whole text.[1] The company of players did not want multiple copies of a full text in existence in case they fell into the hands of the rival companies and printers. Laws of copyright did not exist to protect intellectual property at that time. Some plays seem to have been printed from prompt copies rather than from the manuscript as it left the author's hands. The copies of some of Shakespeare' plays came from actors' reconstructions but some came from the theatre company's prompt-books since his plays do not survive in manuscript. Take, for instance, the three early texts of *Hamlet*: the 'bad' Quarto of 1603 (Q1), the second Quarto of 1604-5 (Q2), and the Folio of 1623 (F).[2] It is believed that Q2

Corresponding author: *Shokhan Rasool Ahmed*
Department of English, University of Sulaimani, Sulaimani-Kurdistan, Iraq

---

[1]John Jowett, *Shakespeare and Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 155.

[2]For information about 'parts', see Simon Palfrey and Tiffany Stern, *Shakespeare in Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.1.

[2] For information regarding different types of texts and editions, see Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to*

was set from an authorial manuscript printed during Shakespeare's lifetime, and presumably upon his consent Q1 was displaced by Q2.[3] However, it is thought that 'F' originated in a manuscript (either directly or via a corrected copy of Q2) that had served as the play-house prompt-book. This manuscript is a fair copy made either by an independent scribe or by Shakespeare himself.[4] Thus, Q2 and F are substantially similar. However, the most recent scholarship shows that each of the three early texts has a case to be considered 'authentic', even though Q1 is significantly different from Q2 and F, and again Q2 and F are also different from each other.[5] Stern defines a 'good' quarto as an authoritative text which may have originated in a Shakespeare's rough draft ('foul papers'); in a scribe's neat copy of a Shakespeare's draft; or in a playhouse manuscript used for prompting. A 'bad' quarto is not an authoritative quarto since it contains a text so muddled and confused that it is judged not to have its basis in a straightforward authorial text.[6] All the printed plays from the First Folio are 'good' since some of them seem to have come from foul papers and some from scribal manuscripts. Some others may have come from prompters' books.

As Gaskell points out, a manuscript does not necessarily represent the text the author wanted to be read. Thus, most of the authors expected 'their spelling, capitalization, and punctuation to be corrected or supplied by the printer, relying on the process to dress the text suitably for publication, implicitly endorsing it when correcting proofs'.[7] The King's Men lost their stock of manuscripts in the fire that burnt down the Globe Theatre in 1613.[8] No theatrical manuscripts of plays by Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Kyd, George Chapman, and John Webster are extant.[9] None of the manuscripts, foul or fair, of Shakespeare's plays have survived, except *Sir Thomas More*, though manuscript plays by other playwrights do exist. There is no clear evidence that Shakespeare was concerned with the appearance of his plays in print, although Palfrey and Stern argue that he certainly intended to publish (in the sense of 'broadcast') his texts in part form. The part perhaps was

'the only unit of the text designed to be examined, mediated upon, enacted – and interpreted'.[10] Most of the early dramatic texts were incomplete until they were staged. However, the idea that Shakespeare did not only write plays for performance in the playhouses has long been entertained by critics. Greg does not think that Shakespeare, in his later days at least, wrote for the stage only: 'the length of some of his pieces, which must always have rendered their complete performance difficult, suggest that he had some sort of publication in mind'.[11] However, Erne argues that many of Shakespeare's printed plays exhibit a dual identity since 'they do not appear to have been meant for performance before undergoing abridgment and adaptation for the stage'.[12] Stanley Wells argues that early modern printed plays reflect the business of theatre: 'Shakespeare wrote, not as a dramatist whose work would be completed at the moment that he delivered script to the company for which it was written, but as one who knew that he would be involved in the production process'.[13] Because Shakespeare was a sharer in the company of the King's Men, he was on hand to clarify his intention or see to necessary revisions to their texts. However, the dramatist was not always available to modify his own plays. Shakespeare's *Macbeth* is a well-known case in point. The First Folio includes two witch songs which were taken from Middleton's *The Witch. The Witch* was written in 1609-1616, perhaps after Shakespeare had ceased to be active as a writer. Therefore, *Macbeth,* as it appears in the First Folio, should perhaps be considered as a revival play performed at the Blackfriars after Shakespeare's death.

The Role of the Scribe in Early Texts

Some of Shakespeare's Folio plays appear to be based on texts transcribed by a professional scribe rather than the author himself. O'Callaghan defines a professional scribe as someone who worked professionally for patrons, or the book trade, and who tended to produce specialist texts. Scribes also produced manuscript texts on a commercial basis, such as parliamentary speeches and proclamations, for instance, which were copied and sold at stationers' shops alongside printed legal texts.[14] Sometimes the identity of the scribe is uncertain, if his name is not recorded in the title page. The poet and scribe Ralph Crane (1589-1632) was, in the words of T. H. Howard-Hill, one of 'the most prominent literary scribes of the first part of the seventeenth-century and was a significant agent in the transmission of plays written by several major Jacobean playwrights'.[15]   Crane's contribution can be inferred from

Bibliography (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 338.

[3] William Shakespeare, *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works*, ed. by Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson and David Scott Kastan, 3rd series (Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1998), p.12.

[4] Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 341.

[5] William Shakespeare, *The Arden Shakespeare: Hamlet*, ed. by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, 3rd ed. (London: A & amp; C Black, 2006), pp. 91-93. For more details about Q1, Q2, and F, and the relationship to each other, see the same book, pp. 74-85.

[6] Tiffany Stern, *Making Shakespeare: From Stage to Page* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 46.

[7] Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 339.

[8] Marion Harry Spielmann, *Studies in the First Folio: Written for the Shakespearean Association, in Celebration of the First Folio Tercentenary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923), p. 75.

[9] W.W. Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing between 1550-1650* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), pp. 11-12. Most of the surviving manuscripts relate to plays performed by the Lord Admiral's Men.

[10] Palfrey and Stern, *Shakespeare in Parts*, p.2.

[11] W. W. Greg, *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare: A Survey of the Foundation of the Text*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), p. viii.

[12] Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as a Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 219.

[13] Stanley Wells, *Re-Editing Shakespeare for the Modern reader* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 57.

[14] Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Publication: Print and Manuscript', in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. by Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2000), pp. 81-94 (p. 83).

