"Before the Beginning; After the End":
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CHAPTER 22

Before the beginning; after the end: when did plays start and stop?

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In 1993, Gary Taylor and John Jowett published an important chapter on act intervals in plays. They asked why editors and critics paid attention to pauses and silences in dialogue, yet neglected to think about the longer and weightier silences dividing one act from another. Pointing out that plays written for the major theatrical companies between 1616 and 1642, and many dating from earlier, will have had act-breaks – including Shakespeare's late plays – they proposed that 'act-intervals', which divide one act from another as separate units of thought, be recognized as significant 'elements of dramatic meaning, which we ignore to our cost' (1993b: 50).

That chapter reflected an editorial decision already made by Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor in their *Oxford Shakespeare* (Wells and Taylor 1986). They had chosen to present plays not as first written but as first 'acted in the London playhouses' (xxxix); as part of that aim, they acknowledged act-break pauses with a special symbol invented for the purpose, a geometrical 'Tudor' rose. By so doing, they drew particular attention to act-breaks, which they felt had the effect of placing 'more emphasis on the act as a unit' (xxx) – though they also risked closing down other act-scene options, as Alan Dessen discusses elsewhere in this volume.

Recently, Suzanne Gossett, John Jowett and Gordon McMullan have set up a series, Arden Early Modern Drama (AEMD), that likewise aims to produce texts in the form in which they were 'first performed in the theatre' ('General Editors' Preface', quoted, here, from Massinger 2010: x). The AEMD editors also employ act-break markers; they, however, represent the breaks on the page with a treble clef, reminding readers of the fact that music filled pauses between acts in the early modern playhouse (Holland 2001: 127–55). For the Arden editors, the fact of music, with its ability to change or intensify mood, is as crucial an aspect of the act-break as the pause itself.

But if some performative moments not generally recorded in early modern play texts, like act-breaks, are to be added to editions, then why are other aspects ignored? In particular, why do editions not draw attention to the rich and complex playhouse procedures that signified the start and end of plays, and that can, like act-breaks, make a claim to be interpretatively significant? The answer is partly that editors do not know about pre- and post-play events; partly that editors are more comfortable interspersing theatrical events within dialogue than before or afterwards into otherwise empty spaces.

This chapter will ask whether paratextual elements not usually materially appended to the text (what Gerard Genette (1997: 344) calls 'epitexts') are important to play, text, edition and/or meaning. It will investigate the blasts of a trumpet that heralded a play's 'beginning', and the prayer, music, clowning and announcement that followed a play's 'end', questioning when a play actually started and stopped. By so doing, it will complicate questions about how plays should be edited, while also asking what, ultimately, a 'play' is.

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These days it is primarily visual clues that tell an audience when a play is due to start. Depending on the theatre, some of the following will occur: the lights in the auditorium will be lowered; the lights on the stage will be raised; a stage curtain, if there is one, will part. In the early modern period, however, the signal that told spectators to stop talking and look to the stage was primarily aural. A trumpeter, or sometimes several trumpeters, 'heralded' the start of a play with two or three sharp blasts – or even, sometimes, an entire 'flourish' (fanfare) – on his, or their, instrument(s).

That plays should start with trumpets is no surprise. With their bright tones and carrying resonance, trumpets were ideal for announcements of all kinds; they 'sounded' (were caused to make a sound; were blown upon – *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'sound', v.[1] 7) before the publishing of a *royal proclamation*, for instance, in order 'to make way for it, to call people to the hearing of it, and to command attention to it' (Brinsley A6[r]). A host of other important entertainments were announced with trumpets too, including betrothals, challenges, coronations, greetings, parleys, proclamations, processions and reconciliations. So a trumpet-blast at the opening of a play will have served the dual purpose of demanding audience attention, while conveying that something momentous and authoritative was about to happen.

Figure 22.1 Arend van Buchell after Johannes de Witt, *The Swan Playhouse, c.*1596

