'To see the Playes of Theatre newe wrought': Electronic Editions and Early Tudor Drama

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Early Theatre 16.2 (2013), 211–249

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.12745/et.16.2.13

This article considers the challenges and opportunities associated with electronic editions of early Tudor drama, as well as the new modes of scholarship enabled by their creation.

In early Tudor England the drama had sunk many fathoms below the level of the Miracle Plays ... The rise of the drama, under Elizabeth, is a kind of miracle, like the sculpture of Phidias appearing after the rude art of the artists who worked at Athens before the victories of Marathon and Salamis.¹

The continued neglect of early Tudor drama suggests little has changed in the hundred years since Andrew Lang published this disparaging remark. A generation before, J.A. Symonds announced that the Tudor moralities 'can hardly be said to lie in the direct line of evolution between the Miracle and the legitimate Drama, but rather to be an abortive side-effort, which was destined to bear barren fruit'. Routinely dismissed as 'thematically humanistic, theatrically dull, and aesthetically mediocre', early Tudor drama has, as Leah S. Marcus observes, typically 'interested scholars only as a transition to something else', anamely, the drama of Shakespeare and his immediate contemporaries. Frederick S. Boas' *Introduction to Tudor Drama*, for example, begins with the acknowledgment that Shakespeare 'does not stand alone in isolated majesty', that

His work is the climax, the consummation of the efforts and achievements of forerunners for a century before he began to write. Unless we know something of what they were and did, of what they contributed to the English stage before Shakespeare came both to crown and to eclipse what they had so far accomplished, we shall not be able to see his own work in its true proportion and perspective. Some knowledge of predecessors and contemporaries in the field of

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drama is therefore necessary to every reader of Shakespeare after he has become more or less familiar with the plays preserved in the First Folio of 1623. This is alone a sufficient reason for the study of early Tudor drama.⁵

Thus dutiful scholars and students alike are reminded that 'however uninteresting in itself', the early Tudor drama 'is yet the necessary object of study for all who would trace the rise of the popular Elizabethan drama'. The evolutionary paradigm of literary history reflected in these statements casts early Tudor drama either in the role of primordial soup, as the 'unpromising slime' from which the golden age of the Elizabethan and Jacobean commercial theatres emerged, or in the role of crude link between the crowning achievements of the medieval and Renaissance drama — a link that, however inconvenient, stubbornly refuses to go missing.

This is not to dismiss the importance of recent scholarly work on early Tudor drama, but to suggest that the drama associated with the commercial theatres of Shakespeare and his immediate contemporaries continues to dominate critical, editorial, pedagogical, and theatrical attention. As I have argued elsewhere,⁸ to address this imbalance in the canon of Renaissance drama as it is taught, studied, and performed requires not only the increased availability of responsibly edited texts of these neglected plays, but also the creation of open-access, media-rich, electronic editions of the same. The present paper extends this earlier and broader argument and considers the particular challenges and opportunities associated with electronic editions of early Tudor drama, as well as the new modes of scholarship enabled by their creation.

True Proportions

Early Tudor drama remains conspicuously underrepresented, if not absent entirely, from the handful of dedicated editorial series meeting the demand for critical editions of English drama in print. Since Clifford Leech inaugurated the series in 1958, The Revels Plays has published only two volumes of early Tudor drama, namely Ian Lancashire's edition of *Two Tudor Interludes*, containing modern-spelling texts of *Youth* and *Hick Scorner*,⁹ and Paula Neuss's edition of John Skelton's *Magnificence*,¹⁰ both published in 1980, both only printed in hardcover, and both now long out of print. The newer Revels Plays Companion Library series, launched in 1986, similarly offers only a single edition of early Tudor drama, namely, a modern-spelling text

of Richard Edwards's Damon and Pythias in Ros King's 2001 edition of his works. 11 Since both series appeal (or are marketed) to a smaller audience of textual scholars and area specialists, relatively low print runs (usually only in hardcover)¹² ensure that volumes are priced accordingly and reside for the most part in academic libraries, too expensive for classroom (or even personal) use. In the catalogues of the more affordable paperback series aimed at a wider student readership, including the Arden Early Modern Drama, New Mermaids, Norton Critical Editions, and Revels Student Editions series, only three volumes of early Tudor drama have been published, with a total of five different plays between them: G.A. Lester's Three Late Medieval Morality Plays for the New Mermaids (1981), which contains Everyman, Mankind, and Mundus et Infans; Charles Whitworth's Three Sixteenth Century Comedies, also for New Mermaids (1984), which contains Gammer Gurton's Needle and Ralph Roister Doister; and, Douglas Bruster and Eric Rasmussen's Arden Early Modern Drama edition of Everyman and Mankind (2009). 13 The dutiful student and devoted scholar hungering for early Tudor drama beyond these five plays must, therefore, forage elsewhere for editorial sustenance.

In 2004, Alexandra F. Johnston lauded scholarly efforts since the midtwentieth century that resulted in 'the modern stage revival of many of the early plays both religious and secular', the 'gathering and editing of all the surviving written evidence for drama, music and ceremony' during the Tudor period, and 'the re-editing of *all* the surviving play texts'. 14 Given the tremendous successes of the Records of Early English Drama and similar projects to reinvigorate modern scholarship and performance of Tudor drama to which she refers, Johnston may be forgiven for exaggerating the editorial treatment of these plays since the twentieth century. Some early Tudor drama remains available only in photo- or type-facsimile or diplomatic transcription, mostly produced in the first half of the twentieth century under the auspices of the Malone Society Reprints and the Tudor Facsimile Texts series. These include The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality, July and Julian, The Pedlar's Prophecy, Virtuous and Godly Susanna, and over half of the extant interlude fragments. The most surprising addition to this list is George Whetstone's Promos and Cassandra, a dramatic reworking of Cinthio's Hecatommithi, both long recognized as sources for the main plot of Shakespeare's Measure for Measure. A bibliographical tally of critical editions of the ninetytwo extant early Tudor plays and fragments in English — excluding closet and Latin plays - published since 1900 reveals that only seventy-six (or 82.60%) of these have been edited, and that for many as fourteen plays (or 15.21%), only a single twentieth-century critical edition is available (Table 1). Out of the total ninety-two plays and fragments, thirteen are only available in modern-spelling editions and eleven only in old spelling.¹⁵

Table 1. Critical Editions of Early Tudor Drama in English, 1900–2013. For bibliograph-

ical details, see Appendix 1.