[15] T. H. Howard-Hill, 'Crane, Ralph (fl. 1589–1632)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Online 2004,

printed traces in the First Folio, which show evidence of other hands at work: the Folio versions of *The Tempest, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Measure for Measure*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* were evidently set from a professional scrivener's transcript, supplied by Crane.[16] Besides these plays, Howard-Hill re-assesses Crane's authorship in the First Folio and argues that *The Winter's Tale* also drives from a Crane transcript, and *Cymbeline* and *Othello* are newly attributed to Crane's transcription as well.[17] Howard-Hill's view has gained currency among more recent critics. E. A. J. Honigmann also discusses the matter of Crane's hand in the First Folio and supports Howard-Hill's tentative ascriptions of the copies of some Folio plays to Crane. He advances Howard-Hill's argument of Crane's involvement in preparing the copy of some other Folio plays, such *Othello* and *2 Henry IV*.[18] Crane also helped in preparing other transcripts in both literary and theatrical contexts, such as the copy of Middleton's *The Witch* (transcribed 1624-5) and the theatre playbook of Fletcher's and Massinger's *Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt* (1619).[19] From their attribution to the King's Men, the manuscripts of Middleton's *Women Beware Women* and *The Witch* must both have been written by Crane.

He was responsible for supplying several other copies of King's Men plays to publishers. Some of the First Folio's key phrases, especially with respect to stage directions, for example 'Enter' and 'Exeunt', belong more to the scrivener, Crane, than to the author, Shakespeare. His stage directions were full of entrances and descriptive detail. For instance, in *The Tempest*, the stage directions read '*Enter several strange Shapes*' (III.iii.1534) and '*Enter Ariell, loaden with glistering apparel, &c*' (IV.i.1869).[20] Most of the more elaborate stage directions here are probably non-authorial and show every sign of having been heavily rewritten by Crane. Crane also copied a number of collaborative plays the stage directions of which were added by the King's Company bookkeeper, such as Fletcher's and Massinger's *The Prophetess* and *The Spanish Curate*, and Fletcher's and Rowley's *The Maid in The Mill*.[21] Early printed play texts were thus not the work of only one hand but many, since most of them were collaboratively produced. One might even claim that the theatre scribe has part authorship in a printed text through his interventions in it, by changing the sense or imposing his own preferences on the presentation of stage directions.

Shakespeare's First Folio 1623

The First Folio was published by two members of the King's Men, John Heminge and Henry Condell, and they tried to collect all Shakespeare's plays exactly as they stood, down to the last detail (they stress the closeness of the texts in the Folio to what is called on the title page the "True Original Copies"). However, this can hardly be taken to apply equally to everything he wrote, to '*Troilus and Cressida* and *King Lear* as much as *The Tempest*, say, or *The Winter's Tale*'.[22] The First Folio does not contain all that Shakespeare wrote. It lacks both the non-dramatic works and one of the thirty-seven canonical plays, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre,* nor does it present us with the most satisfactory text of all the remaining plays.[23] Sixteen plays, especially the late ones listed in the First Folio, had not appeared in print before and so the First Folio is our only text for these plays. The Folio cannot be considered as an accurate representation of the original manuscripts because half the plays of the period probably involved more than one dramatist as an adaptor, collaborator or co-author. If it is 'original copy', it means that it originated directly from the author's 'foul papers'. The Folio plays were ultimately taken from foul papers, but not immediately. According to Greg, 'True Original Copies' points to the 'fair copies' of Shakespeare's 'foul papers' from which the prompt book would emerge after annotation licensing'.[24]

Foul papers produced by Shakespeare himself would be given to scribes to transcribe before printing. For instance, Quiller-Couch and Wilson argue that the printed copy of *The Tempest* in the Folio set from author's manuscript which had served as a prompt-copy in the theatre. They also add that 'the condition of the folio text appears to show that *The Tempest* MS. had seen many changes before it reached the printer's hands'.[25] The changes are mostly made in stage directions, punctuation, and act and scene breaks. Each of the first four plays printed in the Folio -*The Tempest, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *Measure for Measure* along with *The Winter's Tale*- were transcribed by Crane who was employed to transcribe papers in the theatre's possession.[26] In short, the above Folio plays were transcribed by the scribe (Crane), and finally printed by Heminge and Condell in 1623.[27] In sum, the Folio is a distinctive copy because it

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6605, accessed 27 April 2012> [Accessed April 2012]

[16] *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. by Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), p. xxxv. Jowett also lists Shakespeare's comedies as transcribed by Crane including *The Tempest, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, The Merry Wives of Windsor, Measure for Measure*, and *Comedy of Errors*. John Jowett, *Shakespeare and Text,* p. 3.

[17] Howard-Hill, 'Crane, Ralph (fl. 1589–1632).

[18] E. A. J. Honigmann, *The Texts of Othello and Shakespearean Revision* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 165-168.

[19] John Jowett, *Shakespeare and Text,* p. 82.

[20] William Shakespeare, *The Norton Facsimile: The First Folio of Shakespeare*, ed. by Charlton Hinman (London, New York, Sydney and Toronto: Paul Hamlyn, 1968), p. 31.

[21] Howard-Hill, 'Crane, Ralph (fl. 1589–1632).

[22] *Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. by Wells and Taylor, p. xiii.

[23] Shakespeare, *The Norton Facsimile: The First Folio of Shakespeare*, pxi.

[24] W. W. Greg, *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare: A Survey of the Foundations of the Text*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 1.

[25] *William Shakespeare: The Works of Shakespeare*, ed. by Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson (Cambridge: At The University Press, 1921), ii, p. 79. See also E. K. Chamber's 'The Integrity of "The Tempest"', in *Shakespearean Gleanings* ([London]: Oxford University Press, 1944), pp. 76-97.

[26] William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works*, ed. by Wells and Taylor (1988), p. xxxv.

