

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: 'THE LIFE YET OF HIS LINES SHALL NEVER OUT':
LINEATION AND POETIC AUTHORITY IN THE
SHAKESPEAREAN CORPUS

Sarah D. Lind, Master of Arts, 2019

Thesis directed by: Professor Scott A. Trudell
Department of English

The “line” in early modern poetics was a confusing concept due to competing definitions of line length. “Length” could refer to classical, vernacular, or visual measurement. “Length” could figuratively refer to a poet’s “line of life” where a lasting reputation was a measure of a poet’s authority, conflated with the length and measure of his or her lines. Despite the cultural importance of the line, studies of lineation are rare, and few account for the line’s assembly of definitions and vital relationship to poetic authority. This thesis therefore offers an account of lineation and the poetic authority surrounding lineation in editorial and performance traditions. It examines changes to lines in playtexts, songs, and actors’ parts through the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Shakespearean tradition. It argues that changes in ideas about lineation are both signs and consequences of the continual struggle to adapt Shakespeare’s plays to different performative and textual purposes.

‘THE LIFE YET OF HIS LINES SHALL NEVER OUT’:
LINEATION AND POETIC AUTHORITY IN THE SHAKESPEAREAN CORPUS

by

Sarah D. Lind

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Advisory Committee:

Professor Scott A. Trudell, Chair
Professor Laura Rosenthal
Professor Kimberly Coles

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For my parents

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**“When in eternal lines to time thou grow’st”:
Tracing the Line in Early Modern Culture**

“For though his line of life went soone about,
The life yet of his lines shall neuer out.”

– Hugh Holland, “Vpon the Lines and Life of the Famous Scenicke Poet,
Master WVILLIAM SHAKESPEARE”, First Folio (1623)

“This Booke,
When Brasse and Marble fade, shall make thee looke
Fresh to all Ages: when Posteritie
Shall loath what’s new, thinke all is prodegie
That is not *Shake-speares*; eu’ry Line, each Uerse
Here shall reuiue, redeeme thee from thy Herse.”

– L. Digges, “TO THE MEMORIE of the deceased Authour Maister W.
SHAKESPEARE”, First Folio (1623)

In its simplest definition, the “line” refers to a metrical unit of verse. Lines are central to our experience of poetry, and central to a poem’s structure, organizing patterns of rhyme, rhythm, meter, and syntax. But the line is not easily conceptualized. Its status as both form and part of a form often confuses description. The line’s resistance to definition can be traced back historically to early modern literary and performance cultures. The “line” could refer to a sequence of handwritten letters, a row of well-kerned characters (such as in a typesetter’s composing stick), or a portion of metrical composition.¹ Verse was a building block of the flourishing English theatres, and its lines were the mnemonic devices and structuring units by which performers acted, recited, and sang out drama. The “line” was an amalgamation of notions, referring to material sites of writing, the formal arrangement of poetic verse, and a technology of performance collaboration and coordination.

¹OED, s.v. “line, n.2.” For a longer account of early modern definitions of “line,” see Menzer 115-125. For a discussion about the line in modern poetics, see Longenbach, *Poetic Line*.

Early modern notions of the line were also bound up in confusing and competing versions of line measurement. A jumble of classical and vernacular conceptions, line “length” referred to “quantity”: in the classical, the *duration* in time (“long” or “short” syllables) or, in the vernacular, the *number* of stresses or accented syllables per line.² But “length” also referred to the visual length of the line in stanzaic poetry. Because Renaissance poets could choose what constituted line measurement, line length was not always self-evident in verse. Despite its confused vocabulary, line length was important to early modern culture. It was a signal of the influence of classicism in early modern poetics and the cultural challenges and priorities involved in incorporating classical ideas about meter into English. It also came to stand for the vernacular poetic tradition, signaling the sophistication and distinctness of English literary inheritance as opposed to foreign traditions. Line length was also a key fulcrum by which script and writing met and intersected with early modern performance and theatricality.

Line length also carried figurative connotations of poetry. In mythology, a “line of life” could refer to the fabled thread spun by the Fates which determined the length of a person’s life. Drawing from the classical myth, Renaissance poets punned on “lines,” setting their “lines” of poetry in opposition to time, where the “duration” of poetic lines would outlast the poet’s line of life. In his sonnets, for example, Shakespeare referred to his “eternal lines” as an antidote to the decay of time. A lasting reputation beyond death was a measure of a poet’s authority, conflated with the “length” and “measure” of his or her lines. This Renaissance trope also found its way into the First Folio’s eulogies of Shakespeare. Hugh Holland and L. Digges both imagine Shakespeare’s verse as life-

² OED, s.v. “Length, n.” See also Paula Blank, *Mismeasure*, 52-3.

perpetuating lines that will eternalize his memory, art and reputation for ages to come. A common trope though it may be, “lines of life” captured the metonymic relationship between line length and a poet’s authority. It expressed the classical influence in early modern lineation and the shared vocabulary that confused definitions of the line. Finally, it implied that the line depends on the materialities of writing and performance media for its existence and survival through time.

Despite the cultural importance of the line, early modern studies of lineation are rare, and few account for the line’s assembly of definitions, vocabulary, and relationship to poetic authority. This thesis therefore offers an account of lineation and the poetic authority surrounding lineation in editorial and performance traditions. It examines changes to lines in playtexts, songs, and actors’ parts through the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Shakespearean tradition. My focus is on irregularities—moments in textual history where dramatists, editors, and performers have taken liberty to expand or contract line length. I focus on the distinct irregularities in this body of evidence for three reasons. First, irregularities are the fault lines that reveal below-surface contestations of authority, mapping the nuanced processes and negotiations of various agents and agencies that are composing Shakespearean texts under that signature. They trace shifts in the conceptual history of the line, from which modern ideas of lineation have derived. Finally, irregularities signal an adapter or editor’s effort to differentiate his or her current historical moment from previous eras. Thus, irregularities reveal the fundamental tension between verse form and human experience: if meter itself is an attempt to impose regularity on irregular human experiences (O’Brien 163), then changes to meter may be

understood as attempts to redefine cultural modes of control and authorization on human experience.³

Shakespeare's dramatic verse provides a particularly interesting test case of the ways in which lineation and poetic authority have unfolded in editorial and performance traditions. While Shakespeare was not especially known for metrical regularity, he was an extremely influential practitioner of blank verse as suited to speech rhythms, and his sonnets alone reveal his abiding interest in versification and the shaping power of the line as a function of authorial control. Shakespeare is not a representative of the topic of early modern lineation, as other poets including Marlowe and Spenser were better known for their distinctive and innovative lineation. Nevertheless, as Richard O'Brien argues, Shakespeare has become the colossus under which the accomplishments of his contemporaries have collapsed:

The elevation of Shakespeare to sovereign status means the effects of his own works *as* verse drama have themselves become occluded and mystified [...] Shakespeare has come to stand solely *for* verse drama, rather than being encountered as one among many practitioners – the only verse plays most casual theatre-goers see are by Shakespeare. (74)

³ George Wright explains the historical relationship of the line and human experience: “iambic pentameter in the Renaissance symbolizes a cosmic order that limits human aspiration; human experience can be heard in the counter-rhythm; together, the two compose a system of creative departures from metrical authority. That is, in any verse the ground-rhythm is likely to represent whatever human experience is tested by – in Renaissance verse the divine order, in eighteenth-century verse the social order” (*Metrical Art* 262-3). For a further discussion on relationship between verse form and human experience, see Richard O'Brien's *Verse Drama*, (82-92). O'Brien also explores the relationship between regularity and irregularity in a survey of verse drama from 1660-1789 using Caroline Levine's theoretical framework of form (134-183).

This glaring discrepancy between the elevation of Shakespeare's status and the lack of attention to his verse was not always the case.⁴ In the eighteenth century and even into the nineteenth century, editors and critics attended closely to Shakespeare's meter, understanding his prosody to share a vital contingency with authorial intention (72-73). Despite these editors and critics' attention to Shakespeare's prosody, scholars of Shakespearean textual history have tended to focus on changes in textual content, the emergence of the Shakespearean editorial apparatus, and Shakespeare's canonization in literary and theatrical traditions. This thesis therefore focuses on how multiple agents including playwrights, editors, and actors have attended to Shakespeare's lines in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and how the line has changed as a conceptual and formal unit in textual variants – changes that occurred across time and as a result of textual and performative adaptation.

Lineation is surprisingly robust in these textual variants. Apart from meter, lineation might also be defined by aural and visual markers such as rhyme and line breaks, maintaining a sense of the line even in extreme adaptations of meter. Meter and line breaks served as performance technologies that buttressed memorization and synchronization, which helped maintain the line's vigor even in its transformations across variants. Sometimes, however, lineation becomes fungible in texts closest to performance culture such as song texts and actors' parts, both of which reveal practitioners reckoning closely with the structure and authority of meter. This reckoning often occurred because performance entailed collaborations with other performers and constant adaptations to fit

⁴ O'Brien traces the development of verse drama in relationship to Shakespeare's influence to explain this discrepancy and for why dramatic verse except for Shakespeare's is virtually extinct from the modern stage. However, O'Brien's study does not explore how eighteenth-century editors and critics attended to Shakespeare's lines based on their perceptions of poetic authority.

new audiences and performance styles. Finally, practitioners had a continued veneration for Shakespeare or interest in codifying Shakespearean poetic authority in documents and practices of performance. The line's fungibility demonstrates the range of ways in which textual and performative adaptation apply structural and material pressures to the line, resulting in changes to the line as a conceptual and formal unit.

On a more general level, I account for the line's fungibility and robustness in the affordances of iambic pentameter. These affordances are the "potential uses or actions latent in material or designs" (Levine qtd. in O'Brien 82), activated in the line's constituents including lineation, meter, and rhythm. These constituents may be variously recombined or reconstructed, attesting to the line's fungibility. But even in reconstruction or metrical looseness the line still may be recognized as a line, because it does not necessarily "require" all its constituents to be conceptualized or identified as a line. The history of iambic pentameter, as George Wright explains it, suggests that the line's affordances allowed it the flexibility to evolve and therefore persist through successive poetic traditions:

The history of iambic pentameter is best understood, not as a sequence of changes in the use of one metrical position or another, but as a succession of insights, realized in practice, into the capabilities of this sort of verse [...] taken in this way, a verse form is indeed a tradition, something handed down from one poet or generation to another, accruing and combining potentialities as it passes from skilled hand to skilled hand. (Wright *Metrical Art* 288-9)

The line's ability to adapt as it is passed from hand to hand, its enduring participation in literary and performance traditions, and its conceptual capaciousness account for how the

line becomes both fungible and robust in across textual adaptations. Perhaps these affordances explain why the line is difficult to define or conceptualize. The line is made of poetic components such as lineation, rhythm, and meter, but, as James Longenbach argues, even the sum of these components does not generally amount to a totalizing definition of the line (*Poetic Line* xi-xii). Wright and Longenbach focus on the line's conceptual history in poetic traditions, but what they do not consider is the influence of performers and performance texts in the history of lineation and how their practices reconceptualize the line, adding new insights and potentialities that may exist outside of manuscript and print.

On a deeper level, attending to lineation – the line's fungibility and its robustness – reveals two key findings: first, the line is a site of contestation, because lineation is the intersection – and often collision – of diverse factors including an actor's delivery, editorial intervention, poetic structures, and media circulation. As a result, new conceptions of lineation formed and evolved out of these interactions, demonstrating how modern ideas about the Shakespearean line arose not only from the early modern conceptions but also from the line's seventeenth- and eighteenth-century histories of change. Behind the line's histories of contestation and change was conceptions of the poet's authority. Lineation was contested and changed because not only did line length and metrical structure stand for “Shakespeare,” but also what counts as “Shakespeare” and “poetry.” More particularly, lineation is surrounded with the ongoing negotiation between what counts as Shakespearean poetic authority and mythos, and what counts as the acoustic rhythms and visual structures of performance and textual transmission in adaptation cultures. Simply put, changes in ideas about lineation are both signs of and

consequences of the continual struggle to adapt Shakespeare's plays to different performative and textual purposes. In the next section, I trace the critical history of the line, considering how notions of the line in the early modern period have resulted in diverse and sometimes debated conceptions of lineation among scholars of early modern prosody.

The Critical History of the Line

Line length was a confusing subject for early modern poets, with competing accounts of what measures or defines a poetic line. Historically, poets attempted to construct English lines based on the measurement of quantitative verse: syllable length or the duration of time it took (long or short) to pronounce them. Eventually, as Derek Attridge observes, the quantitative movement was abandoned in favor of basing line measurement on English phonetics (3). Drawing on accentual versification from vernacular medieval traditions, Renaissance poets reformulated the metrical foot, a concept inherited from classical metrics, as a unit of stressed and unstressed syllables rather than long and short syllables. This vernacular tradition met yet failed to combine entirely with quantitative meter based on classical ideas of syllable length, and poets continued to find it difficult to form their own vocabulary for English prosody. Paula Blank explains, “[The] classical identification of the poetic foot with syllable ‘length’ utterly confused terminology of vernacular metrics and, with it, the measurement of English poetry” (65). This confused vocabulary is evident in visual diagrams by poetic theorists such as George Gascoigne and George Puttenham (see Figure A in Appendix). Their diagrams realize the verbal units of verse pictorially as lines (Turner 123) and show how the line as a poetic category has epistemological foundations in spatial representation and measurement (126). These competing definitions indicate three key factors at stake in line length: the number of stresses (“accentual” meter), the length of the syllables (“quantitative” meter), and the visual length of the line on the page.

Confusion about line length during the period has resulted in controversy among scholars of early modern prosody. Some scholars account for differing conceptions of

line length by historical and modern notions of flexibility in iambic pentameter. Wright characterizes the accentual transformation of line length between early and late Renaissance verse as a shift “from uniformity to variety” (*Shakespeare’s Metrical Art* 207) where the line-ending becomes “the pivotal position, the site of a remarkable variety of metrical usages” (*Hearing the Measures* 236). Blank, however, interprets the elasticity and “natural” rhythms of Shakespeare’s meter as actually reflecting classical influence in Shakespeare’s lines. Shakespeare’s verse reflects both the number of stresses in the vernacular decasyllabic line and the inherited system of classical metrics through what Blank calls a “quantitative *effect*.” His short lines “suggest an effort to manipulate the sense of a word’s length or the length of a line as a whole” (76-7). By “stretching” these lengths, short lines equaled the “weight” of a full decasyllabic line. Simon Palfrey conceptualizes the pliable iambic pentameter as a unit of movement and action where the line “[produces] the action in the moment of its speaking” (151). For Palfrey, the line does not so much imitate colloquial speech patterns as consciousness or “thinking in action.” Similarly, Patsy Rodenburg interprets the line as “a block of syllables riding on the iambic energy, and a specific stage in a precisely calibrated journey of thought and emotion” (103). Wright and Blank account for the line’s flexibility in its historical accentual transformation and classical legacies, attributing the Shakespeare’s flexible usage of lines as a response to the inherited traditions of poetics. Palfrey and Rodenburg interpret the versatile factors of line length as Shakespeare’s intended metaphysics of the line – its ability to produce meaning in human thought, action, and emotion. While both interpretations point to how the line has been conceptualized as a unit, they do not

account for how conceptions of the line have changed over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and participated in the formation of modern ideas about the line.

Scholars have also disagreed on how to situate the poetic line vis-a-vis speech and writing. Wright associates the line's oral identity with its textual identity. In his view, the line is a "microtext" or a "written record" which "keeps the patterned language available for the speaking voice" in sounded performance (*Hearing the Measures* 244).

Longenbach acknowledges the visuality of the line as text, but he advocates for listening to the line as speech. He explains, "We know a poem is divided into lines because of the visual arrangement on the page, but the function of the line is sonic [...] the line looks the same, but we hear the line differently" ("Line and Syntax" 91-2). Wright and Longenbach's definitions point to a common issue of defining the line: the line can be both read and spoken.

Conceptions of the line as visual or spatial are generally bound with textuality – what makes lines visible. Carla Mazzio suggests that in *Love's Labour's Lost*, the line's visuality is privileged over its orality, given that the "oral performance of poetry is disrupted precisely because it is imagined to be governed by acts of seeing, and ultimately acts of reading" (158). Mazzio points to how the line's existence in different media can impact the way it is interpreted. Fredson Bowers, for example, is concerned with the "visual indication of the flow of the verse" (75) in printed editions of Shakespeare's plays. Through metrical linking of short lines, the dialogic pattern of a Shakespeare play can be unified into a metrical whole, based on "Shakespeare's intentions" (76). Bowers interprets the line's pentameter length as contingent upon its spatial representation in print. Indentation therefore becomes a way to code or "establish"

the line as representative of “Shakespeare’s meter” – that is, his “intentions” and “patterns.” Despite Longenbach’s ultimately sonic conception of the line, Wright, Mazzio and Bowers point to how modern conceptions of line length are bound with the visuality of writing and print.

This visuality also impacts debates about the line’s relationship to the page and stage as the line is the intersection of text and performance. Scholars often conceptualize the poetic line as a performative unit that can be used for collaboration, coordination, and memorization. However, Paul Menzer argues that the graphic not poetic line coordinated place, movement, and time in early modern dramatic documents. When manuscript playbooks were printed, he explains, “The graphic line was a victim of print while the iambic-pentameter ‘line’ emerges at its expense [...] Print unscores the text while unwittingly emphasizing the importance of verse as a formal formative feature, advancing poetry over performance” (121). Eventually, the poetic line evolved into a metaphysical unit upon which critics and theatre practitioners build meaning (125). Menzer does not account for how lineation was an evident concern in play preparation manuscripts such as actors’ parts.⁵

Still, Menzer does rightly point out how modern theatre practitioners treat the line as a metaphysical unit of meaning in verse delivery – a practice not always grounded in early modern conceptions of the line. Peter Hall, for example, equates the line’s metrical construction with performed meaning. He states, “Shakespeare’s architecture in his verse is entirely dependent on the preservation of the iambic line. His form is destroyed by

⁵ Menzer discusses the importance of the graphic line in the part of Orlando from *Orlando Furioso* (119-20), arguing that the poetic line played a key role but not determinant one in early modern performance. Here, Menzer does not fully account for the line’s histories of change in play preparation manuscripts.

acting single words rather than lines” (24). Thus, actors should breathe only at the end of lines and speak “on beat” with metrically linked short lines to honor the “sanctity of the line.” For Hall, Rodenburg, and other practitioners, the line’s “sanctity” is in its metrical wholeness, a unit encoded with deliberate authorial means of guiding actors in delivery. Abigail Rokison-Woodall argues that these prescriptive approaches to verse delivery are not necessarily historically-informed and neglect the variation, development, and ambiguity in Shakespeare’s use of metrical structures (11). Responding to similarly rigid conceptions of verse, Ros King considers how musical setting might reveal different metrical systems at play in the Renaissance line that have otherwise been obscured by editorial intervention. Ultimately, King interprets the Renaissance line as a “unit of construction” which has evolved through musical settings, the printed page, and editorial intervention. Where editorial and print constructions of the line privilege its visual identity, King favors the line’s aural and oral identity, whose more “natural” sprung rhythms are brought out by musical notation and an actor’s performance.

These overlapping and colliding conceptions of the line demonstrate how lineation continues to be bound up with issues of authority, even when defined through metrical, spatial or visual, and performative approaches. That is, the diversity of scholarly approaches to the topics illustrates how the line has (1) confused or remained resistant to definition and conceptualization, even in attempts to describe it and (2) changed according to differing conceptions of “Shakespeare” and “poetry.” In the following sections, I will examine how the line continues to be taken as a metaphor and structure for Shakespearean authority and mythos.

First, I examine two Restoration adaptations of Shakespeare, *The Enchanted Island* (1670) and *Macbeth* (1674). In *The Enchanted Island*, I explore how the adapters responded to Shakespeare's pliable and often irregular verse through appropriating – i.e. updating and refining – verse into rhythmic prose. In these examples, the adapters seek to regularize Shakespeare's dramatic model while adjusting (and therefore irregularizing) his lines to natural sounding speech. In *Macbeth*, I explore how William Davenant's method of adapting Shakespeare's text leads to differing versions of lineation between the two earliest extant print and manuscript versions of *Macbeth* and therefore competing definitions of "Shakespeare" and "poetic." Restoration adapters may have gravitated to Shakespeare's texts because his loose meter made his lines more conducive to appropriation into speech-like rhythms—an example where the line might participate in or even cause its own change. But Shakespeare's lines were also the object of adaptation because their rough-hewn accents sounded outdated compared to Restoration ideas about poetic meter.

In the next section, I examine how editorial attitudes towards early variants of Shakespeare's plays influenced how editors approached lineation in eighteenth-century editions. By presenting Shakespeare's "mutilated" lines as in need of repair, the editor becomes the agent of poetic authority, since he or she is the one who decides what is "error" and "corruption" in Shakespeare's lines and what is not. I explore how editorial innovations such as metrical line linking resulted in rigidified conceptions of lineation, seeking to police Shakespeare's "quantitative effect" and loose metrics. Therefore, eighteenth-century editors departed from Shakespeare's lineation in favor of regularizing blank verse. Poetic authority was not figured on "original" in the extant sources but on

culturally marking vernacular poetic authority through the editor's ability to discern Shakespeare's "intended" numbers or accented syllables. For adaptors and editors, changing the lineation signaled their historical distinction from less sophisticated ages.

Next, I take a step closer to performance contexts by examining song lyrics in Shakespeare's plays. Song is an example of how lineation is remade to suit the demands of culturally marking vernacular poetic authority. Music, as it is equipped to express both long/short and stressed/unstressed rhythms, can shape metrical constructions of song lyrics that resemble quantitative as well as blank verse structures (King 241). Editorial interventions, however, seek to regulate these metrical ranges of song by treating lyrics more like the poetic verse of vernacular traditions. Setting lyrics to music puts different material and formal pressures on lineation, and, as a result, discombobulates the line through its life in musical culture. By attending to the media in which songs appear, I understand the line as a site of collaboration and negotiation of performance and literary cultures whose reinterpretations are mediated by the material protocols of print and manuscript. Finally, as song lyrics become further removed from musical culture, its lines evolve under the dictates of editorial intervention and poetic structure.

Like songs, actors' parts are closer to the performance pressures of the stage and reveal the limits of eighteenth-century attempts to regularize and control lineation. In the final section, I examine how eighteenth-century actors' parts are sites of collaboration where the poetic authorities of both actor and playwright may be expressed. The actor's part is palimpsest, a "messy" record of lines rearranged, crossed out, and reinserted. The line is treated as a changeable and moveable unit, where its performativity promotes textual fluidity over textual finality. Nevertheless, an awareness of and even attention to

lineation is evident in these performance documents, even when lines are dislocated, invented, or reshuffled. While actors expressed their agency in part-based adaptations, they still had an interest in codifying their parts with Shakespearean and acting traditions surrounding specific roles. Recording both the adaptation and preservation of lines, actors' parts demonstrate the actor's agency to change lineation and promote Shakespeare's poetic authority on the eighteenth-century stage through those changes.

Lines for Posterity: Appropriating Shakespeare's Verse for a New Age

John Dryden and Sir William Davenant, two prominent Restoration playwrights, perceived their present age to be more sophisticated than their early modern predecessors. Therefore, they felt it necessary to appropriate Shakespeare's verse for their audiences. Appropriation in this sense refers to a proper fitting – a process of updating and refining Shakespeare for the modern Restoration stage. In his preface to *All For Love* (1692), Dryden identifies his process for fitting Shakespeare for a new audience:

In my Stile I have profess'd to imitate [the] Divine *Shakespeare*; which that I might perform more freely, I have disincumber'd my self from Rhyme[...] I hope I need not to explain my self, that I have not Copy'd my Author servilely: Words and Phrases must of necessity receive a Change in succeeding Ages: but 'tis almost a Miracle that much of his Language remains so pure.

Rather than a “servile” imitation of Shakespeare's verse, Dryden and Davenant adapted his lines to contemporary language and its evolving pronunciation and stress patterns.⁶ As Dryden explains in his preface to *Troilus and Cressida* (1679), it was not so much Shakespeare's lines that needed to be preserved, but Shakespeare's ideas:

If *Shakespear* were stript of all the Bombast in the passions, and dress'd in the most vulgar words, we should find the beauties of his thoughts remaining; if his embroideries were burnt down, there would still be silver at the bottom of the melting-pot [...] Therefore, let not *Shakespear* suffer for our sakes; 'tis our fault,

⁶ Christiane Bimberg also notes congruities between Dryden's attitudes towards Middle English and early modern verse: “Chaucer's numbers sounded wrong to Restoration poets because of the changes in pronunciation and stress pattern that had occurred since Chaucer's time. Dryden's regarding Chaucer's age as culturally inferior sounds arrogant and seems to anticipate Pope's and Johnson's eager efforts to excuse Shakespeare's ‘defects’ by references to the ‘barbarous’ age in which he lived” (314).

who succeed him in an Age which is more refin'd, if we imitate him so ill, that we copy his failings only, and make a virtue of that in our Writings, which in his was an imperfection.

Seeking to refine Shakespeare, Dryden and other Restoration playwrights opted for simplicity, symmetry, and balance, while also furnishing gaps in characters and plots. These dramaturgical adjustments – often geared towards a unified plot – necessitated changes to the verse form. Whether by regulating or even ignoring the lineation, relineating the lines altogether, or simply switching to prose, Restoration playwrights appropriated line length and meter with variety. In this section, I examine how the projects of updating and refining Shakespeare's lines in *The Enchanted Island* (1670) and *Macbeth* (1674) resulted in different interpretations of lineation that result in loose to rigid versions of Shakespeare's verse. In these adaptations, adapters perceived Shakespeare's lines as plastic and rough-hewn. This perception afforded them the poetic license to expand and contract line length to accommodate dramaturgical changes while also updating it to more natural-sounding rhythms. Shakespeare's meter was loose, but it was also smoother and more conservative than that of his contemporaries (O'Brien 70-2). To the Restoration ear, Shakespeare's middle-road meter held the potential to approximate the rhythms of speech, even in more regularized blank verse. In *The Enchanted Island*, Dryden and Davenant's line adaptations resulted in loose conceptions of lineation. If the adapters were responding to the elasticity of Shakespeare's meter, they did so by stretching his lines to even looser interpretations to achieve the natural speech rhythms they desired. In *Macbeth*, however, Davenant adapts Shakespeare's lines into a more regulated blank verse, but with updated language. His method of adaptation –

directly adding changes to Shakespeare's text – results in overlapping poetic authorities on the page and conflicting versions of lineation. For Restoration playwrights, changing line length may have been an act of distinguishing their age from previous and thus less refined ages.

