THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE WORKS OF APHRA BEHN Volume IV: Plays 1682–1696

Aphra Behn (1640?–1689) is renowned as the first professional woman of literature and drama in English. Her career in the Restoration theatre extended over two decades, encompassing remarkable generic range and diversity. Her last five plays, written and performed between 1682 and 1696, include city comedies (*The City-Heiress, The Luckey Chance*), a farce (*The Emperor of the Moon*), a tragicomedy (*The Widdow Ranter*), and a comedy of family inheritance (*The Younger Brother*). These plays exemplify Behn's skills in writing for individual performers, and exhibit the topical political engagement for which she is renowned. They witness to Behn's popularity with theatre audiences during the politically and financially difficult years of the 1680s and even after her death. Informed by the most up-to-date research in computational attribution, this fully annotated edition draws on recent scholarship to provide a comprehensive guide to Behn's work, and the literary, theatrical and political history of the Restoration.

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THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE WORKS OF APHRA BEHN

GENERAL EDITORS Claire Bowditch Mel Evans Elaine Hobby Gillian Wright

Aphra Behn is one of the most important English writers of the seventeenth century, as well as one of the most significant women writers in any country and any age. Behn was a leading dramatist, a pioneering author of prose fiction, a skilled and prolific poet, an influential literary editor, and a successful translator. Her writings also engage with issues of great interest to current scholarly and student readerships, including gender, sexuality and race, the rise of the novel, and the history of the theatre.

This major edition brings together the expertise of an international team of scholars. Its freshly edited texts draw on primary resources from across the world, and are founded on a comprehensive reassessment of the Behn canon. It charts the complex textual history of Behn's works, locates them within their original literary and historical contexts, and places them in relation to modern scholarly debates.

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- 7 Prose Fiction including Translated Fiction
 - 8 Letters and Non-Fiction Translations

THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE WORKS OF

APHRA BEHN

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Volume IV Plays 1682–1696

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ABBREVIATIONS

All references to the Bible are taken from the King James (Authorized) Version unless otherwise stated

Annals	Alfred Harbage and S. Schoenbaum, Annals of English Dra-
	ma 975–1700: An Analytical Record of All Plays, Extant or Lost,
	Chronologically Arranged and Indexed, 3rd edn, rev. Sylvia
	Stoler Wagonheim (London: Routledge, 1989)
BBTI	British Book Trade Index, Bodleian Libraries, University of
	Oxford
CSPD	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of
	Charles II, 28 vols. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office,
	1860–1939)
D&M	Cyrus Lawrence Day and Eleanor Boswell Murrie, English
	Song Books, 1651–1702: A Bibliography with a First-Line Index
	of Songs (London: Bibliographical Society at Oxford Univer-
	sity Press, 1940)
Danchin	Pierre Danchin, ed., The Prologues and Epilogues of the
	Restoration 1660–1700: A Complete Edition, 4 Parts in 7
	vols. Part 1, 1660–1676 (vols. 1 and 11) (Nancy: Publications
	Université de Nancy, 1981); Part 2, <i>1677–1690</i> (vols. 111 and 1v)
	(Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1984)
Downes	John Downes, Roscius Anglicanus, ed. Judith Milhous and
	Robert D. Hume (London: Society for Theatre Research,
	1987)
EBBA	English Broadside Ballad Archive, University of California,
	Santa Barbara
ECCO	Eighteenth Century Collections Online
EEBO	Early English Books Online
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue
Evelyn	E. S. De Beer, ed., The Diary of John Evelyn, 6 vols. (Oxford:
	Clarendon Press, 1955)
Highfill	Philip H. Highfill Jr, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A.
	Langhans, A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses,