The trumpeter's importance to the theatre is illustrated by his depiction in the famous Swan Playhouse drawing, copied by Aernout van Buchel from a lost picture by Johannes de Witt (Figure 22.1). That picture includes, elevated high above the stage, a hut out of which a trumpeter leans (Figure 22.2). If this is a mid-play trumpeter, then the picture shows how
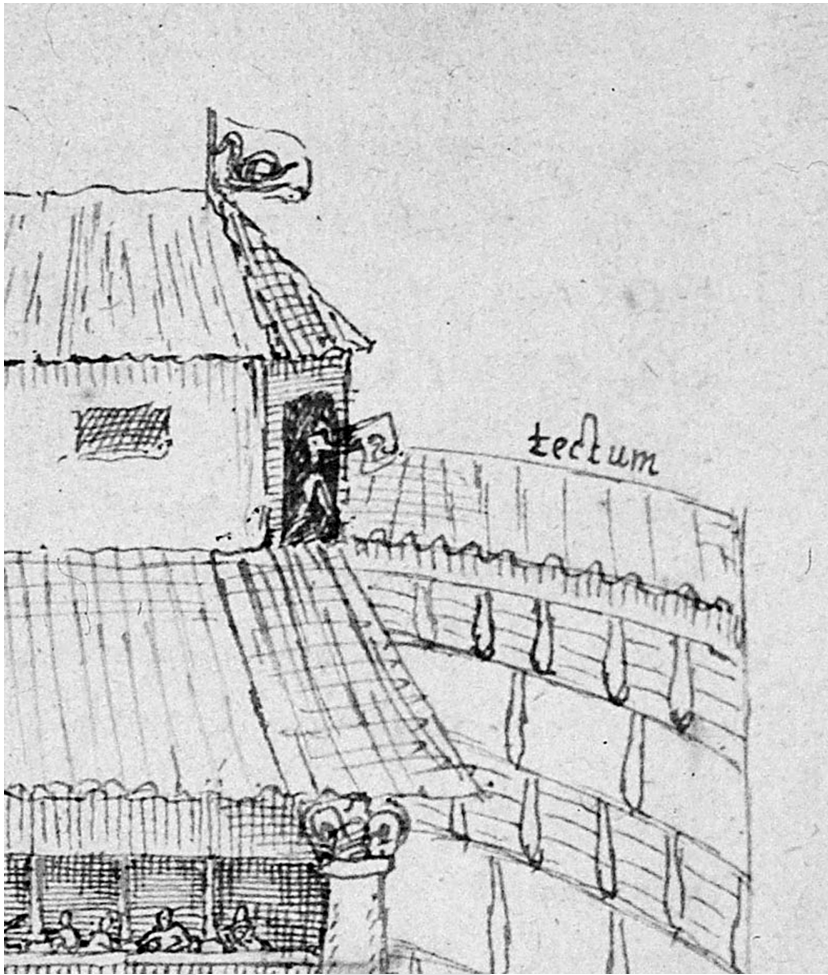
Figure 22.2 Arend van Buchell after Johannes de Witt, Close-up of Trumpeter from
*The Swan Playhouse, c.*1596

memorable a part of the performance was the trumpet-player and his instrument. But the drawing appears to show not a particular moment of performance but the general use of different bits of the playhouse: the galleries and yard are empty, but there are people in the lords' (or musicians') room; the doors of entrance are closed, but a play is in progress on the stage. As the trumpeter's instrument is angled away from the theatre out into Southwark, and as trumpeters did not usually perform during dialogue – as

their strident sound drowned out words – this is probably a representation of the trumpeter in the very act of announcing the beginning of the play.

Hanging from the trumpet of the Swan Playhouse instrumentalist is a flag or 'banner'. It bears the same image as that on the theatre's main flag: the 'sign' of the theatre, a swan. Given that flags and trumpet banners regularly conveyed the same information – in *Henry V*, the French Constable, in need of a flag to illustrate his allegiance, decides 'I will the Banner from a Trumpet take, / And use it for my haste' (TLN 2234–5) – theatrical trumpets are likely to have been 'branded' with the sign of the theatre. This would have had the added advantage, when the players went into London to 'cry' that day's play, of reminding potential audiences which company's repertory was being announced: William Rankins despises the 'Drummes and Trumpets to cal menne to Plaies' (Ci^v), but Philip Henslowe, in 1599/1600, lent money to the Admiral's Men for '2 trumpettes' and 'a drome' for announcements when his company was going 'into the contry' (2002: 130).[1]

Yet if trumpets proclaiming performances were decorated with the sign of their playhouse, they will always have been metatheatrical, visually restating the theatre's symbol against whatever fiction was being played. For instance, if a 'Globe' trumpeter bore the banner depicting his theatre's sign – Atlas / Hercules carrying the globe / world on his back (Stern 1997) – then *Timon of Athens*, admittedly a play notoriously difficult to date or give a theatre to, may have been particularly loaded metatheatrically:

> *Enter Poet, Painter, Jeweller, Merchant, and Mercer, at severall doores.*

> POET.   Good day Sir.
> PAIN.   I am glad y'are well.
> POET.   I have not seene you long, how goes the World?
> PAIN.   It weares sir, as it growes. (TLN 2–9)

With its disdain for the aging and worn 'world', this dialogue at the Globe would have drawn attention both to the creaking space and to the sign just, in two senses, flourished: the image of a man weighed down by an intolerable burden.