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	Editions		Percent			Only	
Date	by	Total	Total	Modern	Old	Modern	Only Old
Published	Volume	Plays	Corpus	Spelling	Spelling	Spelling	Spelling
1900-1909	45	58	63.04	47	28	30	11
1910-1919	11	19	20.65	6	15	4	13
1920-1929	13	28	30.43	9	25	3	19
1930-1939	15	18	19.56	11	8	10	5
1940-1949	11	7	7.60	5	3	4	2
1950-1959	8	6	6.52	3	3	3	3
1960-1969	17	25	27.17	20	11	14	5
1970-1979	22	34	36.95	20	22	12	14
1980-1989	24	36	39.13	14	27	9	22
1990-1999	13	24	26.08	7	19	5	17
2000-2009	13	14	15.21	5	12	2	9
2010-2013	3	12	13.04	12	0	12	0
1900-1989	166	75	81.52	62	61	12	11
1990-2013	29	35	38.04	18	25	10	17
1900-2013	195	76	82.60	65	63	13	11

Even if Johnston's assessment of the editorial landscape is somewhat generous, it is true that the majority of early Tudor drama was edited in some form during the twentieth century. Most plays appear in mixed anthologies, though D.S. Brewer published collections of the plays of John Bale, John Heywood, and Henry Medwall in their Tudor Interludes series. ¹⁶ With few exceptions, these editions of early Tudor drama were published before 1990 and are now out of print, while titles still in print (or are available by print-on-demand) are expensive. For example, the 2012 *Broadview Anthology of Medieval Drama*, edited by Christina Fitzgerald and John T. Sebastian and containing modern-spelling texts of ten early Tudor plays, is a USD \$64.95 paperback volume. ¹⁷ The next most recent collection, ¹⁸ Greg Walker's *Medieval Drama: An Anthology*, ¹⁹ published in 2000 and containing eleven early Tudor plays in old spelling, is listed as a USD \$75.95

paperback print-on-demand title.²⁰ Titles in the Tudor Interludes series, published between 1979 and 1991 in old spelling, remain available from the publisher directly, priced at GBP £45.00 or USD \$80.00 for most volumes.²¹ In contrast, David Bevington's *Medieval Drama*, containing ten early Tudor plays and published in 1975, remained out of print until Hackett Publishing secured the rights to reprint it in 2012, in cloth, for USD \$60.00.²²

The relative expense and limited availability of editions of early Tudor drama reflects the economics of demand and supply. While critical editions enable scholarship, facilitate teaching, and provide the basis for performance, Eugene Giddens has noted that 'the market continues to be driven by students, not scholars', 23 because the biggest demand for critical editions is for classroom use. Since, to cite Roland Barthes' aphorism, the canon is 'what gets taught', this demand-driven model for the production of critical editions can only function to sustain the existing canon of early English drama, a process characterized by Michael Leslie as 'increasingly sterile reiteration'. 24 A disparity in market share and demand means that editions of canonical drama that of Shakespeare and the commercial Elizabethan and Jacobean theatres in particular — are more readily available (in both old and modern spelling) and affordable than those of other dramatists and periods. This greater affordability and availability, as Gary Taylor has observed, facilitates flexible teaching, whereas the unavailability of affordable editions 'makes it correspondingly difficult to teach other dramatists at all, let alone flexibly'.25

The job of expanding the canon of early English drama requires a new model for the production of critical editions, a model driven neither by demand nor subject to the restraints imposed by the institutions of print publishing. ²⁶ We cannot wait to respond to a demand for critical editions of early Tudor drama that may never come, but must be proactive in their creation regardless. This new model must also rely on innovative practices of openaccess digital publishing, such that the production of critical editions is supported and maintained by flexible institutional partnerships and collaborations, in which autonomy is not surrendered to the presses. Such a structure will ensure that even if our work is not immediately popular, it is nonetheless readily accessible, not 'too expensive to be purchased by individual scholars and students' and relegated to the status of 'library-only editions'. ²⁷ While a number of editorial projects are pioneering the use of open-access digital publishing, ²⁸ the precise shape of this new model remains to be seen.

Humanism, Dullness, and Mediocrity

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the critical, pedagogical, and theatrical privileging of Shakespeare (and, to a lesser extent, a select group of his immediate contemporaries in the commercial theatres of Elizabethan and Jacobean London), coupled with a concomitant tendency to patronize the earlier and deprecate the later drama, is both a contributing factor to, and a reflection of, the (relatively limited) editorial attention that has been paid to these plays. While the evolutionary paradigm of literary history, as the dominant critical mode, is certainly an important factor, what are the other reasons for the continued editorial neglect of early Tudor drama?

Let us consider the litany of charges routinely levelled at the plays by critics; namely, that they are 'thematically humanistic, theatrically dull, and aesthetically mediocre'. 29 As Kent Cartwright has argued, much recent criticism on the Elizabethan and Jacobean commercial theatre has traditionally emphasized its indebtedness to the morality tradition 'as opposed to the influence of a more formal academic and humanist theatre'. 30 This 'valorizing of morality drama', exemplified in important studies by David Bevington and Robert Weimann, 'has entailed not only the dismissal of humanist theatricality but also the devaluing of other medieval forms, such as the saints' plays, civic mystery plays, and folk drama'. 31 To dismiss early Tudor drama as 'thematically humanistic' is to betray a misunderstanding of humanist drama as 'something arid, literary, elitist, and rule-bound'. It is to deny that 'the excitement of the Tudor stage derives partly from a humanist dramaturgy that embroils feelings and emotions in the creation of meaning', and to perpetuate a 'binary model' that refuses to acknowledge 'Tudor drama's triumphant mingling, balancing, and negotiating of sources and interests', humanist and otherwise.³²