Dryden and Davenant's *The Enchanted Island*

In *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island* (1670), Dryden and Davenant alternate between different modes of versification: Shakespeare's lines are neither sternly regulated nor completely abandoned.⁷ Rather achieving formal consistency in blank verse, Dryden and Davenant alternate between verse and prose to accommodate Restoration conventions of gender balance and dramaturgical consistency. The adaptation largely reduces the amount of verse from Shakespeare's text (Powell 102), partially due to shortened or paraphrased speeches. What results is that prose – or what scholars have called “rhythmic prose” – claims Shakespeare's authorial mantle. As Hugh Swedenburg explains, “Dryden and Davenant attempted to smooth out Shakespeare's line, but they frequently achieved the desired effect by changing Shakespeare's blank verse to rhythmic prose [...] the extent to which such passages resist reconstruction into blank verse

⁷ *Saucy the Scot* (1698), John Lacy's all-prose adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew* is an extreme case of adapting Shakespeare's lines. Even in Lacy's extreme case, however, there remain “patches of dialogue where Shakespeare's verse-rhythms reassert themselves” (Clark, “Introduction” 1). For example, compare *The Taming of the Shrew*, TLN 961-980 with *Saucy the Scot*, II.ii.86-120. Lacy keeps Shakespeare's lines, “Why that is nothing: for I tell you father, / I am as peremptorie as she proud minded: / And where two raging fires meete together, / They do consume the thing that feedes their furie” (TLN 963-6), but switches them to prose. The rhythm and language of Shakespeare's lines are exactly preserved, but not the line breaks. Therefore, while Lacy attributes no importance to line length, iambic pentameter rhythms persist as he adapts Shakespeare. Even in this case, Shakespeare's poetic authority is still rhythmically acknowledged, even if that authority is not presented distinctly as poetry.

suggests that it was the preference of the collaborators” (338).⁸ Appropriating Shakespeare’s use of iambic pentameter, this approach often favors Shakespeare’s rhythms over his lineation.

Although act 1, scene 1 resembles Shakespeare’s text more than others in the play, the scene is highly irregular in its loose adaptations of verse. These irregularities are signs of the ongoing negotiation of Shakespeare’s poetic authority and adapting Shakespeare to different dramaturgical and textual purposes. In the corresponding scene in Shakespeare’s text (*The Tempest*, TLN 85-351), the characters all speak in verse, but in Dryden and Davenant’s text, they frequently switch between verse and prose – verse that sounds more like prose, prose that sounds like verse, rhythmic prose, and prose that oddly contains “leftover” short lines or traces of former lineation. Miranda’s opening speech, for example, is rendered in rhythmic prose, but still hints at former verse construction:

<p>Mira. If by your Art (my dearest father) you haue Put the wild waters in this Ro[r]e; alay them: The skye it seemes would powre down stinking pitch, But that the Sea, mounting to th’ welkins cheeke, Dashes the fire out. Oh! I haue suffered With those that I saw suffer: A braue vessell (Who had no doubt some noble creature in her) Dash’d all to peeces: O the cry did knocke Against my very heart: poore soules, they perish’d. Had I byn any God of power, I would Haue suncke the Sea within the Earth, or ere It should the good Ship so haue swallow’d, and The fraughting Soules within her.</p>	<p>Mir. If by your Art, my dearest Father, you have put them in this roar, allay ‘em quickly. Had I been any God of power, I would have sunk the Sea into the Earth, before it should the Vessel so have swallowed.</p>
<p><i>The Tempest</i> (1623), TLN 82-94</p>	<p><i>The Enchanted Island</i> (1670), 5</p>

⁸ Another possible motivation for the adapters’ preference, as Janet Powell suggests, is that prose may have more easily “underscore[d]” the ancillary music added to Restoration performances than verse (106).

After paraphrasing and simplifying, Dryden and Davenant set Miranda's speech in rhythmic prose, an easy solution to the metrical difficulties in relineating heavily pruned lines. Rhythmic prose affords more linguistic flexibility to crystallize Shakespeare's lines into updated, transparent thought (perhaps achieving what Dryden calls the "stripping" and "burning" of Shakespeare's "Bombast" and "embroideries"). Nevertheless, traces of former Shakespearean lineation remain. The paragraph break after "allay 'em quickly" vaguely hints at the line break after Shakespeare's "alay them / ... Had I byn any God of power," a peculiar result of verse reconstruction to rhythmic prose and a possible clue to the adapters' material method of adapting Shakespeare's lines.

This textual oddity reoccurs in other "leftover" short lines in the scene. In some instances, the lines seem to be set in prose except for short lines that come in the middle of a paragraph:

Prosp.

This Duke of *Savoy* being an Enemy,
To me inveterate, strait grants my Brother's suit,
And on a night
Mated to his design, *Antonio* opened the Gates of *Millan*, and i'th' dead of darkness, hurri'd me thence
with thy young Sister, and thy crying self.

Prosp.

I thus neglecting worldly ends, and bent to closeness, and the bettering of my mind, wak'd in my false
Brother an evil Nature:
He did believe
He was indeed the Duke, because he then did execute the out|ward face of Sovereignty. Do'st thou still
mark me?

The Enchanted Island, Quarto (1670), 6

As a result, Prospero simply alternates between verse and prose within the same speech.

But these line breaks are close (sometimes even exact) matches to those in Shakespeare's

text, suggesting that Dryden and Davenant were more concerned with updating, refining, and simplifying Shakespeare's language than achieving formal consistency.⁹

The other textual oddity is that several of Shakespeare's short beginning lines still appear as end-stopped lines in the 1670 quarto:

<p>Ariel. To every Article. I boarded the Duke's Ship, now on the Beak, now in the Waste, the Deck, in every Cabin. (7)</p>
<p>Ariel. Not a soul But felt a Feaver of the mind, and play'd some tricks of desperation; all, but Mariners, plung'd in the foaming brine, and quit the Vessel. (7)</p>
<p>Prosp. By Providence Divine, Some food we had, and some fresh Water, which a Noble man of Savoy, called Gonzalo, appointed Master of that black de sign, gave us. (7)</p>
<p>Ariel. Not a hair perisht. In Troops I have dispers'd them round this Isle. The Duke's Son I have landed by himself, whom I have left warming the air with sighs, in an odde angle of the Isle, and sitting, his arms he folded in this sad knot. (8)</p>
<p>Prosp. Oh, was she so! I must Once every Month recount what thou hast been, which thou forgettest. (9)</p>

These "leftover" short lines again correspond with the short lines (including the full pentameter line "In Troops I have dispers'd them round this Isle") in the 1623 Folio.

Their reoccurrence suggests, as I shall explore more in the next section, that playwrights adapted this scene by directly adding their alterations on a copy of Shakespeare's text. A compositor working from that manuscript may leave Shakespeare's beginning short lines

⁹ By comparison, Dryden and Davenant do not attempt to relineate Shakespeare's short line in the middle Prospero's speech: "Thou dost, and think'st it much to tread the Ooze / Of the salt deep: / To run against the sharp wind of the North" (9). To compare see *The Tempest*, TLN 385-7.

as lines and “lineate” fragments of Dryden and Davenant’s prose simply because both texts – the Shakespeare text and the Dryden-Davenant text – are imbricated on the same page. Dryden and Davenant actively but not scrupulously change the verse form, suggesting that lineation was not a guiding consideration in their changes.

Some speeches, such as in Prospero’s lines below, blend paraphrased lines with exact Shakespearean phrasing, but set as prose:

<p>Pro. Well demanded, wench: My Tale prouokes that question: Deare, they durst not, So deare the loue my people bore me: nor set A marke so bloody on the businesse; but With colours fairer, painted their foule ends. In few, they hurried vs a-board a Barke, Bore vs some Leagues to Sea, where they prepared A rotten carkasse of a Butt, not rigg’d, Nor tackle, sayle, nor mast, the very rats Instinctiuely haue quit it: There they hoyst vs To cry to th’ Sea, that roard to vs; to sigh To th’ windes, whose pittie sighing backe againe Did vs but louing wrong.</p>	<p>Prosp. They durst not, Girl, in <i>Millan</i>, For the love my people bore me; in short, they hurr’d us away to <i>Savoy</i>, and thence aboard a Bark at <i>Nissa’s</i> Port: bore us some Leagues to Sea, where they prepar’d a rotten Carkass of a Boat, not rigg’d, no Tackle, Sail, nor Mast; the very Rats instinctively had quit it: they hoisted us, to cry to Seas which roar’d to us; to sigh to Winds, whose pity sighing back again, did seem to do us loving wrong.</p>
<p><i>The Tempest</i> (1623), TLN 248-60</p>	<p><i>The Enchanted Island</i> (1670), 7</p>

These “lines” do not register as iambic pentameter lines, even though they can be scanned as rhythmic prose in some areas. This example demonstrates how the line might still be present, even robust, in more extreme or varied adaptations, because its meter and rhythm are detectable, even if its lineation is no longer legible. The scene reflects this principle whereby the line’s affordances (lineation, meter, rhythm) may be recombined or reconstructed into a range of line adaptations – verse-prose switching, regulating and irregularizing lineation. If line length was a symbol of Shakespeare’s poetic authority, then changing the line lengths signaled Restoration sophistication compared to Shakespeare’s outdated age.

In other passages, Dryden and Davenant copy Shakespeare's text exactly, but choose to set the lines as prose.

<p>Pro. At least two Glasses: the time 'twixt six & now Must by vs both be spent most preciously.</p> <p>Ar. Is there more toyle? Since y^u dost giue me pains, Let me remember thee what thou hast promis'd, Which is not yet perform'd me.</p>	<p>Prosp. At least two Glasses: the time 'tween six and now must by us both be spent most preciously.</p> <p>Ariel. Is there more toyl? since thou dost give me pains, let me remember thee what thou hast promis'd, which is not yet perform'd me.</p>
<p>Cal. I must eat my dinner: This Island's mine by <i>Sycorax</i> my mother, Which thou tak'st from me: when thou cam'st first Thou stroakst me, & made much of me: wouldst giue me Water with berries in't: and teach me how To name the bigger Light, and how the lesse That burne by day, and night: and then I lou'd thee And shew'd thee all the qualities o' th' Isle, The fresh Springs, Brine-pits; barren place and fertill, Curs'd be I that did so: All the Charmes Of <i>Sycorax</i>: Toades, Beetles, Batts light on you: For I am all the Subiects that you haue, Which first was min owne King: and here you sty-me In this hard Rocke, whiles you doe keepe from me The rest o' th' Island.</p>	<p>Calib. I must eat my dinner: this Island's mine by <i>Sycorax</i> my Mother, which thou took'st from me. When thou cam'st first, thou stroak'st me, and mad'st much of me, would'st give me Water with Berries in't, and teach me how to name the bigger Light, and how the less, that burn by day and night; and then I lov'd thee, and shew'd thee all the qualities of the Isle, the fresh-Springs, brine-Pits, barren places, and fertil. Curs'd be I, that I did so: All the Charmes of <i>Sycorax</i>, Toads, Beetles, Batts, light on thee, for I am all the Subjects that thou hast. I first was mine own Lord; and here thou stay'st me in this hard Rock, whiles thou dost keep from me the rest o'th Island.</p>
<p><i>The Tempest</i> (1623), TLN 361-5; 469-83</p>	<p><i>The Enchanted Island</i> (1670), 9; 11</p>

Transcribing the lines as prose rather than verse may have been the adapters' way of managing hypermetrical and catalectic lines while also keeping a rhythmic identification with iambic pentameter. Nevertheless, iambic pentameter is not a major consideration in Dryden and Davenant's approach to versification. Even if they disregard Shakespeare's meter, metrical structures remain despite their relinication.

In other instances, where Dryden and Davenant maintain Shakespeare's meter, they seem to keep his loose metrical structure. The following example demonstrates the corresponding looseness between the two plays. For a quick comparison of pentameter, I have bolded the feet that do not easily scan as iambic:

<p>Pros. No harme: I haue done no thing, but in care of thee (Of thee my deere one; thee my daugh ter who Art ig norant of what thou art naught know ing Of whence I am: nor that I am more bet ter Then <i>Pros/pero</i>, Mas ter of a full poore cell, And thy no great er Fa ther.</p>	<p>Prosp. There is no harm: I have done no thing but in care of thee, My Daugh ter, and thy pret ty Sis ter: You both are ig norant of what you are, Not know ing whence I am, nor that I'm more Than <i>Pros/pero</i>, Mas ter of a nar row Cell, And thy unhap py Fa ther.</p>
<p>Ar. I pre thee, Remem ber I haue done thee wor thy ser uice, Told thee no lyes, made thee no mis takings, serv'd Without or grudge, or grumb lings; thou did pro mise To bate me a full yeere.</p>	<p>Ariel. I pre thee! Remem ber I haue done thee faith ful ser vice, Told thee no lyes, made thee no mis takings, Serv'd with out or grudge, or grumblings: Thou didst promise to bate me a full year. </p>

Dryden and Davenant's lines are similarly loose in meter to Shakespeare's lines. The dramaturgical ("thy pretty Sister") and linguistic ("There is no harm") adaptations made to the lines are still in iambic pentameter.

There are some instances, however, in which the Dryden and Davenant's verse is much more irregular than Shakespeare's verse:

<p>Pro. And in her most vnmitigable rage, Into a clouen Pyne, within which rift Imprison'd, thou didst painfully remaine A dozen yeeres: within which space she di'd, And left thee there: where thou didst vent thy groanes As fast as Mill-wheeles strike: Then was this Island (Saeue for the Son, that he did littour heere, A frekelld whelp, hag-borne) not honour'd with A humane shape.</p>	<p>Prosp. (In her unmitigable rage) into a cloven Pine, Within whose rift imprison'd, thou didst painfully Remain a dozen years; within which space she dy'd, And left thee there; where thou didst vent thy Groans, as fast as Mill-wheels strike. Then was this Isle (save for two Brats, which she did Litter here, the brutish <i>Caliban</i>, and his twin Sister, Two freckel'd-hag-born Whelps) not honour'd with A humane shape.</p>
<p>Pros. Hag-seed, hence: Fetch vs in Fewell, and be quicke thou'rt best To answer other businesse: shrug'st thou (Malice) If thou neglectst, or dost vnwillingly What I command, Ile racke thee with old Crampes, Fill all thy bones with Aches, make thee rore, That beasts shall tremble at thy dyn.</p>	<p>Prosp. Hag-seed hence! Fetch us in fewel, and be quick To answer other business: shrugst thou (malice) If thou neglectest or dost unwillingly what I command, I'le wrack thee with old Cramps, fill all thy bones with Aches, make thee roar, that Beasts shall tremble At thy Din.</p>
<p><i>The Tempest</i> (1623), TLN 412-20; 520-26</p>	<p><i>The Enchanted Island</i> (1670), 10; 12</p>

Dryden and Davenant's lines are not in any regular meter in these examples. Instead, they seem to be ignoring Shakespeare's meter while retaining a loose sense of lineation.¹⁰

From irregular pentameter lines to metrically irregular poetry to rhythmic prose, Shakespeare's verse was used as elastic material for updating the dramaturgy and language. In Dryden and Davenant's adaptation of Shakespeare's text, what is recognized as "Shakespeare" does not necessarily mean "poetry." On the other hand, even adapted prose might retain traces of Shakespeare's rhythms, since Shakespeare's lines are sometimes more and sometimes less an anchor of linguistic and dramatic expression in rhythmic prose. The construction and bibliographic presentation of prose might still acknowledge deconstructed lines or even retain "traces" of the line's former metrical life. These metrical and textual oddities demonstrate how adapting verse was not necessarily a zero-sum game, but a negotiation of what aspects of Shakespeare's verse fit and did not fit the Restoration stage. Dryden and Davenant wanted a more natural and believable *Tempest*, which meant regularizing the dramatic structure to fulfill the unities and poetic justice while irregulating the verse structure to achieve the effect of colloquial speech. Somehow, they did not perceive their reticence towards the artifice of poetic speech as contradictory to their promotion of the artifice of regularized plot structure. Changes to lineation thus registered the tension between these contradictory objectives of regularizing dramaturgy and irregulating versification.

¹⁰ Dryden and Davenant's liberal approach to verse adaptation is evident in the invented and non-Shakespearean scenes. Miranda and Dorinda's exchange at the end of act 1, scene 1 is written in a combination of rhythmic prose and loose blank verse. Most lines push against the boundaries of the pentameter line or do not scan completely as iambic. Although Dryden and Davenant are inventing these lines, they chose nonetheless to imitate Shakespeare's form – not necessarily regular blank verse, but a loose sense of meter and lineation.

Davenant's *Macbeth*

Unlike *The Enchanted Island*, Davenant's adaptation of *Macbeth* (1674) remains in verse, but very few of Shakespeare's lines escape alteration. Christopher Spencer explains, "Most of these changes are directed to literalizing and 'clarifying' Shakespeare's language [...] The adaptation is a mosaic of Shakespearean phrases, reworded Shakespearean ideas, and the adapter's own contributions" (8). As a result of this mosaic, different versions of lineation arise in the earliest print and manuscript versions of Davenant's *Macbeth*.

Aside from the printed quartos, the only early extant text of Davenant's *Macbeth* is a manuscript now housed in Yale University Library (the Yale MS). The Yale MS includes a title page and a list of *dramatis personae* with corresponding actors. Slips of paper, attached with sealing wax to the margins, bear lines inserted after the manuscript was copied. The manuscript is written in about four different hands. Hand A, responsible for copying most of the text, appears to have left blank spaces in the manuscript where he or she had difficulty deciphering the writing in the documents that were probably Davenant's foul papers. These blank spaces evidence the scribe's conscientious efforts to maintain textual and even metrical integrity when the foul papers were illegible. Rather than doing guess work, the scribe instead left these spaces to be filled in later when Davenant or another scribe could confirm them (53). Evidently, subsequent scribes (those of hands B, C, and D) consulted some of Shakespeare's text while correcting or adding to hand A's work on the manuscript (35). The Yale MS, rather than being copied from the First Quarto of 1674 (Q1), as Spencer concludes, "seems to have been the 'fair copy' made from Davenant's 'foul papers' and used in preparing the promptbook. Accordingly,

it is of interest as a Restoration dramatic document” (vii).¹¹ What is most notable is Spencer’s conclusion about how Davenant went about adapting Shakespeare’s text (39). Since rewriting his adaptation on clean paper side-by-side Shakespeare’s text would have been inefficient and laborious, Davenant likely made his alterations and adaptations directly in Shakespeare’s text – crossing out lines, rewriting and inserting parts of lines above or in the margin. Therefore, Davenant’s foul papers would not have indicated much lineation, since his numerous omissions and additions would have rendered Shakespeare’s lineation unusable (40). Based on this adaptation method, Spencer gives the following conjectural example of what Davenant’s “foul papers” may have looked like for I.vi.20-3¹²:

<p>Against those Honors deepe, and broad, Wherewith your Maiestie loades our House: For those of old, and the late Dignities, Heap'd vp to them, we rest your Ermites.</p>	<p>Obliging which Against those Honors deepe, and broad, confers upon Wherewith your Maiestie loades our House: For those of old, and the late r date Dignities, (Being too poor to pay) we must be still your humble Heap'd vp to them, we rest your Ermites. Debtors</p>
<p>First Folio (1623) of <i>Macbeth</i>, TLN 453-6</p>	<p>Figure 1. Spencer’s conjecture of Davenant’s “foul papers,” <i>Davenant’s Macbeth from the Yale Manuscript</i> (1961), p. 41. Public domain.</p>
<p>Obliging honours which Your Majesty confers upon our house; For dignities of old and later date (Being too poor to pay) we must be still Your humble debtors.</p>	<p>Obliging honours which Your Majesty Confers upon our house; for dignities Of old and later date (being too poor To pay) we must be still your humble Debtors.</p>
<p>Quarto 1 (1674) transcription, 13-14</p>	<p>Hand A transcription of Yale MS, f. 8r</p>

¹¹ See Spencer 40-54 for extensive comparisons of the Yale MS, the printed Davenant quartos, and Shakespeare folios.

¹² This conjectural example is based on the evidence that “both the Yale MS and Q1 derive at about thirty places from a text of Shakespeare’s *Macbeth* with Davenant’s alterations entered upon it” (43).

The 1674 quarto is closer to the First Folio's lineation, correcting some of the F1 irregularities in the first, second, and fourth lines. In the Yale MS, the lines are relinedated into three regular iambic pentameter lines and one iambic line with a hypermetrical syllable. Both versions retain Davenant's words, but the Yale MS adapts those words more conscientiously into blank verse. As a result, while Q1 matches Shakespeare's lineation, the Yale MS is more metrically regular (41).¹³ These examples show how the line is a site of negotiation and contestation. Davenant's foul papers present a negotiation of Shakespeare's poetic authority – a give-and-take between the lineation, meter, syntax, and phrasing. The Q1 and Yale MS present a contestation of poetic authority in which the mediator or agent (scribe, printer, compositor) chooses one or a combination of the possibilities of lineation and meter presented on the page. According to Spencer, "the Yale MS seems to be a more authoritative text" than Q1 (53-4), because it was probably copied directly from the foul papers while Q1 was prepared from a transcript of them (see Figure B in Appendix).

Assuming Spencer's conclusions are true, the Yale MS favors changing the lineation for metrically groomed blank verse, suggesting that versification was regarded as dramaturgically important in the promptbook preparation. Therefore, the Yale MS figures Shakespeare's poetic authority as keeping with his chosen meter – blank verse – rather than his words or lineation. This general principle is evident in the quarto and

¹³ Spencer analyzes fifty-five other passages in which the Yale MS and Q1 differ. He concludes, in general, "[Q1] follows F1 more often than hand A, but hand A is a better metrist" (41). Other changes do not result in either the Yale MS nor Q1 having better or worse lineation. For example, while Macduff's lines at the end of Act V ("Long live Malcolme....yet here I present you with" (f. 34v) are linedated differently: Yale MS with 8, 9, 10, and 11 syllables and Q1 with 11, 8, 9, and 10 syllables respectively. This example shows how the same words and total number of syllables may be used, but still arrive at different versions of lineation.

manuscript treatment of individual lines. In some passages, the Yale MS contracts two short lines into one more metrically regular pentameter line, whereas Q1 just keeps them as two short lines:

There if I grow, The harvest is your own. (9)	There if I grow, the Harvest is your own. (f. 6v)
Dearest Love, Duncan comes here to night. (12)	Dearest Love! Duncan comes here to night (f. 8r)
Transcription of Quarto 1 (1674)	Transcription of Yale MS

In other instances, where Q1 contracts two shorter lines to make one long hypermetrical line, the Yale MS keeps them as two, favoring one regular line with one very short but generally metrically regular line:

Th'Enemy is upon our borders, <i>Scotland's</i> in danger. (51)	The enemy is upon our Borders; ScotLand's In danger (f. 27v)
And my Resolves in spite of Fate shall be as firmly. (59)	And my Resolves in spite of fate shall be As firme. (f. 31v)
Transcription of Quarto 1 (1674)	Transcription of Yale MS

The first example (“The enemy...”) is not metrically regular, but the Yale MS still corrects the lineation for a pentameter-length line. In the second example (“And my Resolves...”), both lines are in iambic pentameter as a result of the change “firmly” to “firme” which makes the short line in one regular foot. In general, these examples show the Yale MS’s more conscientious efforts to adhere to blank verse – both in lineation and meter.

But not all the changes the Yale MS scribe of hand A made from Davenant's four papers had more regular lineation than Q1. For example, at the end of Act IV, Scene 1 the scribe of hand A transcribed the lines in less regular meter than Shakespeare's F1 text. In fact, the Q1 version is more metrically regular than the Yale MS:

<p>Macd: O; I could play the woman with my Eyes art And brag [^] on't with my tongue. Kind Heavens Bring this dire fiend of Scotland & my selfe but Face to face and sett him within the reach Of my keen Sword and if he out lives y^t minute May Heaven forgive his Sins & punish me For his Escape.</p>	
<p>Figure 2. Spencer's transcription of <i>Macbeth</i> 4.5 in Yale MS, f. 29v, from <i>Davenant's Macbeth from the Yale Manuscript</i> (1961), p. 135. Public domain.</p>	
<p><i>Macd.</i> O I could play the woman with mine eyes, And Braggart with my tongue. But gentle Heavens, Cut short all intermission: Front to Front, Bring thou this Fiend of Scotland, and my selfe Within my Swords length set him, if he scape Heaven forgieue him too.</p>	<p>Macd: Oh I could play the Woman with my Eyes, And brag on't with my tongue; kind Heavens bring this Dire Friend of Scotland, and my self face to face, And set him within the reach of my keen Sword. And if he outlives that hour, may Heaven forgive His sins, and punish Me for his escape.</p>
<p>Shakespeare's <i>Macbeth</i> (1623), TLN 2080-5</p>	<p>Davenant's <i>Macbeth</i> (1674), p. 56</p>

Extra words (“but” and “minute”) seem to be added later by the scribe of hand B, which are not directly from Q1. Hand B's change of “brag on't” to “braggart” and addition of “but” and “yt minute” shows that a different Shakespeare text from F1 may have been consulted. These changes, however, slightly skew the lineation (although the addition of “but” in the fourth line regularizes the iambic foot) as originally copied by hand A by the added words and rearranged phrases. But the scribe of hand B seems more concerned with clarifying the sense. These changes may have been added later when the Yale MS was used in preparation of the promptbook. In any event, these different hands show that

lines may also be a site of contestation in the Yale MS where phrasing and sense is favored over regular lineation and meter.

Macbeth's Act V soliloquy has a similar change to lineation. In the Yale MS, the scribe regulates the lineation in the first two lines; this change brings both the first and second line closer to regular iambic pentameter:

<p>Macb: She should have dy'd hereafter. I brought Her here to see my victims, and not to dye. To morrow and to morrow and to morrow Creeps in a stealing pace from day to day To the last minute of recorded time: And all our yesterdays have lighted fools eternal night short To their Severall homes; out out, that Candle X Life's but a walking shadow a poor player, That struts and frets his hour upon the stage And then is heard no more. it is a tale Told by an Ideot, full of sound & fury Signifying nothing. {enter a Messenger - - - - - - - - - -</p>	<p>Macb. She should have Di'd hereafter, I brought Her here, to see my Victines, not to Die. To Morrow, to Morrow, and to Morrow, Creeps in a stealing pace from Day to Day, To the last Minute of Recorded Time: And all our Yesterdays have lighted Fools To their Eternal Homes: Out, out that Candle, Life's but a Walking Shaddow, a poor Player That Struts and Frets his Hour upon the Stage, And then is Heard no more. It is a Tale Told by an Ideot, full of Sound and Fury Signifying Nothing.</p>
<p>Figure 3. Spencer's transcription of <i>Macbeth</i> 5.4 in Yale MS f. 32v, from <i>Davenant's Macbeth from the Yale Manuscript</i> (1961), p. 141. Public domain.</p>	<p>Davenant's <i>Macbeth</i> (1674), 61</p>

These two lines show how the scribe was concerned with transcribing Davenant's words in regularized blank verse, rather than Shakespeare's lineation. Again, the scribe of hand B seems generally concerned with changing the wording of the line ("Severall homes" is replaced with "eternal night" and "that" is replaced with "short") rather than the lineation. Other changes to lines are in the Act IV, Scene 1 at the beginning of the witches' song.

Act 4 th Scene 1 st		f. 24r iv.i
Thunder. Enter 3 Witches		
3	Witch.	no milk mayde yet has bin bedued
1	Witch:	Thrice the brinded Cat hath mewd
3:		Thrice and once the Hedg-pig whind
		Shutting his eyes against the wind
		cli[m]
+		and Heccat. + 2 wi: up hollow okes now Emitts,
3:		Harpier cries tis time tis time

Figure 4. Spencer's transcription of *Macbeth* 4.1 in Yale MS f. 24r, from *Davenant's Macbeth from the Yale Manuscript* (1961), p. 123. Public domain.