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

	Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in
	London, 1660–1800, 16 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois
	University Press, 1973–93)
Lomprière	•
Lemprière	John Lemprière, Lemprière's Classical Dictionary of Proper
	Names Mentioned in Ancient Authors Writ Large, ed. F. A. Ad-
	ams, 3rd edn (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984)
London Gazette	The London Gazette, Published by Authority
London Stage	William Van Lennep, Emmett L. Avery, Arthur H. Scouten,
	and others, eds., The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar
	of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces, together with Casts,
	Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment, Compiled from
	the Playbills, Newspapers and Theatrical Diaries of the Peri-
	od, 5 parts (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press,
	1960–68), vol. I (1965)
Lords' Journals	Journals of the House of Lords (London: Her Majesty's Sta-
	tionery Office)
Newdigate	Newdigate Family Collection of Newsletters, Folger
Newsletters	Shakespeare Library, Washington DC (Folger.MS.L.c.1–3950)
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
O'Donnell	Mary Ann O'Donnell, Aphra Behn: An Annotated Bibliogra-
	phy of Primary and Secondary Sources, 2nd edn (Farnham:
	Ashgate, 2004)
OBP	Tim Hitchcock, Robert Shoemaker, Clive Emsley, and oth-
	ers, The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674–1913
Pepys	The Diary of Samuel Pepys, ed. Robert Latham and William
	Matthews, 11 vols. (London: HarperCollins, 1995)
Plomer, 1	Henry R. Plomer, A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers
	Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1641
	to 1667 (London: Blades, East, & Blades, 1907)
Plomer, 11	Henry R. Plomer, A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers
	Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668
	to 1725 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922)
PoAS	Poems on Affairs of State, 1660–1714, ed. George deForest Lord
	and others, 5 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press,
	1963–71)
Register	Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, A Register of English
-	Theatrical Documents 1660–1737, 2 vols. (Carbondale: South-
	ern Illinois University Press, 1991), vol. 1
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SR, 1	A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of
	Stationers from 1640 to 1708 A.D., 3 vols. (London: privately
	printed, 1913–14), vol. 1, <i>1640–1655</i> (1913)
SR, 11	A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of
	Stationers from 1640 to 1708 A.D., 3 vols. (London: privately
	printed, 1913–14), vol. 11, <i>1655–1675</i> (1913)
SR, 111	A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of
	Stationers from 1640 to 1708 A.D., 3 vols. (London: privately
	printed, 1913–14), vol. 111, <i>1675–1708</i> (1914)
Spencer	Aphra Behn, The Rover and Other Plays, ed. Jane Spencer
	(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)
Summers, Behn	Montague Summers, ed., The Works of Aphra Behn, 6 vols.
Summers, Denn	Montague Summers, ed., The Works of Aprila Benn, 6 vois.
Summers, Denn	(London: Heinemann, 1915)
TC, I	
	(London: Heinemann, 1915) Edward Arber, <i>The Term Catalogues</i> , <i>1668–1709 A.D.</i> , vol. 1
	(London: Heinemann, 1915)
<i>ТС</i> , 1	(London: Heinemann, 1915) Edward Arber, <i>The Term Catalogues</i> , <i>1668–1709 A.D.</i> , vol. 1 (London: privately printed, 1903)
<i>ТС</i> , 1	(London: Heinemann, 1915) Edward Arber, <i>The Term Catalogues</i> , <i>1668–1709 A.D.</i> , vol. 1 (London: privately printed, 1903) Edward Arber, <i>The Term Catalogues</i> , <i>1668–1709 A.D.</i> , vol. 11
ТС, 1 ТС, 11	(London: Heinemann, 1915) Edward Arber, <i>The Term Catalogues</i> , <i>1668–1709 A.D.</i> , vol. 1 (London: privately printed, 1903) Edward Arber, <i>The Term Catalogues</i> , <i>1668–1709 A.D.</i> , vol. 11 (London: privately printed, 1905)
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<i>ТС</i> , 1 <i>ТС</i> , 11 Tilley	(London: Heinemann, 1915) Edward Arber, <i>The Term Catalogues</i> , <i>1668–1709 A.D.</i> , vol. 1 (London: privately printed, 1903) Edward Arber, <i>The Term Catalogues</i> , <i>1668–1709 A.D.</i> , vol. 11 (London: privately printed, 1905) Morris Palmer Tilley, <i>A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England</i> <i>in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries</i> (Ann Arbor: Uni-