More often attested to is the aural effect of the opening trumpet. *The Merrie Conceited Jests of George Peele* relates how George Peele, preparing to enter on stage to speak a prologue, waited until a single 'trumpet had

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[1] Though it is sometimes said that plays were only cried until around 1600, they certainly continued to be cried in the country, and perhaps sometimes the town, for the next two centuries; see Stern 2009b: 37, 265.

sounded thrise' (D1ʳ). A version of this was clearly normal: Thomas Dekker in *Guls horne-booke* details the backstage activity that preceded the start of a play as an exchange between trumpets and prologue – 'the quaking prologue . . . is ready to give the trumpets their Cue that hees upon point to enter' (E4ᵛ). Indeed, so connected was the sound of the trumpet with the prologue that John Earle, writing a definition of 'A Trumpeter' in *Micro-cosmographie*, describes him as 'alwaies the Prologues Prologue' (I5ᵛ). And, though the actual trumpet call before a prologue is only haphazardly recorded in playbooks, trumpets are generally assumed before prologues in plays-in-plays: the prologue to *Pyramus and Thisbe* in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* walks on stage preceded by a trumpeter, as will be addressed; the internal play in Munday et al.'s *Booke of Sir Thomas More* starts with '*The Trompet soundes, enter the Prologue*' (1911: 35).

Only when a variety of paratextual material is appended to a play, and the trumpet calls need to be interspersed between them, do early modern playbooks specifically refer to the sounds with which a play begins. For instance, after the induction to *Lady Alimony* there is a stage direction for '*the third Sound*'; then the '*Prologue*' speaks (clearly, then, two earlier 'sounds', not recorded, preceded the induction) (B2ᵛ). In the 1616 version of Ben Jonson's *Cynthias Revels*, likewise, the induction is said explicitly to begin after 'the second sounding' and the prologue is then spoken after 'The third sounding' (181, 185).[2] The same is the case in Jonson's *Every Man Out*, in which a series of characters enter onto the stage for an induction '*After the second sounding*' (G5ᵛ). *In that induction, however, Asper has a passage in which he compares humours to* 'the air (forc'd through a horn, or trumpet)' which 'Flows instantly away, and leaves behind / A kind of dew'; he, it seems, picks up on the transient sound just rendered into moisture as part of the play's larger exploration of the changeable nature of emotion; his words anticipate, too, the trumpet's reprise as sound before the prologue at the '*third sounding*' (H2ᵛ). In all these exchanges, the trumpet's preliminary calls are interspersed between the play's opening matter, resembling, perhaps, a modern 'five minute bell', a 'two minute bell' and a performance bell. That trumpets are sometimes said to have sounded twice before plays, and sometimes three times, may relate to this habit of scattering their calls between various different kinds of preliminary materials.

[2] Not recorded in the play's earlier iteration, *The Fountaine of Selfe-Love* (1601).

Only in a few rare instances, however, does the prologue's opening trumpet sound make it directly into a stage direction. William Percy's *The Cuck-Queanes and Cuckolds Errants* gives a direction for 'Tarltons Ghost' to speak the prologue 'after Second Sounding', but that is partly because he is more sure about the fact of the sounding than the prologue, which may be '*omitted . . . and another prologue . . . be brought in Place*' (6). John Fletcher and Shakespeare's *Two Noble Kinsmen* has the direction 'Flourish' flanking the word 'Prologue'; here the sound may be recorded to match the play's conclusion, which is also a flourish – this is a tragedy that is to occur sandwiched, even on paper, between two aural displays of ceremony and royal assurance (A2^v).

Early modern plays do sometimes, however, assume the trumpet's sound has been heard though they do not record it. There is, for instance, no stage direction for a trumpet in front of the prologue to Thomas Heywood's *Foure Prentises*, though the speaker in that play asks 'Doe you not know that I am the Prologue? . . . Have you not sounded thrice?' (A4^r). Likewise, the prologue to *Henry V*, with its references to '*A Kingdome for a Stage, Princes to Act, / And Monarchs to behold the swelling Scene*' (TLN 4–5) seems to follow on from a royal 'flourish' (choruses elsewhere in the play are flanked by the word 'flourish'); its later references to conjuring up '*The vastie fields of France*' and the '*Caskes / That did affright the Ayre at Agincourt*' (TLN 13–15) gesture to the military signals that the trumpet will use as a substitute for action; they seem, too, to pick up and reposition sounds just heard.