The inserted lines (“no milk mayde...” and “up hollow okes...”) are not in Q1 or F1, suggesting that these lines may have been invented or were taken from the Shakespeare text that Davenant was making changes to. These additions seem to balance out the witches’ lines so that each witch had a rhyming couplet (without the added lines, only witch 1 and witch 3 would have one unrhymed line). The inserted lines complete the incomplete rhymes while also keeping with the meter and length of the witches’ dialogue. In the Yale MS, Davenant’s overall metrical principle in adapting Shakespeare’s text is to update and clarify the language within a generally regular blank verse. Shakespeare’s phrasing and lineation serves as a baseline for accomplishing both objectives, but in practice these objectives are not easily negotiated and transferred onto the page, sometimes resulting in later scribal corrections where one objective takes precedence over the other. This metrical principle sharply contrasts that of Dryden and Davenant’s approach to changing the verse in *The Enchanted Island*, where updating the language and dramaturgy takes precedence over regularizing the meter and lineation.

Other changes to lines are added by slips of paper to the manuscript. New lines are written on the slips and attached to the page with wax (totaling twenty-six added

lines). The placement of the added lines is indicated with corresponding symbols on the slip and the page. Written in a different hand, these lines seem to be added by a different scribe from the one who first copied the text. The lines written on these pieces of paper are neither derived from Davenant's Q1 nor Shakespeare's F1 – but they are, for the most part, written in blank verse:

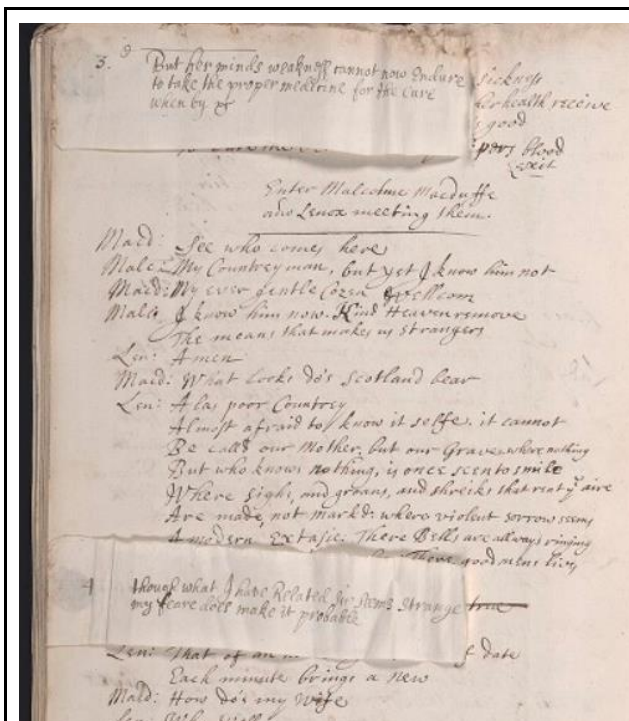


Figure 5. Added lines on paper slips #3-4 in the Yale MS (f. 28 v), GEN MSS VOL 548, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Digitized scans used with permission from Yale University Library.

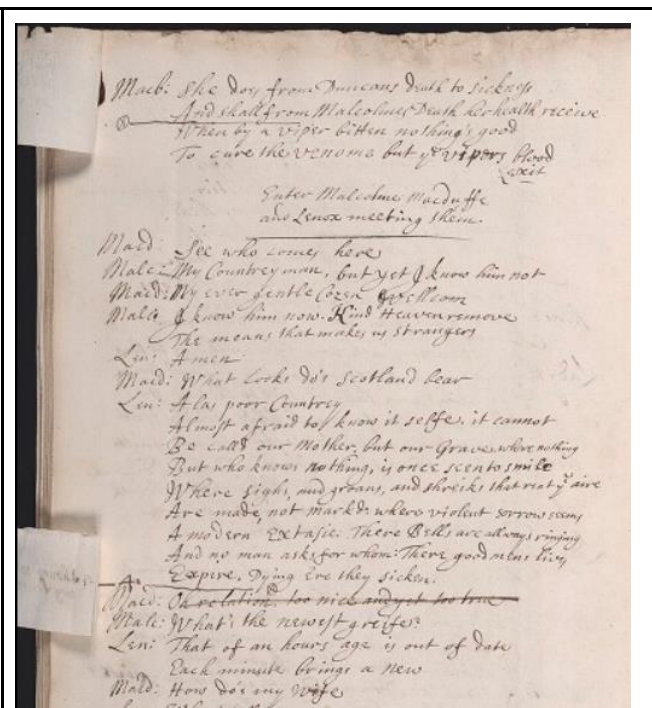


Figure 6. Lines underneath paper slips #3-4 are crossed out and mediated in the Yale MS (f. 28 v), GEN MSS VOL 548, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Digitized scans used with permission from Yale University Library.

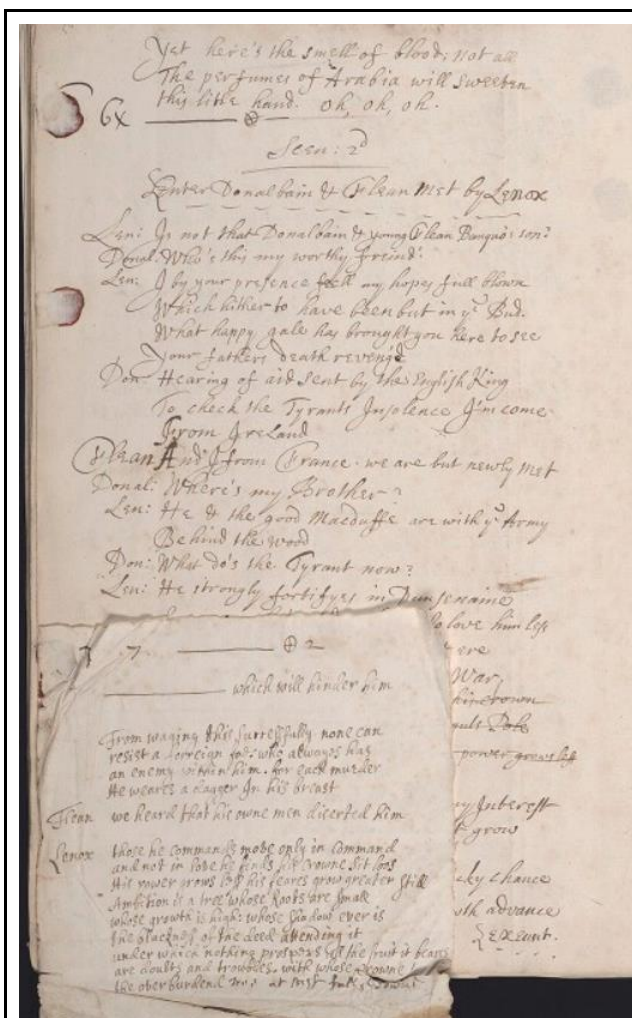


Figure 7. Added lines on paper slip #7 in the Yale MS (f. 28 v), GEN MSS VOL 548, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Digitized scans used with permission from Yale University Library.

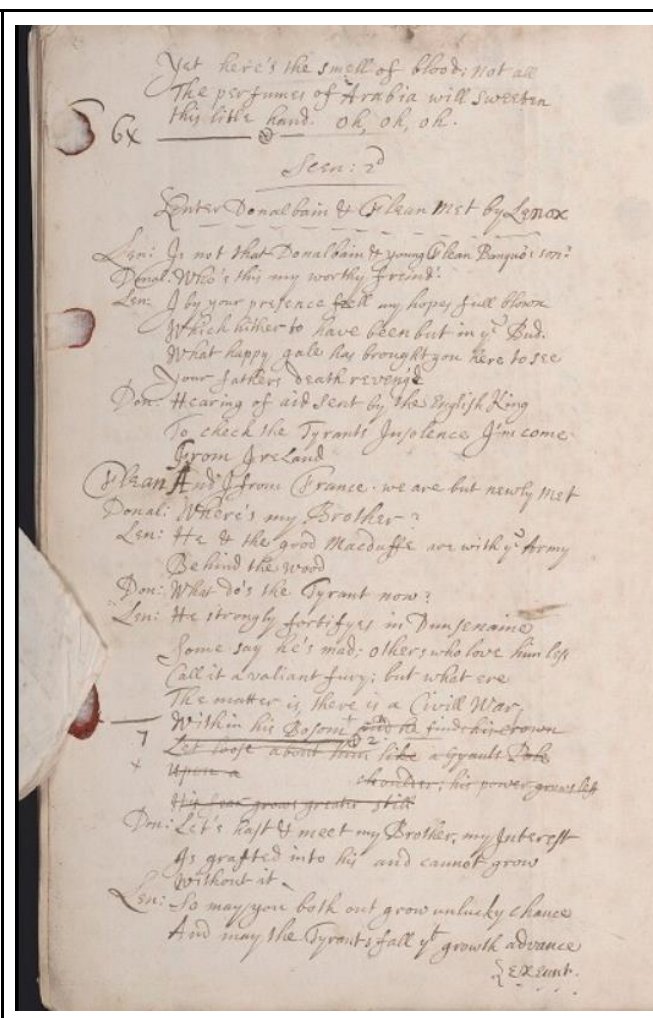


Figure 8. Lines underneath slip #7 are crossed out and mediated in the Yale MS (f.28 v), GEN MSS VOL 548, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Digitized scans used with permission from Yale University Library.

The largest slip of paper (#7) does borrow some phrasing from F1 (“those he commands move only in command”), but generally the phrasing seems to be invented or taken from a different Shakespeare text, rather than F1 or a transcript of it (58). Therefore, the scribe of hand A (who copied the slips) does seem to follow blank verse, but not a previous source or copy of Davenant’s text in his additions. Furthermore, the slips do not permanently cover or omit the lines underneath. While some lines are crossed out

underneath the slips, they still are present on the page, presenting a palimpsest of alternative texts, mediated by the graphic lines and symbols that “link” the slips’ line with Davenant’s lines. One page (f. 30v) shows wax marks where previously attached slips were removed, showing these alterations were not necessarily supposed to be final. This mode of “attaching” lines materially captures multiple versions of the text on one page, and hence presents tessellations of lines that overlap, interlock or “link,” with each other in the same material and metrical space. That is, since the lines of these slips are still written in blank verse, the scribe indicated their placement within the manuscript lines to complete the meter. This is especially evident with slip 7 where the altered half of Lenox’s line (“_____ which will hinder him”) is written out and the added lines follow thereafter.

These comparisons of the Yale MS and Q1 present different versions of configuring Shakespearean poetic authority in adaptation. Firstly, if both the Yale MS scribes and Q1 publisher were working from Davenant’s foul papers, then both had to make decisions about lineation (Spencer 41). Should he or she follow Shakespeare’s lineation with Davenant’s words? Or keep Davenant’s words but change the lineation so the lines are regularized iambic pentameter? Or should he or she consult Shakespeare’s text to make nuanced changes to the wording and phrases? In his imbricated method of adaptation, Davenant seems to have created an interpretative crossroads – different possibilities of lineation that could result in two versions of line length in textual variants. In relineating Davenant’s words, the Yale MS figures poetic authority as being the meter of Shakespeare’s lines, rather than their lineation.¹⁴ In generally retaining F1 lineation,

¹⁴ Shakespeare’s poetic authority of the dramatic verse form is evident in a survey of Restoration non-Shakespearean verse drama. Reflecting on the late seventeenth century, Richard O’Brien

Q1 figures poetic authority as being Shakespeare's lineation rather than regularized pentameter. While the Yale MS tends to present a more robust blank verse, the multiple scribal hands evidence a fluid adaptation process. In this process, the line is treated as a fungible unit, able to be changed so that multiple textual versions of the lines – Davenant's foul papers, the text of Shakespeare's from which Davenant worked, the scribe's personal adaptation, and the Shakespeare text that later scribes consulted – are also tessellated, overlapped, and linked with each other. These differences show how the scribes and printer use the line's fungibility – lineation, meter, or a combination – to negotiate between the poetic authorities of Davenant and Shakespeare within the media and material interests in which they worked.

Adaptations of *The Tempest* and *Macbeth* exemplify the Restoration conceptions of lineation and poetic authority. Dryden and Davenant's material method of adaptation – directly adding changes to a copy of Shakespeare's text – was an act of recognizing Shakespeare's poetic authority, while also tailoring and fitting his verse to fit a range of linguistic, dramaturgical and metrical objectives. This method seems to result in the layering or imbrication of lines, most visible in the Yale MS and in comparisons between the Yale MS and Q1. But layering is also evident in *The Enchanted Island* where prose and verse switching is not a smooth-going, straightforward road. These uneasy switches between prose and verse materialize the different authorial "switching" between the adapters' text and Shakespeare's text, signaling the negotiation and contestation of Shakespeare's poetic authority and what the line means. In both *The Enchanted Island*

concludes, "[M]any authors of verse plays followed paths they did -- ranging from explicit avoidance to partial imitation -- in response to the difficulty of negotiating with their form's Shakespearean influence" (178).

and *Macbeth*, little of Shakespeare's verse goes unchanged. These busy changes present different conceptions of what the line can be – lineation, meter, or simply rhythm.¹⁵ The varying versions of lineation derive out of the imbrication of playwright and adapter's text, whether transferring the visual unit or accounting for the acoustical rhythms of the line. It must be noted, however, that *The Enchanted Island* and *Macbeth* are not the same adaptation projects. The first, as previously noted, greatly loosens and reduces the verse, whereas the second generally maintains blank verse, whether in printed or manuscript textual variants. These divergent appropriations of verse capture the tension between the adapters' objective to unify and regularize Shakespeare's dramatic model while also achieving more speech-like metrical structures. Thus, appropriations of line length signal the continual struggle to adapt Shakespeare's plays to different and even conflicting dramaturgical and textual purposes.

¹⁵ In the prologue to *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island* (1670), Dryden imagines their adaptation as a “new reviving Play” which springs “from old *Shakespear's* honour'd dust” (ll. 3-4). It was thus important that their adaptation was both a revival of Shakespeare and a new play of their making. This combination of old and new is possible because Shakespeare is the “secret root / Lives under ground” from which the new shoot of Dryden's adaptation can spring. Dryden's root metaphor suggests that their approach was drawn from the latent affordances of Shakespeare's lines, the potentialities of the iambic pentameter of *The Tempest*.

Those “Mutilated” Lines: Repairing Verse in Shakespearean Edition

Into the eighteenth century, stage adaptations of Shakespeare coexisted with a growing body of play editions. Rather than being contradictory processes, as Michael Dobson argues, “adaptation and canonization [...] were often mutually reinforcing ones” (5). Eventually, however, the wholesale adapting and rewriting of Shakespeare’s works for the stage was replaced by a process that gained its corrective energy largely from the conflicting editorial conceptions of Shakespeare’s works. In his 1756 *Proposals*, Samuel Johnson gives the following reasons for “why Shakespeare stands in more need of critical assistance than any other of the English writers”:

Books indeed are sometimes published after the death of him who produced them, but they are better secured from corruptions than these unfortunate compositions. They subsist in a single copy, written or revised by the author; and the faults of the printed volume can be only faults of one descent. But the works of SHAKESPEARE the condition has been far different: he sold them, not to be printed, but to be played. They were immediately copied for the actors, and multiplied by transcript after transcript. (3)

As a result of copying, Johnson complains, Shakespeare’s works were “vitiating” and “changed,” or perhaps “enlarged” and “mutilated” with no authorial consent, resulting in an extreme case of fragmented authorship. Johnson’s manifesto provides an important context for understanding why the line appears in the way that it does in early modern and eighteenth-century circulation and editing traditions. The multiplicity of copies, due to the textual practices of the theatre, increased the chances of Shakespeare’s texts being changed. This issue was recognized by First Folio publishers John Heminge and Henry

Condell, who ascribed the book's authority to being "Published according to the True and Originall Copies."¹⁶ Margreta de Grazia explains, "The term 'copy' did not at this point carry the same obligation to reproduce its precedent with fidelity. Like 'model', 'copy' could refer both to an original and a reproduction" (90).¹⁷ The act of copying could mean to improve, restore, or make whole again and could also apply to a "specifically technological mode of multiplication or increase: duplication in manuscript or later in print."

Aware that copies did not always carry authorial integrity, early eighteenth-century editors did not change Shakespeare's lines based on the perceived authority of a certain copy. Rather, they altered Shakespeare's lines based on *their perceptions* of the errors that resulted from multiplying and circulating copies. Their perceptions and sound judgements served as stand-ins for "Shakespeare's meter" or "intentions," thereby conflating their editorial roles with Shakespeare's poetic authority. Shakespeare's lines to these editors were in a state of decay or mutilation and needed to be refined, due to what they described as the textual corruption of the playhouses. George Steevens's approach to repairing Shakespeare's "rough and defective numbers," as Edmund King explains it, illustrates the conflation of the editorial role with poetic authority:

¹⁶ In the preface, Heminge and Condell expose the existing quartos of Shakespeare's works as "diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them," but which are "now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes" (A3r). As actors, Heminge and Condell would have known that most dramatic documents -- the promptbook, the actors' parts, songs, prologues, and epilogues -- were copied and circulated in different and often separate forms. This circulation subjects the copies to alteration and adaptation, especially to meet performance needs and expectations. The practice of claiming textual authority based on the "right" copy was already apparent in the seventeenth century.

¹⁷ "Copy" also could refer to a "representation in miniature" and a "copy to be imitated." See de Grazia 142n.

It is Steevens's appreciation of Shakespeare's uncorrupted style that will allow him to discern where the text has 'fallen into decay'. Likewise, his sense of Shakespearean metre will enable him to restore the lost rhythms of the unpreserved original lines. The metrical 'blunders' and lexical barbarisms' that Steevens detects are, he implies, the unauthorized excrescences of actors and prompters and it is the editor's task to remove them. (8)

Such radical proposals of reconstructing Shakespeare's lines lead to new innovations to emend lineation, often resulting in more rigidified conceptions of the line. For example, when Alexander Pope found two divergent versions of a play, he reconstructed the lineation not based on "which of the ancient copies is entitled to preference" (Pope qtd. in Bertram 18), but on the "ancient copies" as the raw materials for the basis of his own critical intervention. Pope's lineation in *Henry V*, act 3, scene 6 shows his active interventions of the 1619 Quarto and 1623 Folio (irregularities in meter and line length are indicated with boldface):

We would haue all offend ers so cut off, And we here giue expresse commaund ment, That there be no thing tak en from the villages but paid for, None of the French abused, Or a braided with dis dainfull language For when cruelty and len itie play for a King dome, The gent lest game ster is the soon er win ner.	Wee would haue all such offenders so cut off: and we giue expresse charge, that in our Marches through the Countrey, there be nothing compell'd from the Villages; nothing taken, but pay'd for: none of the French vpbraided or abused in disdainefull Language; for when Leuitie and Crueltie play for a Kingdome, the gentler Gamester is the soonest winner.
Quarto (1619), TLN 1555-60	First Folio (1623), TLN 1555-61
K. <i>Henry</i> . We would have such offend ers so cut off, And give express charge that in all our march There shall be no thing tak en from the vil lages But shall be paid for, and no <i>French</i> /upbraid ed Or yet abused in dis dainful language; When le nity and cru elty play for kingdoms, The gent ler game ster is the soon est win ner.	
<i>The Works of Mr. Shakespear</i> , ed. Pope (1725), v. 3, p. 444, vertical lines and boldface added.	

As most lines have extra syllables or irregular feet in Pope's version, Pope does not solve all the problems of lineation between the two texts. Nevertheless, Pope's changes show a stricter sense of blank verse, rejecting both the highly irregular meter of the quarto and the prose of the folio. Rather than choosing one text over another, Pope sought to polish Shakespeare's lines based on his perception of what was "Shakespeare's meter" rather than textual rubble. Even without variants, Pope still reconstructed Shakespeare's verse, reconfiguring poetic authority where "Shakespeare" is constructed on the editor's intervention, not based on an "authoritative" copy.

Later, Edward Capell introduced a new editing method which marked another shift in authority based on an approach to Shakespearean *copia*. As Alice Walker explains, Capell "revolutionized textual theory by laying down the principle that the 'best' text (i.e. the one closest to the manuscript or the best manuscript) should be made the basis of an edition, thus breaking with the traditional method of patching up the Folio text with only a selection of quarto readings" (136).¹⁸ However, this method did not necessarily translate into clear-cut philosophies for editing the line. Despite his return to close examination of early variants, Capell still fine-tuned the lineation as did his predecessors. One way Capell emended Shakespeare's lines was through introducing typographic signals to link lines metrically.¹⁹ Capell did not use indentation (as Steevens later would) but lowercase letters to signal linked lines. In his 1780 *Notes*, Capell quoted the following lines from *Troilus and Cressida*, scanning the two short lines as a single

¹⁸ For a discussion of Capell's method see Bertram (24-26) and Walker (131-136).

¹⁹ Bertram and Bowers both attribute the origin of metrical linking to Steevens, but Werstine provides evidence that Capell was in fact the first known editor to apply this principle. However, Werstine suggests that Capell's idea was not entirely original: "Capell's attempt to identify linked part-lines may have been inspired by consultation of Styan Thirlby's manuscript annotations" (260).

line:

Brother, | she is | not worth | what she | doth cost

The hol | ding TRO. What | is ought, | but as | 'tis vally'd? (2.2.51-52)²⁰

In his manuscript, Capell's transcription of the "what" begins with a lowercase *w* (Werstine 26). Capell's metrical line linking departs from Shakespearean lineation, and yet retains a strong sense of blank verse regularity – so strong in fact that metrically short lines at the beginning and ending of speeches must be joined into full pentameter lines. This example shows how the conception of the line changes according to perceptions of the textual and poetic whole. If the whole is an actor's part, then the metrical links between cue and speaker lines are perceived as less relevant (the whole is "character") than if the whole is all of the playtext which might be perceived as "poem." This conception of verse drama implies an established pattern that a line (as a unit of that pattern) can confirm or break.²¹ By metrical line linking, Capell and later Steevens attempted to negotiate between both the dramatic and poetic constituents of verse drama: rather than a dialogic exchange of lines, dramatic verse is a monovocal series of lines.

²⁰ See Capell, *Notes* (1780) v. 2, pt. 4, p. 219

²¹ The "missing lines" in the 1609 Quarto edition of sonnet 126 bracketed with italicized parenthesis indicate a supremely spatial and typographical understanding of line, especially in the absence of syllables and meter. As a result, scholars have suggested that the Quarto treats the silence or white space as a line. If this is the case, then it is a reversal of the interaction of writing semiotics and the end-stopped line where "absence enforcing the line's dictates" (Menzer 116): the absence is the line and it is enforced by the presence of typographical markers. The "lines" in this couplet and the couplet unit are conjured through spatial and typographical understandings of the line. Whatever the reason for the publisher's choice to include the parentheses, the 1609 quarto printing of sonnet 126 illustrates how lines that are absent or incomplete are often signaled typographically and called to interpretive attention. Linking part-lines in Shakespeare's verse drama provides the analogue of linking incomplete or absent lines to negotiate the two aspects of the terms *dramatic verse* and *verse drama*: both the dialogic exchange of drama and the iambic pentameter pattern of blank verse.

Thus the dialogic dimension must be mediated so that lines may be collectively perceived as a poetic, metrically groomed whole.

Capell devised a typographic method through changing the conventional method of capitalizing the first word of every line for linking part-lines. But Steevens' method of linking through indentation added a visual and spatial dimension to "typographic verse measurement" (Bertram 28) in a way that upper- and lowercase letters did not. For example, a comparison of Malone's version of *King John*, act 3, scene 3 with Steeven's version reveals how spatial conceptualization of lines may introduce new dramaturgical interpretations and how the Shakespearean play might be figured as "poem":

<p><i>Hub.</i> So well, that what you bid me undertake, Though that my death were adjunct to my act, By heaven, I would do it. <i>K. John.</i> Do not I know, thou would'st? Good Hubert, Hubert, Hubert, throw thine eye On yon young boy: I'll tell thee what, my friend, He is a very serpent in my way; And, wheresoe'er this foot of mine doth tread, He lies before me: Dost thou understand me? Thou art his keeper. <i>Hub.</i> And I'll keep him so, That he shall not offend your majesty. <i>K. John.</i> Death. <i>Hub.</i> My lord? <i>K. John.</i> A grave. <i>Hub.</i> He shall not live. <i>K. John.</i> Enough. I could be merry now: Hubert, I love thee; Well, I'll not say what I intend for thee:</p>	<p><i>HUB.</i> So well, that what you bid me undertake, Though that my death were adjunct to my act, By heaven, I'd do't. <i>K. JOHN.</i> Do not I know, thou would'st? Good Hubert, Hubert, Hubert, throw thine eye On yon young boy: I'll tell thee what, my friend, He is a very serpent in my way; And, wheresoe'er this foot of mine doth tread, He lies before me: Dost thou understand me? Thou art his keeper. <i>HUB.</i> And I'll keep him so, That he shall not offend your majesty. <i>K. JOHN.</i> Death. <i>HUB.</i> My lord? <i>K. JOHN.</i> A grave. <i>HUB.</i> He shall not live. <i>K. JOHN.</i> Enough. I could be merry now: Hubert, I love thee; Well, I'll not say what I intend for thee:</p>
<p>Figure 9. Malone's lineation of <i>King John</i>, act 3, scene 3. <i>The plays and poems of William Shakspeare</i> (1790), v. 4, p. 513. Public domain.</p>	<p>Figure 10. Steevens's lineation of <i>King John</i>, act 3, scene 3. <i>The plays of William Shakspeare</i> (1793), v. 8, p. 103. Public domain.</p>

Steevens indicates metrical relationships through a style of rearrangement and visualization that remains dominant in modern editions today, in which short lines are grouped visually across a descending staircase. Going beyond the traditional line break,

this spatial understanding makes short lines appear as “component parts of ten-syllable verse-lines” (28). Where Capell promoted typography, Steevens promoted space as the measuring stick for the line, not just the sound of the line itself. This method also marked an important shift in the metrical understanding of the line where the “white spaces” of print gained an even more prominent role in indicating meter. This use “metrical white space” (29) was widespread in nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions. Metrical linking also allowed for line numbering, which first appeared in the Cambridge Shakespeare edition of 1860. As modern editions continued to link lines through indentation, methods of reading, interpreting, and delivering the line evolved with it. The short line and its perceived relationship to surrounding lines have launched multiple forms of line categories.²² In these critical interpretations and categories, characters’ motivations, emotional states, and dynamics with other characters are encoded within the metrically linked lines. But this system of line linking remains problematic for modern editors. As Fredson Bowers points out, not every short line can be successfully integrated into the metrical whole of the play.²³ Nevertheless, conceptions of the line based on mediations of the printed play edition continued to gain interpretive momentum through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, influencing conceptions of verse delivery and the

²² Rokison-Woodall names five types of short lines: “the final short line, internal short line, initial short line, single short line, and short line forming part of a shared line” (18).

²³ Short lines have been problematic in Shakespearean editorial traditions. Fredson Bowers explains, “Because of its abrupt break with regularity, the Shakespearean short line within a pentameter speech is immediately noticed by the ear and, in a reading edition, by the eye. Some problems are associated with these short internal lines, principally whether they are authoritative or the result of compositorial or scribal mislineation, or whether they may be part of a general mislineation that requires the isolation of some adjacent line of the text as the internal short line intended” (74). See also Betram’s statistical breakdown of the unlinked short lines in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act III, Scene iii in eighteenth-century editions (30). See also Rokison-Woodall for historical and internal evidence that points to the ambiguity of aural and structural connections between lines (146).

“meaning” of Shakespeare’s lines.