The traditional charge of theatrical 'dullness' is one that, I suspect, was levelled against early Tudor drama by earlier critics who had only ever experienced the plays on the page, and not in performance. Since the successful staging of a condensed version of the York cycle for the Festival of Britain in 1951, and the abolishment of theatrical censorship in the United Kingdom in 1968 that had previously impeded the staging of early drama on account of its frequent impersonation of the deity,³³ there has been a revival of interest in the performance of medieval and early Tudor drama in Britain and further abroad. This growth of interest coincides with the emergence of professional and amateur theatre groups dedicated to early drama in the 1960s and 1970s,

such as the Medieval Players (founded ca 1970, disbanded ca 1990) and the Joculatores Lancastrienses (founded ca 1960), as well as the inauguration of scholarly associations to promote and study early drama in production, such as the Poculi Ludique Societas (founded ca 1964).³⁴ The continued success of such performances and modern recreations, Glynne Wickham notes, has not only 'revealed how lively' early Tudor plays are on stage and 'how suitable as texts for practical class-work in small study groups', but also 'how relevant their conventions are to any genuine understanding of both late Elizabethan drama and theatre and modern street and arena theatre'.³⁵

T.W. Craik has argued that early Tudor plays 'were far more effective when acted than we can guess when we merely read them' because 'so much of the meaning ... is conveyed by the significant use of action and costume' and 'that unless this is borne in the mind they cannot be appreciated or even properly understood'.36 For critics unable (or unwilling) to see or imagine early Tudor drama in performance, the dismissal of the plays as 'theatrically dull' and 'aesthetically mediocre' is therefore understandable if they are assessed solely as reading texts, as literature and poetry. Read in the unfair light of the crowning achievements of Middle English poetry or the later Elizabethan literature, the early Tudor plays, in contrast, have been found wanting by virtue of the 'relative poverty of their language'. 37 Modern scholars and students unfamiliar with classical French theatre or conditioned on the blank verse of the later Elizabethan drama may also find the prosody of early Tudor drama variously crude, bombastic, or simply frustrating to read. The fourteener, while 'serious business in Tudor literature' and 'a weighty line for the first generation of Elizabethan writers and translators, 38 often, as T.S. Eliot observed, 'repels readers who have not the patience to accustom their ears and nerves to its beat'.³⁹ However alienating these features of the early Tudor drama may be for the modern reader, they are rendered immediately accessible by performance.

Bringing Early Tudor Drama Online

Print remains the dominant medium for the publication of critical editions, not just of early English drama. The electronic medium, however, has much to commend itself as a viable alternative, if not as a successor. The type and amount of content that may be included in print editions are subject to commercial restrictions set by their publishers — such as word and page limits, print runs, format, etc. — as well as the technological limitations

of the medium itself. Electronic editions, by contrast, can present multiple and interlinked versions of the same texts, alongside relevant sources, analogues, and adaptations, in both old and modern spelling, all with multiple levels of annotation and commentary. Rich multimedia content may also be incorporated, such that critical editions offer digitized facsimile images of the texts and relevant performance materials, audio recordings, and still and moving images. Unlike print editions, in which the contents are static and (literally) bound, electronic editions are able to facilitate dynamic interaction between its contents by and between its users through customization, annotation, discussion, and play.⁴⁰

Many innate features of early Tudor drama suggest that electronic editions, rather than print, may better serve readers of the plays. Unlike plays prepared for the later commercial London theatres and their heterogeneous audiences, the impetus for the performance of early Tudor drama was typically 'some larger collective activity on the part of a household, parish, town, or other institution', and thus authors and audiences 'could count on a high degree of common knowledge and group cohesion'. ⁴¹ As Leah S. Marcus has noted, this 'shared knowledge has to be recovered ... before we can fully appreciate the vitality and daring of the plays', and early Tudor drama 'invariably increases in interest the more we are able to immerse ourselves in its immediate political contexts'. ⁴²

What a print edition can only describe in static words and images, an electronic edition can recreate with rich multimedia and dynamic content. Marcus's term is thus prescient: since early Tudor drama is so intimately tied to particular places, spaces, and local contexts, the electronic medium is the best way to 'immerse' the reader in the cultural, intellectual, and spatial environments of their original performances, albeit virtually. An electronic edition of John Redford's Wit and Science, for example, may incorporate audio recordings of choral performances of its songs in various musical settings, allowing the reader-as-listener to experience the songs in performance. 43 Similarly, by integrating virtual reality software more commonly used in architecture, archaeology, and gaming, an electronic edition of Henry Medwall's Fulgens and Lucres, for example, may allow readers-as-directors to virtually block scenes of the play in an interactive three-dimensional scale model of the Great Hall in Lambeth Palace, where the play was likely first staged.⁴⁴ An electronic edition, through animated or dynamic text, may also better convey the ambiguities, both editorial and theatrical, present in some early Tudor plays than can be accomplished in print. 'By reading the plays in

modern editions that identify the allegorical persons by name before they speak', Marcus suggests, 'we receive a false sense of certainty about the relationship of concept to person that was probably far less readily available to early audiences'. An electronic edition of John Skelton's *Magnificence*, to use Marcus's example, may animate the speech prefixes for Courtly Abusion and Pleasure so they dynamically interchange at given intervals, reflecting Magnificence's initial mistaking of one for the other and transferring this uncertainty to the reader. 46

If, as T.W. Craik suggests, 'no plays — those of the "Shakespearian" period not excepted — more thoroughly exploit their theatrical setting' than the early Tudor drama, 47 then no medium better capitalizes on the vitality of performance than the electronic. Through the incorporation of digital or digitized video recordings, electronic editions may offer the reader-asviewer the opportunity to see early Tudor drama in performance and, in so doing, actively reject the traditional perception of the plays as 'theatrically dull'. Richard Brome Online and Queen's Men Editions (with its companion Performing the Queen's Men site) have already successfully pioneered the use of video clips of staged readings and theatrical performances as editorial annotation and commentary to the plays. Other projects, like the Digital Renaissance Editions, have proposed editions that will include video footage of staged productions, in whole and in part.⁴⁸ Through the incorporation of video and other multimedia, features of the early Tudor drama otherwise difficult for readers to appreciate may be rendered accessible by virtual performance.