[27] Spielmann assumes that since Heminge and Condell collected the Folio and they were players at the Globe Theatre, the Folio might come from the Globe, and it was playhouse material which had been used for performance. Marion Harry

includes adjustments, act breaks, music cues and alterations for revivals performed at the Blackfriars. Crane's work demonstrates some of the attributes of a modern textual editor in that he paid special attention to stage directions in several Folio plays. The shaping of Shakespeare's texts over centuries of editing has altered the way they are presented as theatrical artefacts. As Spielmann points out the acknowledged editing of Shakespeare did not start until the eighteenth century, and those who edited Shakespeare were not all scholars but they were interested in the theatre.[28] Eighteenth-century editors paid attention to clarifying Shakespeare's texts though making act and scene divisions, correcting punctuation and writing lists of characters. None of Shakespeare's plays 'printed in his lifetime has any dedication, epistle to the reader, list of characters, scene locations, notes or act or scene divisions'.[29]

The motivation of modern editorial interventions, in altering or adding stage directions, is to provide greater clarity and a smoother reading experience. Early readers may not have required this clarification as they were only concerned about poetic passages in reading, whereas modern readers are more concerned about how the play was performed on stage. Perhaps it is because early readers knew how the theatre of the time worked, whereas modern readers need more prompts. The editions, by amplifying the stage directions of the early texts, help readers to visualize how the play was performed. Wells argues that the editor needs to 'identify points at which additional directions, or changes to those of the early texts, are necessary to make the staging intelligible'.[30] Because the stage directions in some of the early texts are misleading or absent, modern editors tend to amend and interrelate them. The First Folio's act divisions may be at least partly influenced by performance in Blackfriars. The King's Men performed most of Shakespeare's plays at the indoor Blackfriars and the plays needed act breaks because the candles needed to be trimmed several times during the performance. However, this was not so in outdoor playhouses, such as the Globe, and as Stern notes, 'plays written before 1609, to be performed at the Globe only, simply have scene-breaks, and would have been enacted straight through without pause'.[31] Globe plays restaged at the Blackfriars needed to be revised by having act breaks, and also by adding music scenes to fill the gap between the acts.

Stage Directions in Print and Performance

It is not only in Shakespeare's plays that stage directions have been changed or revised by the author or theatre scribe. For instance, Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* exists in two forms: the first (the A text), dated 1604, may derive from provincial performances, and its stage directions do not call for any actors above the stage or aloft in the playhouse, the 'Heavens'. The B text, however, printed in 1616, derives from

performances in a fully-equipped London playhouse. The stage directions reveal that the Devils 'aloft' watch Faustus on the stage below as he conjures and later prepares for death.[32] Most of the alterations of the stage directions might presumably be made at the request of the playing company or according to the capacity of the playhouse. The theatrical manuscript was a site for textual intervention by the scribe. The stage manager or the scribe did not just stage the words they found in a play text, but 'they cut and amend to give their production a shape which may be dictated in part by the forms and pressures of their time'.[33] However, authorial stage directions may sometimes remain unaltered.

Stage directions will be considered in plays performed at the Blackfriars by the King's Men later in the thesis. I examine what changes were made to the texts after the King's Men leased the Blackfriars. *Macbeth* in the First Folio has different stage directions in some scenes compared to still later editions of the play. As Marsden has remarked, the adaptations of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* in 1664 and *The Tempest* in 1674 'took full advantage of the technical possibilities for staging intricate productions, augmenting Shakespeare's depiction of the supernatural with new scenes of witches flying and spirits descending'.[34] *Macbeth*'s witches could now fly and the three Apparitions could descend after the Hecate scene, songs and dances were added to the text by William Davenant in 1674. *The Tempest* was also adapted by Davenant and Dryden in 1667 and again by Thomas Shadwell in 1674.[35] After their alterations to these plays, witches and spirits were made to fly on stage, presenting a new and highly entertaining spectacle for audiences. Alterations were made in most of the witch plays in order to entertain the Restoration spectators and meet their developing tastes. Modern editors take responsibility for correcting punctuation and spelling in order to make staging as intelligible as possible.[36] Editors attempt to modernize the early printed texts through changing spelling which is a serious scholarly task. For instance, the three witches in *Macbeth* are spelled the 'weird sisters' in modern editions, but they are 'wayward' and 'weyard' in the First Folio. For example, in Act 3, scene 1, all the witches sing and dance around the cauldron:

> The wayward Sisters, hand in hand,
> Posters of the Sea and Land,[37]

Spielmann, *Studies in the First Folio*, p. 55.

[28] Spielmann, *Studies in the First Folio,* pp.170-171.

[29] Stanley Wells, 'To Read a Play: The Problem of Editorial Intervention', in *Reading Plays: Interpretations and Reception*, eds. Hanna Scolnicov and Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 30-55 (p. 34).

[30] Stanley Wells, *Re-Editing Shakespeare for the Modern Readers*, p. 68.

[31] Stern, *Making Shakespeare: From Stage to Page*, p.30.

[32] Michael Hattaway, 'Playhouse and the Role of Drama', in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2000), p.135.

[33] Michael Hattaway, *Hamlet* (London: MacMillan Publishing Ltd, 1987), pp. 15-16.

[34] Jean I. Marsden, 'Spectacle, horror, and Pathos', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. by Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 174-190 (p. 175).

[35] Christopher Spencer, *Five Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), pp.17-20. See also Marsden, 'Spectacle, horror, and Pathos', p. 189.

[36] See John Pitcher, 'Why Editors Should Write More Notes', *Shakespeare Studies*, 24 (1996), 55-62 (pp. 58, 60), and Stanley Wells, *Modernizing Shakespeare's Spelling* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 31.

[37] First Folio, *The Tragedy of Macbeth*, p. 132.

However, it is 'the weird sisters, hand in hand' in all the modern editions. Taylor argues, in his important essay 'Inventing Shakespeare', that 'every time an editor emends a text he is, to an extent, reconstructing its author in his own image'.[38] The major and well-known modern editions that modernize the spelling are New Cambridge, Arden, Riverside and Oxford. They also alter stage directions where it was necessary for example in *Cymbeline* and *The Tempest*. Stage directions help readers to envisage the action, but only if they understand the nature of the editorial intervention. Moreover, it is the editor who decides what the reader is enabled to imagine: theatrical representation or represented fiction. The original stage directions in Shakespeare's play texts cause the reader to envisage the represented fiction instead of the theatrical representation. In reverse, the added stage directions allow the reader 'visualize the theatrical representation instead of the represented fiction'.[39] In order to present them for reading rather than performing, modern editors treat the early texts in both ways, as both theatrical and literary artefacts. Editors could turn these printed early play texts into a surrogate performance through their additional stage directions.