In performance, one way that short lines can be metrically “completed” is through an actor’s delivery, by elongating the syllables or a pause or movement that equates to the pentameter’s length of spoken beats. This verse delivery method illustrates how Paula Blank’s notion of Shakespeare’s “quantitative effect” might apply to verse delivery and editorial intervention.²⁴ For example, Macbeth’s famous line at the end of the soliloquy falls short of the meter by four syllables:

**And then is heard no more : it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of found and fury,
Signifying nothing.—**

Figure 11. Steevens’s lineation of *Macbeth*’s soliloquy, act 5, scene 5 from *The Plays of William Shakespeare* (1793), v. 7, p. 570. Public domain.

An actor delivering this line can stretch the syllables to fit the full pentameter’s length, fulfilling Shakespeare’s quantitative effect. But some critics have argued that this incomplete meter was intentional – that Shakespeare ends Macbeth’s “nothing” with literally nothing: four-beats of silence (on the stage) and white space (on the page). Steevens’s long dash perhaps is meant to signify this, since the short line cannot be linked metrically to Macbeth’s next line. In other words, the long dash is an innovation that emerged in response to changing conceptions of Shakespeare’s verse – resulting in and reinforcing more rigid conceptions of lineation, rather than allowing for possibilities of metrical elasticity. These different treatments of short lines in Shakespeare’s plays demonstrate how new conceptions of lineation arise. These editorial innovations (lowercase, indentation, and dashes) brought the role of print into a greater mediating role

²⁴ Blank specifically discusses Macbeth’s short line “Signifying nothing” as an illustration of Shakespeare’s quantitative effect (76), showing how Shakespeare was counting syllables in the vernacular decasyllabic line, while also retaining the inherited system of classical metrics.

in measuring and grooming metrical relations between lines.

Loose or rigid conceptions of lineation were corollary with shifting foundations of poetic authority – from the adapter’s project of modernization and refinement to the editor’s perception of “error.” The Restoration’s footloose approach to verse appropriation ranged from rhythmic prose to conscientious yet fluid blank verse. Lines were deconstructed or reconstructed based on varying spectrums of the affordances of iambic pentameter including lineation, meter, and rhythm. By making direct changes to Shakespeare’s text, the adapters made Shakespeare their own, elevating Shakespeare’s poetic authority by virtue of their appropriations of his lines. The eighteenth-century editorial approaches to verse intervention, whether animated by repairing “error” or judging the “best” copy, resulted in grooming the lines into a blank verse ideal (what Shakespeare “meant”) and policing Shakespeare’s elastic meter through print innovations. Eighteenth-century editing was therefore a consolidation of poetic authority. Since theatre practitioners did not publish Shakespeare’s text reliably, it was the editor’s imperative role to consolidate Shakespeare’s fragmented text into one authoritative edition and fine-tune the prosody to recover Shakespeare’s “intended” numbers. Thus, the editor, in defining “Shakespeare” and “poetry,” acted as the singular stand-in for Shakespearean poetic authority and mythos. Both editors and adapters shared the common interest of distinguishing their historical era from past “barbarous ages” in their approaches to changing Shakespeare’s lines. Whether radical expansions or contractions of line length, their changes to lineation signaled their ongoing efforts to demonstrate literary and linguistic sophistication in English dramatic models and vernacular traditions of poetry.

The Line's Poetic Footprint:

Lineation of Song Lyrics across Media and Performance

Like his contemporaries, Shakespeare was an adapter himself. One form Shakespeare regularly adapted for the stage was song – not surprising, of course, since early modern theatres were full of song and adaptations of song. A labile form with heterogeneous genealogies, song lyrics themselves could be easily adapted to different media and multiple performative functions. As a result, Shakespeare's lines also shared the stage and page with lyrics. Granted, song lyrics are not the same as the lines of verse drama. Lyrics have varying meters, chorus and verse lines, and unique stanzaic arrangements that are separate from spoken pentameter. Songs, however, are a notable test case for the robustness and fungibility of the line because they tend to circulate outside and beyond the cultures of playwriting and book transmission. Furthermore, lineation in song tends to change drastically when conceived in textual underlay, that is, beneath the musical notes to which they were sung as opposed to in lineated stanzaic shape. For this reason, musical setting and songs in playtexts tend to trouble poetic authority since other agents such as musicians, composers, and music publishers may change the lyrics to fit performance pressures.

Even in these different performed and textual forms, lyrics retain their poetic footprint. Song shows ways in which the Shakespearean corpus itself is constituted not of a unified approach to meter and lineation and poetic form but of an incorporation of different kinds of metrical materials and pressures. Changes to song lyrics show how editors, composers, publishers, and performers have negotiated the status of the line as both lyric and poetry within these contexts. In this section, I examine changes to lyrics in

textual variants of three songs found in Shakespeare's plays. Changes to the lyrics of "It was a lover and his lass" (*As You Like It* 5.3) indicate how musical setting may reconstitute lineation and meter drastically and consequently disorder the line's construction. On the other hand, song lyrics may retain their metrical shape through rhymes and the differentiated lines of verse and refrain, but their conceptualization as song and lyric may be shaped by the media in which they have material existence. "Come away come away, death" (*Twelfth Night* 2.4) exemplifies how the issue of line length may be negotiated even in the short lines of songs. Short lines may be particularly vulnerable to relineation since they can be perceived as metrically deficient. Finally, the Willow song (*Othello* 5.4) shows how Shakespeare's adaptations to lyrics may persist in the song's afterlife, extending poetic authority beyond the boundaries of the playtext. All three examples show that song lyrics' resemblance to poetic lines seem to drive editorial interventions to regulate metrical modulations, excessive repetition, line length, and rhyme scheme. Changes to these song lyrics demonstrate how lineation in song is a site of contestation, especially with the added pressures of musical setting, the composer's agency to reorder meter, and song's formal differences from dramatic verse. Essentially, song reconstitutes lineation, meter, and rhythm to fit musical setting, which challenges poetic and textual modes of authorial control. When song lyrics are reproduced in textual contexts separate from performance, they may become increasingly absorbed into the Shakespearean corpus as their "lines" are still taken as measures of Shakespeare's poetic authority.

“It was a lover and his lass”

In act 5, scene 3 of *As You Like It*, two pages sing a duet of “It was a lover and his lass” for Touchstone and Audrey. At the conclusion of their song, Touchstone remarks that there was “no great matter in the dittie” (TLN 2565-6), jokes about the pages’ inability to keep time, and quips that listening to the song was a waste of time. Touchstone’s jokes hint at the fact that the song does not carry much dramaturgical significance and instead suspends the dramatic action for a musical performance. The scene ends shortly after Touchstone’s remarks and thus seems to be included in the play solely for the purpose of the song’s performance. The scene records an awareness of the song’s metatheatricality as a performance within a performance (Alexander 249) and the song’s hybridity as both a musical and dramatic phenomenon. Modern editions of *As You Like It* negotiate these two characteristics of the song by integrating both the musical and poetic sources of the lyrics, sometimes favoring or even discarding one or the other.

2 PAGE I’faith, i’faith, and both in a tune like two gipsies
on a horse.

PAGES (*Sing.*)

It was a lover and his lass,
With a hey and a ho and a hey nonino,
That o’er the green cornfield did pass,
In spring-time, the only pretty ring-time,
When birds do sing, hey ding a ding a ding,
Sweet lovers love the spring.

Between the acres of the rye,
With a hey and a ho and a hey nonino,
These pretty country folks would lie,
In spring-time, the only pretty ring-time,
When birds do sing, hey ding a ding a ding,
Sweet lovers love the spring.

This carol they began that hour,
With a hey and a ho and a hey nonino,
How that a life was but a flower,

In spring-time, the only pretty ring-time,
 When birds do sing, hey ding a ding a ding,
 Sweet lovers love the spring.

And therefore take the present time,
 With a hey and a ho and a hey nonino,
 For love is crowned with the prime,
 In spring-time, the only pretty ring-time,
 When birds do sing, hey ding a ding a ding,
 Sweet lovers love the spring.

“It was a lover and his lass,” *As You Like It* (5.3.14-39). *The Arden Shakespeare*, ed. Dusiinberre (2006).

Julie Dusiinberre’s 2006 Arden edition copies the lineation of seventeenth-century playtexts but turns to the verses from the earliest musical setting to emend stanza arrangement and punctuation. Consequently, the Arden presents a hybrid version of the song lyrics, fused from its earliest musical and textual sources. By contrast, Michael Hattaway’s 2009 Cambridge edition treats the lyrics more as poetry than song.

2 PAGE Aye, faith, i’faith, and both in a tune like two gipsies on a horse.

1 AND 2 PAGE It was a lover and his lass,
 With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonny-no,
 That o’er the green cornfield did pass,
 In spring-time,
 The only pretty ring-time,
 When birds do sing;
 Hey ding-a-ding a ding,
 Sweet lovers love the spring.

Between the acres of the rye,
 With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonny-no,
 These pretty country folks would lie,
 In spring-time,
 The only pretty ring-time,
 When birds do sing;
 Hey ding-a-ding a ding,
 Sweet lovers love the spring.

This carol they began that hour,
 With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonny-no,
 How that a life was but a flower,

In spring-time,
 The only pretty ring-time,
 When birds do sing;
 Hey ding-a-ding a ding,
 Sweet lovers love the spring.

And therefore take the present time,
 With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonny-no,
 For love is crownèd with the prime
 In spring-time,
 The only pretty ring-time,
 When birds do sing;
 Hey ding-a-ding a ding,
 Sweet lovers love the spring.

“It was a lover and his lass,” *As You Like It* (5.3.11-43). *The New Cambridge Shakespeare*, ed. Hattaway (2009).

The chorus is relineated to link rhyming couplets and to regulate the uneven meter by converting the internal rhymes to end rhymes. Unlike other editors, Hattaway omits a stage direction for musical performance, which suggests an ambiguous treatment of the performative nature of the lyrics or perhaps an attempt to convert a performance text into literature. By negotiating the musical and poetic identities of the lyrics, these modern editions show how song magnifies the line’s fungibility in performance and textual cultures. By comparing lines in printed and manuscript versions of the same song, I show that while the line as a conceptual and formal unit is fungible, especially in song, its metrical shape has a recalcitrance that is visible in musical notation and textual underlay. In other words, the meter of the poetry dictates the parameters of musical setting.²⁵

The song first appears in Morley’s *First Booke of Ayres* (1600):

²⁵ However, Pinnock and Wood discuss how English composers sometimes actively work against the metrical structure (“A Mangled Chime”). See also Ros King for composers’ use of musical rhythm to release the more natural “sprung rhythm” of poetry (235-40).

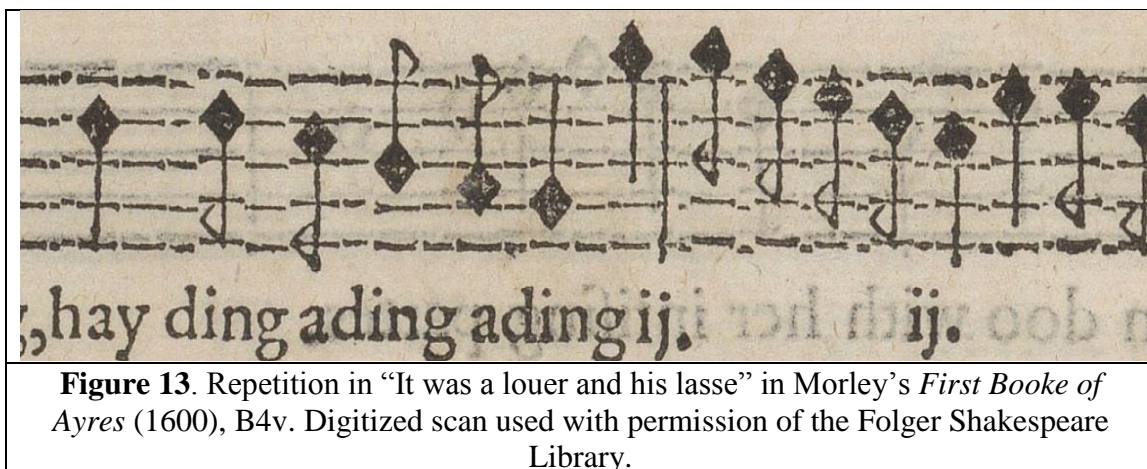
Figure 12. “It was a louer and his lasse” from Thomas Morley’s *First Booke of Ayres* (1600), B4v-C1r. Digitized scan used with permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

The table book format – lute tablature, vocal music, a bass viol part printed upside down – allows musicians to perform the song around a table. Printed book conventions such as the dropped capital (on the verso) and the fleurons²⁶ (on the recto) make plain that this folio table book is a visual object as well as a script for musical performance. The generous space on the recto, while contributing to the visual presentation, underscores that the verses are easily extracted from the musical setting and do not necessarily depend

²⁶ Fleurons in printed music were not merely decorative. As Katherine Butler explains, “Printers often used ornaments to support otherwise blank parts of the page such as the edges to ensure an even impression. Ornaments prevented the platen dipping into unsupported areas causing over-inking, smudging, and excess wear on the type on one side, and under-inking and even a failure to print on the other” (178).

on musical notation to be sung or circulated as a different genre. Notably, the lyrics without music are governed by poetic measure, not musical measure, even though they are still meant to be sung. The line breaks, along with the print ornaments and provision of space, indicate that Morley's printed setting of the song simultaneously produces a performance document for musical collaboration and a bibliographic presentation of poetry.

Contrastingly, the musical setting on the verso reveals how the line is reinterpreted and reshaped by the musical setting and its print medium. In textual underlay, the line is broken, delayed and repeated to accommodate page limits and the melody, rather than metrical limits and rhyme. Hence some lines typographically resemble prose without the print markers of poetry – capitals, punctuation, and spacing – to distinguish line endings and beginnings. This illustrates how, musically, the continuous melodic line takes precedence over and even complicates the end-stopped line. The most obvious musical complication to the poetic line is repetition:



Indicated with a repetition symbol – or “i” “j” – the repeated phrases such as “in spring time” and “hay ding ading ading” disorder the poetic lineation by inflating the accented

syllable count in the middle and end of the line. Of course, in performance, our ears register melodic variations and emphases on the repeated phrases, but on the page, our eyes register blank space. The verbal line is broken, punctuated by the repetition symbol, which, rather than indicating poetic meter, typographically imports the musical line into the lyrical line. As a result, musical settings tend to change, nuance, or even ignore the lineation we recognize or expect in lyric poetry. Lines are reconstituted in musical settings by virtue of textual underlay – both (1) the process through which the song lyrics are set to music and (2) how the lines are represented beneath the notes.

On the other hand, the end-stopped line does not completely disappear in the printed or even performed musical setting. If we look closer, we can see some typographical markers of printed poetry that indicate line boundaries:

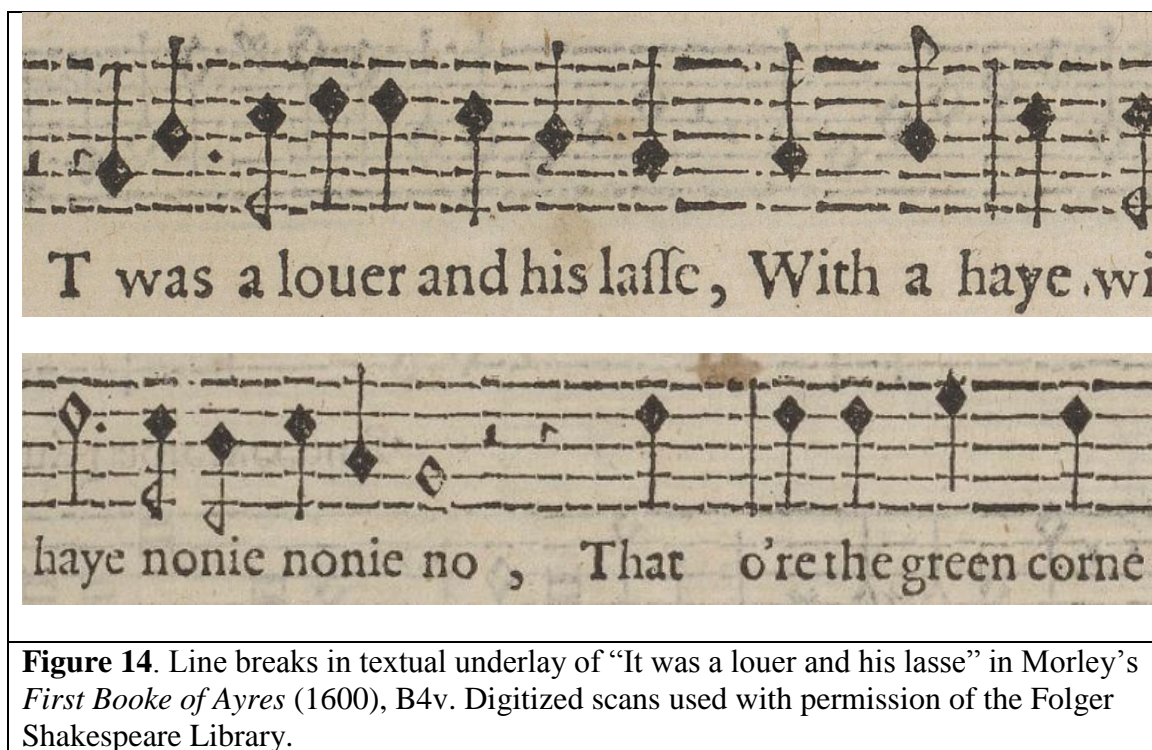


Figure 14. Line breaks in textual underlay of “It was a louer and his lasse” in Morley’s *First Booke of Ayres* (1600), B4v. Digitized scans used with permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

If we listen to a performance, we can hear end rhymes and line breaks through musical phrasing, repetition, and sustained notes. In most places, the musical rhythm complements the poetic rhythm, accounting for the syllable duration and stress heard in anapestic and iambic lines. Furthermore, the strophic setting structures the melodic phrasing according to line groupings or stanzas. When the music repeats, we cannot help but hear the beginning of a new verse, not just a musical statement. Therefore, the line is present, but, as shown earlier, the stability of that presence is lost or disordered in the collaborative process and presentation of textual underlay. Once the song is adapted to a different performance context such as drama, the lyrics are adapted for new conventions of textual culture.

“It was a lover and his lass” first appeared in a printed playbook in the 1623 folio edition of *As You Like It*:

2. *Pa.* I faith, y’ faith, and both in a tune like two gipsies on a horse.

Song.

*It was a Louer, and his lasse,
With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino,
That o're the greene corne feild did passe,
In the spring time, the onely pretty rang time.
When Birds do sing, hey ding a ding, ding.
Sweet Louers loue the spring,
And therefore take the present time.
With a hey, & a ho, and a hey nonino,
For loue is crowned with the prime.
In spring time, &c.*

*Betweene the acres of the Rie,
With a hey, and a ho, & a hey nonino:
These prettie Country folks would lie.
In spring time, &c.*

*This Carroll they began that houre,
With a hey and a ho, & a hey nonino:
How that a life was but a Flower,
In spring time, &c.*

<i>Clo.</i> Truly yong Gentlemen, though there vvas no great matter in the dittie, yet ye note was very vntunable
--

Transcription of First Folio lineation of “It was a Louer, and his lasse,” <i>As You Like It</i> (1623), TLN 2544-66.
--

The lyrics are, as we would expect, set as verse. But the lines do not maintain metrical regularity (in part due to excessive repetition). End rhymes mark most line breaks, but not all. In fact, the lines are peppered with so many internal rhymes that rhyming – as we might expect – is not a reliable auditory marker of line breaks.²⁷ The repetition, internal rhyme, and metrical modulation contribute to the sing-song quality of the lyrics and the irregular lineation, reminding us that these lines are more suited to (and probably written for) song rather than speech. These lyrics, in their shorthanded refrains and repetition, and their rearranged stanzas show that what is printed in the playtext is not the same as what we see in Morley’s textual underlay, nor is it the same as the extracted verses. The contrast in the changes between these two versions of the lyrics show that the First Folio is a “document of performance” that is still far removed from its performed realities (*Stern Documents of Performance* 252).

The folio does not present an exact transcription of musical performance, but it does distinguish the lyrics as performed music. As Menzer observes, “In the folio, the compositor (probably following manuscript copy) produces a spatial field that, first, differentiates the song from the pentameter that surrounds it, and second, breaks the line to emphasize the rhyme” (117). The lines are also italicized and labeled as “SONG,” which distinguishes them from the italicized lines of Orlando’s love poetry that Celia and

²⁷ Peter Seng notes, “There are no significant variants between the words in Shakespeare and those in the manuscripts or printed version of the song” (257). There are also no (surviving) sources dating earlier than the play.

Rosalind read aloud earlier in act 3, scene 2.²⁸ The folio edition also records how the song may have been adapted for dramatic performance – or, at least traces of those adaptations. The fourth stanza in Morley’s setting is now the second stanza in the folio edition, perhaps indicating, as Peter Seng suggests, that only these two verses were sung in the play, to keep the action moving (89). The lines, reflecting both editorial and adaptational shifts, are reformatted, labeled, rearranged, or shorthanded to prepare the song for the play and playtext.

Later, in musical culture, the song appears in a manuscript now housed in Edinburgh University, circa 1639. The manuscript version was (as scholars tend to agree) probably influenced by or even copied from Morley’s printed setting (omitting the lute and bass viol parts), but the scribe seems to be more concerned with producing a performance document than a visual object. The frugal use of space on both pages shows an attention to the material constraints of the manuscript book. In textual underlay, line breaks are less distinguishable from each other with fewer capitals and less punctuation or indentation:

<p>It was a lover and his lasse with a hey with a ho with a hey nonne no and a hey no noe no ni no, yet o’er the Greene corne field did passe in spring tyme ij ij the onlie prettie ring tyme when birds doe sing hey ding A ding a ding ij ij Sueit lovers love the spring in spring tyme ij the onlie prettie ring tyme when Birds doe sing hey ding a ding ij ij sueit lovers love the Spring.</p>
--

<p>Transcription of textual underlay of “It was a louer and his lasse” in Edinburgh Adv. 5.2.14, fol. 18 (Leyden, ca. 1639).</p>
--

More than Morley’s printed setting, this manuscript setting presents the lyrics as a script for performance. The scribe’s treatment of the additional verses (on the right page) also shows a very different sense of lineation than that of the printed versions:

²⁸ For more on the role of italics in printed texts see Stern, ““I have Both the Note”” (306-7).

2
Between the akers of the ry With a hey and a ho and a hey none no ij These prettie countrey fools did ly In Spring tyme ij ij the onlie prettie ring tyme When b[i]rds doe sing hey ding a ding a ding ij ij Sweit lovers love the Spring In Spring tyme ij & +
3
This caroll they began that [hour] wt a hey and a ho and a hey none no ij How that a life was but a flower In Spring tyme ij ij the onlie prettie &
4
Then prettie louers take the tyme wt a hey and a ho and a hey nony no ij For spring is crowned with the prime in spring tyme & +.
Transcription of stanzas 2-4 in “It was a louer, and his lasse” from Edinburgh Adv. 5.2.14 (Leyden, ca. 1639).

Unlike Morley’s printer, the scribe inserts the repetition symbols into these lines, even though he is not copying from textual underlay. He does not write out the repeated phrases – instead, he borrows the repetition symbols for their convenient contraction of space to accommodate material constraints. The symbols, while they disrupt and elongate the poetic line, indicate that the scribe writes the lyrics *as they are sung*, rather than as read or spoken. Additionally, in the second and third stanzas, the scribe relineates the four end-stopped lines of Moley’s setting and the folio edition into two lines, so that page space and textual underlay are favored over the bibliographic presentation of poetry. The manuscript verses show how the culture of setting lyrics to music disorders the line.²⁹ The disordered line is visible even in Elise Jorgen’s modern transcription of the lyrics from the Leyden manuscript:

²⁹ Scribal efforts to fitting lines into limited page space is also evident in a manuscript song setting of “A poor soule sat sighing” (ca. 1630) now housed in the British Library, Add. MS. 15117. The scribe relineates the verse and chorus lines of the second and third stanzas to fit them into the right-handed corner of the page, sacrificing lineation for accommodating material constraints.

FROM *As You Like It*

It was a lover and his lass,
 With a hey, with a ho,
 With a hey nonny no,
 And a hey nonny nonny no,
 Yet o'er the green cornfield did pass
 In spring time,
 The only pretty ring time
 When birds do sing
 Hey ding a ding a ding
 Sweet lovers love the spring.

Between the acres of the rye,
 With a hey, with a ho,
 With a hey nonny no,
 And a hey nonny nonny no,
 These pretty country fools did lie
 In spring time,
 The only pretty ring time
 When birds do sing
 Hey ding a ding a ding
 Sweet lovers love the spring.

This carol they began that hour,
 With a hey, with a ho,
 With a hey nonny no,
 And a hey nonny nonny no,
 How love is crowned with the prime.
 In spring time etc.

Elise Bickford Jorgens's transcription of "It was a lover, and his lass" from *Edinburgh Adv.* 5.2.14 (Leyden, ca. 1639), *English Song, 1600-1675*, v. 12. *The Texts of the Songs* (1989), p. 133.

Jorgens transcribes the repetition while also attempting to manage it according to meter and rhyme. Her lineation is very different from the earliest musical and play editions, though it notably resembles Hattaway's 2009 edition. In short, the transformation of the lyrics from print to manuscript to transcription illustrates how textual underlay orders, reorders, and disorders the line. Setting lyrics to music puts pressure on lineation, and, as a result, discombobulates the line through its life in musical culture.

Editorial intervention also puts pressure on lineation, not just printing lyrics in playtexts. As editorial principles evolved over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, interventions regarding song lyrics in printed plays tended towards modernization. Editions of *As You Like It* tend to regularize or systematize the punctuation, stanza ordering, spacing, indentation, and/or internal rhymes. By contrast, Edward Capell's 1767 edition relines the chorus of "It was a lover and his lass" according to the internal rhyming and repetition:

2. P. I' faith, i' faith; and both in a tune, like to gipsies on a horse.

SONG.

I. St.

*It was a lover, and his lass,
with a hey, and a ho,
and a hey nonino,
that o'er the green corn-field did pass
in the spring time,
the pretty spring time,
when birds do sing
hey ding a ding, ding;
sweet lovers love the spring.*

II. St.

*Between the acres of the rye,
with a hey, and a ho, &c.
these pretty country folks would lye
in the spring time, &c.*

III. St.

*The carol they began that hour,
with a hey, and a ho, &c.
how that life was but a flower
in the spring time, &c.*

IV. St.

*And therefore take the present time,
with a hey, and a ho, &c.
for love is crowned with the prime
in the spring time, &c.*

Edward Capell's lineation of "It was a lover, and his lass" from *As You Like It* (5.3) in *Mr. William Shakespeare, his comedies, histories, and tragedies* (1767), v. 3, p. 85-6.