Plays spoken without prologues – after their second performance, when prologues habitually dropped away (Stern 2009c) – still began with trumpet blasts. Those sounds, likewise, are only intermittently recorded, and are easier to learn about from texts written on the subject of the theatre than actual playbooks. When, in Christopher Brooke's poem *The Ghost of Richard III*, Richard III prepares to enter the stage of the world, he commands that the 'Canker'd Trumpets of the Deepe; / Proclaime my Entrance, to this stagie Round' (B2^r). Likewise, *Lord Have Mercy Upon Us*, a pamphlet describing happenings in Oxford as though they were a play, relates: 'The scene is Oxford, and now sound Trumpets, my Lord enters' (3). Shakespeare, depicting plays-in-plays that do not begin with prologues, still assumes a trumpeter will proclaim them. The actors' entertainment for Christopher Sly in *The Taming of the Shrew*, for instance, begins '*Flourish. Enter Lucentio, and his man*

Triano' (TLN 299); *The Murder of Gonzago* in *Hamlet*, begins '*The Trumpets sounds. Dumbe show followes*' (Q2 H1ᵛ).[3]

It is only plays of the 1580s and 1590s that sometimes articulate in stage directions the fact that the action will begin after a trumpet blast: '*After you have sounded thrise, let Venus be let downe from the top of the Stage*' (Greene A3ʳ). But, as many plays of this period and later begin with a fictional trumpet call, the sound can be said to be often hidden in plain view. Robert Wilson begins *Three Ladies* (1584) with a stage direction for 'Fame' who is to '*Enter . . . sounding before Love and Conscience*' – the trumpet takes to the stage as a character (A2ᵛ); Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part 2* opens with the stage direction for a '*Flourish of Trumpets: Then Hoboyes. Enter King, Duke Humfrey, Salisbury, Warwicke, and Beauford on the one side*' (TLN 2–3), where it appears that a pre-play flourish turns into a flourish for a king. In these instances, the fictional trumpet is negotiating with the pre-play trumpet or, indeed, melding the two, so that what seemed to be an announcement of the imminent start of the play is in fact the actual start of the play.

Even in private theatres, the trumpet appears to have been the sound with which plays began. When, in November 1596, theatrical entrepreneur James Burbage declared his intention to build a playhouse in the Blackfriars precinct, the locals put together a petition to stop him because, amongst other objections, 'the . . . playhouse is so neere the Church that the noyse of the drummes and trumpets will greatly disturbe and hinder . . . the ministers and parishioners' (Chambers 1923: 4.319–20).[4] Though that fear is anticipatory, the later Blackfriars Playhouse does appear to have used the instruments, for in Henry Fitzgeffrey's *Satyres and Satyricall Epigrams . . . Intituled Notes from Black-Fryers* one audience member at Blackfriars is depicted asking another 'what may be found / To deceive Time with, till the second sound?' (E7ᵛ).[5] While it is possible that 'indoor' instruments like cornets were, in this instance, being 'sounded', the term 'sound' was most often used of the trumpet, and the trumpet (and its banner) would have provided constancy between the Globe and Blackfriars, ensuring that all company plays began with equal urgency and royal sanction.

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[3] Interestingly, the trumpets are replaced by '*hoboyes play*' in folio (TLN 1990), perhaps because the play is reconceived for a different place of performance; perhaps because the company had acquired the use of the hoboy-playing London Waits.

[4] It is possible that this document is a forgery, though Arthur Freeman, who has not located the document, agrees with Chambers that it is 'probably genuine' (Freeman and Freeman 2004: 2.1094).

[5] Entire pre-performance concerts, which sometimes also heralded Blackfriars plays, will have been different. They might have substituted for the trumpet or have included it.

As few scholars have considered the play's opening trumpet calls, however, fewer still are conscious of the very particular standing that the trumpeter had in early modern England. Uniquely amongst instrumentalists, trumpeters were obliged to attain a special licence before they could play publicly. An officer chosen by the king, the 'Sergeant Trumpeter', had sole authority to license the playing of trumpets (and beating of drums) outside the royal household; anyone using trumpets without his authority was liable to prosecution. This was as true for theatrical as for military trumpets: 'All trumpet players had to apply for a license to perform in theatrical presentations and all military and naval trumpeters were appointed and licensed by the Sargeant-Trumpeter who accumulated . . . a huge salary from his commissions' (Crispian Steele-Perkins, quoted in Brownlow 1996: 161). That meant, then, that trumpet players always had courtly (and costly) associations, which explains their belief in their own grandeur and superiority. 'No man,' punned John Earle in *Micro-cosmographie*, is 'so puft up' as a trumpeter (I5^r). The start of plays, heralded by a man of status, licensed by the king, will have sounded noble, portentous and regally 'allowed'.