The stage directions added in modern editions are used to narrate incident and report events in order to demonstrate the action of the play. We may see them as acting in an analogous way to the method used in Brechtian theatre, in which a narrator is used to present a variety of point of views and perspectives on the action. Stage direction is also given as one of the dramatic techniques of Brechtian theatre during the action especially at the beginning of each scene,[40] making the audience socially active by speaking the stage directions out loud where necessary. The critical attitude of the audience is more developed when they are directed alongside with the characters on stage. Stage directions also keep the audience alert and prevent them becoming emotionally involved with the actors on stage. This makes the audience and/or the reader as a critical observer focus on the meaning of the events being acted out rather than becoming attached to the actor. As Brecht's use of stage direction highlights, stage directions can act as the third person in telling the reader or audience what happens next or narrating what is going to happen. In print, stage directions in the First Folio tell a narrative of the changing dramatic styles of the seventeenth-century; if a text is not provided or edited with stage directions, then it is left to the reader themselves to interpret their understanding of the play. Sometimes editorial comments and additions appear in italics inside square brackets which show the role of the scribe or editor, and serves for continuous alterations and additions. The use of square brackets shows interventions by the editor. In the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, stage directions in square brackets were rarely used. The use of square brackets in stage directions was not a convention in the 1620s. However,

William Davenant used square brackets after he revised *Macbeth* in 1667:

(1674 Quarto, p. 3)[41]

Unlike the First Folio or the Quarto of 1673, the stage direction in the second quarto specifies that the ghost descends, not simply enters (III. iv). Another stage direction is more specific about the stage technology:

(1674 Quarto, p. 40)[42]

A machine also descends (for the flight of the witches in the song of "Come away") in the second quarto (III. v). Hecate and the other witches enter and depart by means of a flying machine. It is clear that when Davenant revised *Macbeth,* for the stage in 1667 before it was printed in the 1674 Quarto, he added 'flying for the witches', which is almost certainly an interpolation derived from *The Witch*.[43] This stage direction '[*Machine descends*' cannot be found either in the Quarto of 1673 or in the First Folio.[44] Blackfriars dramatists also used more spectacular stage directions in the scenes of descent, ascent, entrances and exits. Middleton's Hecate and Malkin fly according to Malone MS 12 (Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1625). O'Connor points out that Crane had prepared *The Witch*'s transcript two years after the First Folio.[45] The title of the play in Malone 12 is "A Tragi-Coomodie, called the Witch; long since Acted, by his Maties. Seruants at the Black-Friars, written by Tho. Middleton".[46] Howard-Hill argues that Crane's undated transcript of Middleton's *The Witch* was probably written after the Shakespeare folio copy, but before *Demetrius* and *Enanthe*.[47] Howard-Hill is compelling among the recent critics regarding the transcriptions that Crane prepared including *The Witch*. According to the dedicatory epistle of Malone MS 12, it seems that the authorial manuscript went missing: As a true Testemonie, of my readie Jnclination to your Seruice, J haue (meerely upon a tast of yo ͬ . desire) recouered into my hands (though not without much difficultie)

[38] Gary Taylor, 'Inventing Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*', 122 (1986), 26-44 (p. 26).

[39] Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare's Modern Collaborators*, (London: Continuum International Publishing, 2007), p. 80.

[40] See further information regarding Brechtian theatre in Eleftheria Rania Kosmidou, *European Civil War Films: Memory, Conflict, and Nostalgia* (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 130-133.

[41] William Shakespeare, *Macbeth, A Tragedy: with all Alterations, Amendments, Additions, and New Song*, ed. by William Davenant (London: 1674), p. 35.

[42] Ibid., p. 40.

[43] Anthony Harris, *Night's Black Agents: Witchcraft and Magic in Seventeenth-century English Drama* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), pp. 153-172 (p.160).

[44] William Shakespeare, *Macbeth: A Tragedy*, ed. by William Davenant (London: 1673), 1-67 (p. 38); William Shakespeare, *William Shakespeare: Comedies, Histories and Tragedies* (1623), p. 143.

[45] Marion O'Connor, '*The Witch*', in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 995-1009 (p. 995).

[46] Thomas Middleton, *The Witch: A Tragi-coomodie, Called the Witch* (Louvain: Librairie: Ch. Uystpruyst, 1945), p.1.

[47] T. H. Howard-Hill, 'Crane, Ralph (fl. 1589–1632).

This (ignorantly-ill-fated) Labour of mine.[48] Only the titles of the two Middletonian songs, 'Come away, come away' and 'Black Spirits', are given in *Macbeth* in the First Folio. This might suggest that that no copy of *The Witch* was available when the editors prepared the First Folio in 1623 or it might relate it to the intellectual property regime which applied only to printed texts at that time. Therefore, 1625 is a reasonable date for Crane's preparation of the copy of *The Witch* (although the play itself was not printed until 1778).[49]

The date of the composition of *The Witch* is unclear, however, Logan and Smith suggesting that it may have been written sometime between 1609 and 1616.[50] *The Witch* was undoubtedly performed during the contemporary scandal when Lady Frances Howard was divorced from the Earl of Essex in September 1613, and then married the Earl of Somerset in December of the same year. The date of the play is uncertain, but the title-page tells us the play was 'long since Acted, by his Maties. Seruants at the Black-Friars'. The King's Men started working at the Blackfriars in 1609. Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis I am assuming an early date of 1609. *The Witch* can be seen as evidence for the advanced physical capacity of the Blackfriars, which could deploy more stage effects during the staging of the play in 1609. Wickham argues that *The Witch* was performed by the King's Men and that Middleton knew that the private houses supplied musical intermissions before and during the performance of the plays, and that this is the reason why Middleton wrote *The Witch* for the King's Men at Blackfriars. In *The Witch*, a hut (within which stage-hands operated the machinery for 'flight' or descents on to the stage, and where they produced thunder and lightning effects)[51] is used in the song of 'Come away, come away', when Malkin, a spirit like a cat, descends onto the stage for the first time. Malkin and Hecate 'fly' (III. iii) in Malone MS 12:

A Spirit like a Cat descends.[52]

Malkin descends in the lifting machine (see fig.1).[53] After the Cat has descended to the stage, Hecate, the most elaborate

aerial witch, ascends from the stage and flies with the spirit (III. iii):

Hec. Going up.
　　Now I goe, now I flie,
　　Malkin my sweete Spirit, and I.
Oh what a daintie pleasure 'tis
　　to ride in the Aire
　　when the moone shines faire
and sing , and dance , and toy , and kiss;[54]

Hecate says 'now I go, now I fly', which suggests that she does not simply exit the stage walking, but 'flies' with the spirit. Malkin's descent and the ascent of Hecate in *The Witch* (Act 3, scene 3) resemble the descent scenes of Jupiter in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (1611) (Act 5, scene 5) and Juno in *The Tempest* (1610-11) (Act 3, scene 3). Malkin, Jupiter, and Juno all descend from above, and the structure of these scenes matches the arrangements at the Blackfriars playhouse.