Capell goes so far to add more visual differentiators of the lyrics: numbering and labeling the stanzas (abbreviated "St."), italicizing the verse lines, and capitalizing the beginning

of sentences rather than lines. His editorial choices draw attention to the sing-song qualities of the lyrics, while also accommodating the lyrics' textual existence in a printed play. Both Jorgens's transcription of the lyrics and Hattaway's 2009 edition resemble Capell's edition of the lyrics, showing how divergent forms of lineation tend to have roots in earlier sources.³⁰ Despite these differences, both Jorgens and Hattaway have relinedated the chorus, differentiating them visually through use of italics or indentation. These editorial interventions show how ideas of lineation arise from the long histories of mediations. They also demonstrate how lineation depends not just on the form and medium in which it is situated but also according to how the editor or transcriber interprets the conventions of versification. In both cases, both editors seem to manage or regulate the internal rhyming and repetition into a more distinctly poetic and visual pattern.³¹

Contrasting the editorial concern with the playtext, dramatic productions of *As You Like It* often cut out act 5, scene 3 altogether in eighteenth-century performances.³²

The scene was later revived in the nineteenth century by William Macready whose

³⁰ Capell was copying from a playtext while Jorgens was copying from the manuscript and consulted early music sources. All three versions of the lyrics are divergent from their original sources (playtext and music) but have arrived at similar results. See Jorgen's preface to *English Songs*, v. 12 (xi). Unlike Jorgen's transcription, Capell may have consulted early play editions of the lyrics (Walker 140). Whether Capell had access to an independent song source for "It was a lover and his lass" or not, his efforts to consult early music shows that Capell was still making "reasoned conclusions" about the line given the "interrelationships of editions" (140) and external sources. Another similar lineation of these lyrics is found in William Chappell's *Popular Music* (204-205).

³¹ Stern notes that when lyrics feature in genres other than their musical genres such as a book of poems or a playtext, they [become] a "specifically visual text (raising, again, the question of when a song-lyric is song and when it is a poem)" ("I Have Both the Note" 312).

³² The scene is omitted from Charles Macklin's part of *Touchstone* (1731). While Jaques is not included in act 5, scene 3, John Kemble's part of *Jaques* (1799) is heavily altered and cut. Some of the songs that Jaques listens to in act 2, scene 5 and act 4, scene 2 are cut, suggesting that the 1799 performance may have cut act 5, scene 3 too. See also Cynthia Marshall (231-3) and David Bevington (7-8).

purpose was to “restore the order of the scenes and to get rid of flagrant corruptions which the theatrical profession had foisted upon the play during the preceding century” (Shattuck “Introduction”). William Macready’s promptbook of 1841-1842 shows that while the song was restored in the play’s revivals, it was still prone to musical and textual change:

2 Page. I'faith, i'faith; and ~~both~~ in a tune, ~~like two~~
~~gypsies on a horse.~~ all

SCENE. Quintette 5-

I.

*It was a lover, and his lass,
 With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino,
 That o'er the green corn-field did pass
 In the spring time, the only pretty rank time,
 When birds do sing, hey ding a ding, ding;
 Sweet lovers love the spring.*

II.	<i>Between the acres of the rye, With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino, These pretty country folks would lie, In spring time, &c.</i>
-----	---

II.	<i>This carol they began that hour, With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino, How that a life was but a flower In spring time, &c.</i>
-----	---

III.

*And therefore take the present time,
 With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino,
 For love is crowned with the prime
 In spring time, &c.* All over.

Touch. Truly, young gentlemen, though there was no greater matter in the ditty, yet the note was very untuneable.

Figure 15. Facsimile of “It was a lover, and his lass” from Macready’s promptbook for *As You Like It* (1841-1842) in *Mr. Macready Produces As You Like It; A Prompt-Book Study*, ed. Charles Shattuck (1962). Public domain.

Macready's annotations indicate the middle stanzas were cut and the duet converted to a "quintette," a five-part song.³³ Even in restoration, the song and its musical setting are perceived as highly changeable, which has textual and performative repercussions for the line. One repercussion is that the playtext, a popular reprint of George Steevens edition (Shattuck "Introduction") and meant for a reader, is turned into a performance document. Thus, the lines in Macready's promptbook emerge from layers of modification and mediation by previous hands or agents. This effect is visible in how Steevens's editorial interventions are overlaid with Macready's handwritten performance adaptations. Unlike the First Folio, Macready's promptbook is closer to the performed realities of a production. The lyrics are therefore adapted into a new version (and yet not completely new, since the First Folio indicates the possibility that the earliest performance of the play also omitted the middle stanzas), but not obliterated. The crossed-out stanzas indicate a performance adaptation made to the editor's intervention, a visual record of how the line continues to evolve through histories of adaptation and editing. Also, Macready had written a stage direction which extends the song performance to the limits of the scene: "[Exeunt. → [ages and Foresters follow, repeating the burthen, ' -When birds do sing' &c" (96). Another repercussion is that the "line introducing the song had to be tinkered to alter the song from a duet to a quintette" (Shattuck n.p.); although this line is set in prose, the change suggests that as song lyrics are adapted, so might the surrounding verse lines be adapted too. These later variants demonstrate that as the song

³³ Macready indicates that the two pages enter "with lutes" and three foresters -- "Sims Reeves, Stretton, Clifford" (95). The addition of foresters might contribute to the song's pastoral quality, but it might also be a way for the specific actors listed to show their talents.

becomes further removed from musical culture, its lines evolve under the dictates of editorial intervention, adaptation, and perceptions of poetry.

In conclusion, extant variants of “It was a lover and his lass” show that the line’s tendency to transform across performance contexts is also a function of its adaptability to the material protocols of those media. In musical setting, the line’s poetic footprint is perceivable, even distinct, but also fungible to the new formal frames of musical setting and textual underlay. In playtexts, the lyrics seem to be treated according to the conventions of poetry, but still presents lines that are, in one way or another, affected by its musical sources. The line is a site of collaboration and negotiation of performance and literary cultures whose reinterpretations are mediated by the material protocols of print and manuscript. These mediations often appear as “markers” on the page which either define or adapt the line to fit performative and textual forms.

“Come away come away, death”

In *Twelfth Night*, act 2, scene 4, Feste sings the song “Come away come away, death” for the Duke.³⁴ The First Folio lineation of the song indents the last two lines of the stanzas to set them apart from the four lines above.³⁵ These lines have internal and end rhymes in similar metrical positions, and they are each two feet longer than the quatrain lines:

³⁴ Commentators note however that the song was probably first sung by Viola/Cesario, then changed when the actor’s voice broke. This discrepancy between playtext and song is common, as Stern explains: “Songs are particularly vulnerable to loss even when crucial to their act or scene; if preserved, however, they are likely to contain extratextual material and performance instructions. They are, in short, susceptible to changes different from those that affect the survival and nature of the rest of the playtext” (“I have Both the Note and Dittie about me” 309). Seng observes that the folio version was prepared for readers rather than actors (see 109-110).

³⁵ The Second (1632), Third (1664) and Fourth (1685) Folios have the same lineation.

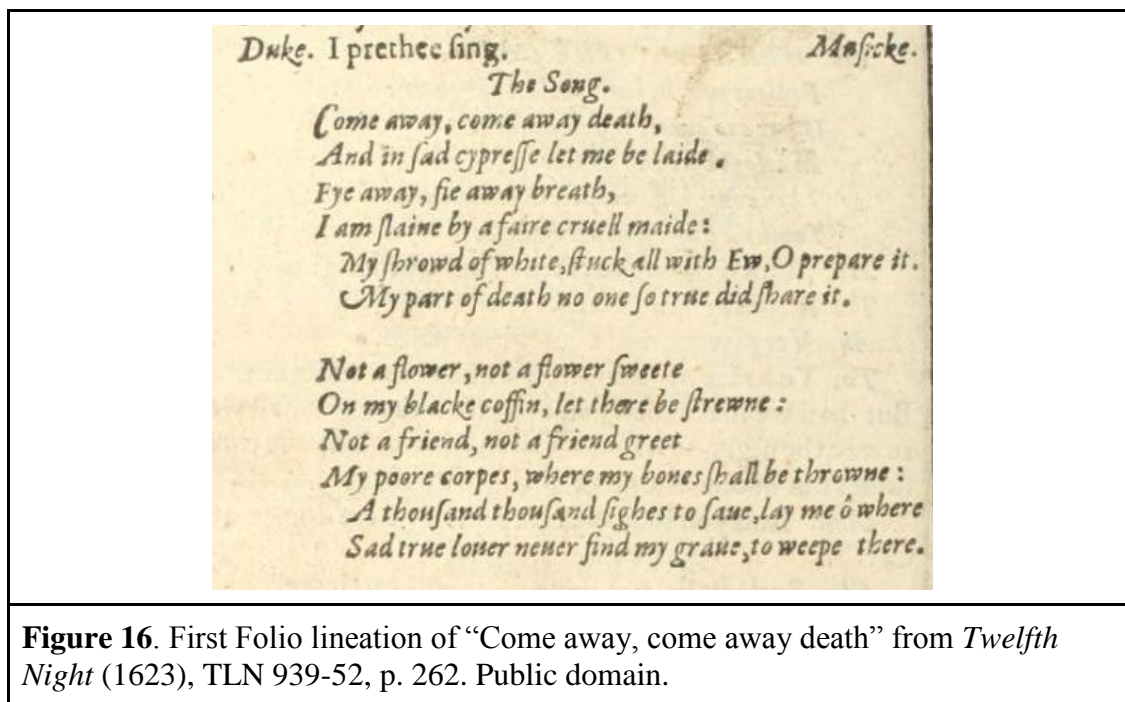


Figure 16. First Folio lineation of “Come away, come away death” from *Twelfth Night* (1623), TLN 939-52, p. 262. Public domain.

The indentation of these last two lines makes the lines appear as couplets, highlighting the quatrain construction of the first four lines in each stanza. But, most of the internal rhymes (“Ew” / “true” and “save” / “grave”) are earmarked by punctuation, suggesting that another version of lineation is possible where the line might be broken after the internal rhymes. William Elderton’s broadside ballad, “The panges of Loue and louers fitte” (1559) shares a similar versification with “Come away come away, death,” but demonstrates this alternate lineation in the last four lines:

WAs not good Kyng Salamon
 Ravished in sondry wyse
 with every livelie Paragon
 That glistered before his eyes
 If this be true as trewe it was
 Lady lady.
 why should not I serve you alas
 My deare lady.

When Paris was enamoured
 with Helena dame bewties peare
 whom Venus first him promised
 To venter on and not to feare

what sturdy stormes endured he Lady lady To winne her loveer it would be My deare ladye.
Transcription of first two stanzas of Elderton's ballad, "The panges of love" (1559).

The sixth and eighth lines are distinctly short in the ballad, an unusual versification that fits with the King Solomon tune (Duffin 98).³⁶ This ballad lineation suggests that, in "Come away come away, death," the short lines "O prepare it" / "Did share it" and "lay me o where" / "to weepe there" had been joined to the ends of the longer lines. This choice in lineation may be due to the printer's choice to conserve space, but the indentation of the "couplet" lines, which are not apparent in the fifth and seventh lines of the ballad, suggests that the compositor may have simply been reproducing the lineation from a transcription of the song lyrics. The latter seems the more likely if most publishers were concerned with representing the meter according to period conventions. In any event, the change in lineation in the first two folios show how short lines are particularly vulnerable to relineation since they have a greater chance of being interpreted as metrically deficient lines, despite their strong end rhymes. Therefore, the First Folio lineation in "Come away" is a reverse case from lineation in "It was a lover," where end rhymes are made internal rhymes to achieve consistent line length and rhyming couplets.

Relineation of the short lines appears in editorial interventions. Rowe's 1709 edition does not change the folio lineation, except for changing the indentation patterns in

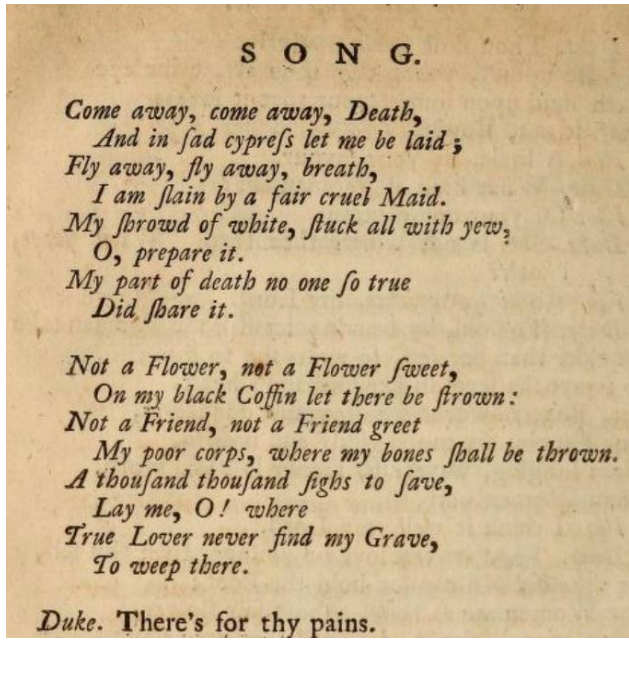
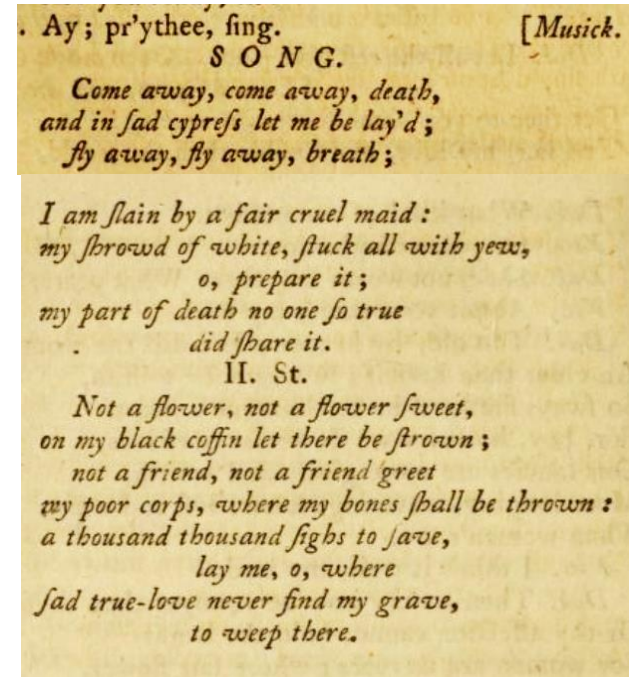
³⁶ Before the song is performed in the scene, Orsino alludes to this ballad when he asks Viola/Cesario if s/he had ever been "in the sweet pangs of [love]" (TLN 905).

the stanzas. In contrast, Pope's 1725 edition relines the lyrics, indents the alternative rhyming lines and even regularizes the meter:

<p>Figure 17. Rowe's lineation of "Come away, come away, Death" from <i>The Works of Mr. William Shakespeare</i> (1709), v. 2, p. 845. Public domain.</p>	<p>Figure 18. Pope's lineation of "Come away, come away, death" from <i>The Works of Shakespear</i> (1725), v.2, p. 496. Public domain.</p>

Pope breaks the couplet lines after the internal rhymes to create four short lines. He also omits the "O" in in the sixth lines of the stanzas, perhaps to control the foot count so that each half-line totals three syllables, rather than alternating three and four syllable lines. He also changes "Sad true Lover" to "True lover" to match line lengths of corresponding rhyming pairs. These changes regulate the versification pattern to make the corresponding lengths and rhymes of the lines more apparent. Pope's choices were probably informed by poetic conventions of end rhyme and line length scheme – not necessarily the 1559 ballad versification. In general, early eighteenth-century editors based their editions on recent rather than the earliest versions of the plays, suggesting that

Pope likely consulted the lyrics in Rowe's edition, not a musical source.³⁷ Despite the fact that these editors may have not consulted earlier music sources, the lyric preserves traces of its half-line versification structure through rhyme and metrical modulation, making it possible that editors, interested in bibliographic presentation and regularization of verse, would relineate it. Theobald's (1733) and Capell (1768)'s editions are variations on Pope's emendations:

	
<p>Figure 19. Theobald's lineation of "Come away, come away, Death" from <i>The Works of Shakespeare</i> (1733), v. 2, p. 448. Public domain.</p>	<p>Figure 20. Capell's lineation of "Come away, come away, death" from <i>Mr William Shakespeare: his comedies, histories, and tragedies</i> (1768), v. 4, p. 33-4. Public domain.</p>

Theobald copies Pope's treatment of the song's penultimate line ("Sad true lover never find my grave" in the First Folio) to match its length with "A thousand thousand sighs to save." While Pope and Theobald omit the word "sad," Capell changes "lover" to "love"

³⁷ As Walker explains, "Rowe's edition was based on the Fourth Folio, Pope's on Rowe's, and later editors had similarly corrected a predecessor's work either conjecturally or (sporadically) in the light of any quarto they chanced to possess" (135). See also Bertram 12 for a discussion of Rowe's copy text.

to coordinate its metrical construction with the corresponding line and its phrasing with that of the earlier folios. However, neither Theobald nor Capell omits the “O” in the short lines, like Pope. Theobald’s edition, like Pope’s edition, indents the couplet lines to align with their corresponding rhyming pair. Capell, on the other hand, indents the short lines so that they might be visually associated with the line endings.³⁸ He also only capitalizes words at the beginning of sentences, not lines. This break with conventional capitalizing line beginnings emphasizes the stanza rather than the line as a textual unit. While Pope is most concerned with regularizing the versification, Theobald and Capell also fine-tune line length based on the metrical position of the rhyme. Rather than demarcating line length by the line’s meter, the editors instead define line length by end rhymes. Similarly, their varying applications of indentation seem motivated by visual or spatial “binding” of rhymes, another illustration of how ideas of lineation arise out of the mediations of the printed playtext over time.³⁹ These editorial changes to the lyrics suggest that even in song, line length is determined by the editor’s discretion of meter with a common proclivity towards end rhyme. These changes extend the editor’s role to exercise poetic authority over song lyrics, not just spoken pentameter lines in Shakespeare’s plays. Their changes to song lyrics resemble their tendencies to tidy up the spoken line’s

³⁸ In his *Notes* (pt. 3, v. 2), Capell calls “Come away” Shakespeare’s “most singular song” and includes a scansion of the lyrics (206-207). He attributes the slow-moving syllables and varying feet to the song’s elegiac form. Generally, he explains, “In *Song*, the Poet [Shakespeare] ranges as others do; and lines of one foot, one & half, and so on, enter their composition in different parts of him: nay, his dialogue wears the dress of them sometimes” (206).

³⁹ Similarly, Puttenham’s graphic diagrams treat rhymes as “bands” or “binders” of lines through visual alignment, not just aural signaling (see Figure A in Appendix). The diagrams suggest that ideas of lineation arose out of print mediations much earlier than the eighteenth century. Undoubtedly, the proliferation of eighteenth-century editions produced increasingly print-based conceptions of the line, more so than early modern editions.

versification, so that editions gradually come to treat the song lyrics more like “poetry” or “verse” than “song.”⁴⁰

The Willow song

Desdemona’s Willow song in act 4, scene 3 in *Othello* presents a unique test case for printed mediation and editorial interventions that attempt to distinguish song lyrics from spoken pentameter lines. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century engravings demonstrate how song lyrics might be absorbed into the Shakespearean corpus, even considered “Shakespeare” and “Shakespeare’s lines.” Both phenomena stem from the song’s unique status as song and improvisation in the play. The 1622 quarto of *Othello* omits the song lyrics. Although Desdemona tells Emilia about Barbary’s song and says she keeps thinking of the song, she does not sing the song (TLN 2996-3004). The First Folio presents the song not as a performance event, but an improvisation of the ballad version:

<p>A Poore soule sat sighing under a Sicamore tree, <i>O willow, willow, willow,</i> With his hand on his bosome, his head on his knee, <i>O willow, willow, willow,</i> <i>O willow, willow, willow,</i> <i>Sing O the greene willow shall be my garland.</i></p> <p>He sighd in his singing, and after each grone. <i>Come Willow, etc.</i> I am dead to all pleasure, my true love is gone, <i>O Willow, etc.</i> <i>Sing O the greene Willow, etc.</i> ...</p> <p>The cold streames ran by him, his eyes wept apace, <i>O Willow, etc.</i> The salt teares fell from him, which drowned his face <i>O Willow, etc.</i></p>	<p>Aemil. I know a Lady in Venice would haue wal’d barefoot to Palestine for a touch of his nether lip. Des. <i>The poore Soule sat singing, by a Sicamour tree.</i> <i>Sing all a greene Willough:</i> <i>Her hand on her bosome her head on her knee,</i> <i>Sing Willough, Willough, Willough.</i> <i>The fresh Streames ran by her, and murmur’d her</i> <i>moanes</i> <i>Sing Willough, &c.</i> <i>Her salt teares fell from her, and softned the</i> <i>stones,</i> <i>Sing Willough, &c. (Lay by these)</i> <i>Willough, Willough. (Prythee high thee: he’le come</i> <i>anon)</i> <i>Sing all a greene Willough must be my Garland.</i> <i>Let no body blame him, his scorne I approue.</i></p>
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⁴⁰ This tendency was not unique to eighteenth-century editors as modern editors also impose the same strictures on song lyrics. See Ros King (251-2).

<p><i>Sing O the greene Willow, etc.</i></p> <p>The mute birds sat by him, made tame by his mone <i>O Willow, willow, willow, etc.</i> The Salt tears fell from him, which softened the storm <i>O Willow, willow, willow, willow, etc.</i> <i>Sing O the greene willow shall be my Garland.</i></p>	<p>(Nay that's not next. Harke, who is't that knocks? <i>Aemil.</i> It's the wind. <i>Des.</i> <i>I call'd my Loue false Loue: but what said he then?</i> <i>Sing Willough, &c.</i> <i>If I court mo women, you'le couch with mo men.</i> So get thee gone, good night: mine eyes do itch: Doth that boade weeping?</p>
<p>Transcription of stanzas 1, 2, and 3 of “A Louer’s complaint being forsaken of his Loue. To a pleasant new tune” (1615?) printed broadside in two parts. Pepys 1.358-9.⁴¹</p>	<p>Transcription of First Folio (1623), TLN 3010-26</p>

The Folio lineation generally matches the ballad’s lineation, sometimes reshuffling or omitting parts of lines and adding or subtracting a beat. These changes seem to accommodate the dramaturgical context of the song – Desdemona’s attempt to remember.⁴² To that purpose, the lyrics are not set apart by a stage direction (“SONG”) or spatial field, nor are they grouped in stanzas. Despite these changes, the Folio keeps the refrain lines (all of which distinctly repeat or echo “willow”) separately lineated from the verse lines. Contrasting the lyric presentation in “It was a lover” and “Come away,” the lyrics of the Willow song are formatted identically to the spoken pentameter lines. Some of the spoken lines scan as iambic pentameter, but their lineation does not constitute a metrical whole since they are interlaced among the song lyrics – that is, the short lines cannot be linked metrically to the lyrics because of the formal boundary between the sung lyric and spoken line. In this case, the song lyrics take precedence over blank verse. One type of line displaces the other in format (that is, neither keeps conventional formatting

⁴¹ In the transcription, the broadside ballad’s blackletter is rendered in roman, while the ballad’s roman typeface is rendered in italic.

⁴²As Frederick Sternfield notes, “Her version is less song than unwitting self-expression” (“Popular Song” 159). For more discussion of how Shakespeare changes the song from the original ballad, see Seng 192-3.

standards as song stanzas and dramatic verse lines), signaling the ongoing negotiation of poetic authority on the page and the struggle to differentiate two similar but formally different lines.

By contrast, the 1630 Quarto edition attempts to differentiate the spoken from the sung lines more clearly:

<p>Desdemona <i>sings</i>. <i>The poore soule sate sighing by a sicamour tree,</i> <i>Sing all a green Willow;</i> <i>Her hand on her bosome, her head on her knee,</i> <i>Sing willow, willow, willow;</i> <i>The fresh streames ran by her, and mumur'd her moanes,</i> <i>Sing willow, willow, willow;</i> <i>Her salt teares fell from her, which softned the stones,</i> <i>Sing Willow &c. (Lay by these.)</i> <i>Willow, Willow.</i> (Prethee hiethee, he'le come anon.) <i>Sing all a green willow must be my garland.</i></p> <p><i>Let nobody blame him, his scorne I approue:</i> (Nay, that's not next: harke, who's that knocks?) <i>Em. T'is the winde.</i> <i>Des. I call'd my loue false, but what sayd he then?</i> <i>Sing willow, willow, willow,</i> <i>If I court mo women, youle couch with mo men.</i> So, get thee gon, good night, mine eyes doe itch, Does that boade weeping?</p>
<p>Second Quarto (1630) transcription of the Willow song from <i>The tragedy of Othello</i></p>

The lyrics are indented and labeled with a stage direction (“Desdemona *sings*.”), and grouped roughly in stanzas resembling a performance event in the play, even when the song lyrics alternate with speech. In contrast to the Folio, the quarto demarcates the full spoken pentameter lines (“Prethee...” and “Nay...”) by aligning them with the left

margin. Though they are still interlaced in the same spatial field, both line and lyric are presented as separate forms by the typographic and spatial differentiators.

Eighteenth-century editions witness varying attempts to differentiate between the spoken and sung lines. Charles Jennens's 1773 edition of *Othello* uses an evidently multi-purpose application of indentation, which seems to blur the visual differentiators between sung and spoken lines:

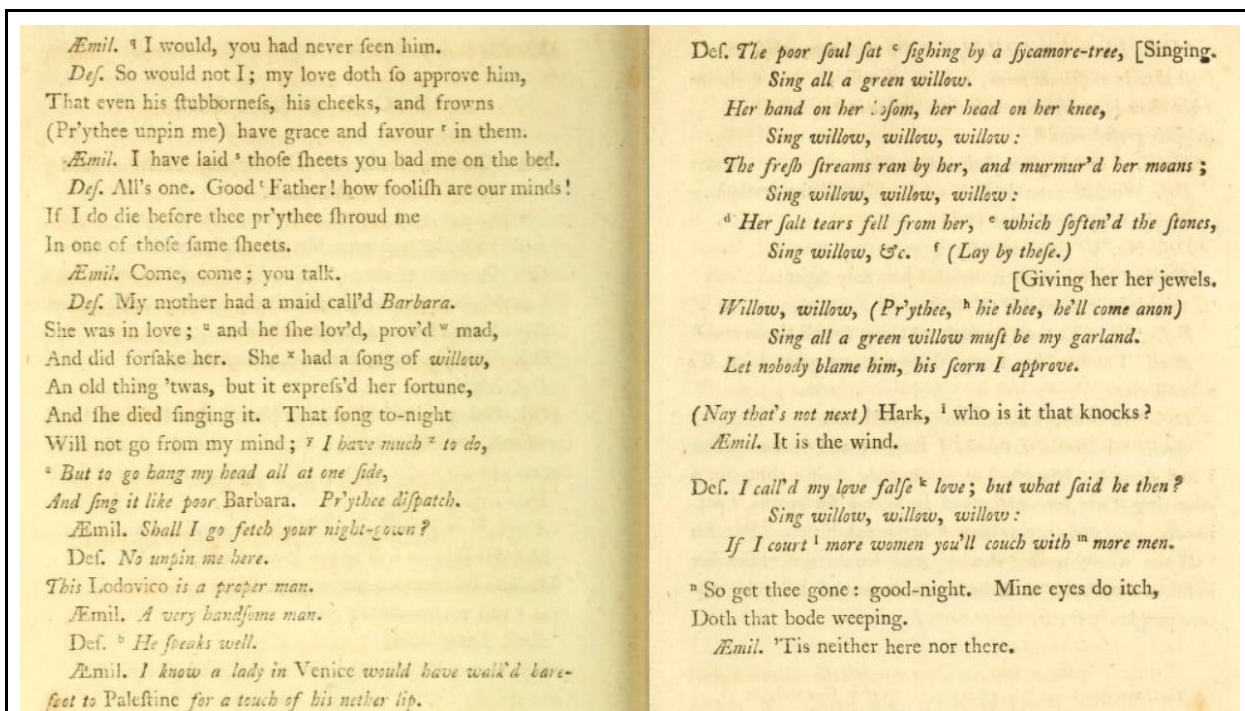


Figure 21. Charles Jennens's lineation of the Willow song and surrounding dialogue in *Othello* (1773), 150-1. Public domain.