As a little-known decree from the time of James I makes evident, the cost to playhouses of keeping one, or several, daily trumpeters in order to announce plays was significant. Issued by the king, perhaps because some theatrical companies had been remiss in payments, the decree reminds companies that:

> no Drum, Trumpett, nor fife, shall sounde at any plaies, Dumb-shewes or Modells, without the Lycence of our . . . Serjant. And our Sargeant or his deputies, shall have out of every Playhouse to his or their owne use, twelve pence the daie on every daie in which they shall play . . . (our owne Players excepted). ('Fees paid', Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 857, 344. Contractions have been expanded.)

That arrangement, that sum of money, and even that boon for the king's players of free trumpeters was to remain a fixture well into the latter half of the century: on 18 June 1669, a group of trumpeters were apprehended 'for keeping playhouses and sounding trumpets . . . without paying the fee due to his Majesty's serjant trumpeter . . . whereby the said serjeant ought to receive twelve pence from every playhouse for every day they act, his Majesty's players excepted' (quoted De Lafontaine 1909: 217).

It will be because trumpeters were central and expensive non-actor members of theatrical troupes that most plays for most companies abound in trumpet signals: tuckets, sennets, flourishes, alarums,

charges, parleys and retreats are predominant non-verbal sounds of early modern drama. True, the trumpet was relished because it could, given its real-life use, musically create on stage most public ceremonies and most military events – but whenever it did so it will also have recalled its earlier use as herald of the play. A trumpet, then, was quintessentially metatheatrical.

The importance of the trumpet to Shakespeare's company is made obvious by the play-in-the-play in the folio (1623) version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. There, the prologue to *Pyramus and Thisby* is introduced by a stage direction for Pyramus, Thisby, Wall, Moonshine and Lion to enter preceded by '*Tawyer with a Trumpet before them*' (TLN 1924–5). 'Tawyer', a stranded 'real' name, is a reference to William Tawyer (or Toyer), a trumpeter also found on a list of musicians working for the King's Men in 1624 (Cutts 1967: 101–7).[6] His name is also to be found in the burial record of St. Saviour's Southwark for June 1625, where he is described as 'Mr. Heminges man', that is, an employee of the actor, financial manager and Shakespeare editor, John Heminges (Halliwell-Phillipps 1887: 260). The reference, as well as suggesting that the folio version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is for a revival (particularly as 'Tawyer' is not in the 1600 or 1619 quartos), illustrates that one of the major decisions to make when (re)mounting a play was which trumpeter to use. Was Tawyer, who announced the prologue to the internal play, also the trumpeter who announced *A Midsummer Night's Dream*?

Collectively, the sound of the trumpet before a performance raises questions about when a play in the theatre began, and the related question about when an edition should begin. Is the trumpet the last sound heard *before* the play starts, or is it actually the play's start? Early modern playbooks, as shown, often do not directly record the trumpet's sound, but do assume it, imagining a readership conscious of a play's method of starting – aurally and perhaps also visually. As Simon Smith so thoughtfully illustrates, Shakespeare made careful use of trumpet calls within plays to highlight or destabilize stage action (2013: 101–19); might the instrument's first use, too, make a statement about the play to come, as well as creating a metatheatrical link between the play's 'factual' opening, and its subsequent 'fictional' music? The logic that governs

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[6] On that same list are other trumpeters whose names feature in plays as bit-parts – Samuel Underhill, who is found in *Barnavelt* (1619) and *Believe as you list* (1631), and George Rickner, who is in *The Honest Man's Fortune* (1625).

editing plays in their 'first performance' form – and that leads to geome-
trical roses and treble clefs – *might* suggest adding to texts a trumpet call
that was sometimes pre-play, but sometimes actual play. Shakespeare, at
least, often uses trumpets to supply the first music heard after a drama's
start, and asks for trumpets by name more than any other musical
instrument. For plays by Shakespeare and his company – whose free
trumpeter may have intensified their use of that instrument – might it be
worth recording the sound that brought them into being?

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When did early modern plays end? Not, it seems, when early modern play-
books do. Though texts of the period typically conclude on the Latin 'Finis',
that final word seldom marks ions. So the folio text for *Much Ado* reads:

> strike up Pipers. *Dance.*
>   FINIS (TLN 2684–5)

As actors have to leave the stage after a dance for a play to end, an editor,
confronted with this, will at least add a final stage direction to the text,
'exeunt'. Fletcher and Shakespeare's playbook of *Two Noble Kinsmen*
(N1^r) ends:

> *Gentlemen, good night.*
>   Flourish.
> FINIS.