Old Texts and New Customs

In *New Custom* (1573), the Prologue announces 'Al thinges be not soe as in sight they doe seeme', and through 'triall', 'good Instruction, and knowledge of right', we 'may learne, how grosly wee err / Taking one thinge for an other'. Though the polemics of the interlude seek to demonstrate that Protestantism's seemingly 'newe' customs are instead a return to the 'Primitiue' (ie, 'original') doctrines and that the authority claimed by Catholicism through 'antiquitie' is illusory and perverse, its broader provocation to sustained introspection, dialogue, and critical reassessment of received tradition resonates with the present discussion. Before the 'newe Custome' of the reformers enabled such questions to be raised, the Prologue suggests, 'no man was able then to proue them [Catholic doctrine] the contrarie'.⁴⁹

Scholarship on early Tudor drama awaits a similar reformation, to reassess traditional claims and subject the critical assumptions of previous generations to rigorous testing. As in *New Custom*, such a reformation requires access to the 'original' texts of the early Tudor drama in order to pierce through the 'stubberne Doctrine' of received criticism. The paucity of available critical editions of early Tudor drama continues to stymie any such attempts and, as indicated by the bibliographical survey above, a century of print publication has yet to provide access to the entire canon of plays and fragments.

Electronic texts of early Tudor drama are similarly limited in terms of the range of plays available, accuracy of transcription, and richness of textual encoding (used to provide machine-readable structure). The principal digital sources of such transcriptions, Chadwyck-Healey's *Literature Online (Lion)* and the *Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership (EEBO-TCP)*, are 'magnificent but flawed', with critics identifying a growing catalogue of errors in transcription and encoding such that 'few of [their] transcriptions fully meet the scholarly standards one associates with decent diplomatic editions in the print world'. The *Lion* text of *New Custom*, for example, regularizes the position of speech headings and stage directions, and normalizes blackletter and roman type. It fails to encode abbreviations or properly render either the accented characters indicating them (eg, the macron 'a' and 'o' in 'Ignorāce' and 'Edificatiō') or any of the capitulum marking the beginning of speeches, among other errors. There is no *EEBO-TCP* transcription of the play.

Without accurate machine-readable transcriptions, we cannot subject early Tudor drama to computer-aided quantitative analysis of the sort now routinely undertaken on Shakespearean texts to reveal latent authorial, bibliographical, linguistic, stylistic, and thematic features that are simply not visible by other means. Electronic editions therefore may not only provide readers with access to (and enriched experiences of) early Tudor drama, but the richly encoded texts and transcriptions upon which they rely may also enable new modes of computational scholarship — the 'newe Custome' required to systematically test traditional claims about the development of early Tudor drama and its position in literary history. 52

Coda: From Ignorāce to Edificatiō

So long as early Tudor drama remains relegated to the critical, editorial, pedagogical, and theatrical peripheries, limited demand for critical editions

of these plays will never justify their commercial production in print. Openaccess digital publishing may prove to be the only feasible alternative to this dominant, demand-driven production model, maintained by the centuries old institutions of print and functioning to sustain existing canons. While electronic editions face many challenges — institutional and technological, practical and theoretical — the capacity of the medium to extend beyond the constraints of print, to facilitate interaction and immersion, and to incorporate performance materials and rich multimedia content, makes it an ideal environment for the study and rehabilitation of early Tudor drama.⁵³ More than this, the creation of accurately transcribed, richly encoded, machinereadable texts will enable scholars to scrutinize persistent critical assumptions about the early Tudor drama through computer-aided analysis of the plays. Such methods, already routinely applied to Shakespearean texts, will allow detailed exploration of early Tudor drama at the level of the type, word, line, phrase, speech, character, scene, act, play, author, auspices, genre, or period, whether in isolation or in relationship to others across the corpus. To paraphrase Jasper Heywood's Hercules Furens, electronic editions will allow us to 'see the playes' of the early Tudor period 'newe wrought'.54

Appendix 1: Critical Editions of Early Tudor Drama in English Published since 1900

This survey excludes closet plays in English as well as Latin plays from the period. Similarly excluded are facsimile editions, performance scripts, foreign-language translations, selections and excerpts, reprints, and unpublished theses and dissertations.

Play Title	Critical Editions			
	Modern Spelling	Old Spelling		
Albion Knight (fragment)	1906e Farmer	-		
All for Money	1985 Palermo Concolato 1969 Schell & Shuchter	1904 Vogel		
Appius and Virginia	1988 Hedley 1908a Farmer	1972 Happé		
Calisto and Melebea	1905c Farmer	1979 Axton 1908 Allen		
Cambyses	2013 Betteridge & Walker 1976 Fraser & Rabkin 1974 Craik 1934 Baskervill, Heltzel & Nethercot	1975 Johnson 1966 Creeth 1924 Adams		
Christ's Burial	_	1982 Baker, Murphy & Hall		
Christ's Resurrection	_	1982 Baker, Murphy & Hall		
Clyomon and Clamydes	_	1968 Littleton		
Common Conditions	1908a Farmer	1915 Tucker Brooke		
The Conflict of Conscience	1969 Schell & Shuchter	_		
The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality	-	-		
The Conversion of Saint Paul	1976 Wickham 1929 Tickner & Baldwin 1926 Tickner	1993 Coldewey 1982 Baker, Murphy & Hall 1975 Bevington 1924 Adams		
Courage, Kindness, Cleanness (fragment)	-	_		
The Cruel Debtor (fragment)	_	_		
Damon and Pythias	2013 Betteridge & Walker 2001 King 1906c Farmer	1980 White 1924 Adams		
D, G, T (fragment)	-	_		