The dialogue before Desdemona's singing is italicized, perhaps to emphasize important lines. These italicized lines do not seem to refer to the footnotes Jennens includes at the bottom of the page (not pictured in Figure 21). The song is also italicized, including what Jennens seems to indicate as asides such as "(Pr'ythee, hie thee, he'll come anon)" and "(Nay that's not next)". This typographical nuancing allows for embedding additional

stage directions and footnotes in the lines, marking the lines not so much for their metrical properties, but for their status as action and their presence in a critical edition. This nuancing seems to obscure the differences of form between line and lyric, while also marking those forms with other dramatic and editorial elements. Other eighteenth-century editions show an attempt to show clearer demarcations between sung and spoken lines. Pope's 1747 edition even omits one of Desdemona's spoken lines, "Lay by these," perhaps because it is metrically deficient or to lessen the disruptions or switching between the sung and spoken lines. Contrastingly, Capell's edition includes all spoken lines from the First Folio and added stage directions – that is, paratextual symbols embedded within the lines which attempt to visualize Desdemona's action on the stage. While these directions and symbols are not necessarily departures from lineation, they do seem an attempt to cater to the differing forms representing on the page – speech, action, and song, rather than the metrics of the lyrics and lines. Nevertheless, these markings mediate conceptions of the line and its differences and similarities with song lyrics.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century engravings of the Willow song evidence the influence of contemporary play editions and the song's absorption into the Shakespearean corpus. Charles Taylor's engraving (1792) features Desdemona as the focal point of the engraving and the lines:

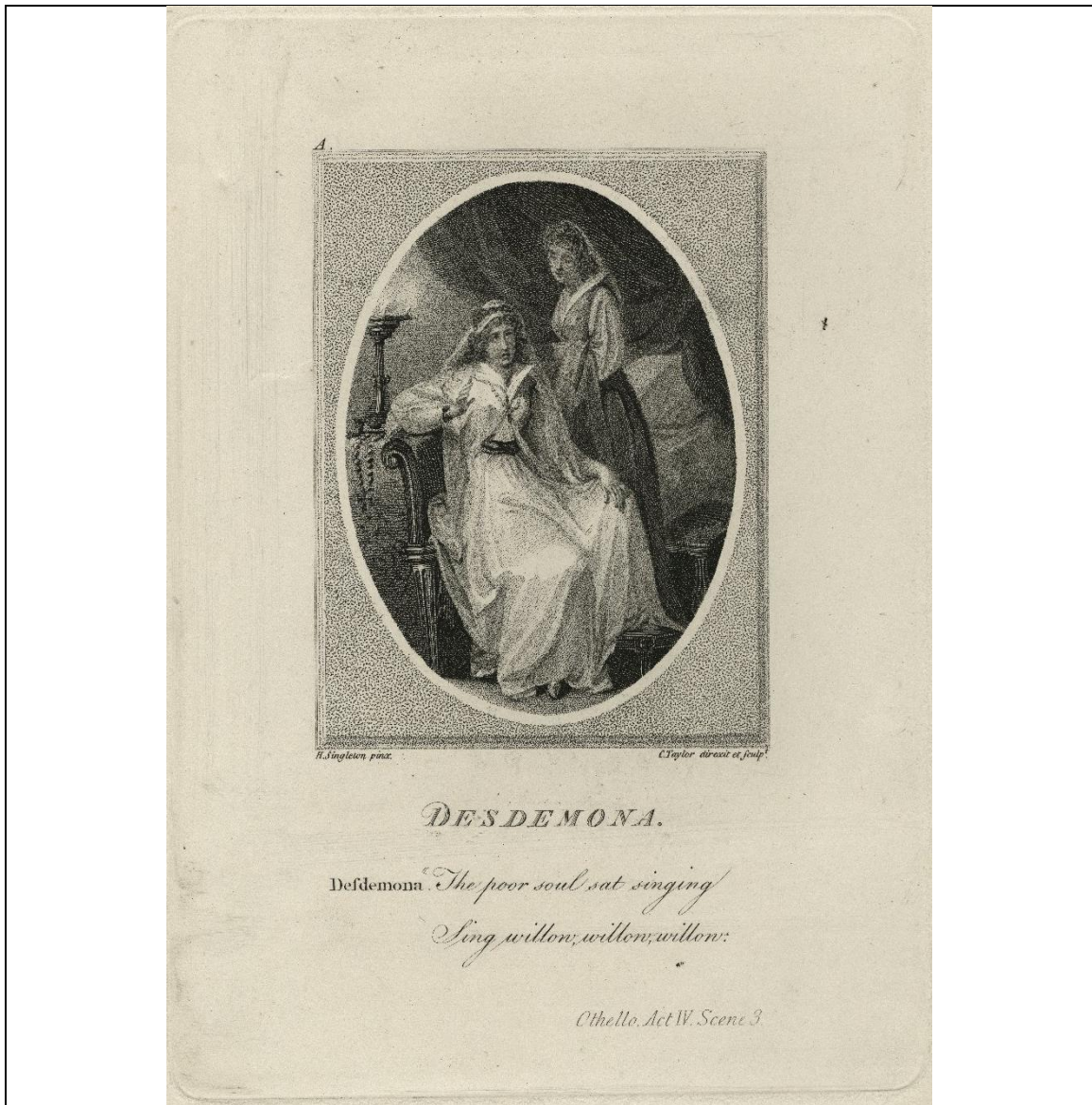


Figure 22. “Desdemona... a poor soul sat sighing,” engraving by Charles Taylor (London, 1792). Digitized image used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Desdemona’s centrality to the engraving is evident in the title and explicit speaker attribution of the lines. The engraving borrows the playtext conventions of dialogue where the lines are introduced first by the name of the speaker, indicating that these lyrics are borrowed from a dramatic, not a musical source. The lineation of the verse lyric (“The poor soul...”) is severely cut, possibly for the sake of artistic composition and

formatting preferences, but not necessarily in the interest of metrical regularity. Thus Taylor adapts Shakespeare's adaptation of the song lyrics, keeping "The poor" rather than "A poor" and "singing" rather than "sighing. These half lines show how song lyrics may be transmitted as "Shakespearean" by virtue of Shakespeare's changes to the ballads and popularization of the song through the play.

Richard Redgrave's nineteenth-century engraving of the Willow song also demonstrates Shakespeare's abiding poetic authority in the Shakespearean afterlives of songs. The engravings and title spotlight Barbary (renamed Barbara in the engraving), rather than Desdemona, and the lyrics seem to be rendered from a contemporary edition:

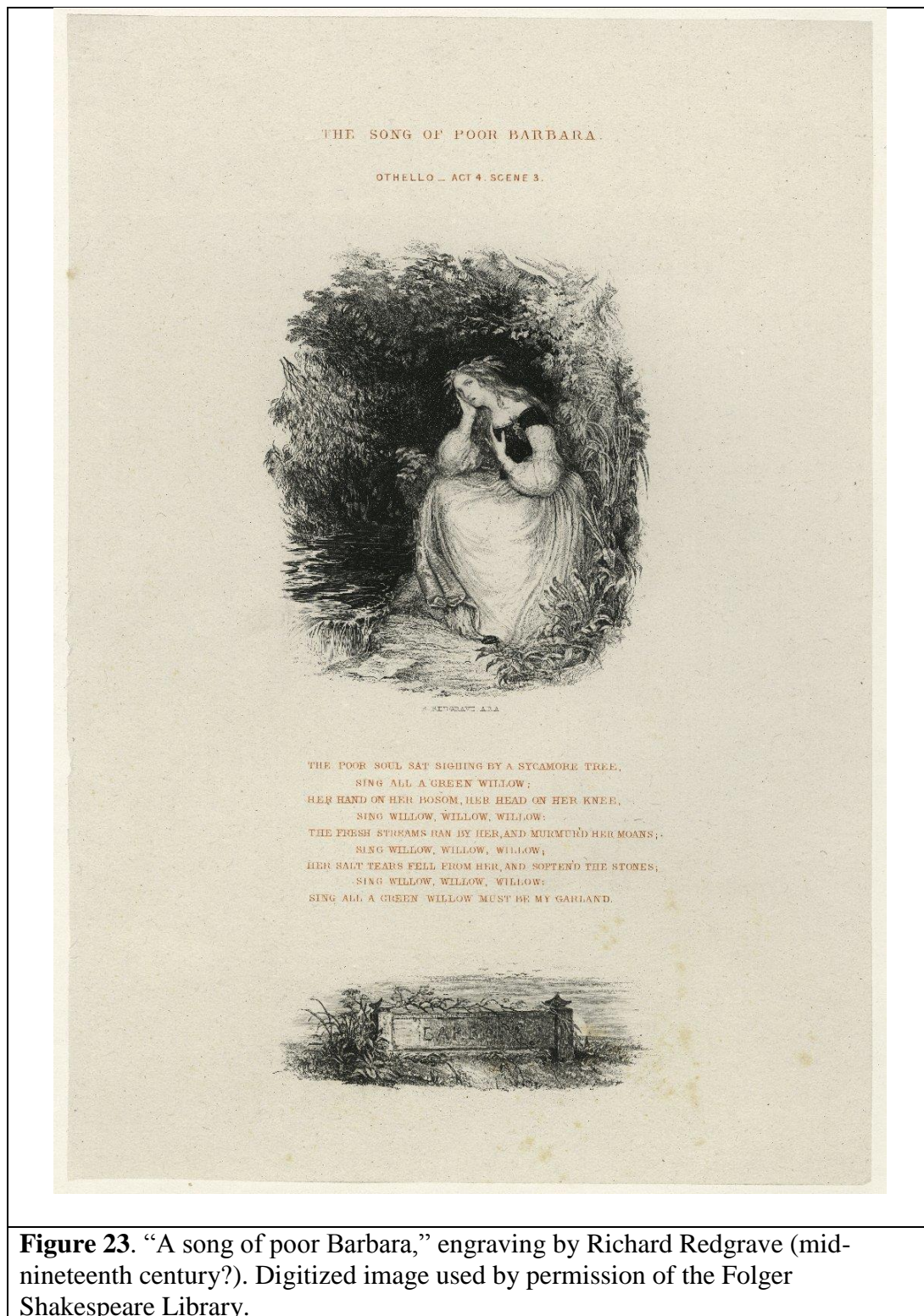


Figure 23. “A song of poor Barbara,” engraving by Richard Redgrave (mid-nineteenth century?). Digitized image used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

<p>The poor soul sat sighing by a sycamore tree, Sing all a green willow; Her hand on her bosom, her head on her knee, Sing willow, willow, willow: The fresh streams ran by her, and murmur'd her moans; Sing willow, willow, willow; Her salt tears fell from her, and soften'd the stones; Sing willow, willow, willow: Sing all a green willow must be my garland.</p>	<p>Des. <i>The poor soul sat sighing³ by a sycamore tree,</i> [Singing.] <i>Sing all a green willow ;</i> <i>Her hand on her bosom, her head on her knee,</i> <i>Sing willow, willow, willow :</i> <i>The fresh streams ran by her, and murmur'd her</i> <i>moans ;</i> <i>Sing willow, willow, willow :</i> <i>Her salt tears fell from her, and soften'd the stones ;</i> Lay by these.— <i>Sing willow, willow, willow.</i> Pr'ythee, hie thee ; he'll come anon.— <i>Sing all a green willow must be my garland.</i> <i>Let nobody blame him, his scorn I approve,—</i> Nay, that's not next.—Hark ! who is it that knocks ? <i>Emil.</i> It is the wind. Des. <i>I call'd my love, false love ; but what said he</i> <i>then ?</i> <i>Sing willow, willow, willow :</i> <i>If I court mo women, you'll couch with mo men.</i></p>
<p>Transcription of the song lyrics in “A song of poor Barbara,” engraving by Richard Redgrave (mid-nineteenth century)</p>	<p>Figure 24. J. Payne Collier’s rendering of the Willow song in <i>The Works of Mr. Shakespeare</i> (1843), v. 8, p. 607. Public domain.</p>

Despite the omission of Desdemona in the engraving, the lyrics seem to be based upon a contemporary edition of *Othello* such as J. Payne Collier’s 1843 version: “sighing” is used rather than “singing” (a common editorial emendation to this line) and Shakespeare’s re-rendering of the pronouns to “her” remain. The changes Collier made to Shakespeare’s text – the shorter refrain lines (“Sing willow”), pruned abbreviations (“Sing willow &tc”), extra refrain line (“*Willow, willow. Prethee he’ll come...*”), Barbary’s name change (Barbara), diction changes (“which” changed to “and”), and tidy punctuation – match those in Redgrave’s version of the lyrics. Still, the lineation remains consistent across the Shakespearean text, Collier’s edition, and Redgrave’s engraving, demonstrating that despite changes made by multiple agents and the lyrics’ isolation from their dramatic source, the lineation and meter of the lyrics stay robust. Like Taylor, Redgrave acknowledges his dramatic source for the song, but he omits the irrelevant

pentameter lines. These engravings evidence how editorial interventions continue to influence the lineation of Shakespeare's lines, even when they are divorced from the editorial apparatus. They also indicate how different collaborators or agents (composer, ballad printer, playwright, engraver) have varying modes of negotiating authorial control, the most assertive of which is the editor's. Finally, the engravers' choices of representing the lyrics – whether as lines of a playtext or stanzas of a song – are impacted by the song's previously mediated existence in a play. The Willow song, no longer known by its ballad source titles of "A poor soul sat sighing" or "A lover's complaint," has been absorbed, almost inextricably it seems, into the Shakespearean corpus, its lyrics perceived as "Shakespeare's lines." The afterlives of lyrics in Shakespeare plays are still affected by the poetic authority and mythos of Shakespeare.

In conclusion, factors that influence changes to lyrics are textual underlay and poetic elements of lyrics such as rhyme. In textual underlay, lyrics are often disordered or reconstituted, affecting the lyrics even when extracted from the music. In lyrics printed without music, changes to lyrics are often based on rhymes, refrain lines, and repetition. Even in more robust cases of lineation such as "It was a lover" and the Willow song, changes to lyrics may have more to do with managing the repetition and rhymes than with metrical irregularities. By contrast, songs with no refrains but alternating line lengths were sometimes relined to join long and short lines, achieving consistent line length, or they were sometimes kept as separate lines because of corresponding end rhymes. Because rhymes signal rhyme endings, song lyrics with irregular meter and lineation tend to remain more persistent over time in printed play editions than blank verse lines. Rhyme therefore becomes a marker or signal for line length, making internal

rhymes especially a point of contention in the line since they might be lineated as internal or end rhymes. Rhyming and repetition often serve as points of demarcation for editors controlling or determining the lineation; through these poetic elements, the line might agent its own change.

Examples of “Come away” and the Willow song suggest that meter is more susceptible to change than lineation, especially since end rhymes and differences between refrain and verse lines tend to prevent lines being relinedated. The Willow song shows that formal boundaries between spoken and sung lines may be blurred in the uneasy assimilation of song lyrics into dialogue. The crux of this confusion is that both the song lyric and the spoken pentameter line may be perceived as “poetry” and changed according to putative conceptions of poetic authority. Similarly, editorial interventions to song lyrics with alternating meter may regulate the meter, resembling impositions to the spoken line to achieve a “tidy” blank verse.

The driving factors behind changes to song lyrics are editorial intervention, mediation, and media transmission. Changes to song lyrics in most examples seem to have been strongly influenced by editorial interventions. Even song lyrics that circulate separately from a play edition such those featured in engravings are likely drawn from editorial playtext sources. Second, song lyrics that appear in different media may experience different metrical and material pressures according to the circumstances of their production and circulation. The medium that shapes the lyrics most profoundly is print. Even song lyrics closer to musical and dramatic performance such as those in Morley’s musical setting, the Leyden Manuscript setting, and Macready’s promptbook

are influenced by print. This illustrates how conceptions of the line and Shakespeare's poetic authority have, over time, become increasingly bound with print culture.

“Lines restor’d and mark’d”:

Line Adaptations in Eighteenth-Century Actors’ Parts

Actors’ parts were the building block of theatrical preparation. Handwritten on a roll of paper or in a book, the part contained only the words and actions directly related to the character’s role. The actor’s speeches were separated with graphic lines ending with a cue, the last few words of the preceding speech. The cue and its graphic line or “cue-tail” were important conductors of an actor’s performance as they indicated when an actor should speak and when he or she should remain silent. At the individual level, the part both represented and materialized the goal of an actor’s job – to memorize or “con” his part well. At the group level, the part structured the communication processes of play preparation such as older actors’ instruction to their successors, company readings of the play, actors’ adaptations to parts, and group rehearsals. In relation to the playtext, the actor’s part was both a part and a textual and performative whole. Actors understood the part, not the playtext, as the “unit of performance” and therefore the part was, in its own right, the text of the play since it was “actually the first text designed by Shakespeare to be examined, thought about, learned, and ‘interpreted’” (Palfrey and Stern 2). The practice of actors’ parts began as early as medieval theatre and lasted even into the twentieth century, attesting to the enduring functionality of the part in play preparation and its influence on cultural expectations and conventions of performance.

Scholarship on actors’ parts tends to focus on the early modern theatre and book history. While scholars have explored implications of the cue in metrically linked lines, lineation in eighteenth-century actors’ parts has remained neglected. This section therefore examines actors’ parts as records of how lines were adapted to fit performance

needs, and how parts illustrate the line's robustness even in widely circulated performance documents that were subject to material and performance constraints. Closer to the rehearsal process and performed realities of the stage, lines in actors' parts were a key fulcrum by which text and performance met. Therefore, adaptations to lines signal how Shakespeare's poetic authority was often balanced with that of the eighteenth-century actor and theatre traditions and performance priorities. Prose, verse, and cues are consistently distinguishable in actors' parts, suggesting that the visual structures, not just the aural signals of lineation were important to actors learning and performing their roles. Part-based adaptations indicate how the actors' agency to "reauthor" Shakespeare's text and perform those "reauthorings" was centralized in the actor's part. But, even if they were performing their own invented lines or a Cibber or Garrick adaptation, they were still branding it with Shakespeare's poetic authority by writing lines in blank verse and under Shakespeare's name. Line-based adaptations in parts show that while scribes and actors did not always correct or attend to meter and line length, they did seem to attend to lineation. Shakespeare's experimentation with phrase and line may have made lines more vulnerable to change since midline metrical positioning of phrases tend to trouble line endings. Thus, phrase-based adaptations may coincide with Shakespeare's poetic authority rather than deviate from it.

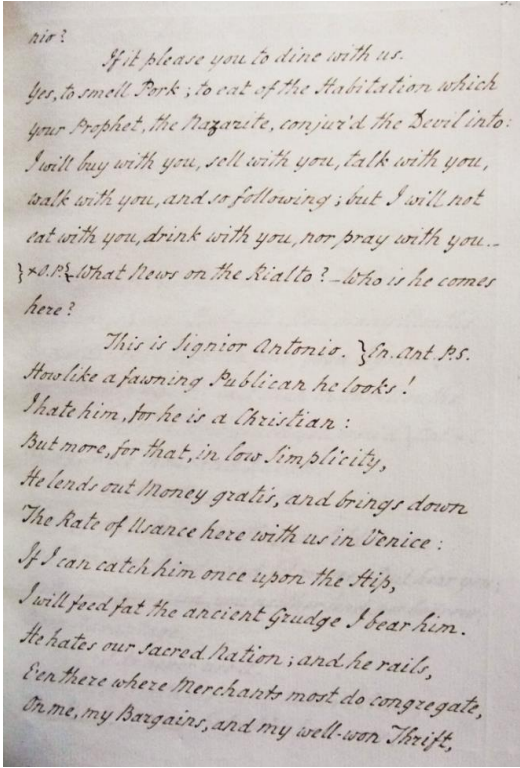
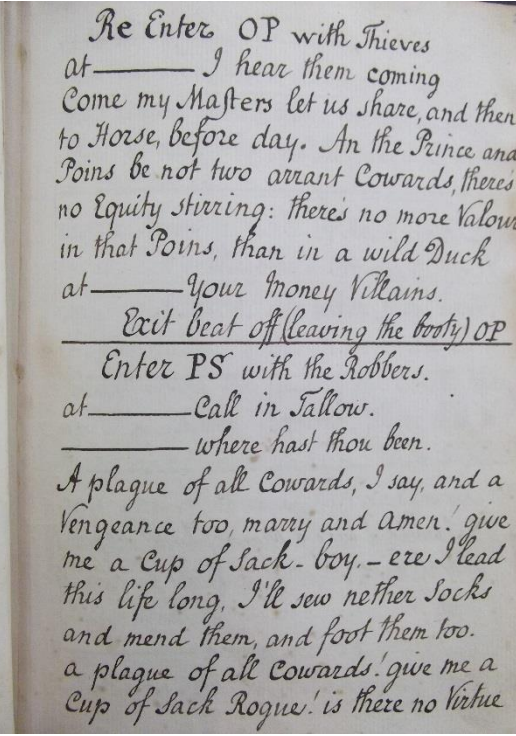
Notable changes to the practices of writing and learning actor's parts occurred during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. First, the practice of copying the part on a roll or scroll of paper was replaced entirely with writing the part in a book (Palfrey and Stern 31-2). Parts were more personalized, and, in a very real sense, inherited and owned

by actors who performed them.⁴³ Second, actors' parts were referred to as "lengths" rather than parts. "Length" refers both to "a sheet of writing and to a number of lines" (32) whose size defined the actor's image and actor's efficiency in memorization. In William Ward's part of Shylock (1772), for instance, the scribe or actor wrote "Lengths 10" on the front and back of the book. Some of John Kemble's parts include line numbering, suggesting a granular association with "length" and number of lines. These inscriptions demonstrate how the line, not just the material size of the part, was quantified and linked with actors' reputation and skill. This shift in terminology and the increase of part "length" shows how two measurements of authority (Shakespeare and the actor) may have been materialized within the same actor's part: the length of lineation and the "length" of lines for memorization. The Renaissance association of line "length" and reputation seems to resonate here in eighteenth-century actors' parts. Lines were added to protagonist parts so that leading actors had the largest roles, thereby suggesting a possible connection between lineation (which affects the number of lines within a part) and an actor's reputation.

As the number of sheets and lines was important to an actors' part, so was the formatting of those lines on its pages. Actors' parts demonstrate an attention to bibliographic formatting of verse and prose lines. In parts of Shylock (1772 and 1784) and Benedick (1788), for example, prose is distinguishable from verse in passages where

⁴³ Actors parts were passed down from veteran actors to their successors, and therefore actors had a sense of ownership and theatre tradition through inheriting and bequeathing roles. Parts may contain inscriptions and even added media that record the famous actors who had previously played and owned the part. James Quin's part of Falstaff (ca. 1792) for example contains iconographic engravings of Falstaff and portraits of Quin and King and Dowton's signature, paying homage both to the Shakespearean character and the famous actors who had played that character.

the character switches between the two (Figure 25). Other parts, whether all-verse or all-prose, are generally written with clear layouts of verse, prose and cues (Figure 26).

	
<p>Figure 25. Switch from prose to verse in Kemble's part of Shylock (1784), 3r. Folger MS t.a.30. Kemble's parts do not generally have cue-tails. Personal photograph, used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library</p>	<p>Figure 26. Prose is clearly differentiated from the cue and cue-tail in James Quin's part of Falstaff (1792), 21r. Folger MS t.a.121. Personal photograph, used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library</p>

Distinctions made between types of lines – prose, verse, cues, and cue-tails – show that the visual semiotics of line length was important for actors memorizing their parts.

Charles Macklin's part of Touchstone (1731), although it is mostly in prose, presents a striking display of poetry. When Touchstone recites a poem to parody Orlando's love poetry, his lines are indented and end-stopped:

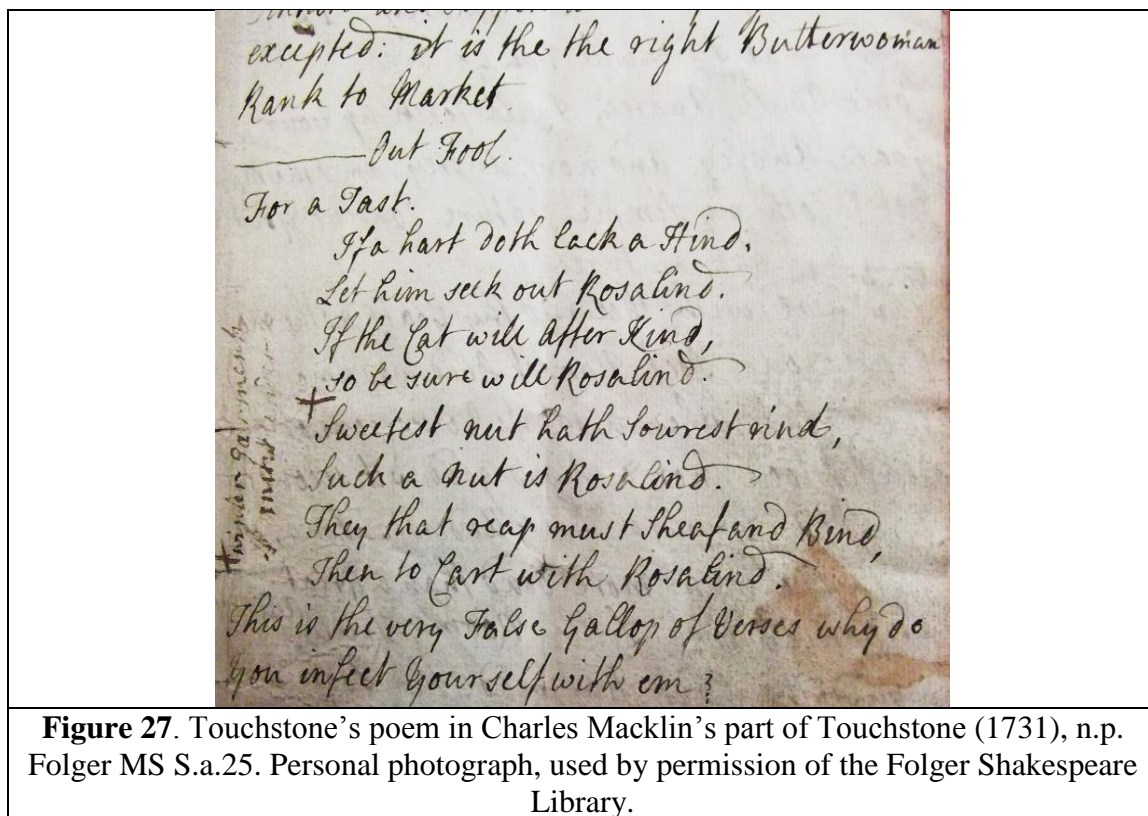


Figure 27. Touchstone's poem in Charles Macklin's part of Touchstone (1731), n.p. Folger MS S.a.25. Personal photograph, used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

The strong and repetitive end rhymes aurally mark the lineation throughout the written poem in the part, but the poetic lines are transcribed as verse and the surrounding prose as prose. This formatting again suggests that the visual, not just the aural signals, were useful mnemonic devices. Unlike the verses in the Leyden manuscript, these poetic lines are not shorthanded or bunched together, even though the prose writing stretches to the limits of the page to conserve space. But the page still has its limits. The line “Winter garments must be lined” is broken and compressed in the left margin when it was restored to the part. Its couplet line “So must slender Rosalind” is not included – possibly because there was not enough space to fit the second line. Compared to a contemporary edition of *As You Like It*, Touchstone's poem was already shortened before the part was copied:

<p>_____Out Fool. For a tast. If a hart doth lack a Hind, Let him seek out Rosalind. If the Cat will after Kind, So be sure will Rosalind. +Sweetest nut hath sowrest rind, Such a nut is Rosalind. They that reap must sheaf and Bind, Then to Cart with Rosalind. This is the very False Gallop of Verses why do You infect Yourself with em?</p> <p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">*winter garments must be lined</p>	<p>Clo. For a taste.</p> <p><i>If a hart doth lack a hind, Let him seek out Rosalind. If the cat will after kind, So be sure will Rosalind. Winter garments must be lin'd, So must slender Rosalind. They that reap must sheaf and bind, Then to cart with Rosalind. Sweetest² nut hath sworest rind, Such a nut is Rosalind. He that sweetest rose will find, Must find love's prick, and Rosalind.</i></p> <p>This is the very false gallop of verses; why do you infect your self with them?</p>
<p>Transcription of Touchstone's poem and surrounding dialogue in Macklin's part of Touchstone (1731).</p>	<p>Pope's rendering of Touchstone's poem, <i>The Works of Mr. Shakespear</i> (1725), v. 5, p. 225. Pope included a footnote to the ninth line in the poem.</p>

Lines are omitted, reinserted, and reshuffled, and consequently the couplet pattern is skewed (no "Rosalind" to complete "lined"). But the reinserted line does not entirely skew the rhyming since "lined" still rhymes with "rind," and the couplet pattern is not disregarded since the couplet "They that reap must sheaf and Bind, / Then to Cart with Rosalind" is moved to the end as a unit. Even in the strongest surviving presentation of poetry in an actor's part, lines are interchangeable, moveable, and dispensable due to the affordances of the repeated end rhyme ("-ind") and textual "packaging" of the line and couplet as units in the poem which allow lines to be moved without much disruption to the poem's aural and visual patterns. While these changes show that lines are easily adaptable, they also speak to the line's conceptual stability: first, whether omitted or rearranged, the line is still treated as a unit. Second, the difference of visual structures

between the verse and prose were probably useful tools for helping actors memorize and perform parts. Third, when the line subsumes clear conventions of poetry such as regularized meter and rhyme, it is more likely to remain stable in its textual and performance iterations. By the same token, the re-addition of the single line skews the rest of the poem's pattern, which also demonstrates that the values of eighteenth-century editorial intervention were not always carried out in practice by actors.