Fig. 1. Malkin descends in the lifting machine onto the stage (III.iii.1344-1346)

In *Cymbeline,* Jupiter descends in the First Folio (1623), the stage direction reads:

---

[48] Middleton, *The Witch: A Tragi-coomodie,* p. 3.

[49] Ibid., title page.

[50] Terence P. Logan & Denzell S. Smith, *The Popular School: A Survey and Bibliography of Recent Studies in English Renaissance Drama* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1975), p. 69. See also Stephen Orgel, 'A Critical Edition of Thomas Middleton's Your Five Gallants' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, 1961), p. 5.

[51] Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574- 1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 88.

[52] Middleton, *The Witch: A Tragi-Coomodie,* p. 43. Similarly, the stage direction in the following editions is: [*A Spirit like a cat descends*]', (III.iii.49); *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, ed. by A. H. Bullen, 8 vols (New York: AMS press INC, 1964), V, 354-453 (p.416). ([*Malkin], a Spirit like a cat descends*); Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge, *Three Jacobean Witchcraft Plays: The Tragedy Sophonisba, The Witch, The Witch of Edmonton* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1986), pp. 85-142, (p. 121).

[53] Malkin descends with a noise of musicians, not cloud, which was provided in the theatres in order to drown out the creaking sound made by the pulleys and ropes used to draw the car,

throne or chariot. Some plays used thunder and lightning instead of music for the same effect, making the sound of the devices inaudible to the audience. Thus, music was used as a means of creating pauses between scenes as well as to drown out the creaking sound of the flying machine.

[54] Middleton, *The Witch: A Tragi-Coomodie*, p. 43. Again the stage direction is Hecate flies with Malkin in all editions: HECATE [*going up*] Now I go, now I fly, (III.iii.61); *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, ed. by A. H. Bullen, p.417. (Going up [with Malkin]); Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge, *Three Jacobean Witchcraft Plays,* p. 121.

Iupiter defcends in Thunder and Lightning, fitting vppon an Eagle . hee throwes a Thunder-bolt. The Ghoftes fall on their knees.

(First Folio, p. 394)[55]

This stage direction probably belongs to Ralph Crane, who seems to have edited stage directions in some Folio plays in the way in which Shakespeare intended some of his most spectacular scenes to be staged in the playhouses. Crane's additions to stage directions by adding phrases and words as well as omitting them, and his additions to stage direction tended to be more elaborate and descriptive. Thus, Crane does not simply indicate Jupiter's entrance (he 'descends'), but narrates the manner in which he does so, allowing the reader to imagine his descent rather than just reading it. Ascents and descents of deities from and to the stage heaven, as Gurr states, were matters of spectacle: 'the earlier plays tended to allow their gods to walk on like any mortal; the first of Shakespeare's gods to fly in was Jupiter on his eagle in *Cymbeline*'.[56] Nosworthy argues that normally the gods descended in an ordinary chair, technically termed a 'throne', but the present direction, 'descend', suggests that more elaborate devices were at this time being exploited.[57] Shakespeare probably wanted Jupiter to descend rather than simply enter but at the time when the play was written, the Globe was not as technologically developed as the Blackfriars. The stage direction supplied by Crane probably meant something like 'suspended' above. Another possibility is that, when the stage direction reads 'descends', there may be the influence of the Blackfriars here.

Although Simon Forman did not record that *Cymbeline* was performed at the Blackfriars, since the King's Men used both the Globe and Blackfriars as seasonal playhouses, it is more likely that *Cymbeline* was performed at the Blackfriars as well in the winter and thus Jupiter might probably 'descend' to the stage rather than 'suspended above'. The First Folio stage directions seem to reflect Blackfriars practice rather than Globe performances. Beckerman observes that 'in *Cymbeline* instead of Jupiter, Diana appears but does not descend. Nor did the god Hymen in the last scene of *As You Like It*'.[58] This is because technology such as flying machinery was not available at that time. Brockett argues that by 1606, Jones had 'suspended' eight dancers on a cloud machine that moved from the upstage to downstage in the Court Theatre.[59] Not only the public theatres but also the courtly theatres did not have sophisticated technological devices for free flying of the supernatural characters during the performances, but they only

had a kind of simple machine for suspending them in the heavens. For example, courtly spectacularism is exploited by Ben Jonson in *The Masque of Queens* (1609), when supernatural ascents and descents were common. Ben Jonson's masquers also used thrones and chairs for their entrances and exits, but neither his masquers nor his hags were made to fly at Whitehall. Smith argues that the Chapel-Revels Children had machinery for flights at Blackfriars, but they were only used in two plays, Chapman's *The Widow's Tears* (1613) and *Cupid's Revenge* (1612-1613) by Beaumont and Fletcher. Richard Burbage leased Blackfriars to the Chapel-Revels Children in 1597. However, no evidence shows that the Blackfriars had any flying machinery before it was possessed by the King's Men in 1609. Smith also states that no descents were staged during these years at the Globe, but that the Globe may have had the apparatus necessary for flights.[60] Smith's definition of such apparatus could include a 'suspended' flight machine in the heavens, which does not make the supernatural characters actually descend or fly freely. In other words, in any of Shakespeare's pre-Blackfriars plays, the stage direction does not call for a flight, but simple entrance. Hattaway argues that a 'crane … could have been used for spectacular descents like that of Jupiter in *Cymbeline*'.[61] Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* and *The Tempest* were staged at the Globe for a long time, but as has been said, Jupiter and Ariel do not descend in practice; Jupiter remains suspended above and Ariel simply enters. Other dramatists also used the effects of flying in their supernatural scenes.