Play Title (cont'd)	Critical Editions (cont'd)			
	Modern Spelling	Old Spelling		
The Disobedient Child	1905b Farmer	_		
Enough is as Good as a Feast	1969 Schell & Shuchter	_		
	1967 Benbow			
Everyman	2013 Betteridge & Walker	2007 Davidson, Walsh &		
	2012 Fitzgerald & Sebastian	Broos		
	2012 Greenblatt	2000 Walker		
	2009 Black et al	1993 Coldewey		
	2009 Bruster & Rasmussen	1985 Gray		
	2009 Gainor et al	1984 Garbáty		
	2006 Black et al	1980 Cooper & Wortham		
	2006 Greenblatt	1975 Bevington		
	2003 Wise & Walker	1970 Robertson		
	2000 Abrams & Greenblatt	1961 Cawley		
	1993 Abrams	1947 Woods, Watt &		
	1986 Abrams	Anderson		
	1981 Lester	1941 Woods, Watt &		
	1979 Abrams	Anderson		
	1974 Abrams	1924 Adams		
	1973 Trapp	1927 Pollard		
	1969 Schell & Shuchter	1923 Pollard		
	1968 Abrams	1914 Pollard		
	1967 Mantle & Gassner	1909 Pollard		
	1964b Ornstein & Spencer	1908 Moses		
	1963 Gassner	1904 Pollard		
	1962 Abrams	1903 Moses		
	1962 Hopper & Lahey			
	1961 Goodman			
	1956 Cawley			
	1953 Allen			
	1952 Heilman			
	1950 Bentley			
	1948 Brooks & Heilman			
	1945 Brooks & Heilman			
	1942 Loomis & Wells			
	1941 Kreymborg			
	1940 Mantle & Gassner			
	1939 Clark, Gates & Leisy			
	1938 Tatlock & Martin			
	1936 Taylor			

224 Issues in Review

Play Title (cont'd)	Critical Edi	itions (cont'd)
	Modern Spelling	Old Spelling
Everyman (cont'd)	1935 Mantle & Gassner 1935 Parks & Beatty 1933 Clark 1931 Hampden 1929 Moore 1929 Tickner & Baldwin 1928 Schweikert 1928 Rubenstein 1926 Tickner 1916 Tatlock & Martin 1910 Child 1909 Rhys 1906h Farmer	Old Spening
	1902 Sidgwick	
The Four Cardinal Virtues (fragment)	_	_
The (Nature of the) Four Elements	1905c Farmer	1979 Axton 1927 Pollard 1923 Pollard 1903 Fischer
The Four PP	1976 Fraser & Rabkin 1968 Hussey & Agarwala 1963 Gassner 1962 Hopper & Lahey 1936 Taylor 1934 Boas 1906g Farmer 1905a Farmer	2000 Walker 1991 Axton & Happé 1937 De la Bère 1924 Adams
Fulgens and Lucres	2013 Betteridge & Walker 2012 Fitzgerald & Sebastian 2009 Black et al 1981 Meredith 1976 Wickham 1934 Boas	2000 Walker 1981 Moeslein 1980 Nelson 1972 Happé 1966 Creeth 1926 Boas & Reed

Play Title (cont'd)	Critical Editions (cont'd)			
	Modern Spelling	Old Spelling		
Gammer Gurton's Needle	2013 Betteridge & Walker	1984 Tydeman		
	2012 Fitzgerald & Sebastian	1966 Creeth		
	1997 Whitworth	1924 Adams		
	1984 Whitworth	1920 Brett-Smith		
	1976 Fraser & Rabkin	1903 Bradley		
	1963 Gassner	,		
	1952 Heilman			
	1934 Baskervill, Heltzel & Nethercot			
	1934 Boas			
	1906a Farmer			
	1906f Farmer			
Gentleness and Nobility	1908b Farmer	1979 Axton		
,		1941 Cameron		
Gismond of Salerne	_	1912 Cunliffe		
The Glass of Government	_	1907 Cunliffe		
Godly Queen Hester	1906e Farmer	2000 Walker		
Coury Queen Hessel	1700c Parmer	1904 Greg		
C. P. D	1000 D.L	· ·		
God's Promises	1909 Rhys 1907a Farmer	1985–86 Happé		
0.10.1011.01	190/a Farmer	1909 Jones		
Good Order or Old Christ- mas (fragment)	_	_		
Gorboduc	1992 Tydeman	1966 Creeth		
	1976 Fraser & Rabkin	1924 Adams		
	1974 Craik	1912 Cunliffe		
	1970 Cauthen			
	1963 Gassner			
	1938 McIlwraith			
	1936 Taylor			
	1934 Baskervill, Heltzel & Nethercot			
	1928 Schweikert			
	1910 Thorndike			
	1906c Farmer			
Hick Scorner	1980 Lancashire 1905c Farmer	-		
Horestes	_	1982 Axton		
Impatient Poverty	1984 Tennenhouse 1907b Farmer	1911 McKerrow		

Play Title (cont'd)	Critical Editions (cont'd)		
	Modern Spelling	Old Spelling	
Jack Juggler	1968 Hussey & Agarwala 1906a Farmer	1984 Tydeman 1982 Axton 1914 Williams	
Jacob and Esau	1906e Farmer	1992 White	
Jocasta	-	1912 Cunliffe 1907 Cunliffe 1906 Cunliffe	
John Baptist's Preaching	1907a Farmer	2000 Walker 1985–86 Happé	
John the Evangelist	1907b Farmer	_	
Johan Johan the Husband	1972 Denny 1968 Hussey & Agarwala 1962 Hopper & Lahey 1942 Loomis & Wells 1935 Parks & Beatty 1928 Rubenstein 1908a Farmer 1908c Farmer	1991 Axton & Happé 1975 Bevington 1966 Creeth 1937 De la Bère 1924 Adams 1903a Pollard	
July and Julian	_	_	
The Killing of the Children	_	1993 Coldewey 1982 Baker, Murphy & Hall	
King Darius	1906a Farmer	_	
King Johan	1965 Armstrong 1907a Farmer	1985–86 Happé 1979 Happé 1969 Adams 1966 Creeth 1927 Pollard 1923 Pollard 1914 Pollard 1909 Pollard 1904 Pollard	
The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene	-	1992 White 1902 Carpenter	
Like Will to Like	2012 Fitzgerald & Sebastian 1974 Somerset 1906d Farmer	1972 Happé	
The Longer Thou Livest the More Fool Thou Art	1967 Benbow	1900 Brandl	