Garrick's part of *King John* (1745) also seems to be transcribed with a concern for lineation. Even when room on the page runs out, the rest of the line is indented underneath, and the scribe starts a new line accordingly. Unlike verses in musical manuscripts, this shows that lineation is not always sacrificed to fit material constraints:

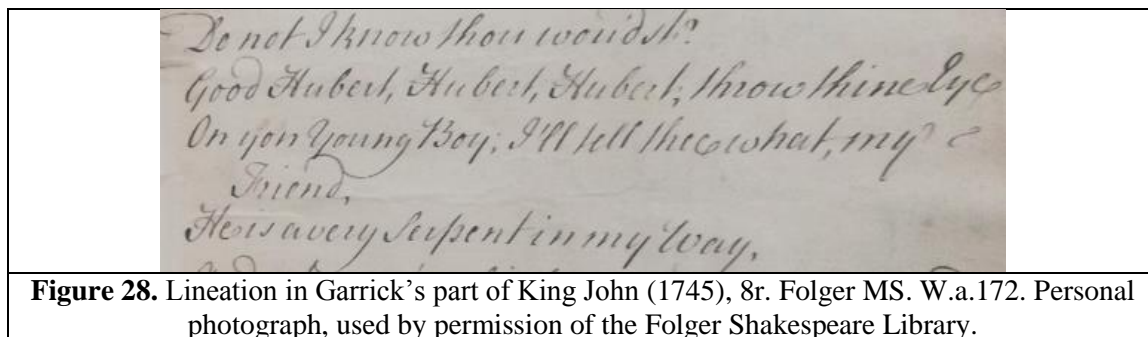


Figure 28. Lineation in Garrick's part of *King John* (1745), 8r. Folger MS. W.a.172. Personal photograph, used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Perhaps the most conscientious presentation of the poetic line is shown in John Kemble's collection of parts. Here, the generous marginal space, line numbering, and neat ruling present the line as a visual, spatial, metrical as well as performative unit. Kemble's adherence to consistent and quantified formatting also implies an orderliness that other surviving eighteenth-century parts do not seem to have.⁴⁴ Kemble's parts are further distinguished by their similar binding, numbering, and labeling in gold lettering on the

⁴⁴ However, Kemble's parts, like the other parts, do not show metrical relationships between the cue line and the actor's beginning line. In fact Kemble's parts generally do not include the cue-tail before the cue. Since there are no graphic lines to divide the speeches, the cues are centered on the page and therefore conceive of the cue time spatially rather than graphically.

spine. This binding, whether added during or after Kemble's possession of the parts, demonstrates they were created and treated as valuable artifacts from a famous actor's life, not just rehearsal materials. Likewise, an owner of Quin's part of Falstaff (1792) goes so far to include a variety of media recording the popularity and theatre tradition behind the role:



Figure 29. Engraving of Shakespeare's bust in Quin's part of Falstaff (1792), 6v. Folger MS t.a.121. On the opposite page (not pictured) is another engraving of Shakespeare's bust from Stratford. Personal photograph, used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.



Figure 30. Iconographic engraving of Falstaff among the muses, with Dowton (a previous owner/actor) in the center of Quin's part of Falstaff (1792), 6r. Folger MS t.a.121. Personal photograph, used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Various iconographic engravings of Falstaff and Shakespeare have been bound or pasted within the part, visual reminders of the iconic engravings and paintings of Quin as Falstaff, media which circulated Quin's famous role and (artistically remediated)

moments as Falstaff in performance for the London market.⁴⁵ While the eighteenth century was the age of the actor, not the playwright, Shakespeare's poetic authority and mythos are still evident in actors' parts: Shakespeare's national status, his texts, actors' adaptations of Shakespeare's text, the popularity of Shakespearean characters and the famous actors who played them all share the same mediated space. If Shakespeare's line lengths and the "length" of a part were both important to an actor, then an actor's reputation seemed to share a contingency with Shakespeare's poetic authority in eighteenth-century theatre traditions.

But actors' parts were always not meant to be pristine presentations of poetry and prose – and many of them were not. First, by nature of the cue-tail and cue, as Palfrey and Stern (144) and Rokison-Woodall (99-101) have argued, actors would not have easily seen the metrical relationships between the ending of the previous line and the beginning of their lines.⁴⁶ At the least, the eighteenth-century actor's part does not easily accommodate itself to the idea of metrically linked lines divided across speakers. Second, part- and line-based adaptations were frequent and often necessary. At least two types of adaptations are apparent in actors' parts: changes made before the part was copied (often

⁴⁵ Quin's part of Falstaff is unique in this respect; no other parts include these media. However, other parts do record and promote famous moments or "starts" of actors' performances. Kemble's part of Richard III, Colley Cibber's adaptation, includes the famous tent scene where Richard wakes up from his timorous dreams. Other actors' parts such as Garrick's part of King John and Ward's part of Shylock bear inscriptions that trace famous actors who previously owned and performed the part.

⁴⁶ The actor's part thus acknowledges the dialogic exchange of lines but not their metrical relationship. As Rokison-Woodall points out, this approach to verse delivery would have been completely different from modern actors who work from complete playtexts, often edited with indentations to link short lines (99-101). The shift from using actors' parts to full edited playtexts in rehearsals eventually paved the way for conceptions of Shakespeare's verse that arose from eighteenth-century editorial interventions to shape how modern scholars and theatre practitioners conceptualize the line (especially short lines or "shared" lines). See Palfrey and Stern's discussion on cuing short lines in the actor's part (142-154).

less detectable or visible on the page) and changes made after the part was copied (often visible on the page). Categorizing adaptations in this way is contingent on the process of transcribing the part (before and after). The chronological gap between these changes is apparent in the layering of different hands (scribe's, actor's) on the part, and the negotiation of material space in the part, where lines added later are displaced or dislocated. Parts mediate this displacement by using a system of symbols (+, ×, ⊕) to “link” inserted lines into the correct position, sometimes requiring the actor to turn pages or rotate the part to learn the lines:

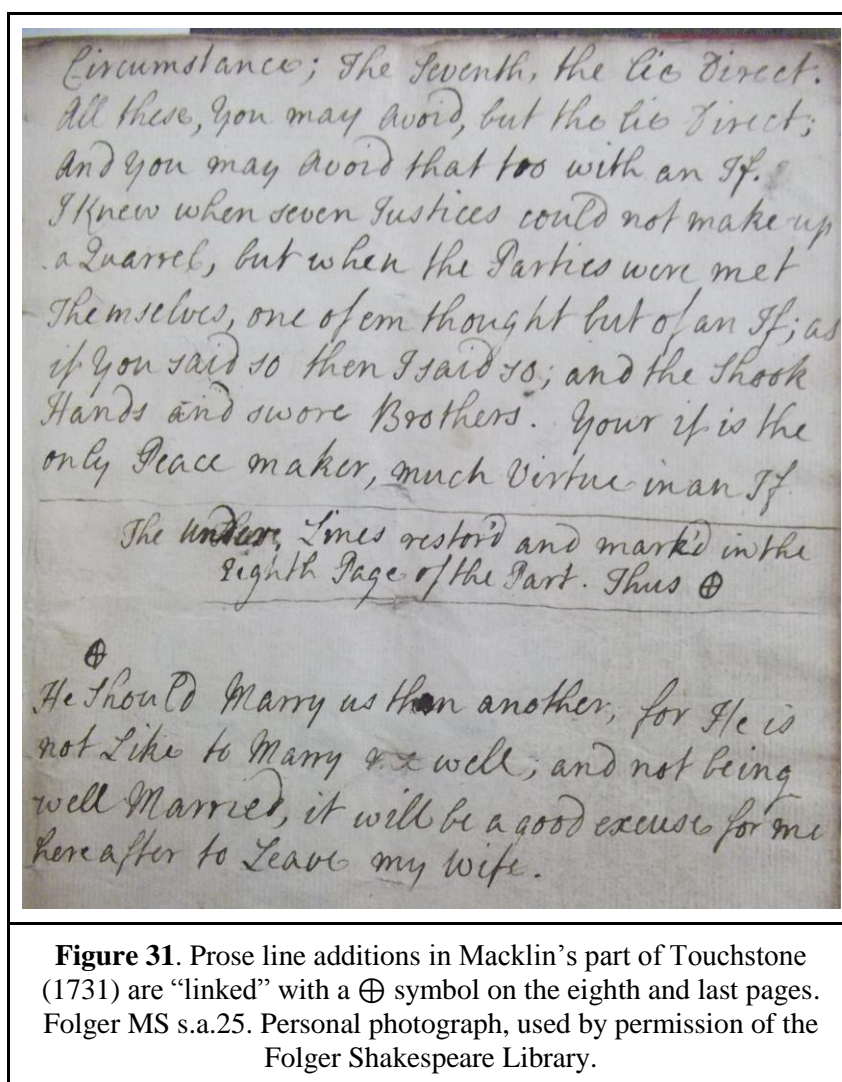


Figure 31. Prose line additions in Macklin's part of *Touchstone* (1731) are “linked” with a ⊕ symbol on the eighth and last pages. Folger MS s.a.25. Personal photograph, used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

The scribe's inscription ("The under Lines are restor'd and mark'd") indicates that the lines belong to the part but were previously omitted, acknowledging the part's connection to the whole playtext. This system of linking lines through symbols resembles the alterations in the Yale MS, where material innovations such as attached slips of paper require the reader to flip back and forth between pages or slips. Although the Yale MS of Davenant's *Macbeth* was probably not studied by actors learning their parts, these performance documents attest to the different agents that negotiate poetic authority where the actor, scribe, or reader can author or re-author lines. This agency was still accompanied by the tendency to accommodate dislocated lines, mediating the material and spatial disruptions to lineation.

Lineation may not be attended to in similar adaptations made to different parts. William Ward's part of Shylock (1772) and John Kemble's part of Shylock (1784) both omit the same lines in act 1, scene 3. Whereas the omission in Ward's part is visible, the omission in Kemble's part is less obvious on the page:

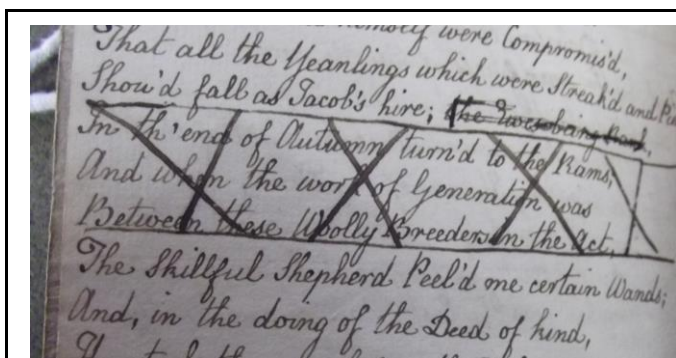


Figure 32. Lines crossed out in Ward's part of Shylock (1772), 1v. Folger MS y.d.42. Personal photograph, used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

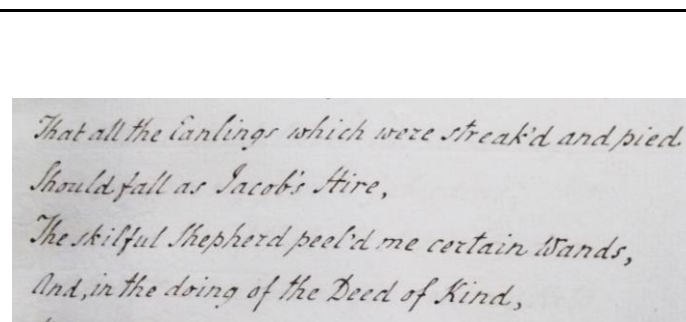


Figure 33. Lines omitted before the part was copied in Kemble's part of Shylock (1784), 5r. Folger MS t.a.30. Personal photograph, used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Neither version attempts to correct the metrical disruption caused by the omission, prioritizing performance needs over material consistency in actors' parts. While not all alterations have a history behind them, parts for the same role may show similar alterations. It is not certain that Ward's and Kemble's parts have a direct textual relation, but the similar adaptations to the line in these parts could reflect how performance practices are passed down to actors through parts and how parts were altered to fit actors' and audiences' preferences for characters.

Part-based adaptations were common in the eighteenth century because audiences were more interested in Shakespeare's characters than in his language or verse (Stern "Shakespeare in Drama" 149-50). In addition to accommodating larger lead roles, actors' parts were altered to fit performance time constraints, update language and staging, and promote acceptable moral messages (Cunningham 31). Eighteenth-century actors' parts were altered according to these factors, but not always at the expense of lineation. Garrick's part of King John (1745) is heavily changed to omit the part of Eleanor – probably meant to enlarge the role of King John while also shortening the play. Whole sections of lines are boxed and crossed out, and lines are reinserted to accommodate the omission of Eleanor:

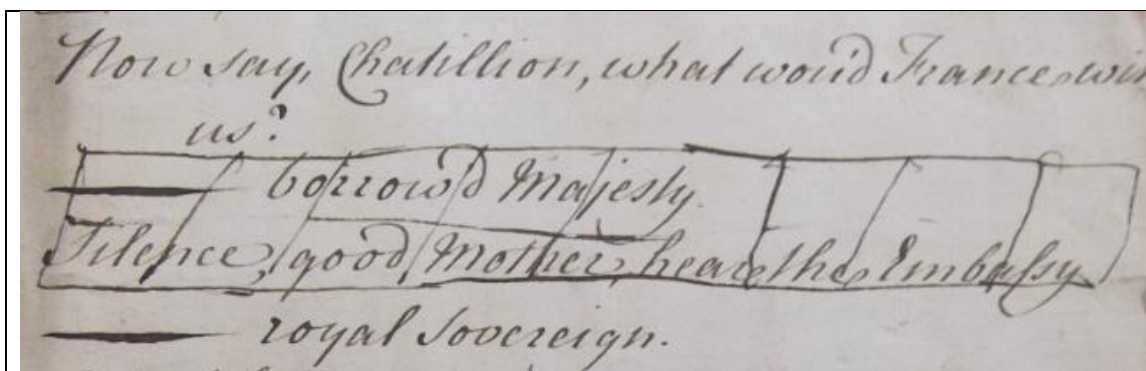


Figure 34. Lines crossed out in Garrick's part of King John (1745), 1r. Folger MS w.a.72. Personal photograph, used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

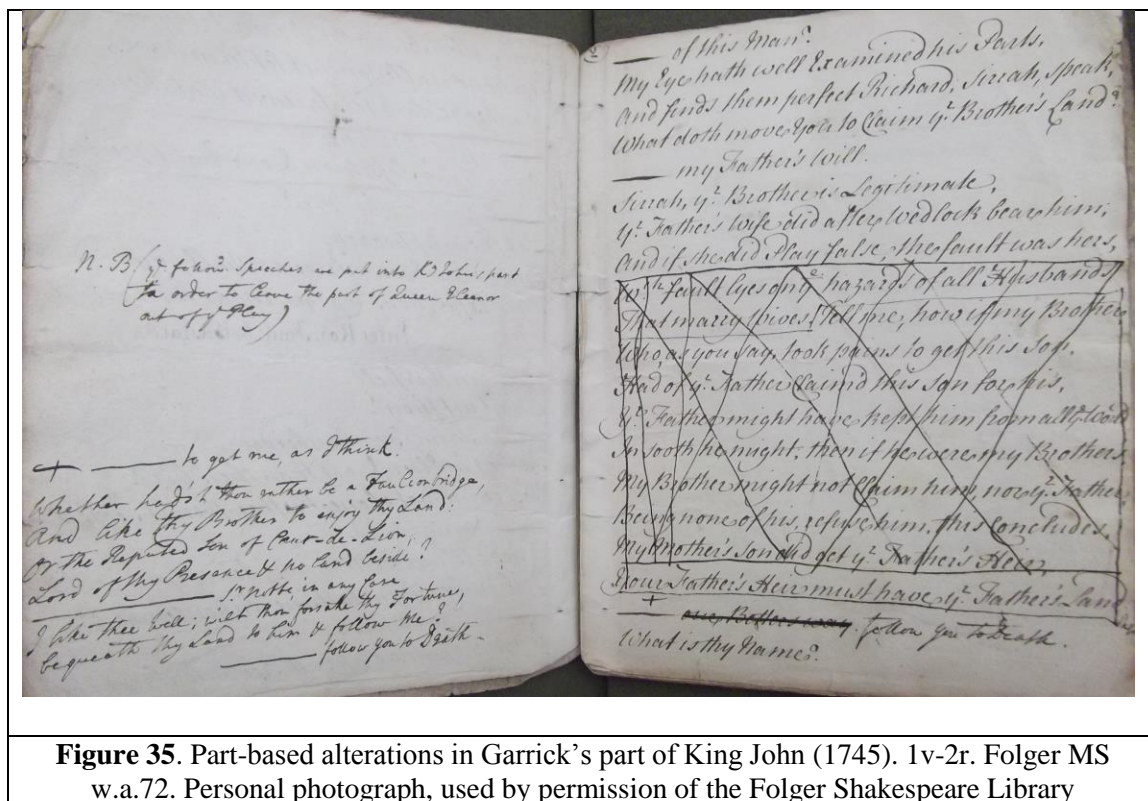


Figure 35. Part-based alterations in Garrick's part of King John (1745). 1v-2r. Folger MS w.a.72. Personal photograph, used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library

Groups of lines rather were cut and added to this part rather than individual lines.

Garrick's part was copied on the recto, and the verso was used to insert lines. These inserted verso lines, while less polished than the scribal hand on the recto, are nevertheless written out as lines. Another part-based change is evident in Kemble's part of Jaques (1799). The part is significantly shortened but includes the "sobbing deer" speech. This alteration was originally made by Cibber, who wanted to "made sure that his role of Jaques was sufficiently central by arrogating the passage about the sobbing deer to himself rather than to the First Lord in 2.1" (Bevington 31). The lines to the sobbing deer speech have been accordingly adjusted to fit Jaques's role, but, aside from one metrically deficient line, "Thus I pierc'd through" (2r), these alterations keep the meter and lineation the same. While part-based changes like those in the parts of King John and Jaques may

have continued through performance, they generally retain a stable attention to lineation and even the metrical if not visual structures of the line.

Play endings were also subjects of part-based adaptations.⁴⁷ The tragic hero's dying speech could be reinvented according to current theatrical tastes. While these invented lines were not Shakespeare's, they were composed in blank verse, and thus lineation is evident in actors' parts. King John's dying speech from Shakespeare's text is crossed out in Garrick's part and replaced with Colley Cibber's invented lines, written on the verso of the last page:

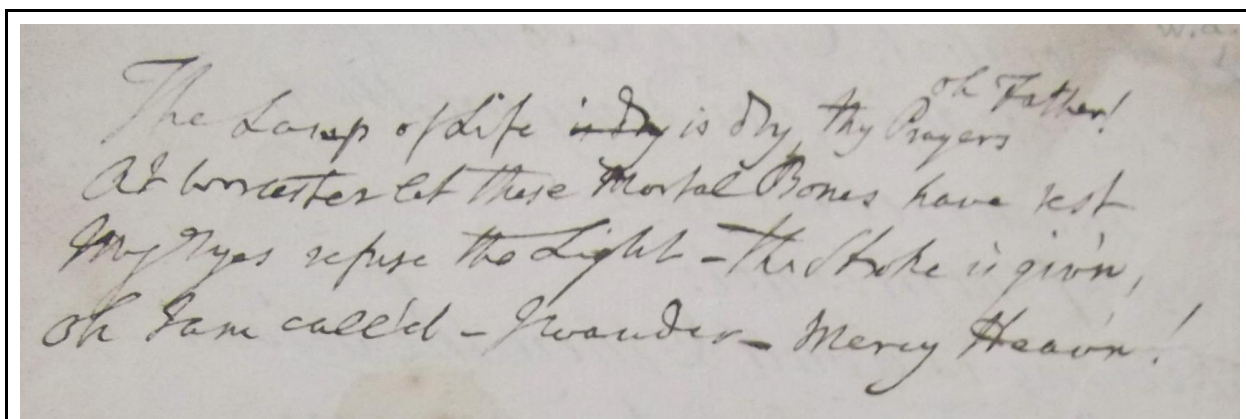


Figure 36. Cibber's invented lines for King John written on the last page of Garrick's part of King John (1745), 14v. Folger MS, t.a.25. Personal photograph, used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

King John. The lamp of life is dry—Thy prayers, O Father!
At Worcester let these mortal bones have rest.
My eyes refuse the light—the stroke is given.
O, I am call'd—I wander—mercy, Heaven! *[Dies.]*

Transcription for Cibber's adaptation for King John's dying speech as published in *The Laureates of England* (1895) by Kenyon West, 105.

⁴⁷ As Edmund King notes, the ends of plays were “vulnerable points for dramatic authority. Here, at these thresholds or liminal spaces, agency returns to the audience and ‘diversion’ resumes, physically encroaching on the performing space, and [...] the text itself” (13). King does not examine, however, how line endings were also vulnerable points for poetic authority, where the actor's agency is evident in parts where “reauthorings” of Shakespeare may visibly encroach on the space of the page and the text itself.

Cibber's invented lines in Garrick's part are written with the same lineation and meter – which are close to regular iambic pentameter. The reinsertion of “O Father!” may also indicate an attention to line length, pointing to how Shakespeare's poetic authority might still be extended in non-Shakespearean lines. In the very least, blank verse seems to be the common denominator of Shakespeare's lines, Cibber's lines, and the lines in Garrick's part, showing that the line still served an important dramaturgical and performative function in eighteenth-century performances of Shakespeare.

Kemble's collection of Shakespearean parts is copied from past and personal adaptations – or “reauthorings” – to the Shakespearean text. In doing so, his performance of those parts promoted adapted – or even invented “Shakespearean” lines – and, in a large way, the invented “Shakespearean” lines of his predecessors who adapted Shakespeare. In his part of *Macbeth* (1785), Kemble retains the dying speech that Garrick – who claimed he was performing the play ‘as written by Shakespeare’ – added for *Macbeth*:

<p>‘Tis done! The Scene of Life will quickly close. - Ambition's vain, delusive, Dreams are fled, And now I wake to Darkness, Guilt, and Horror... I cannot bear it; let me shake it off: - It will not be: my Soul is clogg'd with Blood; - I cannot rise; -I dare not ask for Mercy; - It is too late; - Hell drags me down:- I sink, I sink, - my Soul is lost for ever! - Oh! Oh! - Dies.</p>

<p>Transcription of <i>Macbeth</i>'s dying speech from Kemble's part of <i>Macbeth</i> (1785), 36r. Folger MS t.a.11.</p>

Macbeth's dying lines are written mostly in regular iambic pentameter. As an actor who considered himself Shakespeare's "greatest 'living editor'" (Stern *Rehearsal* 256), Garrick may have perceived his invented lines were part of rather than competing with the Shakespearean corpus. Consequently, Garrick's choice to tailor or personalize the text (Stern *Rehearsal* 151-2), was also a choice to do so under Shakespeare's name. Promoted by the success of Garrick and Kemble's performances, Garrick's invented speech for Macbeth was used well into the nineteenth century (Orgel 171-2) and contributed to the theatrical canonization of Shakespeare rather than Garrick. Taken together, the changes to the line show the different agents and processes that are composing as Shakespeare where attention to lineation is reckoned with performance pressures and traditions. This process of negotiating authorial control was also a process of claiming ownership. On one hand, actors' parts represent and centralize the actor's agency to change the playtext according to individual preferences, taking on ownership and participation in the Shakespearean corpus. That is, by adapting Shakespeare's lines they were also owning part of his poetic authority and reputation. Their performances attested to a sense of ownership whereby the actor and his or her performance were the main attractions of the entertainment, not necessarily Shakespeare. On the other hand, actors' parts were also linked to the popular traditions of the role; adaptations thus extended textual and authorial possibilities beyond the individual actor and to more than one playtext or playwright.⁴⁸ In effect, the actor expressed individual agency and ownership by adapting their parts and lines, while also encoding their performance documents with

⁴⁸ This effect is especially evident in Kemble's parts of *Richard III* (1783) and *King Lear* (1788) which are respectively Cibber's and Tate's adaptations, not Shakespeare's texts. These parts, including Kemble's part of Jaques, demonstrate how Restoration adaptations continued to influence Shakespearean poetic authority into the eighteenth century.

Shakespearean poetic authority and composing under Shakespeare's signature to participate in the larger theatre and performance traditions surrounding Shakespeare (Stern "Shakespeare in Drama" 150). This dynamic is evident in actors' parts that record varying modes of changing Shakespeare's lineation both before and after the part was copied.