Here, both the epilogue and the trumpeter(s) are left on stage. Again, exits
(and perhaps an entrance, too, for the trumpeter) are, at the very least,
required.

   Hamlet, which survives in two variant 'good' forms, shows how 'finis'
might be placed when words end, but before action does. The 1604 quarto
reads:

> Goe bid the souldiers shoote.
>   *Exeunt.*
> FINIS (G2^r)

Here, though an exeunt is supplied, the sound of the shooting is not. The
folio text for that same moment ends on the same words but extends the
action that follows them:

> Go, bid the Souldiers shoote.
>   *Exeunt Marching: after the which, a Peale of*
>   *Ordenance are shot off.*
> FINIS (TLN 3904–6)

The comparison indicates how easy it was for 'finis' to be placed at the end of the dialogue (always recorded), rather than the theatrical event (not always recorded).

But perhaps it is wrong, anyway, to associate 'finis' with play endings. Shakespeare's *Pericles*, for example, has two different statements of 'finis' on its final page (I3ᵛ). One demarcates the end of the play's dialogue, and the other, separately, the end of the epilogue:

> Lord *Cerimon* wee doe our longing stay,
> To heare the rest untolde, Sir lead's the way.
>   *F I N I S.*
>
> *Gower.*
> In *Antiochus* and his daughter you have heard
> Of monstrous lust . . .
> So on your Patience evermore attending,
> New joy wayte on you, heere our play has ending.
>   FINIS.

Here, the printers may have been given two documents: the play's dialogue and the play's epilogue, both of which were marked with 'finis', because both were separately written and separately concluded. Alternatively, given that printers characteristically concluded all books with 'finis', one or both of these instances may mark the end of the material given to the compositor at a particular moment. As William Sherman observes more generally of books of the period, 'Finis . . . speaks in what we might call the voice of the book, which may or may not be that of the author or printer' (2011: 73).

As 'finis', then, is seldom the conclusion of the staged play, let alone the performance, it is worth considering how the theatrical occasion itself may actually have ended. Here, the confusing epilogue to *Henry IV, Part 2* is instructive. It anticipates at least two events about to occur that are not then specifically recorded. '*My Tongue is wearie*', says the speaker, probably the clown Will Kempe, '*when my Legs are too, I will bid you good night*' (TLN 3348–9), a gesture towards a post-epilogue dance that he will perform; and '*I will . . . kneele downe before you: But (indeed) to pray for the Queene*' (TLN 3349–50), a gesture towards a post-epilogue prayer he will say for the monarch. Both dance and prayer appear to have been usual ways of concluding theatrical events.

The terminal prayer to the monarch was, in the 1580s and 1590s, included in epilogues themselves. During that period, it is therefore regularly recorded: 'Preserve our noble Queene Elizabeth, and her councell all, / With thy heavenly grace, sent from thy seate supernall' (*New Custome* D4ᵛ);

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'Her counsel wise, and Nobles of this land / Blesse, and preserve O lord
with thy right hand' (Wilson 1590: I4^r); 'As duty binds us, for our noble
queene let us pray, / And for her honourable councel' (Preston 1570: F3^r).
Yet, as *Henry IV, Part 2* suggests, when the prayer was no longer in the
epilogue, it was still spoken: it simply was not written afresh for each play –
presumably because it had become formulaic. So Thomas Freeman in
Rubbe and a great cast (A3^r) writes a poem to James I pouring scorn on
the kind of player who

> prophanes his lips
> With scurrile jeasts of some lewd ribald Play;
> And after all, upon the Scaffold skips,
> And for his Sov'raigne then begins to pray.

Writing in 1631 in the time of Charles I, Richard Brathwait in *Whimzies*
likewise refers to the 'Actor after the end of a Play', who zealously 'prayes
for his Majestie, the Lords of his most honourable privie Councell, and
all that love the King' (1631: 56).[7] Yet the prayer itself, by that period, is
only recorded in a single interlude, *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fooles*.
Obsessed with preserving 'auncient and laudable custome' (A1^v), that
interlude probably records its words for the monarchical prayer because
plays of old had done so: 'all our hearts pray for the King, and his
families enduring happinesse, and our countries perpetuall welfare'.
Concluding 'Si placet plaudite', *Two Wise Men* is also the only text
that, using a formula taken from Plautus as a stage direction, assumes
the audience's response to the completion of the drama, applause, is a
further aspect of the play's end (O2^v) (should applause, too, be recorded
as part of a play?).