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Play Title (cont'd)	Critical Editions (cont'd)			
	Modern Spelling	Old Spelling		
(The Play of) Love	1974 Somerset 1905a Farmer	1991 Axton & Happé 1979 La Rosa 1944 Cameron 1937 De la Bère		
Love Feigned and Unfeigned (fragment)	-	_		
Lucidus and Dubius (fragment)	-	-		
(The Play of) Lucrece (fragment)	-	-		
Lusty Juventus	1974 Somerset 1905b Farmer	1982 Thomas		
Magnificence	1980 Neuss 1959 Henderson 1948 Henderson 1931 Henderson	2000 Walker 1979 Happé 1927 Pollard 1923 Pollard 1914 Pollard 1909 Pollard 1908 Ramsay 1904 Pollard		
Mankind	2012 Fitzgerald & Sebastian 2009 Black et al 2009 Bruster & Rasmussen 2006 Black et al 1981 Lester 1976 Wickham 1974 Somerset 1907b Farmer	2008 Ashley & NeCastro 2000 Walker 1995 Knittel & Fattic 1993 Coldewey 1985 Gray 1975 Bevington 1969 Eccles 1924 Adams 1904 Furnivall & Pollard		
The Marriage of Wit and Science	1908a Farmer	1975 Lennam		
The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom	1976 Wickham 1908a Farmer	-		

228 Issues in Review

Play Title (cont'd)	Critical Editions (cont'd)			
	Modern Spelling	Old Spelling		
Mary Magdalene	-	1993 Coldewey 1982 Baker, Murphy & Hall 1975 Bevington 1927 Pollard 1924 Adams 1923 Pollard 1914 Pollard 1909 Pollard 1904 Pollard		
Misogonus	1979 Barber 1906e Farmer	1911 Bond		
Nature	1907b Farmer	1981 Moeslein 1980 Nelson		
New Custom	1906a Farmer	_		
Nice Wanton	2012 Fitzgerald & Sebastian 1984 Tennenhouse 1977 Kruse 1976 Wickham 1946 Clark 1905b Farmer	_		
The Pardoner and the Friar	2005 Kinney 1968 Hussey & Agarwala 1942 Loomis & Wells 1906g Farmer 1905a Farmer	1991 Axton & Happé 1937 De la Bère 1927 Pollard 1923 Pollard 1914 Pollard 1909 Pollard 1904 Pollard		
Patient and Meek Grissell	1996 Gildenhuys	_		
The Pedlar's Prophecy	-	_		
The Prodigal Son (fragment)	_	_		
Promos and Cassandra	_	_		

Play Title (cont'd)	Critical Editions (cont'd)			
	Modern Spelling	Old Spelling		
Ralph Roister Doister	1984 Whitworth	1984 Tydeman		
	1963 Gassner	1966 Creeth		
	1936 Taylor	1939 Scheurweghs		
	1935 Parks & Beatty	1924 Adams		
	1934 Baskervill, Heltzel & Nethercot	1903 Flügel		
	1934 Boas			
	1928 Schweikert			
	1912 Child			
	1910 Thorndike			
	1907c Farmer			
	1906b Farmer			
	1901 Williams & Robin			
Respublica	1969 Schell & Shuchter	1952 Greg		
1	1907b Farmer	1905 Magnus		
The Resurrection of Our Lord (fragment)	_	-		
Robin Hood and the Friar	1978 Parfitt	1997 Knight & Ohlgren		
	1935 Parks & Beatty	1981 Wiles		
	1928 Schweikert	1924 Adams		
	1910 Child			
Robin Hood and the Potter	1978 Parfitt	1997 Knight & Ohlgren		
(fragment)	1929 Tickner & Baldwin	1981 Wiles		
(****	1926 Tickner			
	1910 Child			
Robin Hood and the Sherriff	1978 Parfitt	1997 Knight & Ohlgren		
(fragment)	1910 Child	1981 Wiles		
(mgment)	1910 311114	1924 Adams		
(The Croxton Play of the)	2012 Fitzgerald & Sebastian	->		
Sacrament	2012 I itzgeraid & Sebastian	1993 Coldewey		
Sucrament		1975 Bevington		
		1970 Davis		
		1924 Adams		
		1909 Waterhouse		
		1707 Waterflouse		

Play Title (cont'd)	Critical Editions (cont'd)		
	Modern Spelling	Old Spelling	
A Satire of the Three Estates	1998 Mace	2000 Walker	
		1989 Lyall	
		1979 Happé	
		1954 Kinsley	
		1931–36 Hamer	
		1928 Ritchie	
Somebody and Others	_	1977 Houle	
(fragment)		1931 Greg	
Supposes	1999 Beecher	1957 Bullough	
	1976 Fraser & Rabkin	1924 Adams	
	1964a Ornstein & Spencer	1911 Bond	
	1934 Baskervill, Heltzel &	1907 Cunliffe	
	Nethercot	1906 Cunliffe	
	1934 Boas		
Temperance and Humility (fragment)	-	_	
The Temptation of Our Lord	1976 Wickham	1985–86 Happé	
1 3	1907a Farmer	1919 Schwemmer	
Terence in English (Andria)	1987 Twycross	_	
Thersites	1905c Farmer	1982 Axton	
		1927 Pollard	
		1923 Pollard	
		1914 Pollard	
		1909 Pollard	
		1904 Pollard	
Three Laws	1907a Farmer	2000 Walker	
		1985–86 Happé	
The Tide Tarrieth No Man	1969 Schell & Shuchter	1907 Rühl	
Tom Tiler and his Wife	1908a Farmer	1900 Schelling	
	1908c Farmer	-	
	1906e Farmer		
The Trial of Treasure	1906a Farmer	_	
Virtuous and Godly Susanna	_	_	
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1922 Holthausen 1908 Holthausen