Line-based alterations typically serve the interest of reinserting previously omitted (or perhaps miscopied) lines, not necessarily regulating metrical irregularities or adhering to metrical regularities. Thus, they tend to observe lineation more than meter. For instance, in James Quin's part of *Henry VIII* (ca. 1735), line adaptations do not correct hypermetrical syllables, nor do they adhere to pentameter length or Shakespeare's line lengths. They may sometimes insert a trochaic rather than iambic foot, perhaps selecting a word for its sense rather its metrical consistency in the blank verse structure:

<p>I have had much Ornament by your Presence, And you shall find me thankful Lead the way, Lor We must all see the Queen, & she must thank you; She will be sick else. – Let no Man think Of Business at this Time, for all must stay: This little One shall make it holy Day.</p>	<p>I have receiv'd much honour by your presence, And ye shall find me thankful. Lead the way, lords; Ye must all see the Queen, and she must thank ye, She will be sick else. This day no man think, H'as business at his house, for all shall stay; This little one shall make it holy day. [Exeunt.</p>
<p>Quin's part of <i>Henry VIII</i> (1735), 12v</p>	<p><i>Works</i>, ed. Theobald (1733), v. 5, p. 101</p>

This metrical inconsistency is evident in the part where the alterations of "had much Ornament" and "Let no Man think" add inconsistencies that are not present in contemporary play editions such as Theobald's. Other line-based alterations change metrically regular lines to irregular lines and seem more concerned with shortening or changing the line's phrasing:

<p>_____ Sr William Blumer. I remember well that Time, being my sworn servant The Duke retain'd him his. But on.</p>	<p><i>Surv.</i> [...] About <i>Sir William Blomer</i> – <i>King.</i> I remember Of such a time, he being my sworn servant, The Duke retain'd him his. But on; what hence?</p>
<p>Quin's Part of Henry VIII (1735), 4r</p>	<p><i>Works</i>, ed. Theobald (1733), v. 5, 19</p>

The alteration made to first two lines of Henry's speech relineates the lines, including extra and trochaic feet. While the second line scans as iambic, it is metrically deficient by one foot since it omits "what hence?"

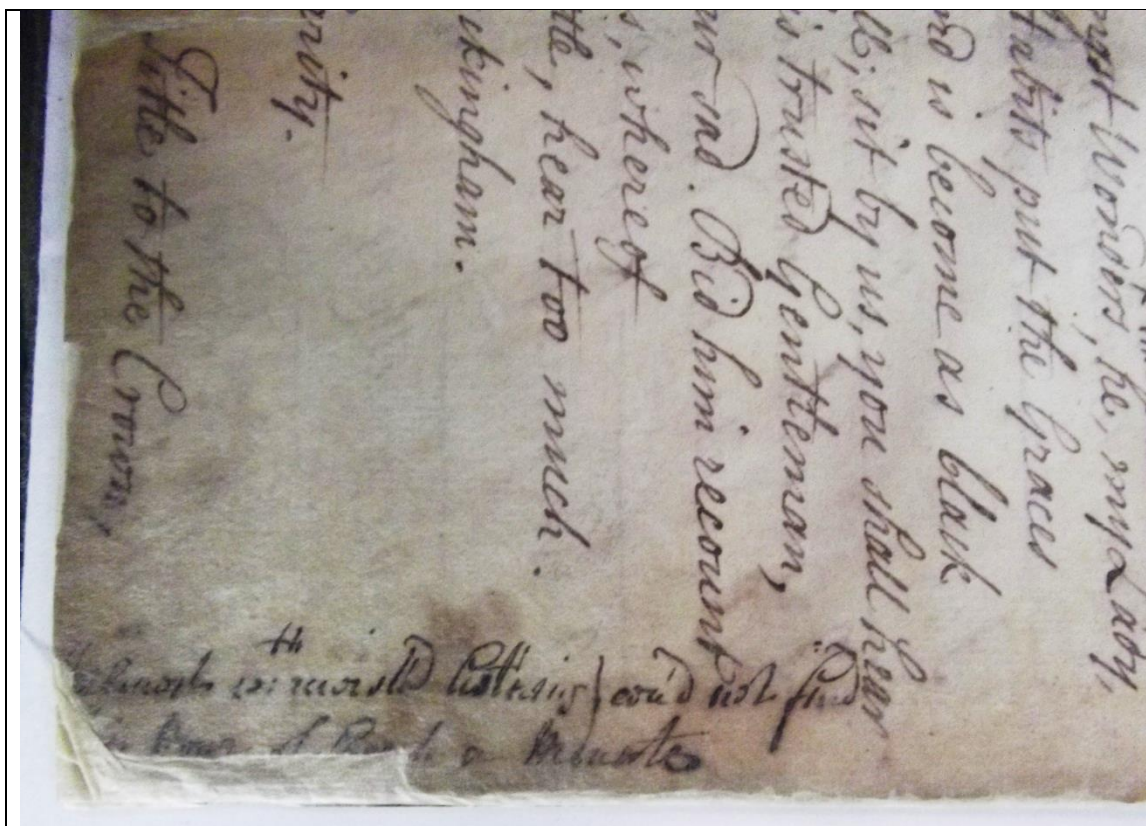
<p>To wear our mortal State to come with her, Catherine our Queen, before all other Choice, The World can yield. _____ unite his Holiness. Break up the Court. These Cardinals trifle with me. I abhor This dilatory Sloth and tricks of Rome. My Learn'd, and well-beloved Cranmer, Prythee return, with thy Approach I know Those Comforts will make haste, which now are slow</p>	<p><i>King.</i> To wear our mortal state to come, with her, (<i>Catharine</i> our Queen) before the primest creature That's paragon'd i'th'world. <i>Cam.</i> [...] She intents to his Holiness. <i>King.</i> I may perceive, These Cardinals trifle with me: I abhor This dilatory sloth, and tricks of <i>Rome</i>. My learn'd and well-beloved servant <i>Cranmer</i>, Pr'ythee, return! with they approach, I know, My comfort comes along. Break up the Court: I say, set on. [Exeunt, in manner as they enter'd.</p>
<p>Quin's part of Henry VIII (ca. 1735), 6v</p>	<p><i>Works</i>, ed. Theobald (1733), v. 5, 48</p>

These changes could have been motivated by easing the actor's memorization, updating old language, or attempting to shorten speeches according to performance time constraints. Despite these changes, lineation is generally retained, even if the meter is not corrected in the aftermath.

But some line-based changes do correct the hypermetrical syllables while also taking liberty to rearrange or invent new phrasing. Therefore, in contrast to editorial concerns for metrical unity of the playtext, performance or actor interests seem to motivate line-based changes. In act 1, scene 2, line-based revisions are inserted between the lines and in the limited margin of the page:

<p>The Gentleman is learnd, and a most rare speaker, Training To Nature none more bound. His Cl—g such That he may furnish and instruct great Teachers, And never seek for Aid out of himself; yet see When these so noble benefits shall prove × and when we + Who was enroll'd 'mongst Wonders, he, my Lady, Has into Monstrous Habits put the Graces</p>	<p>The gentleman is learn'd, a most rare speaker, To nature none more bound; his training such, That he may furnish and instruct great teachers, And never seek for aid out of himself. Yet see, when noble benefits shall prove ... Who was enroll'd 'mongst wonders, and when we, Almost with list'ning ravish'd, could not find His hour of speech, a minute; he, my lady, Hath into monstrous habits put the graces That once were his; and is become as black, As if besmear'd in hell. Sit, you shall hear</p>
<p>Quin's part of Henry VIII (ca. 1735), 2r</p>	<p><i>Works</i>, ed. Theobald (1733), v. 5, 16-17</p>

In the part-text, a scribe crossed out “And never seek for Aid out of himself” but did not correct the metrical irregularity to the leftover words (“yet see”). By contrast, Theobald’s edition transfers “yet see” to the line beneath to correct the irregularity. The line adaptation made before the part was copied (“Who was enroll’d ‘mongst Wonders, he, my lady”) relines the line, changing its length (though the meter still scans as iambic). The second adaptation, signaled by “× and when we +”, to these lines correct the meter, but the lineation is unclear in the emendation written above the lines. The scribe wrote out the rest of the lines in the margin:



[+] Almost wth ravish'd list'ning | cou'd not find
[His] hour of speech a minute.

Figure 37. Lines written in the margin of part of Henry VIII (ca. 1735), 2r. Folger MS t.a.118. Personal Photograph, used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

This adaptation shows a line dislocated by material constraints of the part, but,

surprisingly, not at the expense of lineation.⁴⁹ Since these line breaks match those in

Theobald's edition, it is possible that the scribe or actor had access to the playtext

⁴⁹ It is uncertain whether the mark before "cou'd" (what resembles a "[") indicates a line break. Fortunately for the scribe, the first line breaks after "find" which almost runs into the horizontal line (ending with "shall hear"). This spatial concern suggests that if the line did not break after "find," the scribe may have simply ignored the lineation and continued writing below where marginal space would not be fragmented by other horizontally written lines. Unfortunately, this marginal space is subject to wear and decay. If an actor passed down his part to his successor, he might consider other ways to accommodate part- and line-based adaptations materially. These considerations may explain why the part-texts in actors' parts were sometimes written only on the recto – so the ample space on the verso could be used for line adaptations. Examples of this practice include all of Kemble's Shakespearean parts, Garrick's part of King John, and the part of Falstaff (1762) – all of which were owned by celebrity actors.

(perhaps a previous actor's part for Henry VIII, promptbook, or a contemporary edition) where he could cross reference the lines in the playtext. While it is difficult to know whether actors would have paid close attention to meter at various moments in performance history, these examples show that actors did attend to line length at least to some extent, and in balance with other priorities such as performance time constraints and building up leading roles.

In the example below, the scribe's original transcription of the lines in the part does not have the same lineation as Theobald's 1733 edition.

<p>His Word upon you. Since I had my Office, have not alone I've kept you next my Heart, But ^{still} Employ'd You where high Profits might come home. But Par'd my present havings to bestow my Bounties on you _____ It begins well.</p>	<p>His word upon you. Since I had my office, I've kept you next my heart; have not alone Employ'd you where high profits might come home; But par'd my present havings, to bestow My bounties upon you.</p>
Quin's part of Henry VIII (ca. 1735), 8r	<i>Works</i> , ed Theobald (1733), v. 5, 60

The first alterations to the second line keep the line in regular iambic pentameter, but the additions (transcribed above the line) irregulate the meter and lineation, though they restore previously omitted phrasing and words to lines. The full inserted line ("Par'd my present...") is neither pentameter in length nor scans as fully iambic. Indicating line breaks may simply be spatially impractical on the page, but the changes demonstrate a concern to restore previous phrasing, perhaps for dramaturgical preferences or acceptable messages about English history. The following example shows a similar concern:

<p>The Queen of earthly Queens; she's ^{noble} highly born, True nobility she has -Carry'd herself towards me And like her Birth has still demean'd herself.</p>	<p>The Queen of earthly Queens. She's noble born; And, like her true nobility, she has Carried herself tow'rds me.</p>
Quin's part of Henry VIII (ca. 1735), 5r	<i>Works</i> , ed Theobald (1733), v. 5, 45

The first line as it was originally written in the part is metrically regular, but the added alterations, restoring previously omitted lines, are not written with distinct indications of lineation.⁵⁰ Unlike the previous example, these adaptations evidence that lineation and meter may be relegated to peripheral concerns compared to material constraints and performance factors.

Line-based alterations in the part of Henry VIII demonstrate that while meter is generally not a driving concern, lineation is often more attended to. Even lines that appear hastily struck out or altered seem to attend partly to visual structuring of the line, even if line breaks are not or cannot be clearly demarcated. A metrically deficient line may, after all, easily spotted on the page (and heard in delivery) when compared to full pentameter lines surrounding it (see Figure 33).⁵¹ In private memorization or group rehearsal, an actor may not have time to attend to the details of blank verse, and yet the line's robustness as a visual and textual unit attests its mnemonic and dramaturgical functions in performance. Even the most extreme changes to lineation and meter in actor's parts were not as liberal as those in Restoration adaptations such as Dryden and Davenant's *Enchanted Island*. Nor did they reflect the same attention to lineation as seen in *Macbeth* (especially the Yale MS) or the same editorial fine-tuning of the whole

⁵⁰ The small dash-like mark that runs into the C in "Carry'd" does not appear to be part of a letter. Even if it acknowledges the end of the line, it does not explicitly do so. The visible adaptations to the part of Henry VIII appear to be in the same scribal hand as the one that copied the part.

⁵¹ In Garrick's part of King John (1745), a scribe reinserts "Indignation" to the previously adapted line "Their Iron ^ gainst yr walls" (3r), adding two feet to the metrically deficient three feet. An actor memorizing this part may have noticed the line deficiency both visually and aurally. This is an example where the line length was important to memorization, and thus Shakespeare's poetic authority does not only serve poetic but also performative functions. Actors, trained by their predecessors in a centuries-old theatre practice of learning by parts, may even be aurally familiar enough with verse to distinguish between lines that were metrically regular and irregular, or, at least not the pentameter length.

Shakespearean corpus. Unlike song, parts were rarely adapted and performed apart from their theatrical contexts. Negotiating Shakespeare’s poetic authority in the actor’s part had more to do with how Shakespeare’s authorial mantle and poetic branding could support the actor’s performance of a character and his or her reputation. Lineation in actors’ parts therefore generally coincides with Shakespeare’s poetic authority insofar that it is balanced with other performance factors.

A final consideration relevant to line-based adaptations and poetic authority is metrical positioning. As Wright observes, in the late Renaissance line, phrases can begin and end in a variety of metrical positions, not just the beginning and ends of lines (*Metrical Art* 207-8). Therefore, the metrical positioning of phrases may shape some of the omissions and additions made to lines in actors’ parts:

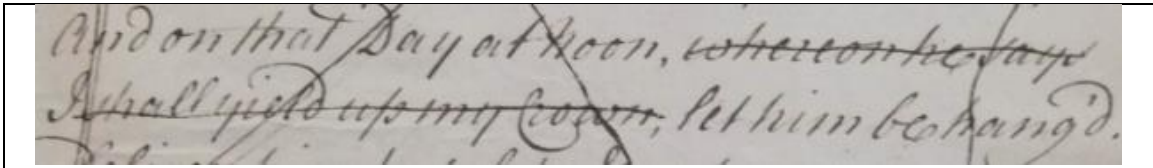


Figure 38. Line-based revision in Garrick’s part of *King John* (1745), 10r. Folger MS w.a.172. Personal photograph, used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

In Garrick’s part of *King John*, the line-based adaptation (Figure 38) is shaped by the metrical positioning of the phrase “whereon he says / I shall yield my Crown” which starts on the fourth foot of the first line and ends on the sixth foot of the next line. If Shakespeare troubled the line’s boundaries in his own versification, then phrase-based adaptations, rather than contesting Shakespeare’s poetic authority, may coincide with that authority. In this sense, if the line is in tension with phrasing – that is its sense spills over its own boundaries – it may be more vulnerable to metrically irregular changes that disrupt line breaks.

Overall, part- and line-based alterations evidence how the line, as a key fulcrum by which script and performance met, was balanced with textual functions and performative interests of the eighteenth century. By “reauthoring” Shakespeare’s lines, actors were also owning them, tailoring them to individual preference or reputation, the role, and theatre traditions. Part-based adaptations show the actor’s agency to make changes to his or her part, as well as the agency of others involved in the performance traditions and practices of the part. As part-adaptations were composed under Shakespeare’s name, their adaptations were blank verse, showing that line length was still an important measure of the actors’ skill and reputation and still counted for Shakespeare’s poetic authority in the eighteenth century.

In line-based alterations, actors balanced attention to meter and line length with performance variables. Even in cases where meter and line length were peripheral concerns, actors still attended to lineation and its visual structures on the page. That is not to say that lines in actors’ parts were constantly changed. Only two of Kemble’s parts have visible adaptations on the page. Other parts such as Quin’s part of Falstaff and Ward’s part of Shylock make minimal line alterations to the part-text. And even parts with considerable alterations still contain many pages of blank verse with few visible adaptations to lines. Nonetheless, actors’ parts are records of the lively business of performance, imprinted with the hands that held and scribbled between the lines. These parts treat the line as an adaptable unit, where its performativity promotes textual fluidity over textual finality and where its fungibility is not always guided by its metrical constituents. Rather than presenting a fixed Shakespearean playtext, the part presents a palimpsest of lines – lines struck out, reinserted, reshuffled, lines written between lines or

compressed into the margin, adapted lines and invented lines. But we can still identify these lines as lines, suggesting that the fungibility of the line may correlate with its persistence. Lines may be fragmented and dislocated, but they are not always unmoored from the visual structures and even metrical rhythms that distinguish them as lines in actors' parts. Therefore, the ongoing negotiation of lineation in actors' parts demonstrate that Shakespeare's poetic authority was still measured by line length, whether defined by visual breaks, iambic feet, or pentameter length.

Conclusion: The Life of Shakespeare's Lines

Lineation in adaptation and performance cultures was a measure of Shakespearean poetic authority in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Restoration adapters updated and refined language and dramaturgy by footloose appropriations of his verse ranging from rhythmic prose to irregular blank verse. Shakespeare's loose meter served as poetic license for the adapters to expand or contract line length according to linguistic and dramatic conventions. Adapters made changes directly to the Shakespearean text, negotiating poetic authority on the material sites of writing. This method may explain the traces of lineation after verse reconstruction into prose and the differing accounts of lineation between earliest extant print and manuscript versions – signs of the uneasy negotiation of Shakespeare's poetic authority and adapting Shakespeare's text for new textual and performative functions.

Eighteenth-century editors cast their own poetic authority as “Shakespeare's” by their judgements of what is “error” in Shakespeare's lines and what is not. These judgements lead to rigidified and monovocal contractions of line length such as tight lineation and metrical line linking. Like that of their Restoration playwrights, their efforts to control Shakespeare's line lengths were also attempts to reauthor Shakespeare's reputation as a poet working with vernacular traditions and to signal the sophistication and singularity of their present age.

Documents closer to performance such as song lyrics and actors' parts indicate that the line is fungible, since it is easily adapted to media and performance contexts. Musical settings put different material and metrical pressures on lineation and, as a result, disorder or reconstitute the line through its life in musical culture. As a song become

further removed from musical culture, its lyrics evolve under the dictates of editorial intervention, conceptions of poetic form, and print conventions. Lyrics may even be coded as “Shakespeare’s lines” after absorption into the Shakespearean corpus and their status as quasi-poetry in a printed play edition. This shows a key role of mediation in reconceptualizing the line.

Eighteenth-century actors’ parts are records of how the poetic authorities of both actor and playwright may be negotiated by changes to parts, lines, and the performance traditions behind those changes. While part-based adaptations show how actors might take liberties to invent, move, or discard groups of lines altogether, they still evidence the actor’s interest in composing under Shakespeare’s poetic branding. While line-based adaptations may favor dramaturgy and material constraints over lineation, a concern for line length is still evident. As the “length” or number of lines were important measures of an actor’s skill and reputation, an actor might codify Shakespeare’s poetic authority in his or her part, an act of owning or subsuming the actor’s own reputation within Shakespearean mythos.

The trope of Shakespeare’s “lines of life,” as figured in Hugh Holland’s eulogy, shows that the line was conceived as tantamount to Shakespeare’s corpus – it was a measure of Shakespearean authority, whether radically adapted or retained. Cultural factors and interests such as promoting vernacular poetic traditions and updating old models for modern audiences animated changes to Shakespeare’s lines. These interests motivated agents to compose under Shakespeare’s name, forms of poetic branding or licensing which afforded ownership of the larger authorial mantle and traditions surrounding the Shakespearean corpus. Their changes to lineation, whether expanding or

contracting metrical structures, revealed the line to be robust and fungible, persisting because of its formal and conceptual flexibility and the capacious affordances of iambic pentameter. As playwrights, scribes, editors, printers, and performers adapted the line to fit different media, the line was also mediated to express or control its aural and visual properties, an effect which is evident in signs and markers that define or shape the line and its relationship to verse structure and division. These mediations signaled the negotiation between what counts as the aural and visual components of performance and textual cultures while changes to line length and metrical structure reveals what counts Shakespeare's poetic authority and mythos.

Appendix

Figure A. Visual and spatial representations of lines in George Puttenham's diagrams in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), 70-3, digitized images used with kind permission from the Folger Shakespeare Library.

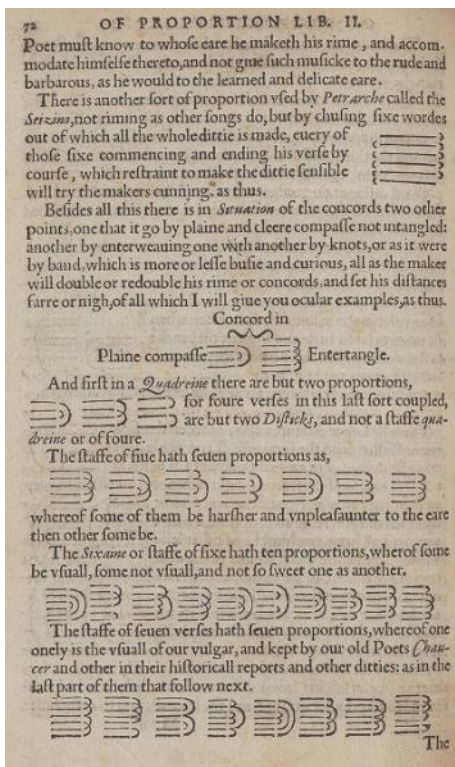
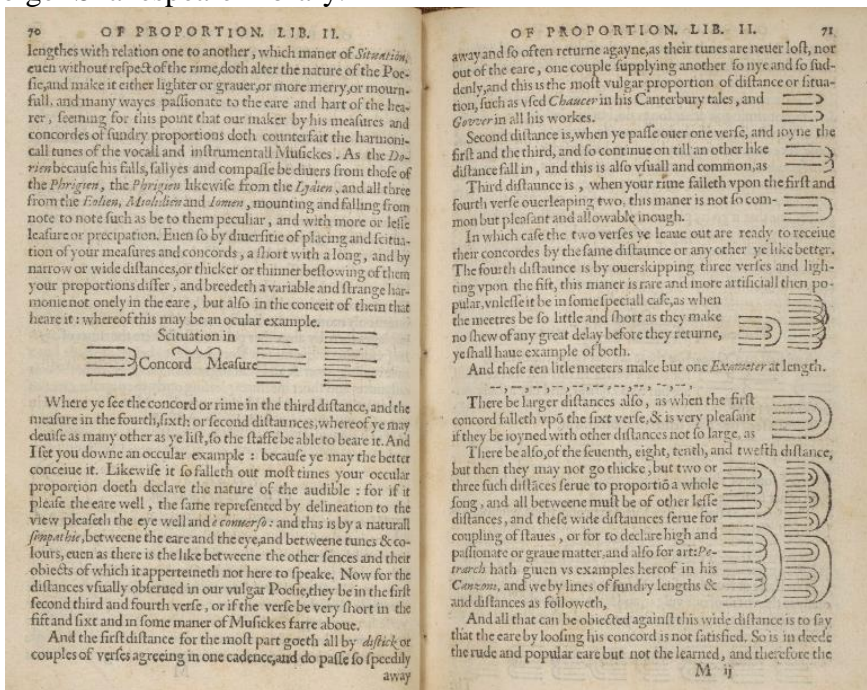
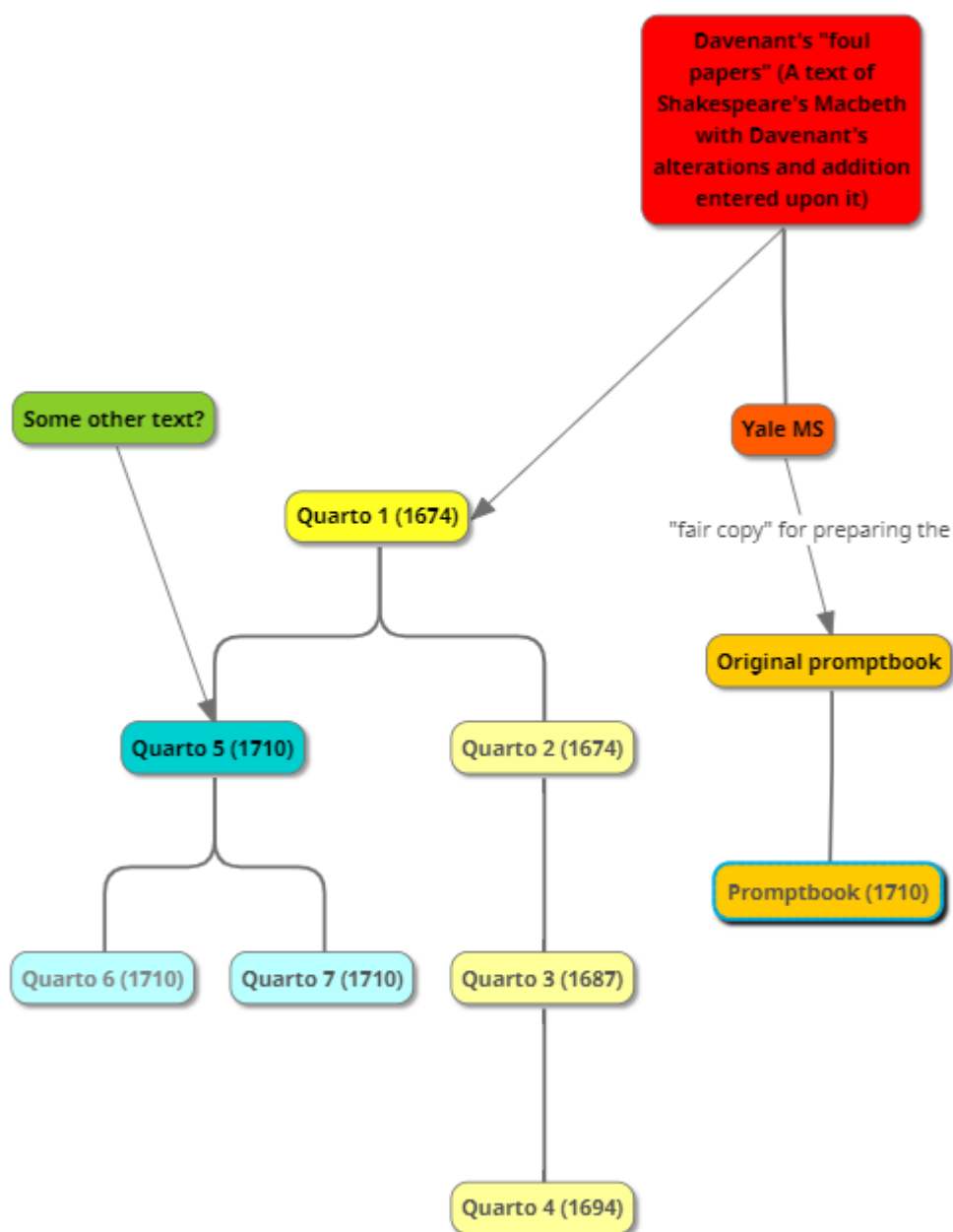


Figure B. Conjectural textual genealogy of Davenant's *Macbeth* based on Christopher Spencer's analysis in Chapters 1-5.



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