In plays by Thomas Heywood, *The Brazen Age*, *The Golden Age*, and *The Silver Age*, Simonson argues that Jupiter and Juno also flew on clouds amid thunder and lightning.[62] However, Simonson does not mention when or in which playhouses these plays were staged. Regardless of which playhouse in which they were staged, it is very likely that both Juno and Jupiter were suspended above, rather than actually made to descend onto the stage, as no documents show that flying machinery ever existed in any theatres prior to the Blackfriars. The Globe probably had a simple mechanism with a gear to hoist actors and equipment from the stage up to the 'heavens' and vice versa, but Jupiter in the First Folio is required to 'fly', not simply 'descend'. Jupiter later did fly on the stage when *Cymbeline* was performed at the Blackfriars by the King's Men as Blackfriars provided the opportunity for a wider range of theatrical effects through its stage-machinery, intimate atmosphere and artificial lighting. As Allardyce Nicoll recognised many years ago, in plays produced between 1608 and 1620, there was a tendency to introduce a more spectacular kind of performance than had been common in earlier years, and masque-like elements became incorporated into Shakespeare's plays, such as the shepherds in *The Tempest*, the supernatural apparitions in *Macbeth*, and the eagle-borne Jupiter in *Cymbeline*.[63] The descent and ascent of supernatural characters became familiar on stage after 1608, and the King's Men staged those plays which had flying

[55] William Shakespeare, *William Shakespeare: Comedies, Histories and Tragedies* (London: 1623), p.394.

[56] Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage,* p. 174.

[57] William Shakespeare, *The Works of Shakespeare: Cymbeline*, ed. by J. M. Nosworthy (London: Methuen, 1955), p. 166.

[58] Bernard Beckerman, *Shakespeare at the Globe, 1599-1609* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), pp. 93-94. See also Irwin Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse: Its History and Its Design* (London: Peter Owen, 1964), p. 238.

[59] Oscar Gross Brockett, *History of the Theatre*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1977), p. 187.

[60] Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse,* pp. 237-8.

[61] Hattaway, 'Playhouse and the Role of Drama', p. 141.

[62] Lee Simonson, *The Stage Is Set* (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1963), p. 219.

[63] Allardyce Nicoll, *The English Theatre: A Short History* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1936), p. 71.

scenes for the audiences who were more interested in the spectacular. Jupiter's descent can be compared to that of Juno in *The Tempest*. In the First Folio, Juno descends with Ceres in her chariot:

Bids thee leaue thefe,& with her foueraigne grace, *Iuno*
Here on this graffe-plot,in this very place   *defcends.*
To come,and fport : here Peacocks flye amaine :

(First Folio, p. 14)[64]

The stage direction here is, 'Juno descends', not enters. Smith suggests that 'Juno probably does not enter in flight'.[65] Jowett likewise argues that descends does not necessarily, or even usually, indicate a descent to the stage. There was, on the contrary, what has been called "the convention of floating deity", whereby the deity would be expected, upon appearing from the heavens, to remain suspended in the air rather than to come down to the stage.[66] Jowett does not mention how Juno remains 'stationary' but in a position of 'the convention of floating deity'. The word 'descend(s)' would not usually be taken as indicating a descent to the stage unless this was specified. However, in modern editions like Orgel's, the stage direction reads [*Juno's chariot descends to the stage*], [*Ceres joins Juno in the Chariot, which rises and hovers above the stage*] (IV. i.102-106).[67] According to Orgel's assumptions, Juno descends in a chariot on to the stage itself, meaning that she is not suspended in mid-air.[68] Here, Orgel leaves the reader in no doubt regarding Juno's descent, encouraging the reader to envisage the spectacle of this scene. Orgel's interpretation does not reflect early modern staging conditions, it depicts a more advanced technological feat than would have been possible at the Globe. In *The Tempest*, 'enter' may mean simply that the character walks onto the stage, or it may mean that they 'descend'. In *The Tempest*, Ariel (an airy spirit) enters and then vanishes. In the First folio the stage direction is simply

Thunder and Lightning. Enter Ariell (like a Harpey) claps .his wings upon the Table, and with a quient deuice the Banquet vanifhes.

(First Folio, p. 13)[69]

According to the above stage direction, Ariel enters and does not descend. Jowett argues, however, that Crane keeps 'enter', and adhering to the more extended and fluid scene unit of stage practice.[70] Crane keeps 'enter', which is presumably what was written in Shakespeare's foul papers. In the Arden edition likewise, Ariel simply enters but does not descend.[71] However, in several other modern editions, Ariel 'descends to the stage as a harpy' and 'Juno appears in the air'.[72] The stage directions here suggest the supernatural movements of spirits and deities. They are also different in that the former gestures to stage business, while the latter suggests a fictionalised imagining (she 'appears', but we are not prompted to think about how this is achieved, technologically). Jowett argues that in the late twentieth century *The Tempest* became a test case for current ideas about editorial procedure.[73] Sometimes stage directions are different in print (stage directions already written in the printed texts) from practice (stage directions while it is given during performance). For example, in print, Crane kept 'enter', but it was altered to 'descend' by post-

---

[64] Shakespeare, *William Shakespeare: Comedies, Histories and Tragedies*, p.14.

[65] Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, p. 416.

[66] John Jowett, 'New Created Creatures: Ralph Crane and the Stage Directions in *the Tempest*', in *Shakespeare Survey Volume 36: Shakespeare in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 107-120 (p. 116).

[67] William Shakespeare, *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Tempest,* ed. by Stephen Orgel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 177. See also John G. Demaray, *Shakespeare and the Spectacles of Strangeness: The Tempest and the Transformation of Renaissance Theatrical Forms* (Pennsylvania: Duquesne University Press, 1998), pp. (157-158).

[68] *The Tempest* by Orgel, p.2.

[69] *Shakespeare: Comedies, Histories and Tragedies*, p. 13. Similarly, in the Facsimile edition, Ariel simply enters and does not descend (III. iii): '*Thunder and Lightening. Enter*

Ariell (like a Harpy) claps his wings upon the Table, and with a quaint device the Banquet vanishes'. *The Norton Facsimile: The First Folio of Shakespeare*, p. 31.

[70] Jowett, *Shakespeare and Text*, p. 84.