Wealth and Health 1907b Farmer

Play Title (cont'd)	Critical Edi	tions (cont'd)	
	Modern Spelling	Old Spelling	
(Play of the) Weather	2012 Fitzgerald & Sebastian 1968 Hussey & Agarwala 1905a Farmer	2000 Walker 1991 Axton & Happé 1987 Robinson 1975 Bevington 1972 Happé 1924 Adams 1903b Pollard	
Wisdom, Who is Christ	1998 Riggio 1929 Tickner & Baldwin 1926 Tickner	2008 Klausner 2000 Walker 1998 Riggio 1993 Coldewey 1982 Baker, Murphy & Hall 1969 Eccles 1904 Furnivall & Pollard	
(The Play of) Wit and Science	2012 Fitzgerald & Sebastian 1969 Schell & Shuchter 1907b Farmer	1975 Bevington 1972 Happé 1924 Adams	
Witty and Witless	1905a Farmer	1991 Axton & Happé 1937 De la Bère	
The World and the Child (Mundus et Infans)	1981 Lester 1969 Schell & Shuchter 1931 Hampden 1905c Farmer	1999 Davidson & Happé	
(The Interlude of) Youth	2012 Fitzgerald & Sebastian 1980 Lancashire 1969 Schell & Shuchter 1931 Hampden 1922 Gowans 1906e Farmer	1972 Happé 1905 Bang & McKerrow	

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Notes:

I wish to thank Erin Kelly and Maura Giles-Watson for kindly inviting me to contribute, Greg Walker for sharing his table of contents, and the Australian Research Council for funding this research.

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- 2 J.A. Symonds, Shakspere's Predecessors in the English Drama (London, 1884), 149.
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- 4 Leah S. Marcus, 'Dramatic Experiments: Tudor Drama, 1490–1567', Arthur F. Kinney (ed.), Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1500–1600 (Cambridge, 2000), 132, DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CCOL0521582946.007.
- 5 Frederick S. Boas, An Introduction to Tudor Drama (Oxford, 1933), 1.
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- 8 Brett D. Hirsch, 'The Kingdom has been Digitized: Electronic Editions of Renaissance Drama and the Long Shadows of Shakespeare and Print', *Literature Compass* 8.9 (2011), 568–91, DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741–4113.2011.00830.x.

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- 12 Both Lancashire's and Neuss's volumes were printed exclusively in hardcover; King's volume was printed in hardcover in 2001 and in paperback in 2009.
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- 14 Alexandra F. Johnston, 'Tudor Drama, Theatre and Society', Robert Tittler and Norman Jones (eds), A Companion to Tudor Britain (Malden, 2004), 431 (emphasis added), DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9780470997109.ch25.
- 15 For full bibliographical details, see Appendix 1. These figures include the plays and fragments listed in Darryl Grantley, English Dramatic Interludes 1300-1580: A Reference Guide (Cambridge, 2003), DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017 /CBO9780511483592. While Grantley distinguishes between critical editions and facsimiles in his lists of texts and editions, he conflates diplomatic transcriptions (such as those produced for the Malone Society Reprints) with old-spelling critical editions. Grantley's lists of editions are also admittedly incomplete and (by now) dated. The statistics offered in the present paper are those of the author, checked against Grantley and entries in his Bibliography of Editions of Early English Drama (BEEED) database. Although efforts to ensure the accuracy, currency and completeness of the data cited are made, the figures offered in this paper and its apparatus should be appreciated only as rough estimates for the purpose of comparison.
- 16 Peter Happé (ed.), The Complete Plays of John Bale, Tudor Interludes, 2 volumes (Cambridge, 1985-86); Richard Axton and Peter Happé (eds), The Plays of John Heywood, Tudor Interludes (Cambridge, 1991); and, Alan H. Nelson (ed.), The Plays of Henry Medwall, Tudor Interludes (Cambridge, 1980).
- 17 Christina M. Fitzgerald and John T. Sebastian (eds), The Broadview Anthology of Medieval Drama (Peterborough, 2012). The plays include Everyman, Fulgens and Lucres, Gammer Gurton's Needle, Like Will Unto Like, Mankind, Nice Wanton, The Play of the Sacrament (Croxton), The Play of the Weather, Wit and Science, and The Interlude of Youth.
- 18 The Oxford Anthology of Tudor Drama, under the editorship of Greg Walker and Thomas Betteridge, to be published in December 2013, will contain modern-spelling

texts of the following eight early Tudor plays: The Play of the Sacrament (Croxton), Fulgens and Lucrece, Everyman, The Play of the Weather, Gammer Gurton's Needle, Damon and Pythias, Thyestes, and Cambyses. Broadview Press has also recently commissioned Alan Stewart to prepare an Anthology of Tudor Drama, the contents of which — like the format and pricing of both forthcoming volumes — are unknown at time of writing.

- 19 Greg Walker (ed.), *Medieval Drama: An Anthology*, Blackwell Anthologies (Malden, 2000).
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- 21 'TudorInterludes', Boydell & Brewer, Web, 2Dec. 2011, http://www.boydellandbrewer.com/store/listCategoriesAndProducts.asp?idCategory=250.
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- 23 Eugene Giddens, How to Read a Shakespearean Playtext (Cambridge, 2011), 149.
- 24 Michael Leslie, 'Electronic Editions and the Hierarchy of Texts', Warren Chernaik, Caroline Davis, and Marilyn Deegan (eds), *The Politics of the Electronic Text* (Oxford, 1993), 50.
- 25 Gary Taylor, 'The Renaissance and the End of Editing', George Bornstein and Ralph G. Williams (eds), *Palimpsest: Editorial Theory in the Humanities* (Ann Arbor, 1993), 132.
- 26 Hirsch, 'The Kingdom has been Digitized', 573-7.
- 27 Giddens, How to Read a Shakespearean Playtext, 148.
- 28 This includes *Internet Shakespeare Editions* (1996–) under the coordinating editorship of Michael Best; *Queen's Men Editions* (2006–) under the general editorship of Helen Ostovich; *Digital Renaissance Editions* (2007–) under the coordinating editorship of the present author; and *Richard Brome Online* (2010–) under the general editorship of Richard Allen Cave.
- 29 Pacholski, 'The Humanist Drama', 266; see also Tucker Brooke, *The Tudor Drama*, 103–4.
- 30 Cartwright, *Theatre and Humanism: English Drama in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1999), 2, DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511483479.