INTRODUCTION

This volume of The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Aphra Behn is comprised of plays from the final years of Behn's writing life: The City-Heiress, probably first performed and published in 1682; The Luckey Chance, performed and almost certainly published in 1686; The Emperor of the Moon, performed and first published in 1687 (republished in 1688); The Widdow Ranter, performed in 1689 and published either later that year or in early 1690; and The Younger Brother, probably first performed and certainly published in 1696. In the case of The Widdow Ranter, this volume provides both the prologue and epilogue written for the play's first performance, and the different prologue and epilogue included in the first printed edition (here given in an appendix, pp. 700-03). The volume does not include Behn's theatrical paratexts for other writers' work during this period - her prologues and epilogues for Romulus and Hersilia (1682) and prologue for Valentinian (1684) - or the prologue and epilogue for her own Like Father, Like Son, a lost play of 1682. All of these paratextual verses, published as broadsides in Behn's lifetime, are included with her poetry in Volume v.

Editorially, Volume IV follows the general principles for *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Aphra Behn* in the respects applicable to drama, as set out in full in Volume I. It is organised by date of first performance rather than by first publication or composition. (For this reason, *The Young King* – probably first performed in 1679 though not published until 1682 – is included in Volume III.) As with the rest of the edition, the central aims are here to reconstruct Behn's own intentions for her works, insofar as these can be determined, and to place her texts within the linguistic, cultural, and political contexts that were available to her first audiences and readers. Given the dramatic focus of the volume, the edition-wide objective of locating Behn's works in relation to the institutions of the book trade is complemented by the parallel objective of orientating her texts within the conventions and conditions of the London theatres. Details of our editorial practice are outlined in the Editorial Conventions section that follows, while play-specific information can be found in the editorial section and its Textual Headnote prefacing each work.

The five plays printed in Volume IV include three that were performed and published during the last years of Behn's life, as well as two that first reached

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public audiences only after her death in 1689. Politically, these years (1682–96) stretch from the immediate aftermath of the Exclusion Crisis (c. 1679-81), through the three years of James II and VII's reign (1685-88), to the 1688 Revolution and the accession of William and Mary; the last play to be attributed to Behn, The Younger Brother, was first performed two years after the death of Mary II. In the theatre, these fourteen years witnessed many changes in dramatic tastes, from Exclusion-era political tragedies such as Venice Preserv'd and The Sicilian Usurper in the early 1680s, to the comedies of a new generation of playwrights such as William Congreve, Mary Pix, and John Vanbrugh in the mid 1690s. Institutionally, the period also witnessed two major upheavals within the London theatre: the 1682 merger of the King's and the Duke's companies to form the United Company, followed twelve years later by that organisation's break-up and the subsequent formation of the Lincoln's Inn Fields Company. Behn was unusual among dramatists of the later 1680s in continuing to write for the commercial theatre – albeit less frequently than in the 1670s – even after the creation of the United Company had greatly reduced opportunities for new plays; and, as the staging and publication of The Widdow Ranter and The Younger Brother demonstrate, she was to remain a marketable dramatist even after her death.

For Behn, the years from 1682 to 1689 were the busiest and most diverse of her writing life. As Volumes v-vIII of this edition indicate, this was the period when she was most active across a range of non-dramatic literary genres. Such generic diversification can be attributed to both financial imperatives - her need to find new sources of income amid the dearth of theatrical opportunities in the 1680s - and an interest in literary experimentation evident in her writing since the early 1670s. Already active as a poet in the 1670s and early 1680s, when her published verse included a commendatory poem for Edward Howard's The Six Days Adventure, as well as several songs reproduced in miscellanies and songbooks, and the literary imitation 'A Paraphrase on Oenone to Paris', she was to move in the mid and late 1680s into such new poetic genres as panegyrics on royal events and Aesopian satire, as well as publishing her own single-authored Poems upon Several Occasions (1684). Over the same period she established a reputation in the modish fields of prose fiction and translation, and edited two literary miscellanies. Her ability to produce non-dramatic texts of such range, innovation, and sheer quantity alongside maintaining a successful career in the theatre is rare and remarkable.