[71] William Shakespeare, *The Tempest,* ed. by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd 1999), p. 238. In *The Works of Shakespeare: The Tempest*, ed. by Morton Luce, 4th ed. (London: Methuen, 1938), Ariel enters like a harpy (III.iii.51) and Juno also simply enters, not descends (IV.i.105), which is opposite the lines 'her peacocks fly amain:/ Approach, rich Ceres, her to entertain' (IV.i.73-4). In *The Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. by Henry Irving and Frank A. Marshall ((London: Blackie & Son, 1890), VII, '*Enter ARIEL like a harpy*' (III.iii.52), and *Enter Juno* (IV.i.92), pp. (216, 218). See also *Shakespeare in Twenty Volumes: The Winter's Tale and The Tempest*, ed. by Sidney Lee, 3 vols (London: Caxton, [1912]), p. (75, 85). Sturgess argues that 'Juno descends' and one might expect here, 'a throne descent, winched down from above with the Juno actor on board', Keith Sturgess, *Jacobean Private Theatre* (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), p. 92. The stage direction in the new Variorum edition of Shakespeare is Ariel simply 'enters' (III. iii) but Juno 'descends' (IV. i), *The Tempest*, ed. by Horace Howard Furness, (London: J. B. Lippincott, 1892), ix, pp. (181, 204). The stage direction also is '*Ariel enters*' (III. iii) but '*Juno descends*' (IV. I) in the Arden Shakespeare, second and third editions of, *The Tempest,* ed. by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan; Again Ariel 'enters' and '[*Juno's car begins to descend*]' in *The Complete Works of Shakespeare: including a bibliography and general Introduction, Glossary and Index of Characters*, ed. by Charles Jasper Sisson (London: Odhams, 1953), pp. 2-27 (pp.19-21).

[72] In both *The Oxford Shakespeare*: *The Complete Works* (2005) and William Shakespeare, *William Shakespeare*: *The Complete Works*, ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, 2nd ed. (Oxford: University Oxford Press, 2005), the stage direction is as 'Ariel [*descends*] *like a harpy*' (III.iii.51) and 'Juno [*appears in the air*]' then '[*Music. Juno descends to the stage*]' (IV.i.72.101).

[73] Jowett, *Shakespeare and Text*, p. 126.

Restoration editors.[74] In practice, Ariel probably descends rather than simply enters at the Blackfriars just like Malkin and Hecate in *The Witch*.[75] Moreover, Orgel says that Ariel simply enters and does not fly but, 'he may have done so at the Blackfriars or the Globe, but not at Court'.[76] The first recorded performance of *The Tempest* was at the Banqueting House in 1611, on the occasion of the union of Princess Elizabeth (King James I's daughter) to the Elector Palatine, and then at the indoor Blackfriars. The Banqueting House was always used as the scene of celebrations and royal performances. A building set in a garden, it was highly fashionable in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Inigo Jones was commissioned to design and decorate its stage scenes. In terms of the presentation of spectacle and the descents involved in *The Tempest*, Jowett points out that it is very unlikely that the Banqueting House possessed any concealed flight machinery and that Ariel and Juno were therefore lowered to the stage by the 'cloud' type of machine or descend by way of steps. However, both the Blackfriars and the Globe possessed the suspended flight machinery to stage the more effective descents in *The Tempest* (see fig. 3).[77]

The Blackfriars not only had suspended flight, but also stage-machinery for free flight, and was therefore able to let Ariel descend, and not simply enter.[78] However, Crane still assigned 'enter' to Ariel, and it is obvious that the Blackfriars had already adopted flying machinery (1609) by the time Crane intervened in the stage directions of the Folio plays. When staged at the Blackfriars, Juno descends to the stage in a chariot. It seems that throughout his later tragicomedies, Shakespeare considered the conditions of the Blackfriars. Lavin relates the change of Shakespeare's methods and style of writing plays to the physical arrangement of Blackfriars which was a major factor in his taking a new direction in his art.[79] The King's Men required a new style and dramaturgy as the dramatists were catering for a new audience with sophisticated theatrical tastes. This is why the stage directions in some of Shakespeare's plays were changed during his lifetime by himself or after his death by editors and scriveners in order to offer a new theatrical taste and also meet with the advanced technological and physical capacity of Blackfriars.

The majority of the plays that incorporated flights were performed at the Blackfriars and probably at the Globe also, since the Globe was well-equipped in comparison to other public playhouses.[80] All this means, however, is that the Globe had a simple kind of mechanism to allow actors to descend and ascend, but did not have machinery for free flying. For example, in *Antony and Cleopatra* (1606-1607), Antony is hoisted up to Cleopatra and then dies in her arms (IV. xv):

They heaue Anthony aloft to Cleopatra.

(First Folio, p. 363)[81]

Antony is lifted by a simple gear rather than flying machinery. Indeed, Shakespeare appears to play deliberately on the crudity of this technology as part of Antony's undignified end after his botched suicide, by comparison with Cleopatra's carefully stage-managed death. Flying machinery became one of the innovations of the King's Men when they possessed Blackfriars. McMillin argues that the majority of the technical effects were available in the commercial theatres, however, there is no evidence for his claim that the movable scenery, perspective views, and other staging effects that become possible once the potential of artificial lighting is exploited were practiced by anyone at the Blackfriars and the other private playhouses until about 1635-40, after Middleton's death[82] More supernatural spectacles were staged at that time once the physical abilities of the theatres were advanced. It can be said then, that a significant change occurred in the methods and style of Jacobean playwrights including Middleton and Shakespeare once the King's Men took over the Blackfriars in 1609. For instance, Shakespeare's *Macbeth* was staged differently when it was performed at the Globe and then at the Blackfriars, where the play offered a different spectacle to its audience. *Macbeth* is, unsurprisingly, the play out of those mentioned here that is most revived, and the play and its stage directions have been altered according to the whims of dramatic fashion.

REFERENCES

1. Beckerman, Bernard, *Shakespeare at the Globe, 1599-1609* (New York: Macmillan, 1962)
2. Brockett, Oscar Gross, *History of the Theatre*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1977)
3. Chamber, E. K., 'The Integrity of "The Tempest"', in *Shakespearean Gleanings* ([London]: Oxford University Press, 1944), pp. 76-97
4. Corbin, Peter and Douglas Sedge, *Three Jacobean Witchcraft Plays: The Tragedy Sophonisba, The Witch, The Witch of Edmonton* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1986)
5. Demaray, John G., *Shakespeare and the Spectacles of Strangeness: The Tempest and the Transformation of Renaissance Theatrical Forms* (Pennsylvania: Duquesne University Press, 1998)
6. Erne, Lukas, *Shakespeare as a Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
7. *Shakespeare's Modern Collaborators*, (London: Continuum International Publishing, 2007)

---

[74] The editors believe that the altered stage direction represents the authors' intended text. They intervene in the text by omitting and making unauthorized alterations for the sake of regularity and conformity. Philip Gaskell, *From Writer to Reader: Studies in Editorial Method* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 1-5.

[75] Nick De Somogyi, *Macbeth: The Tragedy of Macbeth* (London: Nick Hern Books, 2003), pp. xxx-xxxi.