- 31 Ibid, 4. In particular, Cartwright refers to David Bevington, From Mankind to Marlowe: Growth and Structure in the Popular Drama of Tudor England (Cambridge, 1962) and Robert Weimann, Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition of the Theater: Studies in the Social Dimension of Dramatic Form and Function (Baltimore, 1978).
- 32 Cartwright, Theatre and Humanism, 6, 1, 8.
- 33 For a discussion of the York cycle in modern performance, see Margaret Rogerson, Playing a Part in History: The York Mysteries, 1951–2006 (Toronto, 2009).
- 34 For more on these groups and their performances, see Medieval Plays in Modern Performance (2MP). The 2MP project, a Worldwide Universities Network Initiative with partners in Bristol, Lancaster, Leeds, Southampton, Sydney, and Toronto, has been working since 2009 to document and catalogue archives of materials related to twentieth-century productions of early English drama; see http://www.bris.ac.uk /drama/2mp/.
- 35 Glynne Wickham (ed.), English Moral Interludes (London, 1976), v. A pertinent recent example is Staging the Henrician Court (2008–10), an interdisciplinary research project headed by Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker, which included productions of The Play of the Weather and Magnificence in the Great Hall at Hampton Court Palace; see http://stagingthehenriciancourt.brookes.ac.uk/.
- 36 T.W. Craik, The Tudor Interlude: Stage, Costume, and Acting (London, 1958), 2.
- 37 Wickham, English Moral Interludes, v.
- 38 Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, The Queen's Men and Their Plays (Cambridge, 1998), 148.
- 39 T.S. Eliot, 'Introduction', Seneca his Tenne Tragedies translated into English (London, 1927), vi.
- 40 For a discussion of the attractiveness of electronic editions to early English drama more broadly, see Hirsch, 'The Kingdom has been Digitized'.
- 41 Marcus, 'Dramatic Experiments', 136.
- 42 Ibid, 136-37.
- 43 Louise Rayment's electronic edition of Wit and Science for Digital Renaissance Editions will attend to the play's musical contexts and include audio recordings of its songs.
- 44 Two projects are currently developing scale three-dimensional models of historical and modern performance spaces for such uses: the Simulated Environment for Theatre (SET), developed by a research team led by Jennifer Roberts-Smith, Stéfan Sinclair, and Stan Ruecker; and, experiments with motion capture in virtual reconstructions of early modern theatres undertaken by Joanne Tompkins and Matthew Delbridge using Ortelia. There are plans to integrate SET into editions of texts for Internet Shakespeare Editions and other projects using the same publishing platform,

- such as *Queen's Men Editions* and *Digital Renaissance Editions*. For more information, see http://www.humviz.org/set/ and http://www.ortelia.com/.
- 45 Marcus, 'Dramatic Experiments', 141.
- 46 For other applications of animated text in electronic editions of early English drama, see Michael Best, 'Standing in Rich Place: Electrifying the Multiple-Text Edition or, Every Text is Multiple', *College Literature*, 36.1 (2009), 32–6, DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/lit.0.0034; see also the prototypes developed by Alan Galey as part of his *Visualising Variation* project: http://individual.utoronto.ca/alangaley/visualizingvariation/.
- 47 Craik, The Tudor Interlude, 2.
- 48 These include editions of George Chapman's *An Humorous Day's Mirth* (ed. Eleanor Lowe) and the anonymous *Fair Em* (eds Brett D. Hirsch and Kevin Quarmby).
- 49 New Custom (London, 1573; STC 6150), EEBO, A2r.
- 50 Martin Mueller, 'Back to the Future, or, Wanted: A Decade of High-Tech Lower Criticism', paper presented at the Chicago Digital Humanities and Computer Science Colloquium, November 18, 2012.
- 51 Representative studies include Jonathan Hope, *The Authorship of Shakespeare's Plays* (Cambridge, 1994), DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511518942; Ulrich Busse, *Linguistic Variation in the Shakespeare Corpus* (Amsterdam, 2002); MacDonald P. Jackson, *Defining Shakespeare*: Pericles *as Test Case* (Oxford, 2003), DOI: http://dx.doi.org/ 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199260508.001.0001; Hugh Craig and Arthur F. Kinney (eds), *Shakespeare*, *Computers, and the Mystery of Authorship* (Cambridge, 2009), DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511605437; Lene B. Petersen, *Shakespeare's Errant Texts* (Cambridge, 2010); and, Mireille Ravassat and Jonathan Culpeper (eds), *Stylistics and Shakespeare's Language* (London, 2011).
- 52 Important discussions and applications of such methods outside of early modern studies include Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London, 2005); Matthew Jockers, *Macroanalysis: Digital Methods and Literary History* (Urbana, 2013); and, Michaela Mahlberg, *Corpus Stylistics and Dickens's Fiction* (New York, 2013).
- 53 For reasons discussed in more detail elsewhere (see Hirsch, 'The Kingdom has been Digitized', 575–80), such as professional skepticism and devaluation of collaborative, editorial, and digital projects (particularly in the context of university tenure, promotion, and evaluation) in addition to a range of complex technological considerations, the production of electronic editions of non-canonical drama will be noticeably slow in appearing. A number of electronic editions of early Tudor plays are in preparation for *Digital Renaissance Editions*, however, including *Cambyses* (ed. Julia M. Garrett), *The Conflict of Conscience* (ed. Erin Kelly), *Damon and Pythias* (ed.

Donald Jellerson), Virtuous and Godly Susanna (ed. Brittany V. Vis), and Wit and Science (ed. Louise Rayment). John D. Cox will edit a selection of moral interludes for Digital Renaissance Editions, and Ian Lancashire has kindly granted permission for the series to publish revised versions of his (now out-of-print) Revels editions of Hick Scorner and The Interlude of Youth. The series anticipates proposals for editions of The (Nature of the) Four Elements, Gentleness and Nobility, and Ralph Roister Doister in the near future. With these editions in the pipeline and other proposals expected, a reasonable collection of modern-spelling, critical editions of early Tudor plays should be available for teaching and research within the next five years. The project's coordinating editor welcomes edition proposals from interested Early Theatre readers.

54 Seneca, Hercules Furens, trans. Jasper Heywood (Oxford, 1561; STC: 22223), EEBO, I1r.