Behn's plays of this period also exhibit impressive diversity in terms of both genre and subject matter. *The City-Heiress* and *The Luckey Chance* continue in the tradition of London-based comedies previously evident in *The Town-Fopp* (1676, pub. 1677) and *Sir Patient Fancy* (1678) but with a different political focus,

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following on from her topically inflected historical drama, *The Roundheads* (1681, pub. 1682). *The Emperor of the Moon*, a farce, brought Italian *commedia dell'arte* up to date with an admixture of scientific satire, in a dazzlingly successful comedy that continued to attract audiences well into the eighteenth century. *The Widdow Ranter*, another politically inflected historical drama, can be linked with her near contemporary prose fiction *Oroonoko* due to the two works' innovative American settings; it also represents a reversion to tragicomedy, a genre she had not utilised since *The Forc'd Marriage* (1670, pub. 1671). *The Younger Brother*, a comedy of familial inheritance and sexual intrigue, is more difficult to situate within Behn's career as its late emergence, seven years after her death, leaves so much unclear – most importantly, when it was written and how much of the published text can be attributed to Behn.

By the early 1680s Behn had been writing for the London theatre for over a decade, and had formed many professional, cultural, and political connections. The plays included in the present volume saw her collaborating with a wide range of theatrical and book trade professionals, as well as seeking the patronage of a number of public figures. The text of *The City-Heiress*, for instance, attests to her professional relationship with the booksellers Thomas Brown and Thomas Benskin, who were responsible for its publication. It also evinces links with the playwright Thomas Otway, who provided the prologue; leading actors such as Elizabeth Barry, Thomas Betterton, Charlotte Butler, Thomas Jevon, Anthony Leigh, and James Nokes; and the nameless 'Person of Quality' who supplied the epilogue. Dedicated to the Earl of Arundel, a member of the powerful Howard family, the play aligned Behn firmly with the anti-Popish Plot and anti-Exclusionist cause, with which the earl himself was publicly associated. Arundel's courage in speaking out against the Plot, despite the risk to his own safety, is lauded by Behn in her dedicatory epistle.

Comparable evidence of professional and political connectedness can also be found in her other plays of the period. Behn seems to have been skilled in writing for the talents of individual performers, many of whom worked with her repeatedly. Barry, Betterton, and Nokes, already seasoned Behn performers, were all to act in *The Luckey Chance*, while Leigh and Jevon took part both in that play and in *The Emperor of the Moon*. The young Anne Bracegirdle, later one of the most successful actors of her generation, was to enjoy an early leading role as the Indian Queen in *The Widdow Ranter*. While Behn, unlike some writers of her generation – notably Dryden – did not publish habitually with a particular bookseller, she did place multiple works with the same firm(s). Just as Brown and Benskin, who issued *The City-Heiress*, had previously published *The Roundheads*, Joseph Knights and Francis Saunders, booksellers for

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INTRODUCTION

The Emperor of the Moon, later issued *Lycidus* (1688). William Canning, who published *The Luckey Chance*, was to be Behn's most frequent bookseller in her final years, responsible for texts including *The Fair Jilt*, *Oroonoko*, *A Discovery of New Worlds* (all 1688), and *A Congratulatory Poem to Queen Mary* (1689). Her dedications of *The Luckey Chance* to Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, and *The Emperor of the Moon* to Charles Somerset, Marquess of Worcester, also signal her continuing engagement with contemporary politics and politicians, even in works with less central or obvious political concerns.