[76] *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Tempest,* ed. by Stephen Orgel, p.2.

[77] John Jowett, 'New Created Creatures: Ralph Crane and the Stage Directions in *the Tempest*', p. 115.

[78] Ibid., p. 119.

[79] J. A. Lavin, 'Shakespeare and the Second Blackfriars', in *The Elizabethan Theatre*, ed. by David Galloway (London: Macmillan, 1973), iii, pp. 66-81, (pp. 69-70).

[80] Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse,* p. 238.

[81] Shakespeare, *William Shakespeare: Comedies, Histories and Tragedies*, p. 363.

[82] Scott McMillin, 'Middleton's Theatres', in *Thomas Middleton: the Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 74-87 (p. 87).

8. Gaskell, Philip, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972)

9. *From Writer to Reader: Studies in Editorial Method* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978)

10. Greg, W.W., *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing between 1550-1650* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956)

11. *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare: A Survey of the Foundation of the Text*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951)

12. *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare: A Survey of the Foundations of the Text*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954)

13. Gurr, Andrew, *The Shakespearean Stage: 1574-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970)

14. Harris, Anthony, *Night's Black Agents: Witchcraft and Magic in Seventeenth-century English Drama* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), pp. 153-172

15. Hattaway, Michael, 'Playhouse and the Role of Drama', in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2000)

16. *Hamlet* (London: MacMillan Publishing Ltd, 1987)

17. Honigmann, E. A. J., *The Texts of Othello and Shakespearean Revision* (London: Routledge, 1996)

18. Howard-Hill, T. H., 'Crane, Ralph (fl. 1589–1632)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Online 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6605, accessed 27 April 2012> [Accessed April 2012]

19. Jowett, John, *Shakespeare and Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

20. 'New Created Creatures: Ralph Crane and the Stage Directions in *the Tempest*', in *Shakespeare Survey Volume 36: Shakespeare in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 107-120

21. Kosmidou, Eleftheria Rania, *European Civil War Films: Memory, Conflict, and Nostalgia* (New York: Routledge, 2013)

22. Lavin, J. A., 'Shakespeare and the Second Blackfriars', in *The Elizabethan Theatre*, ed. by David Galloway (London: Macmillan, 1973), iii, pp. 66-81

23. Logan, Terence P. & Denzell S. Smith, *The Popular School: A Survey and Bibliography of Recent Studies in English Renaissance Drama* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1975)

24. Marsden, Jean I., 'Spectacle, horror, and Pathos', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. by Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 174-190

25. McMillin, Scott, 'Middleton's Theatres', in *Thomas Middleton: the Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 74-87

26. Middleton, Thomas, *The Witch: A Tragi-coomodie, Called the Witch* (Louvain: Librairie: Ch. Uystpruyst, 1945)

27. *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, ed. by A. H. Bullen, 8 vols (New York: AMS press INC, 1964),

28. Nicoll, Allardyce, *The English Theatre: A Short History* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1936)

29. O'Callaghan, Michelle, 'Publication: Print and Manuscript', in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. by Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2000), pp. 81-94

30. O'Connor, Marion, '*The Witch*', in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 995-1009

31. Orgel, Stephen, 'A Critical Edition of Thomas Middleton's Your Five Gallants' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, 1961)

32. Palfrey, Simon and Tiffany Stern, *Shakespeare in Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

33. Pitcher, John, 'Why Editors Should Write More Notes', *Shakespeare Studies*, 24 (1996), 55-62

34. Shakespeare, William, *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works*, ed. by Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson and David Scott Kastan, 3rd series (Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1998)

35. *William Shakespeare: Comedies, Histories and Tragedies* (London: 1623)

36. *Macbeth: A Tragedy*, ed. by William Davenant (London: 1673)

37. *Macbeth, A Tragedy: with all Alterations, Amendments, Additions, and New Song*, ed. by William Davenant (London: 1674)

38. *The Tempest,* ed. by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1999)

39. *The Arden Shakespeare: The Tempest,* ed. by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, third series (London: Thomas Nelson, 1999)

40. *The Works of William Shakespeare: The Tempest,* ed. by Morton Luce, 4th ed. (London: Methuen, 1938)

41. *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Tempest,* ed. by Stephen Orgel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987)

42. *The Works of Shakespeare: Cymbeline*, ed. by J. M. Nosworthy (London : Methuen, 1955)

43. *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007)

44. '*Macbeth*', in *the Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. By Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005)

45. *The Complete Works of Shakespeare: including a bibliography and general Introduction, Glossary and Index of Characters*, ed. by Charles Jasper Sisson (London: Odhams, 1953)

46. *The Arden Shakespeare: Hamlet*, ed. by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, 3rd ed. (London: A & amp; C Black, 2006)

47. *The Tempest*, ed. by Horace Howard Furness, (London: J. B. Lippincott, 1892), ix

48. *The Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. by Henry Irving and Frank A. Marshall (London: Blackie & Son, 1890)

49. *The Caxton Shakespeare in Twenty Volumes: The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*, ed. by Sidney Lee, 3 vols (London: Caxton, [1912])

50. *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. by Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988)

51. *The Norton Facsimile: The First Folio of Shakespeare*, ed. by Charlton Hinman (London, New York, Sydney and Toronto: Paul Hamlyn, 1968)

52. *William Shakespeare: The Works of Shakespeare*, ed. by Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson (Cambridge: At The University Press, 1921), ii

53. Simonson, Lee, *The Stage Is Set* (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1963)

54. Smith, Irwin, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse: Its History and Its Design* (London: Peter Owen, 1964)

55. Somogyi, Nick De, *Macbeth: The Tragedy of Macbeth* (London: Nick Hern Books, 2003)

56. Spencer, Christopher, *Five Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965)

57. Spielmann, Marion Harry, *Studies in the First Folio: Written for the Shakespearean Association, in Celebration of the First Folio Tercentenary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923)

58. Stern, Tiffany, *Making Shakespeare: From Stage to Page* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004)

59. Sturgess, Keith, *Jacobean Private Theatre* (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987)

60. Taylor, Gary, 'Inventing Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*', 122 (1986), 26-44

61. Wells, Stanley, *Re-Editing Shakespeare for the Modern reader* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984)

62. 'To Read a Play: The Problem of Editorial Intervention', in *Reading Plays: Interpretations and Reception*, eds. Hanna Scolnicov and Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 30-55

63. *Modernizing Shakespeare's Spelling* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979)

****