Yet though, with these rare exceptions, the words of the prayer are not
recorded in seventeenth-century playbooks, the fact that it was spoken will
have had a significant effect on plays. Declared by a supplicating player on
his knees, it will visually have illustrated the humility of the theatrical
company. With its recipient as God and monarch both, it will simulta-
neously have functioned, like 'vivat regina' and 'vivat rex' at the end of
playbills, as a reminder to spectators that public theatre was regally
approved. It will also, by extension, have ensured that every drama ended
on a round statement of establishment values. Perhaps it therefore
'allowed' subversive or politically knotty plays, for monarchical prayers
will have blunted (or, depending on interpretation, ironized) the preceding

[7] For more on terminal prayers in epilogues, see Hattaway 2009: 154–67 and Stern 2010: 122–9.

drama. There is, then, a logic for placing the fact that terminal prayers were spoken in modern editions: prayers may seem to alter subtly the meaning of the play just performed.

Other post-play events were, like the opening trumpet call, sometimes part of the fiction of the story, and sometimes not. For instance, in public and private theatre alike, some kind of music followed every drama. This often took the form of a dance involving several actors – presumably showcasing them for their final applause. Thomas Platter, a Swiss visitor to London in 1599, saw a production of *Julius Caesar*, probably Shakespeare's play, and records how 'when the play was over they danced very marvellously and gracefully together as is their wont, two dressed as men and two as women' (1937: 166); a year earlier, Paul Hentzner, a German visitor, recorded that 'English Actors represent almost every day Tragedies and Comedies . . . these are concluded with music, variety of dances, and the excessive applause of those that are present' (1757: 41). As plays, particularly comedies, regularly include dances in the conclusion to their stories, the dance sometimes merged the fictional celebration, often of a wedding, with the factual celebration of the end of the event. *All's Well*, quoted above, provides just one such instance, but other Shakespeare plays too conclude on dances, including *A Midsummer Night's Dream, Much Ado* and *As You Like It*. Should post-play dances, when not part of the play itself, be mentioned in editions? In all instances, factual and fictional alike, such dances will have altered the audience's mood.

The question is complicated by the fact that the music does not seem always to have taken dance form. Sometimes what was performed after the play was a song, which was even more likely to be seen as a comment on the preceding play. '*When that I was and a little tine boy*', with its burden of '*the raine it raineth every day*', which is sung as a conclusion to *Twelfth Night* when '*our Play is done*' (TLN 2560–79) is one such song; its world-weary attitude to life, love and marriage is often thought to mock or at least trouble the subject of its play. Other plays, too, ended on similarly resigned – and similarly weather-conscious songs – as the introduction of a drinking song 'to be sung at the latter end' of Dekker's *Shoemakers Holiday*, 'Cold's the wind, and wet's the raine', suggests (A4ʳ). Nor, however, did song necessarily substitute for dance: John Davies considers the moment in the theatre 'When ended is the play, the daunce, and song' (2ᵛ). Should the potential for both events be recorded at the end of play texts?

Conflicting with this aim is the fact that jigs – comic song-and-dance combinations – are regularly described as being performed after plays: Lupton

in 1632 records how 'most commonly when the play is done, you shal have a Jigge or dance of al trades' (1632: 81), and Knolles in 1606 relates that 'now adayes they put at the end of everie Tragedie (as poison into meat) a comedie or jigge' (1606: 645). Though jigs are sometimes said to have fallen out of fashion, repeated references to them suggest that they had a habit of re-emerging, or that activities designated 'dance' or 'song' might substitute for or have become them (Gurr 2004b: 69–77). With their frankness and bawdiness, jigs in their boldest form will have altered the entire feel of the theatrical occasion.

A different event, perhaps an alternative to dance/song/jig, or perhaps following on from it, was the clown's improvisation on a 'theme' provided by the audience. For this, spectators shouted out themes or questions to which the company clown improvised a song in response. 'The play being done', the great clown of the 1580s, Richard Tarlton, would request that, as *Tarltons Jeasts* records, 'every one so pleased to throw up his theame'; various jests of the time relate to the fact that 'it was his custome for to sing extempore of Theames given him' (C3^r). A book that may preserve some surviving themes from a later clown is Robert Armin's *Quips upon Questions*. It contains queries like 'Why barkes that Dogge?' to which it provides rhyming responses, generally poking fun at the questioners: 'wanting wit, better be Dogges, and barke' (A4$^{r–v}$). As 'themes' were often described as songs – 'I would ende in a song, yea an Extempore song on this Theame, Nequid nemis necessarium' (Chettle 1593: G4^v) – the words 'song', 'dance' and maybe even 'jig' might on occasion be interchangeable with 'theme'. It is therefore difficult to say how many separate events might follow on from a play, though the fact that post-play events were generally farcical and musical seems a given. Is it worth recording, perhaps even important to record, in serious play texts, that the event's ultimate conclusion probably involved music consisting of or enhanced by a clown's indecorums?