Behn's connections with other writers, like her popularity with both audiences and readers, were to continue even after her death. *The Widdow Ranter* was performed posthumously in 1689 with a prologue and epilogue provided by John Dryden – his first known work alongside Behn since *Ovid's Epistles* in 1680. Like Behn, Dryden had opposed William III's accession to the throne; his puns on rebellion, plots, and William's Irish wars in his *Widdow Ranter* paratexts suggest that he recognised these shared loyalties, which may in part explain his willingness to write on her behalf. The early 1690s were to see Behn maintain a frequent presence within the London book trade: a second edition of *Abdelazer* appeared in 1693, poems attributed to her were published for the first time in 1691 and 1692, and a collected edition of her prose fiction, *The Histories and Novels of the Late Ingenious Mrs Behn*, appeared in 1696. A dramatised version of *Oroonoko*, by Thomas Southerne, first staged in late 1695, was closely followed by *The Younger Brother*, published in 1696 under the aegis of Charles Gildon. Both her work and her name had retained popularity.

Like many of the texts posthumously attributed to Behn, including both poems and prose fiction, *The Younger Brother* raises complex questions of authorship and attribution. These issues have been explored through traditional literary and modern computational methods in preparation for this edition. Both the methods and their findings are discussed in the editorial note to *The Younger Brother* in the present volume.

EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

This edition makes available for students, scholars, acting companies, and the general reader a fully accessible, original spelling version of Aphra Behn's works. Textually, it follows broadly conservative principles, seeking to reproduce early witnesses to her work as closely as possible, while making such minimal interventions as are necessary to mediate the text for a contemporary readership. In our reconstruction of the text and provision of textual notes, we have endeavoured to find an appropriate balance between addressing the needs of higher-level undergraduate readers and documenting for period specialists how and why this text varies from its base-text (as represented, for example, in Early English Books Online) and other listed witnesses.

Most of Behn's plays survive in only a single lifetime or early posthumous edition. Where more than one early edition exists, editors have chosen as their base-text the witness that best represents Behn's own intentions for her writings, insofar as these can be deduced. These base-texts have in each case been collated with all other extant editions known to have been produced in (or, in the case of posthumous texts, shortly after) Behn's lifetime. We have not sought to compare these early editions with texts produced substantially after her death, on the grounds that those later texts lack valid independent authority.

Each work is prefaced by an editorial note that outlines key information on cultural contexts and sources and discusses textual matters such as how the interventions of early printers and booksellers have influenced spelling, punctuation, and visual presentation. This textual discussion is based on careful collations made of witnesses of the copy-text – normally at least ten, if that number is known to be extant. Locations and shelfmarks of the copies examined are provided. Behn worked with many different stationers in the course of her career, and the consequent variations and consistencies in these diverse texts offer valuable information for book historians as well as Behn scholars.

Each page of the text includes two kinds of annotation: commentary notes that clarify political or cultural allusions or gloss obscure words; and textual notes that indicate emendations made by the editor, and that record differences between witnesses of the copy-text (and, where relevant, between the copy-text and earlier or subsequent editions). The existence of a commentary note is

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flagged in the text by a footnote number; textual notes are listed by line number, but are not otherwise flagged in order to minimise intrusions into Behn's text. Both commentary and textual notes are located on the same page of the text to which they refer for ease of comparison. Where no author of a work is named in a commentary note, the implied author is Behn.

In general, any intervention made by an editor is recorded in a textual note. The following categories of emendation have, however, been made silently in all texts:

- The design of headings and subheadings within individual works has been regularised across the edition.
- End-of-line hyphens have been removed; in those rare instances when a word that contained an end-of-line hyphen needs to appear in the lemma of a textual note, the symbol ¬ is used to indicate where it originally fell.
- The seventeenth-century use of the symbol = for hyphenation has been regularised to the symbol -.
- Catchwords have been removed; any inconsistencies or stop-press changes to catchwords are therefore discussed in the Textual Headnote, not through textual annotation.
- Display initials have been normalised, and any subsequent capital letter or letters have been changed to lower case.
- Long s has been regularised to s, VV to W, swash italics to plain italics.
- The numeral I, which exists only in that form in seventeenth-century printing, has been presented as either I or 1, depending on which is more appropriate in the immediate context.
- Most ligatures (such as fl, æ) have been expanded (the exceptions are æ and œ in French-language quotations, which have been preserved).
- In sentences that include interpolated text in a non-dominant font (e.g. italic within roman or vice versa), the font of any subsequent punctuation mark is regularised to that of the sentence, if necessary.
- The amount of spacing between words and before and after punctuation has been normalised if no change in meaning results.
- The length of dashes (e.g. to indicate pauses) has been regularised.
- If two words have been run together and their distinction is indicated by an initial capital on the second word, or by a change of font from roman to italic or vice versa, these appear in this edition with a space between them.
- If a punctuation mark or letter is visible in some copies of the same edition but blind or invisible in another or others, the mark is treated as universally present, and no textual note is provided.

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- Where more than one lifetime edition of a text has been collated, no record is made of differences in accidentals such as punctuation marks, font, capitalisation, or spelling unless these have an impact on meaning.
- In seventeenth-century editions of plays, speech prefixes are normally abbreviated and presented in italics. In this edition, speech prefixes in plays are always given in full and presented in roman small capitals. The Textual Headnote outlines the abbreviations used in the base-text and lists any inconsistencies; no textual notes are provided.
- In plays, we have used parentheses rather than square brackets to indicate stage directions that are present in the original; square brackets are used only to indicate the addition of editorially inferred indications of the manner or direction of speech.
- In Restoration printed plays, the great majority of stage directions relating to manner of delivery (such as *aside*) are normally placed at the end of the speech or part of speech to which they refer, and are introduced by a single roman square bracket. In this edition, such stage directions have been moved so that they precede the relevant speech or part of speech, and are enclosed within italic parentheses. If more than one position for such a direction is reasonably likely, this is outlined in a commentary note; otherwise, such changes are made without annotation. Other more unusual positioning or presentation of stage directions is accompanied by a textual note.

Some texts present special difficulties of the kinds listed above. Such matters are in each case discussed in the Textual Headnote to the text itself.

Further textual emendations have been made as and when required to clarify meaning. Such changes are always indicated by a textual note. Common instances include the correction of manifest errors as well as changes to punctuation in cases where this is the simplest way of making the meaning of a text clear to a modern reader. In his modern-spelling (but otherwise conservative) edition of Dryden's poetry, Paul Hammond remarks that 'seventeenth-century accidentals can puzzle and mislead even quite experienced modern readers, and the accidentals supplied by a modern editor may well be found more helpful' (*Poems of John Dryden*, vol. I, p. xviii). We share this view and, notwithstanding our own conservative principles, have emended punctuation when retaining the original would have risked ambiguity or confusion.

Whilst Restoration English spelling, especially in printed texts, differs less from modern standard British English than that of the earlier seventeenth century, it retains some orthographic practices that may give the modern reader undue pause. The general practice in the current edition is to retain and gloss

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such unfamiliar spellings. A particular challenge, however, is represented by words that exist in two alternative spellings both in the seventeenth century and at the present day, but where these two spellings, interchangeable in the earlier period, have subsequently diverged in meaning. Such homophones or near homophones include words which now differ in grammatical function such as *to/too* and *aught/ought*, as well as lexical (content) words such as *president/precedent* and *course/coarse*. The practice in this edition is to emend in the case of grammatically divergent homophones but to retain original spelling in the case of lexical words.

A fuller account of the edition's principles and practices is provided in the Textual Introduction to Volume 1.

NOTE ON DATES

Dates are given in Old Style, except that the new year is taken to begin on 1 January.

Dates of plays are those of first known performance, followed by the year of first publication if that differs.