One more event took place before the occasion reached its end. As play runs had yet to come into being, and different plays were performed on a daily basis, generally 'after th'Epilogue there comes some one / To tell Spectators what shall next be shown' (Beaumont and Fletcher 1647: F6^r). Audiences, perhaps already involved in the stage action through 'themes', seem to have felt ready to take part in this particular announcement. When Antonio Foscarini, an Italian ambassador to England, was given the opportunity to '[invite] the public to the play for the next day', he found that 'the people, who wanted a different one, began to call out . . . because they wanted one that they called "Friars"' (Orrell 1977–78). Did this

moment mark the ultimate end of the play in every public (but obviously not court) performance – or did it mark the first clear moment after the play's end, as attention turned to what would be staged the next day?

The question, then, is the same as that for the trumpeter: are these events that follow on from a play, or are they part of the play – or are some the former and some the latter? In all instances, the answer partly depends on what 'the play' is thought to be. Modern editions that aim to produce the first day of performance (the second day of performance would make better sense, as first performances contained unique and unrepeated events – see Stern 2000: 113–21) should presumably embrace the performative actions addressed here.

Yet traditionally editors have been attempting to reproduce a play in the state in which it left the author's hand. That means that they have been resistant to the idea of inserting events that are part of the performance but not part of the author's script. Nevertheless, such editions – of which Arden 2 offers various examples – have always corrected missed entrances/ exits and added necessary props for the sake of the logical coherence of the play. So whilst maintaining that they are returning to an earlier, page-focused, occasion, they are nevertheless edited in fact with an eye to the concerns of the stage. This is true even of the editions that privilege fictional story over performance or writer. 'Location' directions, once regularly added to texts to explain where the play's story rather than its staged event occurs – '*an apartment of the* PRINCE's', '*Another part of the field*' (Norton edition of *Henry IV, Part 1*, lightly updated by McMullan (Shakespeare 2003): 8, 88) – are still flanked by missing or instructive 'theatrical' stage directions, fusing 'story' with 'performance'.[8] Even the *RSC Shakespeare*, which prides itself on being based on the folio, 'a real book', rather than a notional performance, adds thoughtful performative stage directions to its text because it is simultaneously aiming to be the chosen edition of one of Britain's premiere acting companies (Bate and Rasmussen 2007: 56). As all 'book-based' editions for 'readers', then, remain frankly theatrical in many of their editorial insertions, there is still a rationale for sandwiching around them pre- and post-performance activities – particularly if the creating author believed these activities to be (unwritten) presences in his script.

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[8] The text for this 2003 edition is that by James L. Sanderson, first published in 1962 and revised in 1968.

This chapter has not set out to solve the problem of how to edit the beginning and end of texts, but to show that there is a problem. It has shown greater problems, however, bedevilling what editors choose to acknowledge and what to leave out. As no editors have an entirely clear sense of what 'the play' as opposed to 'the occasion' is – because, of course, neither do early modern playbooks – so no edited text clearly represents either.

That returns us, then, to the question of whether or not it is useful or helpful or even permissible to include theatre-only activities in modern editions. Such happenings as this chapter has detailed are, after all, non-authorial, do not seem (often) to have been included in early modern printed versions of plays and belong more to the event than to the text. On the other hand, these happenings have also been shown to be, sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly, interpretatively relevant.

Countering that is the fact that it is impossible to be sure that each pre- and post-play event was part of *every* performance of *every* play. Additionally, each pre- and post-play event has a certain vagueness in number and nature that makes it hard to articulate as stage-directions: how many trumpet calls were there, and how often did a flourish substitute for them (i.e., what should an editor write for the 'trumpet' moment)? What was the nature of the post-play music and clowning, and did it alter from play to play, or day to day, or playhouse to playhouse (i.e., what should an editor write for the 'music' moment)? Should a slew of symbols be created to add to 'Tudor' roses and treble clefs, so that our texts are filled with stylized pictures of trumpets and/or banners, praying hands, gambolling clowns, speech bubbles? That, surely, is ridiculous. But so too is ignoring events around which playwrights seem (often) to have written – and companies (always?) to have performed – their plays.